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DAVID R. FRANCIS

Our New Ambassador to Russia, Formerly Governor of Missouri



NEWTON D. BAKER

Newly Appointed Secretary of War, Formerly Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio

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CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

APRIL, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

THE OUTLOOK

HAVE the events of the month brought the war visibly nearer to an end? Anxious hearts throughout Europe and over the whole earth are asking the question, and some there are who think they see at least a hint of an affirmative answer. M. Ribot, the French Minister of Finance, has publicly declared his belief that "the end is in sight." While this is probably too sanguine a statement, recent events have suggested something of the kind.

The failure of Germany to reach any vital spot at Verdun after a month of desperate fighting may not be particularly significant, for Verdun is one of the strongest fortresses in the world; but the indication that some inner force or fear in Germany herself was behind the attack, prompting and impelling it regardless of the cost in lives, has led many neutral observers to believe that the Berlin Government is no longer sure of its own allies or its own resources, and that there is a waning even of the national enthusiasm which has thus far responded to every call for sacrifice.

Has Germany passed the zenith of her war strength, and is Verdun, like Napoleon's Moscow campaign, to mark the beginning of the slow disintegration of the power behind it? Only time can tell. Meanwhile Lloyd's is quoting prohibitive rates to munition firms who wish to wager that the war will last beyond next Autumn, and the impression is gaining ground in many quarters that Germany's rôle henceforth will be more largely defensive than offensive.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

APPARENTLY there was a close relation between President Wilson's determined stand on behalf of armed merchantmen and Admiral von Tirpitz's sudden resignation. The head of the German Admiralty was known to be the author of the whole submarine campaign against merchant ships, and was believed to favor even a more ruthless policy than that embodied in the sink-without-warning order of March 1. Certainly some of his supporters were outspoken for a policy, as the Berliner Tageblatt remarks, of "unlimited, unchecked, indiscriminate torpedoing directed against every nationality and every kind of ship."

The German Government's desire to remain on good terms with the United States would naturally come into conflict with any such policy, and the demonstration in Congress that President Wilson's firm attitude was the American Nation's attitude could hardly fail to deepen the rift between the Admiral and the Chancellor.

But it is reported that an influence closer home was working toward the same end. Albert Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American Line and a close friend of the Kaiser, marking the worldwide storm that followed the sinking of the Lusitania, it is stated, took measures to forestall the growing danger of a break with the United States and the probable loss, in case of war, of the great German liners interned in American ports. Indirectly, then, it was Herr Ballin who forced concessions to the United States by securing the appointment of

his friend Baron Holzenorf to the command of the submarine division. Thus for many weeks past Admiral von Tirpitz is said to have been powerless to carry out his own policy. His resignation naturally followed. Such seems to have been the curious connection between President Wilson's demands and the Grand Admiral's downfall.

* * *

MILITARY EVENTS

ONLY two large military developments have marked the month just past—the German assault on Verdun and the Russian advance in Asia Minor. Both have favored the Entente side. The fighting at Verdun is fully treated elsewhere in this magazine. In Asiatic Turkey the Russians have gone slowly but steadily forward in four columns, one moving out of Persia toward the besieged Britishers in Mesopotamia, another heading westward along the Black Sea littoral toward Trebizond and ports beyond; a third is pursuing the Turkish Army westward from Erzerum, and seems about to come to grips with it at Sivas, while the fourth column is driving southward through the Lake Van country, where at last accounts it had taken Bitlis on its way to some point on the Bagdad Railway. Thus far the main effect of the Grand Duke's aggressive campaign is found in persistent rumors of alarm and disaffection at Constantinople. On the Russian front in Europe nothing of importance has happened, though there are signs of preparations for a Spring campaign. Italy has undertaken another determined offensive on the Isonzo front, but with only slight gains thus far. In Albania the last remnant of Italian and Albanian resistance faces a superior Austrian army at Avlona. Italian hopes of a sphere of influence on that side of the Adriatic are very dim at present.

* * *

A USEFUL WAR MAP

THE double-page map of the world war printed in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY gives a convenient birdseye view of the areas on three continents which have been directly affected by the conflict. The vast regions and magnificent

distances involved are in themselves a good index to the greatness of the struggle. It is also useful to have at hand a map which shows at a glance the exact location of the four large German possessions in Africa where fighting has been going on; likewise the relation of the campaign in Asia Minor to that on the European side of the Bosphorus.

* * *

THE NEW SECRETARY OF WAR

THAT well-worn phrase, the irony of fate, seems to apply with peculiar aptness to the case of Newton D. Baker, who was sworn in on March 9 to succeed Lindley M. Garrison as Secretary of War. Secretary Baker, a former Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, is a progressive Democrat of the reform school of the late Tom L. Johnson, and a member in good standing in three peace societies. On the very day of his entrance into office he was plunged into the Mexican affair and found himself working far into the night preparing the necessary equipment for 5,000 troops bound on a mission that meant war on a small scale, and might mean war on a large scale. Though a man of peace, he promptly demonstrated his ability to handle the details of the War Office.

* * *

PUNISHING MEXICAN BANDITS

THE murderous assaults of Mexican outlaws upon American citizens have at length become unbearable even for a patient nation. Before dawn on March 9 Francisco Villa and 1,500 of his followers crossed into New Mexico and attacked the town of Columbus in Indian fashion, setting fire to the houses and assassinating eighteen persons, nine of them defenseless civilians, and nine soldiers of the Thirteenth United States Cavalry guarding the border there. Villa's main object, besides that of loot, seems to have been to revenge himself upon both Carranza and the United States Government by provoking a war between the two countries.

A small body of American troopers pursued the bandits a few miles into Mexican territory, killing forty-six and seriously wounding many others; but the

main body, with their leader, escaped. President Wilson at once ordered an organized pursuit with an adequate force of troops, regardless of consequences, though with the sole purpose of bringing the assassins to justice. Congress and the nation heartily indorsed the decision. Even Mr. Bryan admitted that we had borne enough.

Under the direction of Major Gen. Frederick Funston a force of at least 5,000 picked cavalry, with field-gun detachments and several companies of infantry, was organized at Columbus, and on March 16 it crossed the Mexican line under Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, heading southward through the Chihuahua desert in the hope of intercepting Villa in his rendezvous beyond Casas Grandes. Somewhere near the start the expedition was divided into two columns, the second being under command of Colonel Dodd. By March 20 the cavalry divisions had reached a point 110 miles south of the line. Other details of the advance were concealed under the blanket of an effective censorship.

* * *

A DELICATE SITUATION .

GENERAL PERSHING is instructed to confine his activities in Mexico solely to the capture and punishment of Villa's outlaw band, and the Administration is making every effort to keep the episode from developing, as Villa intended, into a war with Mexico. Hope of being able to do this is increased by the present friendly co-operation of General Carranza, the de facto head of the Mexican Government. The situation at best, however, is extremely delicate.

A doubtful moment came at the beginning, when President Carranza issued a manifesto declaring that he would never consent to the expedition unless his Government were granted the reciprocal privilege of sending troops into American territory in a similar emergency. President Wilson readily agreed and since then Carranza has done what he could to aid the success of the undertaking, being apparently convinced of the sincerity of Secretary Lansing's statement

that the military operations now in contem-

plation by this Government will be scrupulously confined to the object already announced, and that in no circumstances will they be suffered to infringe in any degree upon the sovereignty of Mexico or develop into intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of our sister republic.

Mr. Lansing's words were confirmed by a resolution which passed the United States Senate, declaring that the expedition was punitive and in no sense "an intervention." The friendly intention thus announced can be frustrated only by the Mexican people themselves, but the dangers of a misunderstanding are obvious. By ordering General Pershing to avoid towns as far as possible the American authorities have done what they could to minimize the danger of "sniping" by irresponsible partisans of Villa. In the circumstances it seems likely that Villa's scheme of embroiling the two nations will fail, and that he will be hoist with his own petard.

* * *

INCREASING THE ARMY

IN a recent address in New York Colonel Edwin F. Glenn of the United States Army called our present military establishment "the most pathetic thing that ever came along in history," referring to its inadequacy in numbers. The Mexican episode has brought a favoring wind to the sails of the preparedness advocates. An emergency bill authorizing the President to recruit 20,000 more men, bringing the army up to a maximum war strength of 120,000, passed both houses of Congress almost without a dissenting vote.

Colonel Glenn told his hearers that if real trouble should develop in Mexico it would require 500,000 men and five years of fighting to win peace. There would be no lack of adventurous young men to enlist, but they would be useless without six months or a year of training. These facts lend a livelier interest to the two army bills now before Congress. Representative Hay's measure calls for a standing army of 140,000, a reserve of 60,000, a National Guard of 129,000, and the construction of a Government plant for the manufacture of nitrogen used in explosives. The Senate bill, offered by Mr. Chamberlain, provides for 178,000

men of all arms within five years, with a plan for a full war strength of 225,000. Besides, it calls for a Federal volunteer force in peace times somewhat like the Continental Army advocated by Secretary Garrison. Both bills call for the federalization of the National Guard, with pay for the men during periods of training.

* * *

EUROPE'S BURDEN OF DEBT

THE burden of debt which the war entails upon Europe is mounting to such colossal figures that the imagination cannot measure its prodigious proportions by any previous standard. It is estimated that the war loans up to the middle of March total \$29,000,000,000. The following is an approximation of the obligations of the respective nations to date in millions of dollars:

| | Previous war debt. | War loan. | Present debt. |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Great Britain | \$3,485 | \$7,670 | \$11,155 |
| France | 6,607 | 6,659 | 13,197 |
| Russia | 4,537 | 4,117 | 8,654 |
| Italy | 2,836 | 1,465 | 4,301 |
| | | | — |
| Total for Allies.... | \$17,465 | \$19,842 | \$37,307 |
| Germany | 5,198 | 6,415 | 11,613 |
| Austria-Hungary ... | 3,970 | 2,547 | 6,517 |
| Turkey | 640 | 214 | 854 |
| | | | — |
| Central Powers.... | \$9,808 | \$9,176 | \$18,984 |
| | | | — |
| Grand Total..... | \$27,273 | \$29,019 | \$56,292 |

In these figures it will be observed that the war loans of the Entente reach approximately \$20,000,000,000 and those of the Central Powers over \$9,000,000,000. It is estimated that the war is costing about one hundred millions a day, or over \$4,000,000 every hour. Of Great Britain's loans approximately \$2,500,000,000 have gone to her allies. Assuming that the war will last another year, additional loans of over \$35,000,000,000 will be required, which will bring the grand total of debts of the belligerent powers to the astounding total of \$92,000,000,000 as against \$27,273,000,000 previous to the war. When it is remembered that each of the powers prior to the war was seriously perplexed to discover new sources of taxation to meet interest charges, the problem becomes

apparently insoluble with these charges nearly quadrupled.

The estimated population of the seven powers enumerated in the above table is 417,000,000, hence if the war lasts another year, the total debts will exceed \$220 per capita. The interest bearing debt of the United States is less than \$10 per capita.

* * *

MEN AGAIN IN ARMOR

THE use of metal protectors by all the belligerents is increasing, and the equipment of the modern soldier is noticeably reverting to the fashions of mediaeval periods. Since August, 1915, 4,000,000 metal helmets have been made for French soldiers. The head of the Paris Military Medical Service, Dr. B. Roussey, in an official report to the Academy of Medicine, stated that in July and August, prior to the adoption of the helmet only 8½ per cent. of the wounds were in the skull, whereas in the following December and January, when a part of the troops had been equipped with helmets, the percentage of wounds in the skull had doubled, the inference being that fully 8½ per cent. were saved from death on the battlefield by the protectors. He recommended that metal protection be provided for other parts of the body, especially the thorax and abdomen. He exhibited a helmet, struck by a bullet fired at a distance of 200 yards; the metal was torn, but the soldier who wore it was only slightly wounded, whereas had the bullet not been deflected, he would have been killed.

* * *

EXPORTS OF MUNITIONS

WITHIN a period of thirty-six hours ending March 5, 1916, nine transatlantic steamships left New York for belligerent European ports, viz.: The Canopic for Naples, the Southerdown for St. Nazaire, France; the Cedric for Liverpool, the Rochambeau for Bordeaux, the Headley for London, the Napoli for Genoa, the Ardgorm for London, the Appenine for Cardiff, the California for Liverpool. Their manifests reveal the enormous amount of munitions and war material which is going from this coun-

try to Europe. As an illustration, the Cedric carried the following:

23,981 cases empty shells, 3,528 cases of cartridge cases, 105 cases of projectile bands, 5,200 cases of cartridges, 1,579 cases of fuses, 23 cases of rifles, 20 cases of rifle barrels, 46 cases of bayonets, 16 cases of revolvers, 341 cases of cannon primers, 285 cases of forgings, 1,047 cases of brass rods, 100 pieces steel strips, 889 plates of spelter, 98 cases copper tubes, 13,792 ingots copper, 67 aeroplanes and parts, 11 tractors, 5,912 bundles shovels, 73 automobiles, 51 cases tents, 1,265 barrels lubricating oil, 4,314 bales cotton, 850 cases rubber boots and shoes, 240 cases harness.

The Napoli carried the following:

80,000 lb. trinitrotulool (high explosive,) 49 barrels formaldehyde, 31,722 cathodes copper, 3,755 bundles wire and wire rods, 659 coils copper wire, 266 cases brass, 92 packages old chains and anchors, 49 cases military equipment, 30 cases magnetos, 11,144 ingots copper, 98 bundles wire, 30 iron pipes, 1,500 boxes brass, 3 cases bar steel, 16 cases emery wheels and drills, 24 cases lathes, 1,025 bags wax, 2,500 bales cotton, 8 cases gas engines, 7 cases motor cycles, 6 cases blankets, 1,897 cases shoes, 257 cases mining, wood and metal working machinery, 53 cases hospital supplies, 850 horses.

Each of the other vessels carried similar cargoes. The total exports from the Port of New York alone for the week ending March 4, 1916, was \$57,554,366 against \$21,051,057 for the corresponding week of 1914. During the March week alone the value of loaded projectiles, smokeless powder, empty shells, and commercial automobiles exported amounted in round numbers to \$11,400,000. The exports in 1915 of articles utilized for war purposes were in value \$831,695,000 against \$180,128,274 in 1914 and \$147,979,526 in 1913. The value of exports classified as "explosives" in 1915 was \$181,778,033, against \$5,525,071 in 1913.

* * *

A TREATY THAT WAS NO "SCRAP OF PAPER"

PORTUGAL, in explaining her entrance into the war, evidently desired to emphasize satirically the fact that her treaties are not scraps of paper. Viscount de Alte, the Portuguese Minister to the United States, announces that his country's entrance into the war on March 9 was in fulfillment of a treaty obliga-

tion entered into between England and Portugal on June 16, 1373, just 543 years ago lacking about ninety days. This treaty, which provided that Portugal should join England in warfare when called upon to do so, was concluded between Ferdinand of Portugal and Edward III. of England and has endured through the centuries without a break. In 1703 Portugal fought with England in the war of the Spanish succession and again fought by her side in the bloody struggles on the Peninsula during the Napoleonic epoch. It is a curious circumstance that while Portugal is drawn into this war by her alliance with England, her exiled King Manuel finds asylum in the British Isles to conduct there unchecked his conspiracy against the de facto republic for his restoration to the Portuguese throne.

* * *

SAZONOFF'S PERSONALITY

DURING the last twenty history-making months all the portfolios in the Russian Cabinet have changed hands, in some cases several times, save that of M. Sazonoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Broad and clear of vision, steady in his purpose and strong in his determination, M. Sazonoff has kept his post and managed it with such ability that he has come to be regarded as the man at the helm on Russia's political seas, perhaps the most tempestuous and treacherous in Europe. It is, therefore, only natural that his word, spoken, as the London Daily Chronicle correspondent says, "with all the passion and fire of profound spiritual conviction," should attract more attention than that of any other Russian statesman or public man. Speaking of disarmament, M. Sazonoff said to the same correspondent:

If Prussian militarism is destroyed, if that evil thing which has darkened all our lives for so many years is finally destroyed, as I believe most firmly it will be destroyed, then I think some measure of disarmament may be possible. It should be quite possible, for with England and Russia friends the rest of the world is safe. We shall fight on until the nations feel themselves safe—and not until German militarism is destroyed to its roots can any nation feel safe. England, France, and Russia are responsible now for

the future of Europe, which means the future of civilization, the fate of the world.

M. Sazonoff's ringing words at the opening of the Duma, in which he emphatically reiterated the Government's determination "to continue the struggle to conquer the enemy," have drowned even the utterances of the Czar and the Premier on that memorable occasion.

* * *

GENERAL KUROPATKIN

IN appointing Alexei Kuropatkin Commander in Chief of the Russian armies on the northern front, the Czar has pitted against Germany's greatest military genius, von Hindenburg, a General who in experience, knowledge, and ability is, save the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, second to none in the Russian Empire. As author of numerous works on military and political subjects,

as participant in the Turkish campaign of 1877-78, as Minister of War, and, finally, as Commander in Chief of the Russian armies in the Russo-Japanese war, General Kuropatkin has shown noteworthy talents. As to the causes of the Russian failure in Manchuria, he proved in his comprehensive work on the Russo-Japanese war, to the satisfaction of the world's military experts and especially of the Russian public, that they were to be found in the inefficiency and chaotic condition of the Government at Petrograd, and that his strategy, if properly supported and given the opportunity to develop, would inevitably have led to victory. Politically, the appointment of Kuropatkin, who belongs to the progressive flank of Russia's military aristocracy, will doubtless produce a salutary effect on that country's public opinion.

Interpretations of World Events

Ministerial Changes in Germany and France

THE several times repeated rumor that High Admiral von Tirpitz would resign seems at last to be true. It is conjectured that this means a triumph of humanity in the methods of submarine warfare, as to which the High Admiral has been known to be ruthless; and we are told that the change represents a triumph for the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who has counseled moderation and the conciliation of neutrals, especially the United States. But this surmise is very much weakened by the report that Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg is himself to resign, being replaced by Prince von Bülow, and by the further report that the submarine warfare will go on unabated, a view borne out by the fate of the Dutch liner *Tubantia* and the narrow escape of the *Patria*. It is more likely that Ministerial changes in Germany simply represent another shuffling of the cards, in the hope of a better hand. In France there has also been an important

change. General Gallieni, who was first Military Governor of Paris, and later War Minister, has, it seems, broken down in health as a result of his unceasing toil for the republic. He is to be replaced by a man several years his junior, whom he has known, as it happens, for many years. General Pierre Auguste Roques was born at Marseillan in the Department of Herault, on the Gulf of Lyons, not far from Joffre's birthplace at Rivaltes; he was a boy of 14 at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, in which Joffre, Gallieni, and Pau fought. General Roques entered the *Ecole Polytechnique* at Paris in 1872, two years after Joffre had been graduated, and in 1874 he became a Second Lieutenant of Engineers. At that time the French colonies in Asia and Africa had hardly begun to develop, but they very soon became exceedingly important, and in 1888 Lieutenant Roques went out to Tonkin with Admiral Courbet's expedition, of which Joffre was a conspicuous member. In 1889 he served in Algiers, and in 1892 in West Africa, where Joffre also saw much hard fighting. Then came a period of work at the

War Ministry at Paris, once more exactly as in Joffre's case, and then, about 1900, General Gallieni, who had already served four years as Governor of Madagascar, brought Colonel Joffre, as he then was, out to Diego Suarez, at the extreme north end of Madagascar, to build the immense fortified harbor there. Captain Roques was one of Joffre's assistants in this work. Then work in the department of aeronautics was followed by command of a division, and, in due course, of the Twelfth Army Corps, stationed at Limoges, in the southwest of France; he began the war as commander of this corps. At the beginning of 1915 he was promoted to command of one of the string of armies that guard the French battle line, and now he reaches the highest military post in the republic as Minister of War.

Morocco and the War

IT would probably be true to say that, while the impulse which brought Austria into the war began with Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was Morocco which directly involved Germany. The first friction between France and Germany over Morocco came in 1904, and was adjusted, in a sense unfavorable to Germany, by the Algeciras treaty of 1906. Five years later the trouble began again. Germany brusquely asserted her interest in Morocco by sending to Agadir the gunboat Panther and the cruiser Berlin, the former on July 1, 1911. It was made evident that England meant business, and might mean war. Germany, checked, replied by larger military preparations in the Spring of 1913, and added four new corps to her army. Nine months after came the present war. It is, therefore, interesting to learn the present situation in Morocco. The French report a severe defeat inflicted there by Colonel Simon on the agitator Abd el Malek, who, in the region of Taza, had raised the tribesmen against the influence of France, and they consider this defeat a serious check for the Germans, who had been subsidizing these tribes as they had subsidized the Senoussi, to fight against England in Egypt at the other side of Africa. General Henrys, commanding in the absence of General Lyautey, attacked Abd

el Malek, captured his camp of 150 tents, and drove him off to the Rif, where the question of pursuit will resemble a problem of the United States nearer home. It is also reported from Tripoli, and from that part of the coast of Tripoli which borders on Egypt, that the tribesmen opposed to Italy and England are losing ground, so that along the whole of Northern Africa, as in the Cameroons and opposite Madagascar, the Entente interests are able to report recent successes.

The Cameroon Protectorate and German East Africa

THE French Government is already providing a civil administration for the Cameroon region, which has been completely wrested from Germany; and this is interesting as being the first indication of the final disposition of this enormous district. France has, of course, special claims to the Cameroons, as the whole eastern section belonged to France before 1911, when it was taken by Germany as compensation for France's privileges in Morocco. On the other side of the African continent General Jan Christian Smuts is doing what General Botha did in Southwest Africa. On March 13 he occupied Mushi, and was pushing on toward Arusha, which the Germans were thought to have evacuated. He reported also that the Germans had been severely defeated at Kitovo. The general direction of the fighting seems now to be under Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain on the African continent, higher than any in America north of Panama; only Mount St. Elias in Alaska and Orizaba in Mexico approach its height of 17,800 feet. Crowned with everlasting snow, it is called by the natives "the Mount of Silver," and this may be the foundation of the curious tradition recorded by Aristotle that the Nile rose beneath a silver mountain. But this vast peak is only one of many summits that crown the eastern edge of the great plateau of equatorial Africa, a plateau which has the most important bearing on the future of this whole region, for its great elevation, with the cool winds from the

snow fields, makes it much more available for white colonization than the torrid coast lands are. General Smuts's sons and grandsons, to the third and fourth generation, may be destined to find a home here under the shadow of the Silver Mount.

Balfour, Churchill, and the Allied Fleets

WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, whose military career was recently outlined in these pages, and who has since risen to the rank of Colonel, is said to have had premonitions of early death and, to clear his conscience, deemed it necessary to return to the scene of his former triumphs in the House of Commons, and to direct a ruthless attack against Arthur James Balfour, his successor at the Admiralty. We can get a very valuable sidelight on the controversy between them from a summary of the fleets which might oppose each other in the North Sea, a summary drawn up by Rear Admiral Degouy, whom one might call the Admiral Mahan of France. According to this high authority, Germany has, to count major units only, forty-four battleships and battle cruisers; this includes units under construction when the war broke out. England has of these same classes (counting pre-dreadnoughts of the class of the Edward VII., dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts) at least sixty-five. England, further, has twenty-eight armored cruisers against two or three that remain to Germany. To the English fleet, moreover, should be added the French dreadnoughts and predreadnoughts, (of the class of the Diderot,) or eleven battleships. If we add to these the armored cruisers which have been on duty in the English Channel for the last eighteen months we shall have a total, says Admiral Degouy, of more than 110 battle-line units. Nor does this complete the strength of the Allies. There remains Russia's Baltic fleet, a thoroughgoing renaissance of which was begun shortly after the disasters of the war with Japan. By the time the ice is off the Gulf of Finland Admiral Degouy estimates that Russia will have eight battleships in the Baltic, four of

which are of the newest type, and probably four formidable battle cruisers. In order to arrive at a conservative result, Admiral Degouy counts only half the probable Russian strength, and thus reaches a total of 116 battle-line units, as against forty-four, as we saw, for Germany.

The Situation at Constantinople

SIGNS multiply of coming convulsions at the capital of the Turkish Empire. There was the death of the heir apparent, Prince Yusef Izeddin, of whom Pierre Loti has just written a beautiful obituary sketch; a death which one side calls suicide, while the other boldly brands it as assassination. There were sudden and violent dislocations of Turkish troops, announcing counsels of desperation. We are told that a majority of the Turkish soldiers who were in Bulgaria or on the Greek frontier, on the Sea of Marmora, in the neighborhood of Smyrna, or other parts of Western Asia Minor, are being hastily sent to Angora and Sivas, to oppose the Russian sweep from Erzerum toward the Bosphorus. It may be said, in passing, that it will suit Russian policy very much better if her armies can reach Stamboul along the Black Sea and Asia Minor route thus indicated, than if France and England had got there first, through the Dardanelles; for the reason that a success of her own will give Russia a claim by so much the stronger to the ultimate possession of the Bosphorus, and that "front door of the Black Sea" which she has so long desired. Meanwhile, three divisions of the forces which swept through Erzerum have now undertaken the capture of Trebizond, Erzingan, and Kharput; another force, from Lake Van, is making certain of Diarbekir, while the Persian detachment has swept past Kermanshah and Kirind and is swiftly approaching Bagdad. It will be seen that the foothold of the isolated Turkish armies, which are involved in this net of greatly superior Russian forces, is precarious in the last degree; and the reaction from all this is keenly felt on the Golden Horn. All of which makes Bulgaria more than uneasy.

Decisive Military Victory

THE Battle of Verdun is perhaps the only major operation of the present world war which is like the battles of all former wars in the fact that it was fought at a definite place and within the limits of a definite time. The Battle of the Marne, the Battle of the Aisne, the Battle of the Dwinsk, take their names from rivers, simply because rivers cover the enormous spaces occupied by modern battles, and, in a general way, mark folds in the country, along which troops naturally find defensive positions. But it can hardly be said that the Battle of the Marne was fought in any particular place, or only on the Marne. The defense of Verdun by General Sarrail, now in chief command at Saloniki, was a vital part of it, and Verdun is on the Meuse, far from the Marne. The Battle of the Marne had definite dates, but the Battle of the Dwinsk is going on still, and may go on for months. And it is only by comparison, by a sort of artificial isolation, that the recent Battle of Verdun can be said to have begun and ended. There was fighting in the same region, almost on the same lines, ever since the first few weeks of the war. Whether in time or space the recent fighting at Verdun is only a knot on a nearly endless string; in space, a string stretching from Ostend to Switzerland; in time, but a tenser episode in long months of fighting. So that, in the warfare of today, such a thing as a decisive battle, a decisive victory, is becoming impossible, because armies hundreds of miles long cannot be surrounded, though they can be forced backward, as happened in Russia. But even that tremendous migration decided nothing for the outcome of the war. Again, it is no longer a question of a group of professional soldiers, who may be completely surrounded, like the French armies at Sedan or Metz or Paris, leaving the nation comparatively untouched. It is a question of nations in arms; in France, as in Germany and Austria, to say nothing of Serbia, it is a question of the entire manhood of the nation. England is approaching the same condition. Russia alone, by virtue of her vastly larger

population and smaller resources in equipment, is still far from it. It is evident that decisive victory, when it comes, will come in some new way, whether through a tremendous increase of internal outbreaks, such as are persistently reported from the Central Empires, or by a breaking away of allies, as seems likely in the case of Turkey and perhaps also Bulgaria, or by the killing off of the men, or by economic exhaustion. Since this last is, among many incalculable elements, the one which is, perhaps, the most definitely calculable, and so one of the most satisfactory to work upon, it is entirely intelligible that the Entente Powers, far from being willing to relax their present economic pressure on the Central Empires, are likely to increase that pressure steadily, by every means in their power.

Rumania Getting Ready

THE continued indecision of Rumania is one of the standing problems of the war, but there are indications—straws in the wind—which show a rising current toward the Entente Powers. To begin with, there are certain significant changes in the Rumanian Staff. The nomination of General Averescu as Corps Commander of the First Army Corps of the Rumanian Army, the nomination of General Gotescu as Corps Commander of the Second Army Corps, and of General Presan as Corps Commander of the Third Army Corps, with the designation of the date, April 14, on which they are to take charge, are both regarded as indicative of the growing predominance of the party which desires to enter the war on the side of the Entente Powers. And the fact that Rumania is being supplied with munitions of war from Russia shows two things: First, that Russia now has supplies for herself and to spare; second, that the bond between Rumania and Russia is growing closer in spite of dynastic influences which draw the Hohenzollern rulers of Rumania toward the mightier Hohenzollerns. The absence of all representatives of the German imperial house from the funeral of "Carmen Sylva," the Queen Mother of Rumania, was made

the occasion of a curious story—that Prince August Wilhelm, the fourth son of the Kaiser, was sent to the ceremony of mourning and actually got as far as the border of Rumania, when the German Minister at Bucharest sent him an urgent message to turn back because it was feared that he might be made the object of hostile demonstrations on the part of the Rumanian people. It seems certain at least that at the last moment an excuse was sent from the Hungarian-Rumanian frontier. The incident was the more striking because of the high honor in which “Carmen Sylva” was always held in Germany.

Discontent in the Bundesrat

BESIDES repeated rumors of popular outbreaks, now at Berlin, now at Cologne, there comes a curious report, by way of Holland, that there have been marked feelings, if not actually expressions, of discontent in the Bundesrat in Berlin. The Bundesrat is more like the United States Senate in its essential character than almost any other existent body, because it represents the different States in a larger Federal unity; while the popular and popularly elected Reichstag is, both in numbers and in constitution, fairly comparable to our House of Representatives. But both German bodies are smaller than their analogues in the United States, the Bundesrat having only sixty-one members, or one-third less than the Senate, and it further differs from the United States Senate in the fact that the different federated States are not all represented on an equal footing. For Prussia has 17 out of the 61 members, the Kingdom of Bavaria has 6, the Kingdoms of Saxony and Württemberg have 4 each, the Grand Duchies of Baden and Hesse have 3 each, the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and the Duchy of Brunswick have each 2, Alsace-Lorraine has 3, while 17 smaller units have each 1 member; 3 of these are towns, and Hamburg, with about 1,000,000 inhabitants; Bremen, with 250,000, and Lübeck, with less than 100,000, are held equal. Once more, like the United States Senate, the Bundesrat does much of its work by standing committees, of which

there are a dozen, one each for the army, navy, taxation, trade, railroads, law, foreign affairs, railroad tariffs, standing orders, constitutional questions, and Alsace-Lorraine. Each of these standing committees consists of representatives of at least four States of the empire; but the Bundesrat Committee on Foreign Affairs includes only representatives of the three kingdoms, (other than Prussia,) namely, of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg, together with two other representatives to be elected every year. Thus, the Bundesrat Committee on Foreign Affairs represents the feeling of the southern German kingdoms, as contrasted with the dominant tendency of Prussia, and there has always been much latent jealousy toward the dominating northern neighbor, whether in Dresden or in Munich. But it is difficult to see just what the committee can do, beyond protesting to the Chancellor of the empire, under whose general Presidency the Bundesrat sits; and as Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg is, under the Constitution, responsible to the Kaiser, and to the Kaiser alone, these protests will only have the value of “pious opinions.”

The President-Emperor of China

ONE might receive the impression, from the cablegrams, that the President-Emperor of China (to express an anomalous position by an anomalous title) is hard pressed by armies of revolutionists such as were gathered at Canton in the days of the “Chinese revolution,” under the leadership of a group of liberals educated in foreign lands and inspired by foreign ideals. But, while it is true that fighting is going on over an extensive area of Chinese territory, it is none the less true that this fighting offers no menace at all to the plans of Yuan Shih-kai, and seemingly not less true that it has nothing to do with the revolutionary Liberals of Canton. At present the fighting is practically confined to the Province of Yunnan, and Yunnan, tucked into a corner of British Burma, is 1,500 or 1,600 miles from Yuan Shih-kai’s capital at Peking, and this in a country with almost no railroads and only very feebly supplied with roads. And against

these exceedingly distant malcontents Yuan's forces seem to be making quite considerable headway. The two neighboring provinces to the north and east of Yunnan are Szechuan and Kweichau. In each of these Yuan has a Military Governor in command of a sufficiently strong force, pressing in upon the Yunnan rebels. The upper waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang, which at that point bear the poetical name of Kincha-Kiang, "River of Golden Sand," make a deep bend south into the northern half of Yunnan; at this point Yuan's forces have just crossed the river, and are driving southward against the rebel stronghold at Yunnan-fu, which means "the walled City of Yunnan." And from the Province of Kwang-Si, on the southeast of Yunnan, yet another of Yuan's armies has just crossed the Yunnan border and seized Kiang-nan. So that the distant rebellion is likely soon to end. And its cause, so far from being an enthusiasm for liberal ideas and triumphant democracy, is said to be the fierce discontent of the opium planters because the Peking Government has forbidden the further production of "the herb of dreams."

Portugal Enters the War

CURIOSLY enough, the real cause of Portugal's entering the war and adding her name to the long list of belligerent nations seems not to have been put down in black and white, though after a moment's thought it is entirely

evident. The naval authorities of Portugal, we were first told, seized some dozen German steamships which were interned in the mouth of the Tagus. Next, we heard that Germany had sent an ultimatum, bidding Portugal give up the steamships, or accept war with Germany. Then, a few days later, when this ultimatum had been ignored and technically war was on, we learned that it was at the instance of England that the ships had been seized. That really gives the answer. The British view apparently was that these steamships were likely to do what German steamships in South American harbors had already done: ask for permission to go for a little spin, and then forget to return, presently turning up on the high seas as commerce destroyers. The German declaration of war can have very little practical effect. Portugal was already allied to England, and therefore on the Entente side. Germany cannot send troops there, though she may possibly operate against Portuguese shipping and fishing craft with submarines on their way to the Mediterranean. But in that case England will pay the bill. There is, however, one region where Portuguese and German territories touch: in East Africa, from Cape Delgado, up the Rovuma River to Lake Nyasa; and here Portuguese colonial troops may co-operate with General Smuts, who has still some hard fighting before him in the task of dislodging the German garrisons there.

A Verdict on Zeppelin Raids

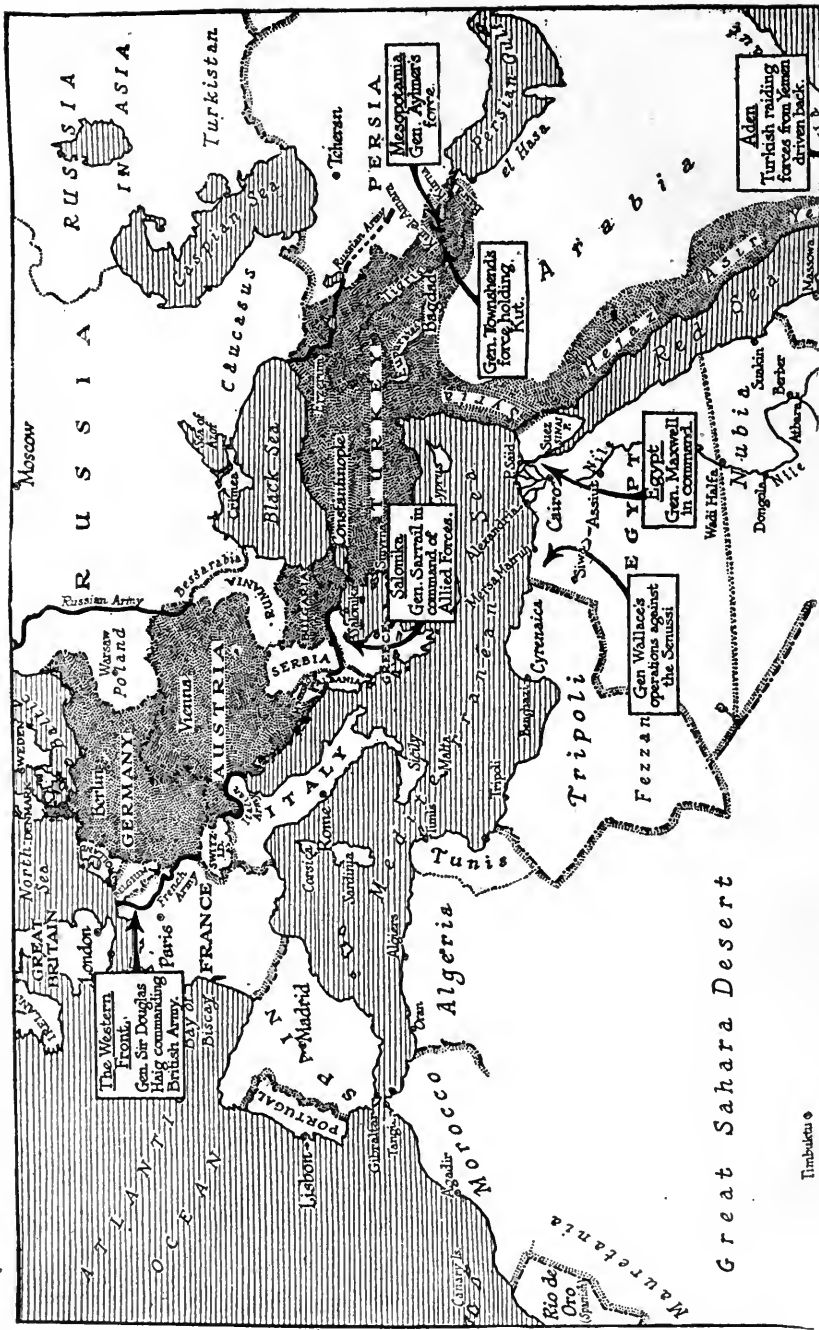
The intense indignation and deep resentment aroused among the people of England in interior towns by the Zeppelin raids find expression in the verdicts of Coroners' juries. In Staffordshire a jury declined to accept the suggestion of the Coroner on the form the verdict should take and reported their unanimous finding in the following mordant sentence:

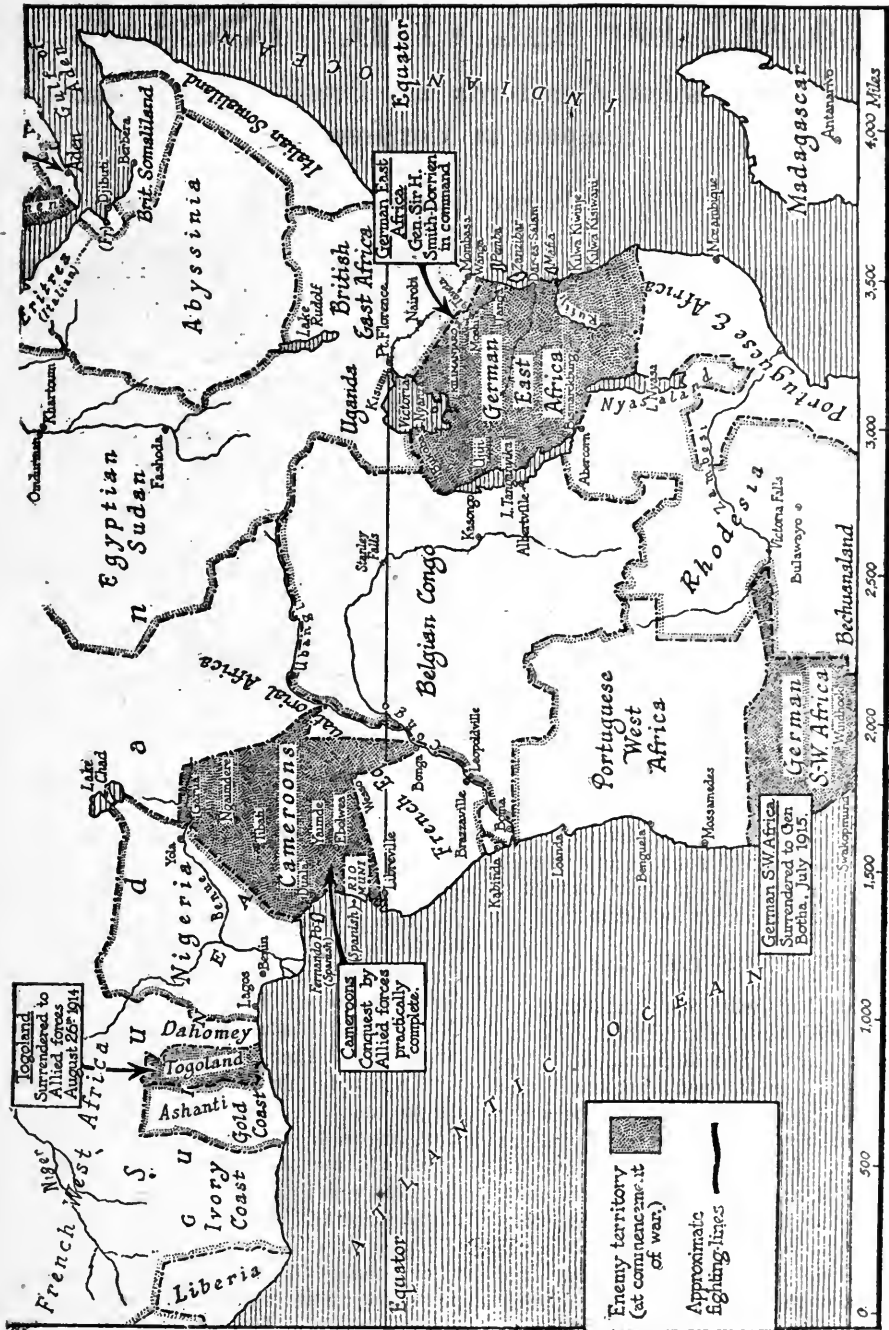
That the thirteen persons whose bodies we have viewed were killed by explosive bombs dropped from enemy aircraft, and that a verdict of "willful murder" be recorded against the Kaiser and the Crown Prince as being accessories to and after the fact.

The killed included four children, whose ages ranged between 8 and 12 years, and three sexagenarians. In the raid on March 6, at one town, an invalid father and four small children were killed, and in another a blind paralytic over 80 years of age.

The World War: Where All the Armies Are Fighting

Map from *The London Daily News*.





ARMED LINER ISSUE

Serious War Problem Confronts the President and Causes a Tempest in Congress

By the Editor

WHEN the Teutonic powers announced to neutrals in February that they would order their submarines to sink armed merchant vessels without warning after March 1, 1916, they forced upon the United States the necessity of deciding what course to pursue for the protection of American citizens on such vessels.

There was a choice of four possible courses. We might protest against the German submarine policy as inhuman and contrary to existing international law; we might insist on the disarming of all merchant vessels coming to our shores, thus pursuing the policy that had been tentatively suggested in Mr. Lansing's circular note of Jan. 18 to the Entente Powers; again, we might warn all Americans to stay off armed vessels, foregoing our right as American citizens to travel on the high seas in any vessels we choose; or, finally, we might await a repetition of the Lusitania disaster.

SURVEY OF THE CASE

The problem was one involving our relations with Great Britain and likewise with Germany. The decision, if it had any backbone in it, would necessarily be in partial opposition to one or the other of the great warring groups of nations in Europe. Involuntarily the American Government had become a sort of world tribunal for the trial of this unprecedented case in international law. Both sides have presented evidence, and though a decision has not been reached at this writing, (March 20,) CURRENT HISTORY is able to present a broad survey of the case, with its latest official documents, and of the dramatic side issue which it forced upon President Wilson in

his relations with a hostile minority of his own party in Congress.

Secretary Lansing's circular note regarding the disarming of all Entente merchantmen (published in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY) had already had the unfortunate effect of causing the Teutonic Powers to expect official American action along that line. But President Wilson had returned from his Western tour convinced that the nation, even though unprepared in a military sense, would support him in a firmer demand for our rights as a neutral power at sea under existing law. Thus one of the first effects of Germany's submarine order was an abrupt pause in the Lusitania negotiations.

GERMANY'S ATTITUDE

On Feb. 17 Secretary Lansing informed Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, that the United States Government would not accept the proposal for settlement of the Lusitania affair until the Berlin Government gave definite guarantees for the future. He made it clear that the United States must have written assurances that submarine warfare would not be conducted in such a way as to imperil Americans traveling on the high seas. Great Britain stood firmly on the ancient law and usage which permits a defensive armament on merchant ships without altering their status.

Three days later at Berlin the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Jagow, gave out an interview in which he contended that under modern conditions there was no longer any such thing as a merchant ship armed defensively only; that modern guns and gunners aboard such a vessel made it an auxiliary war-

ship for offensive purposes at will, and that there no longer existed any sound reason for arming merchant ships. He added:

"British merchantmen are armed with modern guns; they have trained gunners aboard. We have submitted proof that the English Admiralty have given minute and detailed instructions and orders to take the offensive against submarines at sight. We have submitted proof of the execution of these offensive instructions. Our standpoint is that the so-called defensive armament as it exists on British merchantmen in a practical sense is a fiction of the law; that the use repeatedly made of such armament * * * has given such armed merchant ships the character of auxiliary warships, and Germany will consider and treat them as such after the expiration of the notice given to neutrals."

The strained relations between the United States and Germany over the Lusitania had apparently been on the eve of adjustment. The new issue threw the negotiations back again into the danger zone. A diplomatic break between the two nations again loomed near, with the possibility of war somewhere in the background.

CONGRESS TAKES A HAND

Meanwhile, certain members of Congress were becoming alarmed over the President's new policy of dealing firmly with Germany's revival of submarine warfare, and rumors of divided counsels at Washington quickly reached Germany. On Feb. 23 the movement broke into open revolt. Leaders of the House of Representatives virtually served notice on President Wilson that unless within forty-eight hours he agreed to warn American citizens that they must not take passage on armed ships, the House would issue such a warning in the form of a resolution. A resolution of the kind, already submitted by Representative McLemore of Texas, was in readiness. The entire Committee on Foreign Affairs, headed by Mr. Flood, was found to be against the President's policy, and Speaker Champ Clark and Representative Kitchin, Democratic floor leader, were in

favor of warning Americans to stay off armed liners, for fear of involving this country in war, though they advised against forcing the President's hand too summarily.

SENATOR GORE'S RESOLUTION

In the Senate, Mr. Stone, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, held a similar attitude, being supported by Senator Kern, Democratic leader of the upper house, and a stormy interview of these two with the President the night before had won no concessions from him. A concurrent resolution was offered by Senator Gore of Oklahoma, ending as follows:

Resolved, By the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, That it is the sense of the Congress, vested as it is with the sole power to declare war, that all persons owing allegiance to the United States should in behalf of their own safety and the vital interest of the United States, forbear to exercise the right to travel as passengers on any armed vessel of any belligerent power, whether such vessel be armed for offensive or defensive purposes, and it is the further sense of the Congress that no passport should be issued or renewed by the Secretary of State, or any one acting under him, to be used by any person owing allegiance to the United States for purpose of travel upon any such armed vessel of a belligerent power.

At this juncture Senator Stone wrote a letter to the President on the subject and received a ringing reply which declared: "I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We court peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the cost of honor."

SENATOR STONE'S LETTER

"United States Senate,
Washington, Feb. 24, 1916.

"Dear Mr. President:

"Since Senator Kern, Mr. Flood, and I talked with you on Monday evening I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have

stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

"That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the Allies, with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in circumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming their merchant ships they would be within their right under international law.

"Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports. Also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens from embarking upon armed merchant vessels. Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers to hold Germany to strict account.

"Numerous members of the Senate and the House have called to discuss this subject with me. I have felt that the members of the two houses who are to deal with this grave question were entitled to know the situation we are confronting as I understand it to be.

"I think I should say to you that the members of both houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. I have heard of some talk to the effect that some are saying that after all it may be possible that the program of preparedness, so called, has some relation to just such a situation as we are now called upon to meet.

"I have counseled all who have talked with me to keep cool; that this whole business is still the subject of diplomacy, and that you are striving to the utmost

to bring about some peaceable adjustment, and that in the meantime Congress should be careful not to 'ball up' a diplomatic situation by any kind of hasty and ill-considered action. However, the situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep concern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men.

"I have felt that it is due to you to say this much. I think you understand my personal attitude with respect to this subject. As much and deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult from my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foolhardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed belligerent ships. I cannot escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

"I want to be with you and to stand by you, and I mean to do so up to the last limit; and I want to talk with you and Secretary Lansing with the utmost frankness—to confer with you and have your judgment and counsel—and I want to be kept advised as to the course of events, as it seems to me I am entitled to be.

"In the meantime I am striving to prevent anything being done by any Senator or Member calculated to embarrass your diplomatic negotiations. Up to the last you should be left free to act diplomatically as you think for the best to settle the questions involved. I need hardly say that my wish is to help, not to hinder, you.

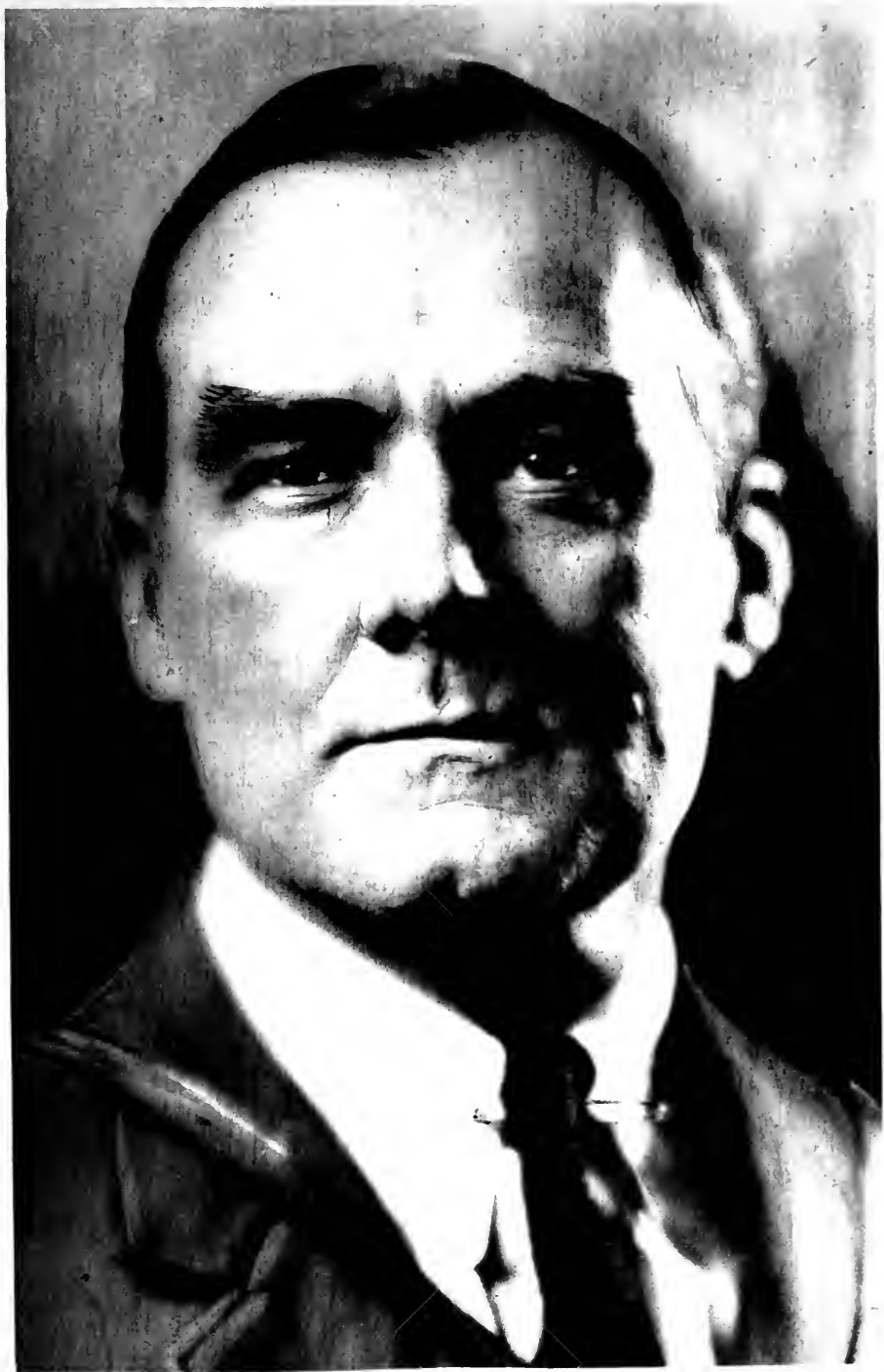
"With the highest regard and most sympathetic consideration, I have the honor, Mr. President, to be, very sincerely yours,
W. J. STONE.

"The President."

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

"The White House,
Washington, Feb. 24, 1916.

"My Dear Senator: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter



RICHARD HARDING DAVIS

Novelist and War Correspondent, Who Traversed the War Zone for the
New York Times

(Photo © Pirie MacDonald)



HENRY MORGENTHAU

American Ambassador at Constantinople, Recipient of Honors During
a Brief Home Visit

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

of today and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

"You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the Central European Powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I for one feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

"But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

"For my own part, I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere, and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen,

even amidst the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted, and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations, meaningless and futile.

"It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation, and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

"I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation. Faithfully yours,

"WOODROW WILSON.

"To Hon William J. Stone,
United States Senate."

This letter gave the insurgent legislators pause, though Speaker Clark led a delegation to interview the President, and told him that the McLemore resolution would carry two to one if put to the test. The German Foreign Office sent an explanation that no enemy merchantman would be torpedoed without warning unless the presence of armament on board had been proved. A memorandum to that effect was presented to the United States Government by Count von Bernstorff, and the tension subsided in that quarter.

GERMANY MISLED

But the rumor that the President did not have the backing of Congress and the nation behind his foreign policy con-

tinued to be the subject of damaging comment and misinterpretation in Europe. A writer in the Vienna Zeit merely echoed what was being said throughout the Teutonic Empires when he rejoiced in the activities of "the pro-German party in the United States Senate" and continued:

This disposes of the assertion that the whole country approves of what President Wilson has done, and will re-elect him, in order that he may be able to continue his fruitful activities. If the President does not give way, he will not be able to carry through his program of strengthening the army and the navy and creating a mercantile marine and land credit banks. Either he must change his course, or he will perish ingloriously. In spite of all his stubbornness his first desire is to be elected, and he will submit. We can therefore hope that we are on the eve of better times.

It was therefore President Wilson who furnished the next surprise by demanding that Congress act one way or the other upon the resolutions with which it had threatened to intervene in his domain. The demand came on Feb. 29 in the form of a polite but very firm letter to Representative Edward A. Pough of North Carolina, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Rules. A few days earlier the House Committee on Foreign Affairs had been ready to rush through the McLemore resolution, and had been looking to the Committee on Rules to furnish a speedy way of doing it. Now the President went straight to that committee and asked it to do its best in the same line. His demand was extended equally to the Senate and its Gore resolution.

"The report," he wrote, "that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it cannot fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks."

THE ISSUE IN CONGRESS

His challenge placed the insurgents of both houses in a predicament whose outcome was watched with interest all over America and Europe. It was a call

by President Wilson not only for a vote of confidence, but for national unity at a critical time. He staked his leadership on the outcome. By this time, however, the insurgents were aware that they were in a hopeless minority, and would have to swallow their own threats. They took their medicine with many contortions and wry faces, but they had to take it.

In the Senate the Gore resolution was forced to a vote on March 3, and was tabled by 68 to 14. Foreseeing some such result, Senator Gore had resorted to the parliamentary trick of first amending the life out of his own resolution and then voting against it himself. By thus clouding the issue the triumph for the President's policy was somewhat lessened, and the real meaning of the result was incomprehensible to even the best-informed observers in Germany.

But if nobody was quite satisfied with what had taken place, the episode brought forth speeches on a high non-partisan plane from both Republicans and Democrats, and the next day, when the debate was revived over a similar resolution reintroduced by Senator McCumber (Republican) of North Dakota, both sides were ably represented.

SENATOR McCUMBER'S VIEW

"I do not agree with the President," said Senator McCumber, "that it would be improper to suggest to the American traveling public that they refrain from doing that which by every principle of patriotic duty they ought to refrain from doing without any suggestions from any source. I am not in accord with his views as to the full extent of our right to control the methods which may be adopted by belligerents to prosecute their warfare to a successful issue. And I further believe that Congress, representing the sentiment of the country, can very properly give expression to its views, although, as I have suggested, I feel that just at this crucial and critical period of our diplomatic controversy we might well have deferred our action until the Executive Department had announced either an agreement or a disagreement.

"No one questions what the rule of

international law heretofore has been. That rule is that a merchant vessel, armed with a stern gun for defense only, has the same rights and the same status as an unarmed merchant vessel. That rule would forbid such vessel being torpedoed or sunk without notice by a submarine.

"It is equally true that writers of international law agree that, as all nations are supposed to conform to international law and practice obtaining before war, and to make their preparations for war in the light of such rules, and in the expectation they will be followed should war ensue; therefore, the insistence by a neutral power that such rule be modified during the progress of the war would be an unneutral act.

"But the science of war may develop so rapidly during a great world struggle like that now prevailing, and such exigencies involving the very life of a belligerent nation may arise as would not only justify but necessitate that nation to decline to follow a rule adopted under conditions which no longer prevail, or which are so materially modified by new instrumentalities of warfare as to require a change.

"While a neutral may do nothing to weaken or modify the rule, there may be justification for the belligerent, in defending its very existence, to do so. And the same exigency that will justify a warring nation in the throes of a desperate encounter to deviate from old rules of international law ought to appeal to every neutral nation to lessen the rigor of its demands for conformity by a belligerent in every detail to previous international law. And this charitableness should apply with just as much force to the Entente Powers as to the Central Powers.

"Our contention and insistence upon any rule of conduct to be followed by any belligerent ought to be founded upon justice, not alone to ourselves, but to the nation against which it is urged. Our contention should be unquestionably right, absolutely fair, and everlastingly consistent.

"I confess I cannot see anything fair in the proposition that while a subma-

rine, which may easily be sunk by a single shot from one of these defensive guns, must give notice before it fires at the armed merchant vessel, the armed vessel need not give notice that it purposes to fire at the submarine. If I know that you are armed I cannot convince myself that a code of action which says that you can shoot me at sight but that I must give you timely notice to surrender is entirely fair."

SENATOR LODGE'S VERDICT

Henry Cabot Lodge, ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, spoke on historical aspects of the subject, bitterly assailing the proposition to warn Americans against traveling on armed merchant ships. He had already covered the subject still more thoroughly in a speech a few days earlier, and it is from this that we quote:

"It was established by centuries of practice and by universal assent that a merchantman armed only for defense did not thereby lose her character.

"The only point to be determined was whether by her acts or by the character of her armament and the numbers of her crew she was within the rules applying to the merchantmen, or whether she had taken herself out of those rules and had come within the class of the ship of war or the privateer.

"It was universally agreed by all authorities that the armament of the merchantman could be used only in self-defense, although that self-defense might extend to capturing the vessel which attacked. If an armed merchantman took the offensive she at once passed out of the category of merchantman, and not having any commission or letters of marque, like a privateer, would have been treated not merely as a ship of war but would have been within range of the definition of piracy.

"The first qualification, therefore, was that the armament of the merchantman could be used only for defense. The next qualification was the character of the armament, and that had to be determined in each case. It was a question of fact. No exact line as to the

amount of armament had ever been drawn. * * *

"There can be no question as to the breadth and strength of the decisions as to the right of the neutral to place goods or take passage upon an armed belligerent merchantman provided that the merchantman came within the rules affecting the armament of merchantmen.

"But little is said about passengers, because it had never then occurred to any one that a passenger on a belligerent merchantman armed for defense was not there in the exercise of an undoubted right. The rule that the crew of a captured belligerent were to be treated as prisoners of war and neutral passengers were to be set free at the first opportunity, and that all alike were to be taken on board the captor and kept there in safety, was never questioned for a moment by any authority.

"We may, therefore, take it as demonstrated by the decisions of the courts and the opinions of all the best writers on international law that a neutral has a clear right to take passage and ship goods on a belligerent merchantman, and that the merchantman being armed for self-defense does not impair this right in the slightest degree or take the merchantman out of the class or deprive it of the privilege of the unarmed trading vessel."

Senator Lodge read the order issued by President Lincoln in August, 1862, when Great Britain directed his attention to the fact that "a British steamer had been chased and fired upon by a United States cruiser which had not displayed her colors and had then been captured without search." He continued:

"This led Mr. Lincoln to direct that the following instructions be issued to our vessels of war: 'Secondly, that, while diligently exercising the right of visitation on all suspected vessels, you are in no case authorized to chase and fire at a foreign vessel without showing your colors and giving her the customary preliminary notice of a desire to speak and visit her.'

"Mr. Lincoln made it evident by this that he was utterly opposed to having a ship of the United States creep up under

false colors or in any disguise upon a merchantman and capture or destroy her without visit and search. I think we may say with certainty that that great President would never have assented to having a United States submarine creep upon a merchantman under water and destroy her and all on board, including neutral and noncombatant men, women, and children, without giving them any opportunity to escape.

"The difference in instrument makes no difference in the principle laid down by Lincoln in the instructions I have just quoted.

"Contrast the instructions of Lincoln and McKinley, with their humanity, morality, and respect for law, with what was actually done in the case of the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, and the *Ancona*.

"Such in outline has been the practice of all nations in regard to the armed merchantman. Such has been the position of our own Government down to a year ago. It seems utterly incredible that this position should be in any way altered now or that our Government should be ready to surrender the unquestioned rights of Americans to travel or ship goods on a belligerent merchantman subject to all the rules which have been established by the courts and by all international authorities for at least twenty centuries. The just rights of the citizens of any nation cannot be maintained by their surrender.

"The abandonment of those rights by any neutral Government on the ground that the invention of submarines with the necessary limitations upon the powers of capture possessed by those boats is inconceivable.

"Such abandonment could only rest on the ground that the rights of neutrals, the rules which for centuries have been agreed upon by all nations for the protection of innocent lives upon vessels captured in war, must be thrown aside and discarded in order that a new instrument of maritime destruction must not be impeded in its work of death and murder. Such a doctrine is revolting to every instinct of humanity, to every principle of law and justice.

"There is, however, another side to this

matter which is of even graver importance. There can be no question that any act by a neutral which alters conditions created by the war is an unneutral act and places the neutral upon the side of one belligerent or the other.

"This is eminently true of any form of embargo, and there is no need that I should repeat the unanswerable argument on this point embodied by Mr. Lansing in his note of last August to the Government of Austria-Hungary. The war, and the war alone, has also created conditions under which any change at this time in the attitude which we took officially at the outset of the war in regard to armed merchantmen would be an unneutral act.

"The merchantmen of one belligerent have been swept from the seas. Therefore if we should abandon all the principles on this subject that we have ever sustained, if we should abandon the rules laid down by Mr. Lansing in his circular of September, 1914, and declare that our ports were closed to armed merchantmen or that goods and passengers from the United States could not be placed on an uncommissioned merchantman armed solely for self-defense, our action would affect only one belligerent; it would alter conditions created by the war, and would, therefore, be unneutral.

"It would make us the ally of one belligerent and expose us to the just hostility of the others. It would be a step toward war."

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

Senator Borah (Republican) of Idaho, who is regarded as an authority on constitutional questions, spoke with similar vigor.

"I have had but one rule to guide my conduct," he said, "since this unfortunate conflict in Europe began, and that was, whenever I conceived American right to be challenged by any country or nation, to meet that challenge without vacillation or compromise. I should, therefore, had I been permitted to do so, have voted for the principle that an American citizen has the right to travel on a merchant ship armed for defensive purposes.

"It is a right which has been estab-

lished under international law for these five hundred years, and in my judgment this is not the time for the great American Republic to begin to temporize and compromise with reference to those national rights which have been so long established and which every belligerent power has at some time in its history recognized. If these principles of international law are made unsound by changed conditions of warfare now is not the time for us to change them. Our purpose in doing so would be misunderstood and misconstrued.

"Firmness and decision will more often prevent war than bring on war. The opposite policy has time and again led to a different result from that which it was anticipated would be the result. I am one who believes that it was the firmness, the quick decision, the positiveness of Jackson in the '30s which prevented civil war. It was the timidity, the compromising attitude, the disposition of Buchanan to write theses on the Constitution when he should have acted, which aggravated and helped to bring on the civil war more than any other one thing in the '60s.

"Decision, firmness in upholding your rights under all circumstances will be respected by all the nations of the earth. I say, therefore, I am ready and willing for the American Republic to go on record to the effect that Americans have the right to travel upon merchant ships armed for defensive purposes and that the nation which challenges that right or violates it will be held to a strict accountability."

HOUSE VOTE DECISIVE

In the House of Representatives the McLemore resolution came to a final vote on March 7, after seven hours of exciting discussion, and was laid on the table by a decisive vote of 276 to 142. President Wilson and his policy regarding submarines had triumphed by a majority of 134, of whom 93 were Republicans. Thirty-three members of his own party had voted against him. Speaker Clark's prediction that the resolution would pass by a majority of 2 to 1 had been almost exactly reversed. The House and the country had taken a decisive

stand in support of President Wilson's declaration that American citizens must be protected on the seas, whether they sailed in belligerent or neutral, armed or unarmed, vessels.

The event cleared the air and left the President free to resume negotiations with Germany and Austria on the armed ship question, with the knowledge that the representatives of the American people approved of his firmer attitude. It practically served notice upon the European belligerents that the President's new policy regarding submarine warfare was the policy of the nation.

AN OPPOSITION SPEECH

The debate in the House brought out many strong speeches on both sides. One of the most eloquent on behalf of the McLemore resolution was delivered by Perl Decker, a Missouri Democrat, who strode from one end of the House to the other while he painted a word picture of war. He said in part:

"The question is, will you go to war on what Mr. Lansing says is a doubtful right? I am willing to go to war if necessary. But I say to you, the private citizens of this country, the men who pay the taxes, the men who if there is a war will die in the trenches, the men who will breathe the asphyxiating gas, the mothers of the boys whose flesh and blood will be scattered and spattered on the fields of battle, want to know before war is declared why they have to go to war.

"I have stood by the President of the United States. I have stood by him in his efforts to carry out the mandate of the American people. He has said that if an American citizen on board an armed merchant ship is drowned by a German submarine without warning he will hold Germany to strict account. Stripped of its diplomatic language, it means that if an American life is lost as the result of the sinking of an armed merchant ship without warning—it means war. I am willing to go to war for an American right, but not for a 'doubtful legal right,' as Mr. Lansing says.

"I am willing to go to war for an

American right, but it must be a vital right. Our people had rights down in Mexico. They were valuable rights. They were definite, specific, and certain, based upon treaty obligations. Oh, I know there was no responsible Government down there to call to account for the violation of those rights, but nevertheless we could have sent an army to maintain those rights. But I believe the President did right when he said, in behalf of the lives and the welfare of the mass of American citizens, 'We will not sacrifice the lives of our American citizens for the sake of a few Americans in Mexico,' and warned those Americans in Mexico to come home. Now, if it is right to warn Americans in Mexico to come home, who have certain definite and established rights there, in the name of God, why am I a traitor and a coward when I stand in the halls where Henry Clay stood and say, You shall not hurl the miners and the farmers of my district into this hell of war, you shall not take the sons from the mothers of my district and sacrifice them at Verdun or in the trenches of Europe in order to maintain a doubtful right."

SUTHERLAND'S ADDRESS

One of the most significant speeches in support of President Wilson's policy was delivered on the same day in the Senate by Mr. Sutherland of Utah, a Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

"I do not want war at any time," said Senator Sutherland, "and I pray God that it may not come now, but I would rather have war, with all its sacrifices and suffering, than that this nation, with its long history of heroism and glory, should play the poltroon when confronted by a supreme national duty, because it places a greater value upon its ease than upon its honor."

"I am one of those who desire peace; but a nation, when all other means fail, that will not resent a flagrant and illegal attack upon the lives of its own citizens is only less detestable than a man who will not fight for his wife and children. And, believing as I do about

that, if the life of an American citizen is again taken by the illegal and deliberate sinking without warning of a merchant ship, unarmed or armed only for defense, that this Government should hold the offending nation to a stern reckoning. I shall never give my consent to the issuance of a formal and official notice such as has been proposed, which, if not heeded, would, without minimizing our duty in the least, have the effect of embarrassing and weakening our moral standing if we should once more be under the sad necessity of seeking reparation for the destruction of the lives of our people."

SUBMARINE MUST YIELD

Senator Sutherland discussed the legal status of armed merchant ships under international law and the relation thereto of the newly developed submarine.

"The proposition now insisted upon, baldly stated," he declared, "is simply this: That when a new engine of destruction is invented that cannot be made entirely effective without violating the law, the law is ipso facto automatically modified. Under these circumstances, my own view of the matter is that the new weapon must yield to the law and not that the law must yield to the new weapon.

"If we concede that the rule no longer applies to ships armed for defense alone we must be prepared to face a probable condition much more serious than that involved in the destruction of an armed vessel without warning. To concede the right of a submarine to sink a vessel so armed without giving warning and opportunity for crew and passengers to escape in safety will be to invite the sinking of unarmed vessels without warning as well, since it is well-nigh impossible for the officers of a submarine to determine in advance whether a given vessel is armed or not.

"The question next arises—and indeed it is really the crucial question—shall

our citizens be officially advised to forbear from traveling upon belligerent merchant vessels armed for defense only? Or, indeed, shall we go further and forbid their doing so under penalty for disobedience? If I am correct in what I have already said, namely, that these merchant ships have the right to carry defensive armament, it follows that such a ship has the same status as though unarmed, and that the right of a neutral citizen to transport his goods or travel upon either is the same and not a different right, and that, in fact, is the decision of our own Supreme Court in a great case decided many years ago and never since over-ruled or modified.

"If, therefore, a citizen take passage upon a ship so armed and lose his life by the sinking of the ship without warning, what must be the contention and claim of this Government? To my mind, clearly this: That the citizen, in the exercise of a clear right, has been deprived of his life by the deliberately illegal act of the belligerent Government which sent the submarine on its mission of death. I can conceive of no other position for this Government to assume, and unless it is willing to forfeit the respect of mankind by becoming a craven thing, it must be prepared to sustain that position at whatever cost or consequence."

The decisive vote of Congress on the armed ship issue cleared the air at home and abroad. In the light of a better understanding, the Berlin Government resumed the Lusitania negotiations, which had been abruptly broken off two weeks before. On March 8 Count von Bernstorff called upon Secretary Lansing and presented a long memorandum relating to the U-boat controversy, and the next day the British Embassy at Washington submitted a reply. Both of these documents are reproduced in full, with others, in the following pages of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. The decision as to America's final course regarding submarines and armed merchantmen is still in the balance at this writing.

Armed Ships: Official Documents

IN a special supplement issued Feb. 11, 1916, the North German Gazette published the full text of the German memorandum which was sent out to neutral Governments before issuing the naval order to treat all armed merchant vessels as warships after March 1, and sink them without warning.

There were twelve annexes to the document, beginning with Winston Churchill's declaration in the House of Commons on March 26, 1913, a letter from Sir Cecil Spring-Rice to the Secretary of State at Washington, dated Aug. 25, 1914, a written declaration by the German Government on Oct. 13, 1914; concerning the treatment of armed merchant vessels in neutral harbors, and a collection of cases in which enemy merchant vessels fired on German or Austro-Hungarian submarines. (There were twenty such cases given, in thirteen of which the attacking steamer was stated to be unknown.)

The fifth, sixth, and seventh annexes were translations of confidential documents, alleged to have been found on the steamer Woodfield, emanating from the

Admiralty, containing rules for the employment and careful maintenance of the armament of merchant vessels which are armed for defensive purposes

The eighth annex, also alleged to have been found on the Woodfield, contained instructions for the use of quick-firers. Its contents were stated to be only of military interest, and were not published.

The ninth and tenth annexes also reproduced documents found on the Woodfield which contain instructions regarding the measures to be taken when merchant vessels are pursued by enemy submarines. The eleventh annex, also alleged to have been found on the Woodfield, contains instructions to the Captains of transport vessels regarding the use of rifle and machine gun fire against enemy submarines or torpedo boats.

The twelfth annex was a communication from the Admiral Superintendent at Malta, dated June, 1915, found on the steamer Linkmoor, and giving instructions for British steamers in the Mediterranean. The memorandum follows:

Text of German Memorandum

ALREADY before the outbreak of the present war the British Government gave British shipowners an opportunity to equip their merchant vessels with guns. On March 26, 1913, the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, made a declaration to the British Parliament (Annex I.) that the Admiralty had called on shipowners to arm a number of first-class liners as protection against dangers threatening in certain cases from quick auxiliary cruisers of other powers, but said that these liners would not thereby in any way assume the character of auxiliary cruisers. The Government was willing to place at the disposal of shipowners guns, sufficient ammunition, and the personnel necessary for drilling gun crews.

British shipowners readily complied with the suggestion of the Admiralty. Thus, the President of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, Sir Owen Phillips, was already, in May, 1912, able to inform the shareholders that the company's larger steamers were equipped with guns.

Further, the British Admiralty published in January, 1914, a list according to which twenty-nine steamers of various English lines carried aft guns, (Heckgeschütze.) Soon after the outbreak of war German cruisers established the fact that British liners were armed. For example, the steamer La Correntina of the Houlder Line, Liverpool, which was held up on Oct. 7, 1914, by the German auxiliary cruiser Kronprinz Wilhelm, carried two 4.7-inch aft guns. Again, on Feb.

1, 1915, a German submarine in the Channel was bombarded by a British yacht.

The British Government, so far as its own merchant vessels were concerned, was of opinion that such ships maintained the character of peaceful merchant vessels as long as they carried their arms only for purposes of defense. In accordance therewith the British Ambassador at Washington, in a letter dated Aug. 25, 1914, gave the American Government far-reaching assurances that British merchant vessels had never been armed for purposes of attack, but solely for defense, and that therefore they would never fire unless they had been attacked first.

On the other hand, for armed vessels under other flags the British Government brought forward the principle that they should be treated as war vessels. In the prize court rules, which were enunciated by the Order in Council of Aug. 5, 1914, under No. 1 of Order 1, it is expressly laid down that the expression "ship of war" shall include any armed ship.

The German Government does not doubt that merchant vessels by being equipped with guns acquire a warlike character, whether the guns serve for defense only or also for attack. The German Government considers any warlike activity on the part of enemy merchant vessels to be contrary to international law, though it takes into consideration also the contrary conception by treating the crews of such vessels not as pirates but as belligerents. Its standpoint is given in detail in the Declaration (Aufzeichnung) of October, 1914, communicated to the American Government, the contents of which declaration were also communicated to other neutral powers, concerning the treatment of armed merchant vessels in neutral harbors. (Annex 3.)

Some neutral powers concurred in the British view and accordingly permitted the stay of armed merchant vessels of belligerents in their harbors and roadsteads, without those restrictions which they had imposed on warships by their neutrality stipulations, while others were of the opposite opinion, and held the

armed merchant vessels of belligerents to be subject to the neutrality laws which are in force as regards war vessels.

In the course of the war the arming of British merchant vessels was carried out on a more general scale. From the reports of the German naval forces numerous cases have become known of British merchant vessels not only offering armed resistance to German war vessels, but even of attacking them without hesitation under the repeated use of false colors.

A list of such cases, which, it is asserted, comprises only a part of the attacks made by merchant vessels, is appended to the memorandum to prove that the attitude of British merchant vessels has been imitated by the merchant marine of Great Britain's allies. The list contains nineteen cases said to have occurred between April 11, 1915, and Jan. 17, 1916. The memorandum then tries to explain the attitude of the armed British merchant vessels by publishing secret directions issued by the British Admiralty, stated to have been seized on board British steamers by German vessels, and continues:

These directions regulate in detail the rules for artillery attack by British merchantmen on German submarines. They contain exact regulations regarding the treatment and control of British gun crews on board merchantmen, who, for instance, when in neutral ports, are not allowed to wear their uniforms which mark them out as belonging to the British Navy.

Above all, it can be perceived from this that these armed vessels are not to await warlike action by German submarines, but are to attack them at once. In this connection the following prescriptions are especially instructive: (A) Rules for the employment and careful maintenance of the armament of merchant vessels which are armed for defensive purposes, (Annexes 5 and 6.) They prescribe under the section "Battle" under No. 4:

"It is not advisable to open fire at a greater distance than 800 yards unless the enemy has opened fire previously."

In point of fact, a merchant vessel,

according to this, has the right to open fire without regard to the attitude of a submarine. The instructions (B) regarding submarines issued for ships which are armed for defensive purposes (Annexes 9 and 10) prescribe, under No. 3, that when by day a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship, and when it appears to the Captain that it has hostile intentions, the pursued ship shall open fire for defense, even if the submarine has not yet committed any decisively hostile action, as, for instance, by firing a gun or torpedo. Also, according to this, the mere appearance of a submarine in the wake of a merchant vessel suffices as a motive for an armed attack.

The greatest stress is laid upon keeping secret these orders, which do not apply to the naval war zone around Great Britain, but are unlimited as regards the sphere of activity of merchantmen, which is contrary to international law and in full contradiction to British assurances to the enemy and neutrals.

It is now proved that armed British merchantmen have an official order treacherously to attack German submarines wherever they meet them; that means mercilessly to wage war against them. As British sea rules have been adopted by Great Britain's allies without hesitation, this proof must also be regarded as established as concerns armed merchantmen and merchantmen of other belligerent States.

In view of the aforesaid circumstances, enemy merchantmen carrying guns are not entitled to be regarded as peaceful merchantmen. The German naval forces, therefore, after a short interval, in the interests of neutrals, will receive an order to treat such vessels as belligerents.

The German Government notifies neutral powers of this state of affairs, in order that they may be able to warn their subjects before intrusting their persons or properties to armed merchantmen of powers at war with the German Empire.

British Instructions to Armed Liners

An Official Reply

By way of reply to the German memorandum the British Admiralty issued the following official statement on March 2:

IN view of the recent issue by the German Government of a memorandum on the treatment of armed merchant ships, the Admiralty has decided to make public the instructions actually governing the actions of British merchant vessels armed for self-defense:

Instruction, dated 20th of October, 1915, in re the status of armed merchant ships:

(1) The right of the crew of a merchant vessel to forcibly resist visit and search and fight in self-defense is well recognized in international law and expressly admitted by the German prize regulations in an addendum issued June, 1914, at a time when it was known that numerous merchant vessels were being armed for self-defense.

(2) Armament is supplied solely for

the purpose of resisting attack by an armed enemy vessel and must not be used for any other purpose whatsoever.

(3) An armed merchant vessel, therefore, must not in any circumstances interfere with or obstruct the free passage of other merchant vessels or fishing craft, whether these are friendly, neutral, or hostile.

(4) The status of a British armed merchant vessel cannot be changed upon the high seas.

Rules to be observed in the exercise of the right of self-defense:

(1) The master or officer in command is responsible for opening and ceasing fire.

(2) Participation in armed resistance must be confined to persons acting under the orders of the master or the officer in command.

(3) Before opening fire the British colors must be hoisted.

(4) Fire must not be opened or continued from a vessel which has stopped, hauled down her flag, or otherwise indicated her intention to surrender.

(5) The expression "armament" includes not only cannon, but also rifles and machine guns in cases where these have been supplied.

(6) The ammunition used in rifles and machine guns must conform to Article XXIII., Hague Convention, 1907, that is, bullets must be cased in nickel or other hard substance and must not be split or cut in such a way as to cause them to expand or set up on striking a man. The use of explosive bullets is forbidden.

Circumstances under which armament should be employed:

(1) The armament is supplied for the purpose of defense only. The object of the master should be to avoid action whenever possible.

(2) Experience has shown that hostile submarines and aircraft have frequently attacked merchant vessels without warning. It is important, therefore, that craft of this description should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. British and allied submarines and aircraft have orders not to approach merchant vessels. Consequently, it may be presumed that any submarine or aircraft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defense, in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden

attack with bomb or torpedo would be impossible.

(3) An armed merchant vessel proceeding to render assistance to the crew of a vessel in distress must not seek action with any hostile craft, though if she herself is attacked while doing so fire may be opened in self-defense.

(4) It should be remembered that the flag is no guide to nationality. German submarines and armed merchant vessels have frequently employed the British, allied, or neutral colors to approach undetected. Though, however, the use of disguise and false colors to escape capture is a legitimate ruse de guerre, its adoption by defensively armed merchant ships may easily lead to misconception. Such vessels, therefore, are forbidden to adopt any form of disguise which might cause them to be mistaken for neutral ships.

Admiralty comment:

These instructions, which are those at present in force, are the latest issued. Successive issues have been made, not by reason of a change in policy—the policy throughout has remained unaltered—but by improvement in wording and greater clearness of expression, to emphasize the purely defensive character of the armament of merchant vessels.

It is because of the distorted interpretation given these instructions as a whole and the very forced character of the interpretation given by the German Government to portions which they quote from an earlier issue of the instructions that the Admiralty felt it desirable, with a view to allaying neutral anxiety, to publish them in extenso.

Germany's Special U-Boat Memorandum

Following is the complete text of the memorandum on Germany's submarine policy which Count von Bernstorff presented to Secretary Lansing upon the resumption of negotiations on March 8:

THE Imperial German Government, on account of the friendly relations which have always existed between the two great nations, and earnestly desiring to continue them, wishes

to explain the U-boat question once more to the American Government.

At the outbreak of the war the German Government, acting upon the suggestion of the United States, immediately expressed its readiness to ratify the Declaration of London. At that time a German prize code had already been issued, which was entirely and without modification based upon the rules of the

Declaration of London. Germany there-by proved her willingness to recognize fully the existing rules of international law which insure the freedom of the seas for the legitimate trade of neutral nations, not only among themselves but also with belligerent countries.

Great Britain, on the other hand, declined to ratify the Declaration of London, and, after the outbreak of the war, began to restrict the legitimate trade of the neutrals in order to hit Germany. The contraband provisions were systematically extended on Aug. 5 and 20, Sept. 21, and Oct. 29, 1914. On Nov. 3, 1914, the order of the British Admiralty followed, declaring the whole North Sea a war zone, in which commercial shipping would be exposed to the most serious danger from mines and men-of-war. Protests from neutrals were of no avail, and from that time on the freedom of neutral commerce with Germany was practically destroyed. Under these circumstances Germany was compelled to resort, in February, 1915, to reprisals in order to fight her opponents' measures, which were absolutely contrary to international law. She chose for this purpose a new weapon the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could and did not violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon, the submarine boat.

The use of the submarine naturally necessitated a restriction of the free movement of neutrals and constituted a danger for them which Germany intended to ward off by a special warning analogous to the warning England had given regarding the North Sea.

As both belligerents—Germany in her note of Feb. 17 and Great Britain in those of Feb. 18 and 20, 1915—claimed that their proceeding was only enacted in retaliation for the violation of international law by their opponent, the American Government approached both parties for the purpose of trying to re-establish international law as it had been in force before the war.

Germany was asked to adapt the use of her new weapon to the rules which had been existing for the former naval weap-

ons, and England not to interfere with the food supplies intended for the non-combatant German population and to admit their distribution under American supervision. Germany on March 1, 1915, declared her willingness to comply with the proposal of the American Government, while England, on the other hand, declined to do so. By the Order in Council March 11, 1915, Great Britain abolished even what had remained of the freedom of neutral trade with Germany and her neutral neighbors. England's object was to starve Germany into submission by these illegal means.

Germany, after neutral citizens had lost their lives against her wish and intention, nevertheless in the further course of the war complied with the wishes of the American Government regarding the use of her submarines. The rights of neutrals regarding legal trading were, in fact, nowhere limited by Germany.

Then England made it impossible for submarines to conform with the old rules of international law by arming nearly all merchantmen and by ordering the use of guns on merchant vessels for attack. Photographic reproductions of those instructions have been transmitted to neutral Governments with the memorandum of the German Government of Feb. 8, 1916. These orders are obviously in contradiction with the note delivered by the British Ambassador in Washington to the American Government on Oct. 25, 1914. On account of the proposal, made by the United States on Jan. 23, 1916, regarding disarmament, the Imperial Government hoped that these facts would enable the neutral Governments to obtain the disarmament of the merchant ships of her opponents. The latter, however, continued with great energy to arm their merchantmen with guns.

The principle of the United States Government not to keep their citizens off belligerent merchant ships has been used by Great Britain and her allies to arm merchant ships for offensive purposes. Under these circumstances merchantmen can easily destroy submarines, and if their attack fails still consider them-

selves in safety by the presence of American citizens on board.

The order to use arms on British merchantmen was supplemented by instructions to the masters of such ships to hoist false flags and to ram U-boats. Reports on payment of premiums and bestowals of decorations to successful masters of merchantmen show the effect of these orders. England's allies have adopted this position.

Now Germany is facing the following facts:

(a) A blockade contrary to international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) has for one year been keeping neutral trade from German ports and is making German exports impossible.

(b) For eighteen months through the extending of contraband provisions in violation of international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) the overseas trade of neighboring neutral countries, so far as Germany is concerned, has been hampered.

(c) The interception of mails in violation of international law (compare American memorandum to England of Jan. 10, 1916) is meant to stop any intercourse of Germany with foreign countries.

(d) England, by systematically and increasingly oppressing neutral countries, following the principle of "might before right," has prevented neutral trade on land with Germany so as to complete the blockade of the Central Powers intended to starve their civil population.

(e) Germans met by our enemies on the high seas are deprived of their liberty, no matter whether they are combatant or noncombatant.

(f) Our enemies have armed their merchant vessels for offensive purposes, theoretically making it impossible to use our U-boats according to the principles set forth in the London Declaration, (compare American memorandum of Feb. 8, 1916.)

The English White Book of Jan. 5, 1916, on the restriction of German trade boasts that by British measures Germany's export trade has been stopped almost entirely, while her imports are subject to England's will.

The Imperial Government feels confident that the people of the United States, remembering the friendly relations that for the last hundred years have existed between the two nations, will in spite of the difficulties put into the way by our enemies appreciate the German viewpoint as laid down above.

British Reply to German Memorandum

In answer to the foregoing German statement, and especially to its plea that German submarine lawlessness was provoked by the British starvation policy, the British Embassy at Washington issued the following:

ACCORDING to the German statement, German submarine warfare was enforced on Feb. 18, 1915, as an act of reprisal against illegal acts of Great Britain.

The Amiral Ganteaume, with 2,000 unarmed refugees on board, mostly women and children, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine on Oct. 26, 1914. Two British merchant vessels were torpedoed without notice on Jan. 30 and the British hospital ship *Asturias* fired at with a torpedo on Feb. 1.

The illegal acts complained of are apparently the nonacceptance of the London Convention of 1909, the enlargement of the list of contraband, the warning to merchantmen as to mines in the North Sea, and the capture of the *Wilhelmina* with foodstuffs on Feb. 9.

The Declaration of London of 1909 was never ratified by the British Government and was never binding on them. One of the reasons of the nonratification of the convention was the claim of the German Government as to the right to treat foodstuffs as contraband. The enlargement of the list of contraband is an acknowledged belligerent right; the warning to merchant vessels in November was due to the fact that the Germans had sown mines in the high seas, resulting in the

destruction of many innocent merchant vessels, foreign as well as British. The *Wilhelmina*, with a cargo of foodstuffs for Hamburg, was only stopped after the German cruisers had destroyed the Dutch

vessel *Maria* (September, 1914) and the *Frye*, (January, 1915,) which were conveying grain from California to Ireland. (Signed) BRITISH EMBASSY,
March 9, 1916. Washington.

Freedom of the Seas

By Albert Bushnell Hart

THE real freedom of the sea desired by the Germans seems to be a state of things in which the Germans would have no apprehension either of British trade rivalry or naval supremacy. What they wanted the sea to be free from was what they thought to be the baneful influence of the union jack.

The United States did not share in these apprehensions, partly because for a hundred years we have not felt the pressure of the British naval power and partly because the existing commercial freedom of the seas has been very favorable to us. Our exports have increased by leaps and bounds. English and German carriers were alike welcome in our ports. Our whole system of trade and commerce was keyed upon the presumption that peace would last indefinitely; and the peaceful freedom of the seas suited us well.

When the war broke out, therefore, the natural belief and expectation of American statesmen was that commercial freedom of the seas would continue, except so far as it was interrupted by actual hostilities. The United States claimed no right to send vessels or goods into the midst of warring fleets and armies, and also no right to ship munitions of war and other contraband free from the danger of being picked up and captured by the cruisers of the belligerents. So far, however, as concerned trade in innocent articles to neutral ports, or to the ports of belligerents which were not the actual scene of hostilities, we claimed the same freedom of the seas that normally existed in time of peace. We claimed the right to carry whatever commodities we chose, to whatever port we chose, by whatever route

we chose, through whatever strait we chose, and over such sections of the high seas as we chose—always subject to lawful contraband and real blockade.

Nobody can say how the Germans would have received this conception of our rights, had they been able to take physical command of the seas. Their treatment of the ship *W. P. Frye* does not show a high regard for freedom of the sea in time of war. Nevertheless, their cruisers were so quickly driven from the seas that there was little opportunity for them to raise disagreeable questions of contraband. They did, however, develop a system of warfare by submarines which tended to destroy the freedom of the seas for vessels bound in and out of British ports, whether American or British. The German Government appears to be on the point of admitting that those restrictions cannot be applied to neutral ships, or to neutrals on board enemy's ships.

The whole difficulty with the submarine question is that a type of vessel has been evolved which is the most formidable in attack that has ever been known in the world, able to sink the largest merchantman or the most powerful ship of war, and at the same time is one of the most defenseless craft that navigates. The torpedo of the submarine will sink a *Lusitania* and a three-inch gun on a launch will sink the submarine. It is a ticklish problem to claim for the submarine all the rights that used to be enjoyed by three-decker wooden ships, while it is nothing but a steel eggshell.

A far more serious abridgment of the freedom of the sea is the German proclamation of Feb. 6, 1915, that "the wa-

ters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone." These waters, however, are not German. They are not even English. They belong to the United States of America, in common with Germany, Great Britain, and all other maritime countries. To capture or sink an American vessel because she is crossing her own sea, over a field that the Germans have declared to be a war zone, is an absolute violation of the whole principle of the freedom of the seas. If the United States had acquiesced, it would not have relieved that area from the proprietorship of the other powers of the world.

It is true that the Germans have apparently ceased to capture our ships which have entered on the so-called war zone, but in the memorandum of Feb. 4, 1915, they notified the world that "it will not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy." The natural inference from these announcements and the consequent captures is that Germany cannot be relied upon to stand by the principle of the freedom of the seas in time of war, and therefore cannot be a safe guardian of that principle in time of peace.

The Germans justified their war zone policy as a reprisal against the British withdrawal of the freedom of the sea for vessels carrying an innocent cargo, and for their declaring the North Sea to be a "seat of war." The British Government maintained the practice thus complained of, and as a reprisal against the reprisal, announced that the Strait of Dover and the passages to the north of Scotland were included in a measure against neutral commerce which they sometimes call a blockade, but which is in reality no blockade; for it involves an absolute disregard of the customary freedom of the sea. The outlook in *The London Review* justified these acts in the terms:

At last Britain is in earnest about the war. At last she is fighting with both hands. We have declared no fictitious blockade or war zone; we have resumed our old-time rights at sea which have been ever effective in the

past. * * * We have ample means of enforcing our policy, and though some vessels may escape through the meshes, the probable risk of capture will be so great as to deter owners and shippers as a class from braving the penalties of delay and loss.

The *London Spectator* backed up this defiance of neutral rights as follows:

But we deny that there are any hard-and-fast rules in such matters as blockade, and consequently we deny that we are yielding to necessity in the German sense. * * * We sincerely hope that the Government will make it clear to the United States that, in Stevenson's phrase, she cannot "fight us with a word." Our methods may be called a blockade, or may be refused the title of blockade, according to taste.

This is freedom of the sea with a vengeance. It authorizes the capture of vessels carrying any sort of cargo, if bound to or from German ports; it authorizes the capture of similar cargoes bound to neutral ports which the English think will find their ultimate destination in Germany. If it is a blockade then it includes the blockade of Holland, Norway, and Denmark, and there is no such thing as the "blockade" of a neutral. If it is not a blockade it is a violation of the recognized principle of the freedom of the sea for the commerce between a neutral and a belligerent, even in time of war. It renews a claim to close the Strait of Dover, against which the world has successfully protested for two centuries and a half. Public meetings in England are calling for a "stricter blockade," by which they simply mean that Great Britain should interdict all commerce, even in the most unwarlike articles, between the United States and those other neutrals.

Great Britain and her allies have command of the sea for the time being. They have the physical power to make prize of practically every vessel of every nation bound in or out of the North Sea. There is no more freedom of the sea, if freedom is to depend upon a furious and passionate belligerent, seeking how worst to injure another furious and passionate belligerent. In this crisis, when the two greatest maritime powers in the world unite to smash that freedom of the sea for which they both claim to be cham-

pions, it is the duty of the United States—which is the third nation in commercial importance—to stand for our rights. In so doing we stand also for the rights of all other neutral nations, and equally for the rights of the other belligerent powers, which, when the war is over, will need and claim a return to true freedom of the sea.

Let us not be deceived. No one will assert or defend the rights of the United States if the people of the United States through their lawful authorities fail so to do. If we do not maintain our neutral rights in this crisis, if we do not make both parties understand that though they have the immediate physical power to

capture our vessels and interdict our trade, there will come a day of reckoning, then the opportunity may go by forever. Surely Great Britain and Germany will never be more zealous for the freedom of the sea than the United States. In their blind fury against each other they are maintaining principles which are contrary to the interests not only of neutrals but in the long run of themselves. The guardianship of the seas cannot be intrusted to the sole decision of Great Britain or Germany, or of both together. It belongs to mankind, and the natural leader in its protection is the United States of America, which must continue to demand and receive the freedom of the sea.

Armed Merchantmen and Submarines

In a further discussion of the freedom of the seas Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart discusses the problem of merchantmen that carry guns to defend themselves against submarines. He reviews the court decisions on the rights of captured merchantmen, as enunciated by Sir William Scott in the British High Court of Admiralty in 1799 and 1800, by Chief Justice Marshall in 1815, and by Justice Johnson in 1818, and, referring to these decisions, writes:

THESE might be called the parent cases of the international law on the subject, and they bear strongly in favor of the doctrine that for a ship to be armed and even for it to resist capture rightfully involves no further penalty than the condemnation of the vessel. Scott, Marshall, and Johnson all agreed that under those circumstances a neutral cargo, neutral passengers, were subject to no penalty at all except the inconvenience incident to capture. Story alone considers it a breach of neutrality for a neutral to take passage or ship goods in an armed vessel.

The theoretical question of armed ships became practical and pressing when the European war broke out, inasmuch as both sides, and especially the Germans, let loose commerce destroyers. Unless steamers that are subject to capture

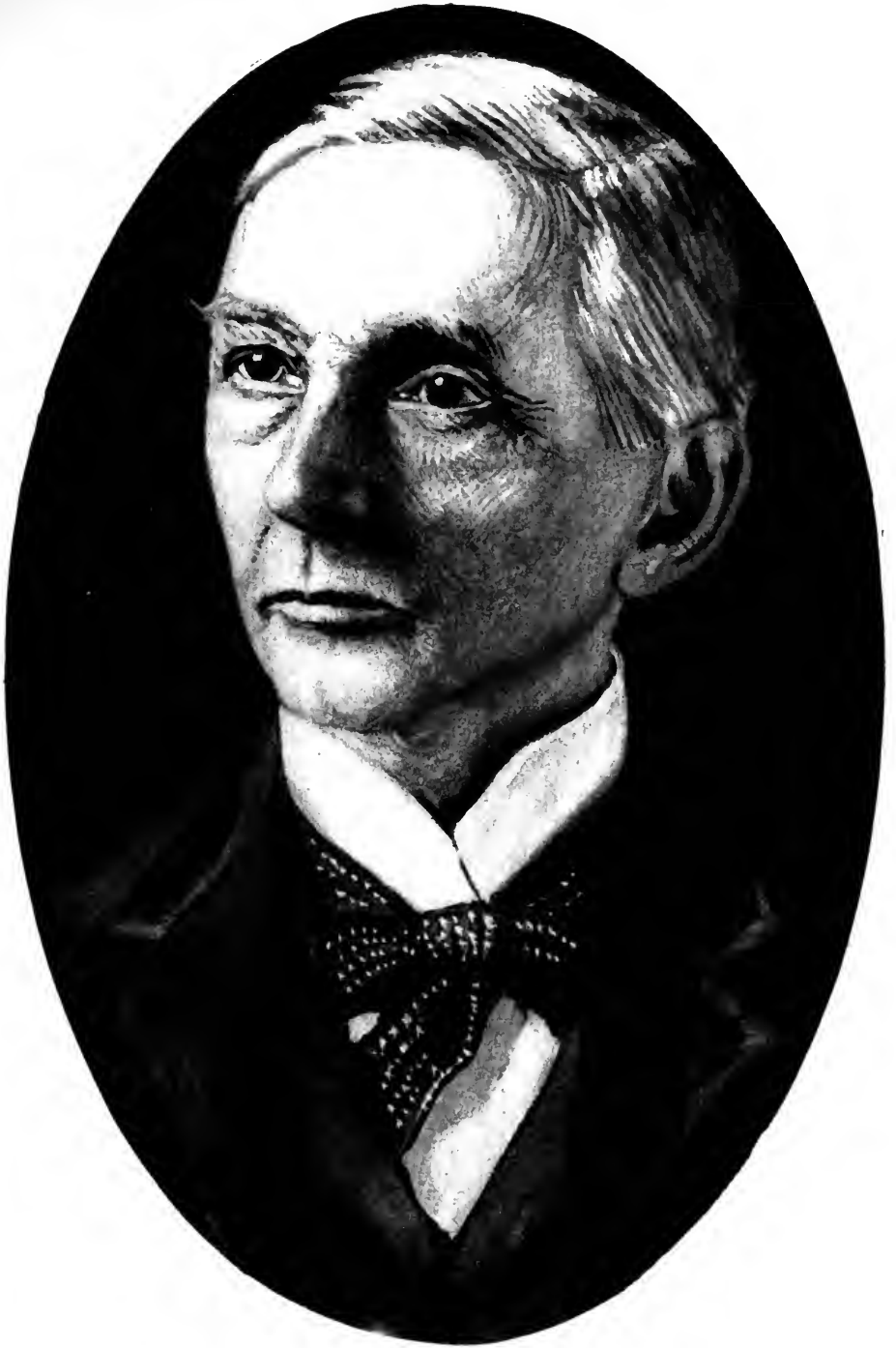
carry some defense, they might be captured by a tug or a boat's crew. Very early in the struggle, therefore, (Sept. 19, 1914,) the State Department drew up and published a set of rules defining the degree of armament which a vessel might carry and still be treated in our ports as a merchant ship. The principal points in these rules are the following:

1. A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a ship of war.
2. Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively * * * must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation.
3. The calibre of the guns carried does not exceed six inches.
4. No guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.
5. The vessel is manned by its usual crew, and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.

The German Government at once protested (Oct. 15, 1914):

This ruling wholly fails to comply with the principles of neutrality. The equipment of British merchant vessels with artillery is for the purpose of making armed resistance against German cruisers. Resistance of this sort is contrary to international law, because in a military sense a merchant vessel is not permitted to defend itself against a war vessel.

To this the United States replied (Nov. 7, 1914):



SENATOR WILLIAM J. STONE

Chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations in the United States Senate
(From a New Drawing by E. S. Klemperer)



MAJOR GENERAL SAM HUGHES

Chief Commander of Canadian Militia and of Troops Recruited
for the European War

(Photo by Pittaway Studio)

The practice of a majority of nations and the consensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defense without losing their private character, and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law.

* * * * *

The Germans seemed to accept the principle that unarmed ships are entitled to special consideration. As late as Jan. 7, 1916, they announced that "German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety." On the other hand, for more than a year they have been protesting against alleged orders of the British Government to all merchantmen who had arms on board to pursue and sink submarines. In the note of May 28, 1915, on the *Lusitania*, they allude to "a secret instruction of February of this year," by which the British Admiralty directed British merchant ships "to attack German submarines by ramming them." They insisted that the sinking of the *Arabic* on Aug. 19 was due to an effort of the liner to destroy a submarine by ramming; the United States Government has recently been informed that the Germans have copies of specific orders of the British Government, dated October last, to all merchant ships to destroy submarines. Therefore they considered it a measure of self-protection to announce under date of Feb. 10, 1916, that on and after March 1 they would sink all "armed merchantmen."

Several different issues are raised by this declaration. If an unarmed ship has the physical power to destroy a submarine by ramming, does that make it an armed ship? If a ship has no arms on board, but a submarine thinks it has, will it be sunk on sight? Are Great Britain and the United States right in their joint understanding that "defensive armament" is something different from "offensive armament," and may be allowed? This last distinction is very fine-drawn. The same shell from the same

gun would be "defensive" after a submarine had fired on it or was supposed to be approaching in order to fire, but "offensive" under the same circumstances if the submarine supposed that the ship was unarmed and therefore did not mean to sink it without warning.

* * * * *

There is no use in trying to blink the fact that the German contention has some strong arguments in its favor. A vessel that is really armed sufficiently to cope with a submarine, and acts under orders from the English Government to attack the submarine if possible, forfeits its special privilege as an innocent, peaceful merchant vessel manned by noncombatants. The German Government has a right to insist that the noncombatant shall not be in a position to assume combatancy at his option. It is contrary to reason for the English to insist that their ships shall be held innocent while at the same time they are supplied with explosive machines which are just as easily used for offense as for defense.

On the other side, to divest merchant ships of all their armament means to deliver them up to any tugboat armed with one gun which is fast enough to have the legs of them. What would prevent the Germans from sending out a fleet of 30-knot launches, each carrying a 3-inch gun? They might thus sweep the sea free of merchantmen, since unarmed British ships would be defenseless against them and might be captured and sunk provided an opportunity of escape were given to the personnel.

The truth is that submarine warfare applied to commerce destroying does not fit in with the received international law with regard to the resistance of ships and the opportunity of persons to escape. Both sides seem determined to manufacture an international law to suit their own convenience and to apply it to the limit of their physical strength. The British expect the United States to take a decided stand favorable to them, while at the same time drawing closer and closer the net of the alleged blockade upon American ships. The Germans expect Americans to accept the reports of

their submarine commanders, in the face of the fact that on their own showing the commander of U-17 attacked and sank the Arabic on a "misapprehension" in which for some time they justified him.

[Dr. Hart believes that our Government should not rigidly stand by the letter of the law and suggests the following concessions:]

1. Notify Great Britain that hereafter no clearances or reception in our ports will be granted to vessels which carry such armaments as would enable them to make an offensive attack; at the same time modifying the circular of Sept. 19, 1914, so as still further to limit the degree of armament which, up to this time, has been allowed. This will practically give every belligerent vessel which is allowed to leave or enter our ports a certificate that it comes within the American definition of unarmed ships; and, therefore, the United States will protect any of its citizens who take passage thereon.

2. Notify Germany that the United States will not claim protection for citizens who may be lost on a vessel armed in a manner which would give it offensive power, or acting under orders from the British Admiralty, even though it be attacked without warning and sunk by German submarines. This means simply treating such vessels as what they really are. The United States is not called

upon to claim noncombatant privileges for what are virtually ships of war.

This method would go as far as anything could to prevent Americans from going on board any belligerent vessels except those which are outside the scope of the German complaints. At the same time it would suspend the sailing of the vessels which were most likely to get into trouble. It is true that Americans have a prima facie right to travel where they will upon the sea, even in belligerent merchantmen; but we have never denied the right to capture and sink such merchantmen, and we cannot claim even the right of escape from any vessel on either side which is participating in warfare.

Such a course as is here suggested would not lead to war. No nation in Europe wishes to get into war with the United States. Germany has much abated from her original claims on this general subject, and will undoubtedly abate still further if we require the English to make the proper distinctions between defensive and offensive armaments. War by the United States upon such an issue would be a crime. The American extreme contention is founded upon conditions of seafaring which have long since passed away. The one thing that we must stand by through thick and thin is the great principle that actual noncombatants shall be treated as noncombatants, leaving virtual fighting men and fighting ships to take care of themselves, according to the laws of maritime warfare.

A British View of Armed Merchantmen

By Archibald Hurd

Noted English Naval Expert

GERMANY'S new threat against merchant ships is not more dastardly than that of a year ago when the campaign of murder on the high seas was inaugurated, with the result that thousands of defenseless men, women, and children of all nationalities, travelers on the Falaba, Lusitania, Persia, Ancona, and other vessels, have been done to death; but it may prove more formidable.

Among the new vessels built in Germany are what may be best described as submarine monitors. They have already been seen at sea, and there is no doubt as to their existence, for they are the talk of neutrals who move about the Baltic on business. They are fairly big vessels. Above the more or less cylindrical hull is built a long battery, well protected by armor, which can be made completely water-tight. It extends for

a considerable distance along the hull, and in the centre is the commander's tower, from which orders are issued. Within this water-tight battery are mounted guns; their calibre is unknown, but they are certainly more powerful weapons than anything the Germans have hitherto had. Such vessels as these, which are no doubt of high speed—much swifter than the vessels hitherto employed—will prove formidable.

Like the smaller vessels, of which the Germans have lost so many, they possess the facility of becoming submerged. That is of value offensively and defensively. It enables such a submarine monitor—or cruiser—to approach her unsuspecting prey—a merchantman. She can bring the armored battery just above the water, leaving the hull of the submarine, which would otherwise be riddled with shot, still submerged. In this awash condition she may be immune from the very light artillery of a merchant ship—the submarine's guns, as well as the crews serving them, being out of harm's way behind the steel walls. Should a British man-of-war come on the scene, it will be easy to close the battery and dip down beneath the surface.

Such vessels, I imagine, will be used in the new campaign—ships which have the qualities of the original American monitors, and, in addition, the offensive and defensive power of submergence.

What will neutrals—particularly the United States—say to the claim that these men-of-war can be sent out on the seas to sink at sight anything, liner or cargo boat, which has a gun on board as a poor means of defense against the new piracy? The custom of arming commercial vessels dates back to the seventeenth century, when the British Government, in view of the peril from pirates, insisted on merchant ships being armed with weapons to enable them to protect themselves if attacked. It was an offense not to have guns on board.

Down to the eve of the present war there was hardly an international lawyer in the world, outside, of course, Germany, as might have been anticipated, who denied the right of merchant ships to protect themselves. A year before the war the

Admiralty, recognizing the danger which threatened owing to Germany's suspicious actions in secretly arming merchant vessels, determined to assist ship-owners to arm their vessels, light guns being mounted aft. In April, 1914, the American Navy Department, evidently impressed by the information as to Germany's plans for attacking commerce in time of war, had a bill introduced into the Senate for authorizing the arming of a line of ships which were to ply to and from South American ports. At the same time the State Department frankly stated that anything not more powerful than a 6-inch gun might be carried by merchant ships as a means of protection; it was contended that that right rested on precedent. This right is recognized either directly or inferentially by the following National Codes or Naval Instructions:

The United States Naval War Code, (1900.) Article 10, paragraph 3: "The personnel of merchant ships of an enemy who, in self-defense and in protection of the vessel placed in their charge, resist an attack, are entitled, if captured, to the status of prisoners of war."

The Italian Codice per I Marine Mercantile, (1877.) Article 209: "Merchantmen, on being attacked by other vessels, including war vessels, may defend themselves against and even seize them."

The Russian Prize Regulations, (1895.) Article 15. "The right to stop, examine, and seize hostile or suspected vessels and cargoes belongs to the ships of the Imperial Navy. Vessels of the mercantile navy have a right to do so only when they are attacked by hostile or suspected vessels," &c.

There was no thought a few years ago that submarines as big as cruisers would roam about the seas, pursuing a policy of piracy. Germany by her acts should strengthen the law of nations; for the large submarine is merely a small cruiser, with the additional power of stealthy approach under water, and also of stealthy retirement if threatened with interference in her work of murder by a more powerful man-of-war.

No neutral power—the United States, with her long seaboard, less than any other—can admit Germany's claims without selling its birthright to use the seas. The submarine will go on developing. Is it to be a crime punishable by death by a belligerent, as the Germans suggest,

for a merchant ship of another belligerent, British, American, Norwegian, Swede, or Dutch—to carry a couple of guns to enable some sort of defense to be offered against piracy? That is the outlook, and it is surely time neutrals realized that in practicing frightfulness at sea and creating precedents for murder the enemy is infringing their

liberties. When war again occurs—and this is not assuredly the last of all wars, for accounts have to be settled by our enemy with the United States, according to Bernhardt and other semi-official writers—Germany may claim to act against American vessels as she is threatening to do against vessels of the Allies.

The Battle of Verdun

Story of the Most Desperate Conflict Since That of the Marne

(Map of the Verdun District on Page 42.)

THE past month of almost continuous bloodshed along the Meuse River will go into history as the battle of Verdun, one of the great battles of all time, and probably an important element in determining the final outcome of the war. The fortress of Verdun consists of a circle of about forty forts in the hills on all sides of the city. From the beginning of the war it has protruded as a salient far into the German lines, and from the first it seems to have been the special objective of the German Crown Prince and his army. Against this strongest point in the whole line of French defenses he has been hurling a force estimated at 300,000 or 400,000 men with a fierceness of attack and a perseverance matched only by the courage and deadly gun work of the French defenders under Field Marshal Joffre and General Petain.

As an artillery combat Verdun has been absolutely without a precedent. More than 4,000,000 high explosive shells were fired in the first four days, uprooting forests, shattering trenches, and plowing up every foot of earth over large areas. Both sides had abundant ammunition and were skilled in marksmanship, the French guns making up in rapid accuracy for the terrific blows of the Germans' heavier calibres. As usual, the German method of attack was first to pulverize the enemy trenches and wire

entanglements by hours of shell fire, then to follow with massed bodies of infantry. These dashed into the hail of French shrapnel, machine gun, and rifle fire, pressing on over the bodies of the fallen, until they captured the position or died in the attempt.

The loss of life was very heavy, but the figures are still concealed by both sides. The French censor has allowed the publication of an estimate placing the French losses for the first two weeks at 40,000. As the losses of the attacking force were necessarily much heavier, the German casualties up to that time could scarcely have been less than 100,000. Those who saw the heaps of slain estimate the German dead alone at that figure. The true figures on both sides, however, may not be revealed until after the war.

The battle began eight miles north-east of Verdun on the morning of Feb. 21 with a German artillery "drumfire" of an intensity never known before. The next day the intensity of the fire was doubled. One of the soldiers defending Haumont said of this terrific German bombardment on the 22d: "From ten big shells a minute at 10 o'clock the number went to twenty at 2 o'clock. Ruins piled on ruins, yet in the midst of the inferno our men preserved remarkable placidity. The village had seemed to sink into the earth, while the concrete redoubt on which we had

counted crumbled and buried eighty men and several machine guns and destroyed our ammunition depot. Still no one budged. What we then held was nothing more than a razed village with the earth upheaved and transformed into a series of crevices devoid of shelter." He ends with details of the remarkable retreat from that point.

This vast expenditure of shells continued at intervals throughout the next four days. The noise itself was so deafening as to stun the men who endured it. The roar of the battle is said to have been heard more than a hundred miles away. Thousands of civilians assembled on distant hills to witness the spectacle. Aeroplanes high in the air added to the terrors of the scene, and even underground, in a cave leading from a quarry, men fought by the garish light of liquid fire used in the German attack.

Foot by foot and mile by mile the German infantry fought its way southward four miles along a six-mile front. This was the largest and most rapid gain. In the course of those five terrible days the French gradually fell back—always in good order and fighting every step of the way—evacuating Herbebois, Haumont, Beaumont, Samogneux, and other villages. One of the first steps in the retreat—the evacuation of Herbebois—is thus described by an official French eyewitness:

"In the afternoon of Feb. 23, while we had not retired a single foot, order was given us to withdraw carefully, for, the Waville wood having been taken, we ran the risk of being surrounded. We waited for the night to come. Some of our men, when they learned that we were to leave, protested, asking to be allowed to fight and die on the spot. However, tactical reasons obliged us to evacuate Herbebois, and we had to reckon with the general situation.

"The retirement order was executed, and we went to take a position in front of La Chaume wood, in communication with the units on our right and left.

"The defense of Herbebois will certainly remain one of the most glorious pages in the annals of our regiment. More than 3,000 Germans came in suc-

cessive waves to smash themselves against our ranks, although we were in a fighting position of the most disadvantageous kind. We voluntarily abandoned the ground, where hundreds and hundreds of German corpses show sufficiently how effective was our resistance.

"Neither the bombardment, nor the snow, nor the difficulties of obtaining provisions, nor fatigue could overcome the stubborn bravery of our infantry. By thus holding firm in this corner of Herbebois they for their part contributed to win time for the arrival of the necessary reserves, and they seriously interfered with the advance of the Germans. It was sacrifices of this kind, repeated at numerous points on our front, which held back the enemy flood."

Just outside of Belmont the French had mined Caures Wood, connecting the mine electrically with a station in the village. According to French dispatches, when the Germans had advanced, fully a division strong, to attack this wood, the regiment defending it ran back into the village, as if in panic, until the Germans pursued with shouts of victory. As soon as the pursuers were all in the mined area a French sapper touched a button. There was a tremendous roar, drowning for the moment even the roar of the cannon. The wood was covered with a cloud of smoke, and even on the French trenches "there rained a ghastly dew." When the French re-entered the wood they found not a single German unwounded and hardly a score alive.

Another French account describes the unsuccessful German attack on the heights of the Côte du Poivre (Pepper Ridge) amid the snowstorm of Feb. 26:

"Suddenly the telephone operator gave the signal and we began firing at 1,800 meters. We fired at full speed for twenty minutes. When 'cease fire' came there was a heap of shell cases fully man-high behind our guns. At the order I rushed to look out of the trench at the side of the battery. At the top of the ravine, on the edge of the plateau, was a great heap of Germans. They looked like a swarm of bees crawling over one another; not one was standing. Every minute shells threw bodies

and débris into the air. The whole ravine slope was gray with corpses; one couldn't see the ground they were so numerous, and the snow was no longer white. We calculated that there were fully 10,000 dead at that point alone, and the river ran past dappled with patches and streaks of blood."

No amount of casualties, however, could daunt the German regiments, which pressed steadily onward wherever there were enough men left to advance.

This first phase of the battle reached its climax in the fierce fighting around Fort Douaumont on Feb. 25-27, when the plateau changed hands three times and was finally held by the Germans. On the night of the 24th the Crown Prince and his staff remained on the field all night. The darkness was lighted up with the tremendous bombardment directed at Fort Douaumont, Fort Vaux, and Fort Michel by the heavy ordnance and field guns playing on the retreating French. The Germans advanced under cover of the darkness to villages further up the Meuse, and took the intrenched places of Cotelettes, Marmont, Beaumont, Chambrettes, and Ornes. The terrific nature of their artillery fire is indicated by the fact, stated in German news dispatches, that the concentration of shells prevented many French regiments from retreating and caused the capture that night of 10,000 of the 27,000 French prisoners claimed by the German official reports.

The second phase consisted of a similar drive in the flat Woevre region southeast of Verdun, resulting in the capture of Fresnes and reaching another terrific climax in the struggle for Fort Vaux, two miles east of Fort Douaumont. This second fort was stormed by the Germans on March 9 at great cost, but the French forces holding the village of Vaux resisted stubbornly. Here, as elsewhere, the drive had come up against the hills, which are the main strength of Verdun. As one German critic explains:

"The whole area north of Verdun which was in the hands of the enemy is a bewildering maze of fortifications. There can be no question here of a rapid onslaught and overthrow or of the bril-

liant spectacle of overrunning the enemy again and again. One has to remove obstacles, blow up critical positions, shell away forests, conquer defended villages, and plaster excellently fortified fronts with artillery preparatory to capturing them by the bayonet."

What may be called the third phase of the great battle came in the drive on the north side of the salient, that is, on the west bank of the Meuse, eight or nine miles northwest of Verdun. Here the village of Forges was taken on March 7 after stubborn resistance, and four days later the blood stained and shattered remnants of Corbeaux Woods were largely in German hands. At this writing the Teutons have made an advance of three miles in this sector, and the struggle is raging about the hill that bears the appropriate name of *Le Mort Homme*. The offensive, however, seems to have lost much of its force. Apparently the Germans have decided that, in the light of the last month's events, the main defenses of Verdun cannot be taken without a loss which nothing could repay.

The fact is that at Verdun the Germans are fighting against a new system of defense brought about by their own improvements in artillery. Thus, though Douaumont was an important position and its capture a historic achievement, the fort itself had ceased, many months before, to constitute a vital part of the defenses of Verdun. The Germans' seventeen-inch guns at Liège a year and a half before had taught the French the uselessness of the old style of fortifications. The new system of war, for which Verdun was fully prepared, is no longer a siege wherein heavy artillery can reduce fort after fort at long range with a few well-directed tons of high explosive. It is a regular field of battle, which has to be carried with infantry in the face of the most deadly modern instruments of death. In other words, Verdun is a fortress with mobile defenses, which nothing but mobile forces can storm, and then only at prohibitive cost.

This vast and protracted battle has been notable for the greatest artillery duels in the history of warfare, and for the extraordinary sacrifices of massed

German infantry in the face of rapid-fire guns. Many of the charges were stopped by the so-called French "curtains of fire," which are zones of fifty yards or thereabout in breadth, filled at intervals of a few seconds with showers of shrapnel. A great number of attacks were thus frustrated by the utter destruction of the dense lines in which the German infantry charged. But these lines were followed by others which came on in gray waves, charge upon charge, until finally they got through. Meanwhile the German artillery never ceased hurling missiles of every sort and size over the heads of their infantry, so as to paralyze the defense and prevent its reserves from coming into action.

When once the attacking infantry reached the objective trench the advantage lay with them, for men in trenches are at a disadvantage in hand-to-hand fighting. But no sooner were they esconced in their new position than the rôles were reversed. A trench usually has no parapet on the reverse side, and here the dauntless Frenchmen came dashing upon them in a fierce countercharge, often recapturing the ground. In this manner the deadly struggle swayed to and fro in the snow and mud and bitter wind, without truce or prolonged pause, until both sides were so exhausted that many men fell to the ground overcome with sleep as with a drug.

Skillful use of the strong French reserves in large units at the right time seems to have been an important element in checking the Teutonic torrent, and even forcing the aggressive foe to a defensive attitude in his new positions.

The most graphic descriptions of the scene are devoted to the storming of Fort Douaumont. For five days the French had been steadily driven back, and at last the main defenses of Verdun were to be put to the test. The German attack upon this great wall moved down from three directions, and the fiercest of these, from the Bois de la Vauche, was led by the crack Twenty-fourth Brandenburg Regiment, which finally gained the plateau and captured the shattered ruins of Fort Douaumont.

The rage and fury of the battle for

this plateau is graphically described by an eyewitness who watched the whole scene from an observation post in front of the Douaumont range, with shells bursting around him.

"Thousands of projectiles are flying in all directions," he wrote, "some whistling, others howling, others moaning low, and all uniting in one infernal roar. From time to time an aerial torpedo passes, making a noise like a gigantic motor car. With a tremendous thud a giant shell bursts quite close to our observation post, breaking the telephone wire and interrupting all communication with our batteries.

"A man gets out at once for repairs, crawling along on his stomach through all this place of bursting mines and shells. It seems quite impossible that he should escape in the rain of shell, which exceeds anything imaginable; there has never been such a bombardment in war. Our man seems to be enveloped in explosions, and shelters himself from time to time in the shell craters which honeycomb the ground; finally he reaches a less stormy spot, mends his wires, and then, as it would be madness to try to return, settles down in a big crater and waits for the storm to pass."

When this preparatory bombardment ceased every vestige of trenches, parapets, and barbed wire entanglements had vanished. The ground was as flat as a new-plowed field. The time had come for the infantry charge.

"Beyond, in the valley," wrote the same French observer, "dark masses are moving over the snow-covered ground. It is German infantry advancing in packed formation along the valley to the attack. They look like a big gray carpet being unrolled over the country. We telephone through to the batteries and the ball begins. The sight is hellish. In the distance, in the valley and upon the slopes, regiments spread out, and as they deploy fresh troops come pouring in.

"There is a whistle over our heads. It is our first shell. It falls right in the middle of the enemy infantry. We telephone through, telling our batteries of their hit, and a deluge of heavy shells is poured on the enemy. Their position be-

comes critical. Through glasses we can see men maddened, men covered with earth and blood, falling one upon the other. When the first wave of the assault is decimated, the ground is dotted with heaps of corpses, but the second wave is already pressing on. Once more our shells carve awful gaps in their ranks. Nevertheless, like an army of rats the Boches continue to advance in spite of our 'marmites.' Then our heavy artillery bursts forth in fury. The whole valley is turned into a volcano, and its exit is stopped by the barrier of the slain."

The Germans took Fort Douaumont, though at a ghastly cost. The same evening, however, a French counterattack by the famous Iron Division wrested from them all but the bare fort, within which the Brandenburgers still held their own. A French soldier who took part in that charge said afterward:

"At last our turn came. I had taken part in the Champagne charge, but it was nothing like this. We were mad. Nothing could have stopped us. Despite the German fire, which perhaps was hampered by the fear of hitting their own men on the spur, we hurled ourselves at them with the bayonet among the shell holes and ruined emplacements.

"This was real war as I had never seen it. For a moment it was furious and equal. Then came another blue-clad wave, and another. We hurled them back, screaming, over the hillside. It was a battle without quarter. We captured only corpses. Douaumont Ridge was French once more. As we lay there, panting and too exhausted to cheer, I suddenly found that my thigh was bleeding from a deep stab. My boot was already full of blood, but I had not noticed it."

In the fighting for Vaux similar scenes were enacted. As late as March 17 both the fort and the village at that point were still bitterly disputed, and the Germans were reported to be attacking at last with their reserve guard. A French Captain thus describes the drive against the Vaux-Douaumont ridge on March 14 and 15:

"Heavy shell fire is not as deadly as one imagines, especially if one keeps

cool, holds his shelter in a shell hole, or under a tree stump, and jumps out of the way when he hears a big shell coming. That was where the Boches made their mistake. They thought we could not stand the hammering.

"Soon after midnight the lookout gave the alarm. Our searchlights pierced the darkness and we saw a dark mass slowly approaching up the hillside. When the light hit them they began shouting loudly. Then our guns and mitrailleuses began, and that took the song out of them.

"The first lot never got within striking distance of us, though a few bullets whizzed over our heads, fired mostly from the hip as they ran forward.

"A second rush followed immediately without further gun preparation. These got right up to our barbed wire, where a lot of them stayed. We could hear them shouting, despite the bursting shells, but my men fired coolly. They would have preferred to charge, but knew it was unnecessary.

"Nothing stops a charge like mitrailleuse or rifle fire. We simply swept them away in rows.

"There was one group bunched up against our wire so close that they continued to stand after they were dead, supporting each other. Some were headless and others had half their bodies torn away. It was horrible—but we don't regard the Germans as human beings.

"They looked fine and healthy, and from the buttons which many of our men cut off to set in rings, they were evidently guards, as the buttons bore the Imperial Eagle or guard numbers. There will be no shortage of guard-button rings in France when my poilus have leisure to work.

"The worst part was the moaning of the wounded after the attack failed. We could not help hearing it when the cannonade ceased."

At this writing (March 20) the energy of the German attacks at Verdun, both north and south, has perceptibly lessened, and the military critics are convinced that the battle is practically ended. If so, it must go down in history as a German defeat, notwithstanding the ground won.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked, CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[A TEUTONIC INTERPRETATION]

Military Survey of the War From February 15 to March 15, 1916

By Kurt Wittgenstein

First Lieutenant in the Austrian Army

ONE of the fiercest of the many sanguinary struggles which this war has witnessed is now being fought in the neighborhood of one of the most ancient and yet perhaps the most modern of all fortresses, Verdun.

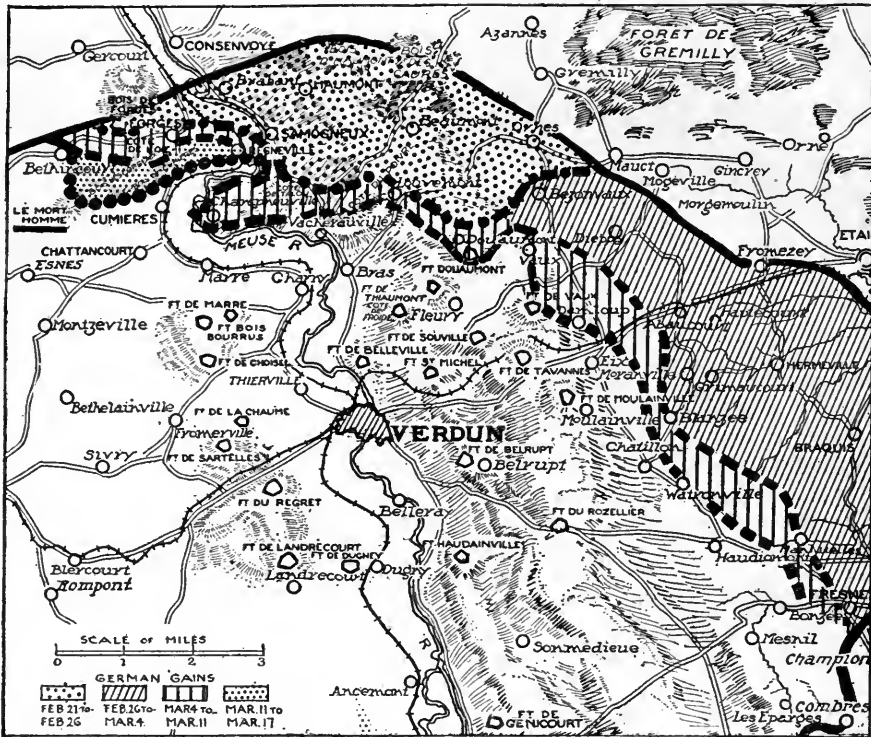
At the least expected moment, in the midst of Winter, and in the very section of their lines where, to the mind of most military experts and, as events have since proved, even to Gen. Joffre's mind, an attack against the tremendously strong French positions seemed utterly out of the question, the Germans have launched an offensive on a scale unparalleled ever since the first Teuton onslaught on the allied lines, in August, 1914.

What definite aims the German General Staff has in view with the mighty drive against the strongest of all French strongholds, nobody but a few chosen men, outside of that exclusive body, positively knows. Unmatured as events are, there is even still doubt among military experts, whether the Germans really intend to capture Verdun. One thing, however, is certain, as has been proved many a time in this war: If the Kaiser's General Staff is bent on taking the fortress, it *will* fall. It is, in fact, still possible, though not very probable, that operations around Verdun will be broken off in an apparently undecided stage, in full accordance with prearranged plans. The success achieved in this case, for being merely tactical, would nevertheless be well worth the sacrifices made. Up to

the middle of March the Germans have shortened their lines around Verdun by more than six miles. Figuring on an average of four men to the yard, or 7,000 men to the mile of the front, (an average justified by the importance of the section, this would mean that about 42,000 German soldiers, formerly needed for the only purpose of guarding the surplus lines, have been freed since for other duties. Furthermore, the French, according to German estimates, have up to March 10 lost between 70,000 and 80,000 men; supposing, for argument's sake, the equivalence of the French and the German soldier, the total gross profit in fighting forces gained by the Germans up to the present amounts to about 120,000 men. This is more than three times as much as the Kaiser's troops have lost in the same period.

Moreover, the vast semicircular salient which the battle line from the northwest to the southeast of Verdun formed before the present offensive, having the fortress as the centre, was pre-eminently suited for the massing of huge French forces for a drive against Metz, only thirty miles distant from Verdun. Now, with the shrinking of that half circle to a radius of scarcely five miles and with all the roads leading from the French fortress to the north, east, and southeast in range of the German big guns, a massing of troops in that sector is wholly out of the question.

With their present offensive, however, the Teutons have already scored a third



SCENE OF THE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE AT VERDUN.

success, the importance of which, it is true, cannot be expressed by figures. As the writer pointed out in the last issue of this review, there exists in the German lines in France a vulnerable spot, namely, the section between Arras and Lens, known as the Vimy heights. The much-talked-of Anglo-French offensive planned for the coming Spring was, as a matter of course, to be launched against that weak spot. Now, with their unexpected drive against Verdun the Germans have utterly foiled whatever plans the Entente may have made for warmer days and forced the French to shift most of their troops from the Artois to the Meuse and to give battle in midwinter and on grounds chosen by their enemies.

The amazingly rapid advance of the Kaiser's gray-clad hosts during the first two weeks of their offensive and the enormous number of prisoners and booty taken from the French are significant for the prodigious fighting spirit of the

Teutons, and this may be said to the credit of Joffre's fighters, for the unexpectedness of the German attack. Berlin official bulletins up to March 10 reported the capture of 414 officers and 27,000 soldiers, most of them unwounded, as well as of 190 guns, including 40 heavy pieces, 230 machine guns, and a proportionate quantity of other war supplies.

Inspired dispatches from London and Paris now endeavor with all means to minimize the importance of Verdun, known hitherto on both sides of the Rhine as the "key to France." This may be taken as a symptom for the impending fall of the fortress. In the presence of those misleading statements, it may not be amiss to consider beforehand the possible consequences of Verdun's surrender.

The first and immediate consequence would be of a tactical nature, inasmuch as the Germans would shorten their lines between St. Mihiel and Varennes

by some ten miles more and, according to what we have seen above, save about 70,000 soldiers for other parts of their various battle fronts.

The second result would be a *strategical* one. The fall of Verdun would bring the Germans into the flank of the French armies south of the Verdun-Metz line and their left wing, now resting on the French fortress, would be in peril of being rolled up and routed. (That the German General Staff should plan another march on Paris from Verdun seems out of the question to the writer. It may be taken for granted that every yard of the 150 miles separating the capital from the important stronghold has long ago been fortified.)

The third and most far-reaching effect of Verdun's downfall, though, would be the *political* one. When the Germans, nineteen months ago, surrounded as they were by enemies, and in order to save their country from ruin, decided to strike the first blow and invaded France, they chose the gate offering the least resistance, namely, Belgium, the front door being too strongly guarded by the formidable belt of fortresses Verdun, Toul, Epinal, and Belfort. With Verdun captured, the remaining links of that chain would become as valueless as the stones of an arch after the keystone has been removed, which has been clearly demonstrated in the case of Ivangorod in Russia. Germany once in control of the fortified positions on the Meuse and the Moselle, could afford to offer concrete peace proposals to France, pledging herself to restore Belgium to liberty, but, in compensation, reserving to herself the cession by France of French Lorraine as far as that belt of fortifications.

The different stages of the battle of Verdun, characterized by the clocklike co-operation of heaviest artillery fire and immediately following infantry attacks in overwhelming masses, can be easily followed with the aid of the annexed map.

Feb. 21. After a continuous shell fire lasting nine hours, the Germans made their first infantry attack against the Haumont Woods, which they captured.

22. Village of Haumont and Caures Woods taken.

23. Brabant, Samogneux and Herbebois (one mile northeast of Beaumont) fall.

24. Beaumont captured.

25. Fort Douaumont stormed during a blizzard. (Note the distance between Beaumont and Fort Douaumont.) French resistance in the Woevre breaks down all along the line from Maucourt to Fresnes.

26. Mormont (one mile northwest of Louvemont), Beaumont Chambrettes (one mile northeast of Louvemont) and Ornes taken.

27. Champneuville and Côte de Talou captured. Fortifications of Hardaumont stormed.

28. Meuse peninsula cleared of the French.

29. Great drive in the Woevre, where Dieppe, Abaucourt, Blanzee, Manheules, and Champlon are taken.

After a comparative lull of a week, the Germans, in order to bring their lines west of the Meuse in accordance with those to the east of the river, shifted the attack to the section between Bethincourt and Forges.

March 7. Hill 265, northeast of Côte de l'Oie captured.

9. Corbeaux Woods cleared, villages of Vaux, Forges, and Regneville taken.

10. Cumières Woods cleared, Fresnes captured.

12. Heights of Le Mort Homme stormed.

The Germans furthermore delivered successful attacks in the Champagne, where they took Navarin Farm, and near Ville au Bois, northeast of Rheims, where French positions extending over more than a mile were carried. In both drives, whose obvious aim was to divert the enemy from the scene of the main offensive, the Germans took altogether 1,700 prisoners.

* * * * *

In comparison to the importance of the struggle in France, for the present the main theatre of the war, whatever events happened on other fronts during the last month fade into practical indif-

ference, to the mind of the discriminating observer.

The Italian adventure in the Balkans is slowly but irresistibly approaching its inevitable end, namely, the final evacuation of Albania by the Italians and the annihilation of their ambitions regarding the east coast of the Adriatic. Already, toward the end of February, a great part of King Victor Emmanuel's forces have, practically without firing a shot at the advancing Austrians, left Durazzo precipitately, abandoning a great many cannon, including the coast defense guns, 10,000 rifles, and vast quantities of ammunition and other war supplies.

The latest of the very meagre reports from that front indicate that the Austrians and Bulgarians are closing in from all sides on the seaport of Avlona, apparently the only place in Albania still occupied by Italian troops. A decisive battle may therefore be anticipated for the near future, although experience would rather point at the probability of a withdrawal of General Ameglio's troops from Albanian soil without fighting.

Communications from allied sources are trying to lend a color of far-reaching importance to the cheap successes of Russian troops in Transcaucasia, a theatre of secondary significance only. This is characteristic for the state of mind of the Entente powers, their incapacity on the European battlefields, and their endeavor to achieve something resembling a victory somewhere, somehow.

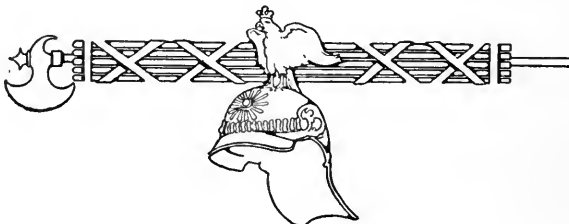
Grand Duke Nicholas's avowed objective in invading Armenia at the head of a huge army was twofold: First, to divide the Turkish Empire by cutting off the Turkish domains in Asia south of the Erzerum-Alexandretta line from Asia Minor proper and from Turkey in Eu-

rope. Second, to open up to Russia a direct overland route to the Mediterranean Sea.

Had the Grand Duke succeeded in trapping the Turkish garrison of Erzerum, numbering between 150,000 and 180,000, the fall of that fortress might have contributed substantially to the accomplishment of those lofty aims. As it was, however, the Turks had time to evacuate the stronghold, men, guns, and all, and to join the powerful reinforcements under General Liman von Sanders, which were on the way to Erzerum from the west when the fortress fell. In view of those Turkish forces, the Russian General Staff seem to have relinquished their original designs and decided on a relief expedition for their British allies in Mesopotamia. For that purpose they divided their forces in two armies marching south on both sides of the Taurus range, which forms the natural boundary between Turkey and Persia. The west army, up to the present, has advanced as far as Bitlis, 500 miles north of Bagdad, while the east column has reached the Persian town of Khanikin, 200 miles northeast of the Turkish city. Taking into consideration what such distances mean in mostly hostile countries, where means of communication and transportation are few and poor beyond description, reports fabricated in London and Petrograd, telling of the "virtual co-operation of the Russians with the British in Mesopotamia," can easily be discounted to their real value by the judicious reader.

As it is, General Aylmer's division, in a recent fight with Turkish forces near Fellahie on the right bank of the Tigris, has again been defeated and is said to have left 2,000 dead on the battlefield.

On the other fronts nothing of importance has happened.



The Month's Military Developments

From February 15 to March 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE most interesting if not the most important action that the western front has seen since the German drive toward Calais is the struggle for Verdun, which, as this article is being written, has been going on for just twenty-three days. The attack on the French positions began on Feb. 21—began before the Spring had set in, when the ground was in anything but a satisfactory condition for offensive military operations. Two questions at once arise as to this effort. The first is why it was made at such a time, and, second, once it had been decided to make it, why was Verdun, the strongest point in the whole French line, chosen as the point of attack?

There are a number of answers to the first, none of which is complete in itself, but all of which probably have weight.

Germany's man power is dwindling. There can be no question of that. The available number is much less than that of the Allies, and unless Germany can inflict losses upon her enemies out of all proportion to those which she herself sustains in the process, sooner or later she will be worn out. This is merely a matter of arithmetic. Whether Germany has already reached the point where, through wastage she is unable to make good her current losses is another matter. The indications are, however, that such a point has been or soon will be reached. In other words, Germany has reached or soon will reach the point where every loss is a permanent loss and therefore is a permanent weakness. Her enemies, on the other hand, have not yet reached their maximum strength. As Germany grows weaker, her enemies will grow stronger. Therefore, to win, Germany must strike, and strike with her maximum power, in an effort, not to win a battle, but to gain a decision.

Again, there is the situation created in the Far East by the continued successes of the Russians in the Caucasus. This situation will be discussed later, but it may be noted here that if the Russian advance continues, all that German arms have accomplished since the taking of Belgrade will be transferred to a net loss. But even without further gains, what the Russians have accomplished so far has had a tremendous influence on the Balkan States. This must be offset. Rumania is hanging on to neutrality by a very thin thread. As soon as she can do so without laying three of her frontiers open to simultaneous attack, she will enter the war on the side of the Allies, as only through them can she attain her national ambition, achieve her destiny, as her statesmen put it. Rumania's strategic position on the Teuton flank in Bukowina is of too much importance to be disregarded. Therefore, the Russian success must be discounted by a Teuton success in another field.

There is also the domestic situation in Germany. When the Serbian campaign was brought to a successful termination the German press immediately commenced to inquire why, with Germany victorious in every theatre, the Allies did not commence to sue for peace. Instead, it has dawned on them that the day of peace is as far off as it was last August, and that, instead of asking for peace, the Allies have renewed their agreement to stand together until Germany is brought to her knees. To prevent unrest German arms cannot remain quiescent. Finally, there is the situation of the Crown Prince, who, if reports of his father's illness have not been grossly exaggerated, may soon find himself on his father's throne. He is the leader of the military party in Germany, and to

him was given the task, at the outset, of taking Verdun. In the attack on Verdun in the early months of the war, owing to the genius of General Sarrail, he was unsuccessful. Since then he has made several efforts to drive down the west bank of the Meuse so as to reach the salient at St. Mihiel and invest the French fortress, but each time he has been checked with severe losses and insignificant gains. Something startling in its conception and dramatic in its execution had to be started to restore his prestige and to establish his right, through ability, to continue to lead.

This is not only a reason why the present attack was planned, but is also the reason why Verdun was the point selected.

The attack was first launched over a narrow front of only a few miles, from the Meuse near Consenvoye, east to Ornes. Between Feb. 21 and 26 the French retired slowly, evacuating, one after the other, Brabant, Samogneux, Haumont, and Beaumont. There was nothing precipitous in the retirement. It seemed designed rather as a means of avoiding punishment. At the same time it is certain that severe losses were inflicted on the invaders. They had deliberately selected as the location of their attack the hardest part of the Verdun salient. In all other German operations during the war they had never failed to adopt the standard military practice of eliminating a salient by crushing in the sides. Here they took the much more costly and more hazardous course of driving against its apex. After the shock of the first few days the French stood fast, and since Feb. 26 they have not lost more than a quarter of a mile of ground to the north.

Checked from this direction in spite of the most desperate infantry charges, the attack swung around to the east and southeast. Here the same operation was repeated, the French retiring at first only to take up a strong position, previously prepared, along the crests of the high hills which run in almost a straight line southeast from the town of Vaux. From this hill line the Germans have been unable to budge them. Terrific fighting

has occurred for possession of the town and fort of Vaux, but it still seems to be held by the French.

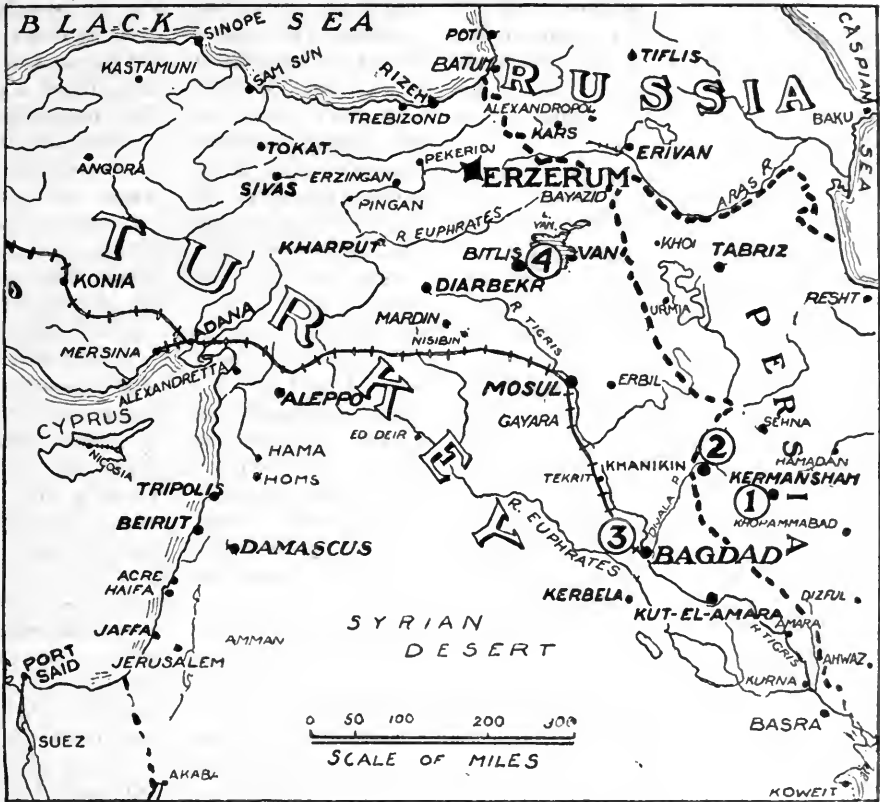
With this check the Germans then opened an attack on the west bank of the Meuse, east of the Argonne, but thus far their advance has been immaterial.

The fighting in the Verdun sector has unquestionably not been equaled for severity in any of the war theatres since the war began. Artillery has been used on a scale not before dreamed of even in the British and French attacks of September. The losses have been cruel, both sides suffering terribly, although, as is always the case with the troops on the offense, the Germans have suffered more than the Allies. The statement from Berlin that the Germans have lost but a few thousand is of course too ridiculous for serious consideration.

In spite of the fact that the Germans have made no gain yet that puts Verdun in jeopardy, it must be realized that, except as a figure of speech, no place is truly impregnable on this or on any of the fronts. It is merely a question of how much it is worth in men and shell, and how much will have to be paid to take it. The relation of these values will determine whether the effort is worth while. In the case of Verdun, it is sure to cost the Germans at least 400,000 men before it falls, and to judge purely from a military standpoint, putting aside all political considerations, which of course we cannot measure, it is most certainly not worth the price.

The Germans, moreover, find themselves in rather a predicament. They have launched the most terrifying attack of the war at a time and place not altogether favorable for success, in a tremendous bid for a decision in the west. The Berlin press and the German people so believe, and are encouraged in this belief. The military authorities dare not stop. To do so would lessen their prestige all over the world.

Of much greater importance than the action about Verdun, though less interesting because of its distance, is the capture of the fortress of Erzerum by the Russian Army of the Caucasus. This is the greatest success the Allies have



ONE RUSSIAN COLUMN HAS ADVANCED THROUGH KERMANSHAH (1), TO KHANIKIN (2), AND IS ON ITS WAY TO BAGDAD (3), OR PERHAPS TO KUT-EL-AMARA, WHERE IT WILL RELIEVE THE BRITISH. ANOTHER RUSSIAN COLUMN HAS ADVANCED FROM ERZERUM TO BITLIS (4), ITS OBJECTIVE BEING THE BAGDAD RAILWAY. A THIRD IS ABOUT TO TAKE TREBIZOND.

been able to record since the fall of Przemysl, and Erzerum possesses certain points of similarity with the Galician stronghold. The importance to the Allies of neither place is in itself great. Rather does it lie in what follows. The history of what followed the fall of Przemysl is too well known now to need comment.

It is but fair, however, to note that there are certain elements in the Armenian field which are essentially different from those that existed in Galicia a year ago. The failure of the Russians in Galicia was due largely, if not entirely, to the German element in the armies that were opposing the Russian advance. The Austrians had been most thoroughly bested by the Russians for the seven months that preceded the sur-

render of Przemysl. At no point had they been able to stem the Russian advance that swept through Galicia from Lemberg to Cracow. But when Przemysl fell, the Germans saw the danger that lay in a continuation of Russian successes; saw the possibilities of Austria being beaten into a separate peace unless help was sent immediately. Operations on all other fronts were, therefore, suspended and all available forces were hurried to the Carpathians and to the Duna-jec. The result was that, owing to this stiffening of the Austrian defense, the Russians were first held in position and then driven back through Galicia, through Poland, until their present line was reached.

This is not possible in Armenia. Germany has no troops to spare for such a

distant field, nor can the larger of the German guns be brought to bear in the far eastern field. Transportation facilities are entirely lacking. There is no railroad reaching the front, and the dirt roads are not of such character as to admit of such heavy draft as is involved in the passage of guns and shell of the larger calibres. Consequently it is left for the Turks to fight the situation out alone. The Turkish troops in this theatre are even less efficient than were the Austrians in Galicia. With every advantage conceivable except possibly numbers, they have been utterly unable to place any effective obstacle in the Russian commander's path.

The Russians advanced in three columns, or rather by three different routes, from bases which they had previously established. One of these was at Olti, another at Kars, and the third at Melasgird. The downfall of the fortress, however, seems to have been accomplished mainly by the attack from the north, which was a frontal attack made with the aid of guns of large calibre. The entire operation from the time the first Russian gun was fired against the first of the eighteen forts that make up the defenses was only five days, a fact which in itself gives evidence of the lack of quality in the troops defending the position. At the end of that time all eighteen forts had been evacuated, although nine were of comparatively recent construction and had been designed and built under the supervision of the German Engineer Corps. Very naturally a large number of prisoners with many guns and considerable quantities of military stores also fell into the hands of the Russians. So much for the actual operation itself.

Erzerum is the only fortified point in the interior of Asia Minor. It protects Western Armenia and Anatolia, and commands all the best roads of Transcaucasia. With Erzerum out of the way, therefore, there is nothing but the disorganized army of the Turks to prevent the Russians from sweeping forward at least until they have reached the line from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Black Sea. The Black Sea, it may be

mentioned in passing, is to all practical purposes a Russian lake. While it is true that, as the Russians move forward, they will be getting further and further from their bases, they will have nevertheless the supply points on the Black Sea from which to draw supplies. Therefore, in this advance, it is necessary that the Russian right on the sea advance with the rest of the line and take the principal seaport cities. This Russia has done without delay. Trebizond is now being evacuated by the Turks and will serve the Russian purposes of supply for another advance of at least fifty miles.

South of Erzerum, in the Lake Van district, the advance has been equally rapid. The towns of Mush and Bitlis have been taken, so that this whole lake district is now under control. This brings the Russian centre within fifty miles of the Bagdad railroad. The centre of the Russian army is still advancing against Diarbekr, while the left, swinging rapidly around like the lash of a whip, is pivoting on Bitlis and hurrying through Persia.

Bagdad is, of course, the objective of the left wing, just as it is of the British army which has been in such straits at Kut-el-Amara. The cutting of the railroad therefore at any point south of Mush and west of Mosul would cut off and corner the Turkish force operating against the British east and south-east of Diarbekr. Moreover, it seems now that it is impossible for the Turks to prevent a juncture of the Russians with the British forces on the Tigris.

As matters stand now, the entire Turkish Empire in the east is in danger, and, inasmuch as Turkey alone of all the belligerents has nothing to gain in the war other than the money she has already received, it is possible that she may be beaten into a separate peace rather than see her empire crumble as a sacrifice to Teuton ambitions. In such a case all the German losses incurred through the Serbian operations would have been in vain. The Allies, then, in looking around for comfort, can find it in the Near East, where the chances of a decided, though not a decisive success, are distinctly bright.



KAISER WILHELM II.

New Portrait Taken by the Court Photographer at Potsdam on the
Emperor's 57th Birthday



CROWN PRINCE WILHELM

Commander of the German Army in the Historic Attack Upon the
French Fortress of Verdun

(New Portrait by the Court Photographer)

How England Is Paying for the War

THE address of Premier Asquith in Parliament on Feb. 21, 1916, asking for a new war loan, dealt with sums and figures never before known in the history of deliberative assemblies. He asked for a supplementary vote of £120,000,000 for the present financial year, making a total of £1,420,000,000, or approximately \$7,000,000,000 for the year. This was expected to meet requirements of the situation up to March 10, 1916. The credit was voted with practical unanimity.

In the financial year 1914-15 there were three votes of credit between Aug. 6, 1914, and March 1, 1915, amounting to £362,000,000. In the financial year ended March 1, 1916, there were six votes of credit, as follows: March 1, 1915, £250,000,000; June 16, £250,000,000; July 20, £150,000,000; Sept. 16, £250,000,000; Nov. 10, £400,000,000; Feb. 22, £120,000,000.

In discussing the expenses of the war the Premier said:

The total actual issues on the vote of credit between April 1 and Feb. 19 were £1,198,000,000. But if, as on previous occasions, we make allowances for unspent balances and for special advances made with a view to financing expenditure which will not come into the charge until after the period under review, the total deduction required in order to adjust the account is £65,900,000.

The result is that we arrive at an adjusted expenditure for the period in question of £1,132,100,000. Every allowance has been made, including the American bonds. The figures showing the adjusted expenditure on votes of credit from April 1 to Nov. 6 are divided into three periods. The adjusted expenditure was:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| April 1 to July 17 (108 days) .. | £301,000,000 |
| July 18 to Sept. 11 (56 days) .. | 198,500,000 |
| Sept. 12 to Nov. 6 (56 days) .. | 243,600,000 |
| Making a total for 220 days of .. | £743,100,000 |

From Nov. 7 down to Feb. 19 represents 105 days, with an adjusted expenditure of £389,000,000.

It therefore follows that the aggregate for the financial year up to Feb. 19 (325 days) was £1,132,100,000.

The daily average rates for the periods work out as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| From April 1 to July 17 | £2,800,000 |
| From July 18 to Sept. 11 | 3,500,000 |
| From Sept. 12 to Nov. 6 | 4,350,000 |

The figures of the third period were swollen by repayments to the Bank of England for various advances made on behalf of the Government. Further liabilities had been incurred by the Bank at the request of the Government in respect of further advances to foreign powers. These would in due course be discharged out of the vote of credit, but so far it has not been found convenient to repay to the Bank any portion of these advances or certain other advances which have been made by them. Consequently the adjusted figure for the period from Nov. 7 to Feb. 19 does not include any payment in respect of this liability of the Government to the Bank.

If we add what is due to the Bank under that head, the daily average expenditure for this period does not differ to any substantial extent from the daily aggregate for the immediately preceding period.

The average may be put now as between £4,300,000 and £4,400,000 a day.

The speaker gave the following figures as loans to Allies and Canada:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| From April 1 to Nov. 6 (220 days) | £517,300,000 |
| From Nov. 7 to Feb. 19 (105 days) | £317,500,000 |
| And the total for the 325 days, from April 1 to Feb. 19 | £834,800,000 |

Loans to allied powers and to the dominions, which up to Nov. 6 were £98,300,000, have been followed between Nov. 7 and Feb. 19 by a further expenditure of £70,600,000, making a total of £168,900,000.

The last item (food supplies, railways, and miscellaneous), which, from April 1 to Nov. 6, was £23,500,000, amounted from Nov. 7 to Feb. 19 to £6,900,000,

making a total from April 1 to Feb. 19 of £30,400,000.

From April 1 to Nov. 6 the aggregate expenditure out of the votes of credit was £743,100,000, and from Nov. 7 to Feb. 19 it was £389,000,000, making a total of £1,132,100,000.

The expenditure for the army, navy, and munitions from Nov. 7 to Feb. 19 was £317,500,000.

That gives an average for that period of just over £3,000,000 a day.

If from this we deduct, as we ought, the normal peace expenditure on the army and the navy, which has been taken throughout on a basis of £220,000 a day, the net war expenditure on the army and navy services, including munitions, comes to £2,780,000 a day for the period which we are now considering. Our average daily war expenditure on the army, navy, and munitions from November to the present date has gone up £400,000.

Loans to allied powers and dominions out of votes of credit show a very substantial increase, having grown from £98,300,000 on Nov. 6 to £168,900,000. The growth in the rate of expenditure under this category is entirely attributable to advances to allies directly from votes of credit. That does not by any means represent the total amount we have advanced. In addition to the advances from the votes of credit there are advances which have been made by the Bank of England at the request of the Government. No separate totals can be given, but I can assure the House that the total of £423,000,000 given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in September last on account of advances will not be exceeded during the current financial year. I am afraid, however, they will not fall far short of that sum.

It is anticipated that the funds now in hand will last till about March 10, leaving twenty-one days of the current financial year to be provided for. On the basis hitherto adopted of £5,000,000 a day, twenty-one days will require £105,000,000. Honorable members may ask why I say £5,000,000 a day when

our expenditure has never exceeded £4,400,000 a day.

It has been thought advisable to allow a margin, and I am now asking the House to vote £120,000,000, which brings us to the total of £1,420,000,000, allowed for in the budget statement of September last.

* * * * *

This will be the tenth vote of credit since the war began, and it will raise the total votes of credit to £2,082,000,000.

This is not only unprecedented; it is a sum beyond the imagination of any financier in any country in the past.

As regards the probable rate of expenditure out of this new vote, we cannot see that it will be in any way probable that it will rise above £5,000,000 a day. That is, I think, a liberal estimate.

On that basis the vote will last us sixty days, from April 1 to the end of May.

No Minister has ever asked the House of Commons or any other democratic assembly during the course of less than two years to sanction an expenditure out of votes credit approaching or anywhere near the sum of £2,000,000,000, and the House will very reasonably require definite and positive, and possibly categorical, assurances that in the expenditure of this enormous sum adequate provision is being made, and proper safeguards taken, against extravagance and waste.

The conduct of war-like operations on such a scale as that which now prevails, and under conditions which could never have been foreseen either by ourselves or by any other nation, of course gives rise to infinite possibilities of extravagance, carelessness, and actual waste. The Retrenchment Committee, which was appointed with the consent of the Government, was wisely confined by the terms of its reference to civil expenditure, because it was felt that an inquisition by an outside body of the spending departments in the stress of war might hamper and paralyze the efficient conduct of administration.

But the Government, when they assented to or perhaps insisted upon that limitation of the reference to the Re-

trenchment Committee, were not insensible to the vital importance of providing some efficient and vigilant safeguard against extravagance in the military and naval departments.

The Finance Committee of the Cabinet discussed the matter with great care in the Summer and Autumn of last year, and as a result of their deliberations we have now had for some time past in the three great spending departments which are concerned with the prosecution of the war—the Navy, the Army, and the Ministry of Munitions—we have had installed committees—a committee for each department—composed of outside persons, men of great business experience and authority. In the case of two of these departments the committee is presided over by a Cabinet Minister who has no connection whatever with the actual conduct of the department.

These committees have, week by week, and almost day by day, been devoting their energies with, I think, very good results, not, of course, to interfering with administrative responsibilities—for that must rest with the heads of departments and those who dictate the policy of the Government—but to taking adequate precautions and care that there should be no avoidable waste; that whatever was done was done with economy as well as with efficiency.

I do not believe that we could have a better or more practical machinery for securing that the enormous sums which the House was willing and, indeed, eager, to vote for the successful prosecution of the war and the attainment of the end we have in view, should be expended by the departments immediately responsible without avoidable waste or extravagance.

That machinery has now been in operation for a considerable time and it is working, I have every reason to believe, with admirable results. Under the conditions in which we live I do not think it would be desirable, or even possible, to substitute for it anything more efficient, more prompt, or more easily workable.

Having taken some considerable pains

myself to follow the proceedings of these bodies and to see what results they have attained. I can assure the House that in my opinion very substantial economies have been effected, and the war is now being carried on on this gigantic scale and with the enormous resources which Parliament and the country are so willing and eager to bestow—the war is being carried on, so far as expenditure is concerned, under rigorous conditions which we not only hope but believe will prevent any substantial part of the money which Parliament votes, and which the country has to raise by taxation, from being devoted to any other purpose than the successful prosecution of our cause.

Standing here I feel an enormous and, indeed, overwhelming responsibility in asking the House to assent to this gigantic expenditure. I could not do so, and none of my colleagues could do so unless we were satisfied, first of all, that we had most carefully explored the ground and that we were not asking Parliament to vote a penny more than the exigencies of our cause and the great historic responsibilities we have taken on ourselves necessitate. We could not ask them to assent to that expenditure unless we were at the same time satisfied that every possible precaution is taken to see that the money of the taxpayer flows wholly and exclusively through the channels for which it is intended, and by which it can most successfully attain the object we have in view.

Having satisfied ourselves of this we should be false to the trust which the nation and Parliament has reposed in us if we did not, in addition to the enormous burdens which the country has so willingly undertaken already, ask the people to take on their shoulders this additional load, confident as we are, and as we always have been, in the justice of our cause and in the necessity of the case, and confident also that if the country will—as I am sure it will—respond to our call, the just cause will prevail.

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY]

Woman's Invasion of British Industry

An Economic Drama and Its Possible Dénouement

By Spencer Brodney

An English Journalist

A WOMAN'S proper place is in the home—but not in the belligerent countries, and least of all in Great Britain. There, to an extent the most enthusiastic exponent of woman's economic independence never dreamed of, the war has wrought a change. Woman as a self-supporting wage-earner has come into her own—for the time being at an rate. It is easy to understand the process which has taken place under our eyes; but how are we to gauge the effects after the war, when the men come home again and want their jobs? Is the "provisional occupation" of the industrial field to be brought to an end, and are the women to be displaced in favor of the original occupiers? Will not the women fight hard for the jobs which the fortune of war has given them, particularly the many jobs by which they are earning as much as the men and justifying the claim of "equal pay for equal work"?

Here, then, in the displacement of men called to the duties of the battlefield we have the first act of a great social and economic drama. The second act will be the clashing of the sexes for the industrial field won by the women, with possession worth its nine points in law. The third act will bring the dénouement, perhaps the most startling in the history of man—and woman—for there is already more than a hint of a revolutionary solution which Governments may have to adopt to get women back to their proper place in the home.

It is not easy to imagine an able-bodied and intelligent young woman who has proved that she is capable of earning a man's wage at a steel lathe or in the driver's seat of a street car relinquishing her position without protest in a country where before the war

the excess number of women over men made marriage not the certainty it ought to be. After the war the number of marriageable men will be still smaller by reason of those lost in the war or crippled and invalidated by service at the front. At the same time the men able to marry will be less likely to do so when good employment is scarcer and the cost of living higher.

The woman who is now economically independent, as she has never been before, will have acquired the skill and training required for her work; she will have a grasp of it, and therefore in many cases she will be kept at it by her employer, who will prefer not to dislocate his business by bringing in a man who has been unfitted for civil life by soldiering. No employer is anxious to lose an employe who is competent, whatever he may say in his moments of patriotic enthusiasm about finding a place for the man who has served his country at the front. This is no cynical view of human nature; this thing happened in England after the South African war and will happen again.

When, therefore, the men return after the war the women who have displaced them will have many allies among the employers. In a country burdened by the cost of war the most serious result from the returning soldiers' standpoint will be the tendency for wages to drop. Economic pressure will force the employers to turn to their advantage the discovery that women can do all kinds of work for which it was thought formerly only men were suited. Female labor will have the preference because it is cheaper.

In a world in which everything har-

monized as prettily as in a fairy tale, the returning soldier would no doubt solve the problem by marrying the girl whose job he wanted, and she would go home to fulfill the functions of wife and mother for which nature intended her. But England after the war is going to be no land of faery, but one where illusions will be stripped aside by disconcerting realities. One series of these illusions—masculine illusions for the most part—which will disappear will be those concerning the work which women have not been supposed able to do. The war has shown that there is apparently nothing that a woman cannot do. In fact, it is conceivable that, apart from the necessity of having fathers for the succeeding generations, women could get along quite easily without men, and that, in contradiction to all our most cherished masculine beliefs, woman is after all the more important sex. Without being formulated in this extreme form, this idea or tendency of thought has subconsciously developed in women's minds since the war, and will give new color and force to the feminist movement when it again surges forward after peace returns. A modern industrial state is no figment of the imagination, because England is every day the war lasts falling more and more into the hands of the women, and it is certain they will retain a substantial part of what they have gained.

Before the war the woman's movement was already a solvent in the problem of modern civilization in England. The demand for political rights by the suffragettes and their—to some minds—outrageous methods of propaganda were only outward signs of a much deeper tendency. Without going back so far as the publication in 1790 of Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women," we may say that the woman's movement began in the middle of the nineteenth century when Frederick Denison Maurice became the pioneer of the higher education of women. Within a few years came the foundation of the political movement, followed by the election to Parliament of John Stuart Mill, who placed woman's suffrage in his election address.

The result of over sixty years' activity in education is that today England is remarkable for the number of women in every branch of learning and public life. Probably nowhere else and at no other time in history have women counted for so much. It is true that they cannot vote for or sit in Parliament, and that they cannot practice as barristers, but in every other walk of life they are strongly in evidence. Even in the highest political circles their influence is enormous, and not merely because of the feminine capacity for intrigue, which is common enough everywhere at the courts of monarchs and in the councils of statesmen, but by reason of genuine qualities of intellect and character. Could the secret history of the day be made an open book, it would reveal a striking spectacle of feminine influence. But without going behind the scenes, we can see enough of women in public life to estimate them as a factor of first-class importance.

One result of the splendid position which women of education have won in a couple of generations is that the great mass of their less fortunate sisters have excellent leaders in all the social and political movements which affect them. How much, for example, has been done since the war began for woman wage-earners by the leaders of their trade-union movement it is at the moment impossible to calculate. And these leaders are only a section of those who may be depended upon to stand up for the women when the new struggle for their position in the industrial world begins.

Let us try to get some idea of how much industrial territory women have invaded since the war. In the manufacture of munitions alone there are now nearly 300,000 employed. According to an official report, presented to Parliament in January of this year, these workers include dressmakers, laundry workers, textile workers, domestic servants, clerical workers, shop assistants, university and art students, women and girls of every social grade and of no previous wage-earning experience; also, in large numbers, wives and widows of soldiers, many married women who had retired altogether from in-

dustrial life, and many again who had never entered it.

We reach the millions when we try to estimate the number of women who are now doing the work formerly done by men in professional, commercial, and industrial pursuits.

It is well-nigh impossible to mention any kind of job, from policeman, car conductor, engineer to specialized machinist, into which women are not stepping every day, and the remarkable thing is that—except where several years of special or technical training are essential—they are acquiring the required skill and knowledge and adapting themselves to their new occupations with a rapidity not easy to credit. One reads, for example, of a turbine segment building where women are cutting off blades, boring the distance pieces and blades, building up the turbine segments, and brazing the whole, and that this work was before the war considered to be so highly skilled that an expert fitter received a good deal above his ordinary rate for doing it. Imagine the look of incredulity or consternation on the face of one of those highly skilled fitters before the war if he had been told that a woman, a mere woman, could take his job and make good on it in a few months.

The factories making munitions will, of course, close down as soon as the war is over, and the women, as well as the men, who have been drawn on for this labor will no longer be required. But there will still be the women in the other professional, commercial, and industrial occupations in which there will be no closing down. It is there that the great struggle will take place. The readjustment to normal conditions will withdraw part of the women, but the outstanding fact will be that the number of female wage earners will be enormously greater than before the war, that many will have learned the meaning of economic independence, and in so learning will have acquired new ways of life and thought.

The problem of unemployment among men will, as we have seen, be acuter than it has ever been. It will not be

the only problem. There will be another, the solution of which, along the lines that are now being suggested, may ultimately prove the way out of the difficulties to which women's invasion of industry has given rise. Great Britain, like the other belligerent countries, is suffering from a terrible wastage of manhood. The loss cannot be made good in less than a generation. But even then the nation's supply of men will not be fully replenished unless it be possible for the women of this generation to become mothers. If the women engaged in industry increase, so far from the wastage being restored, the tendency will be in the opposite direction; and a still greater fall in the birth rate will take place. Obviously, as the French Government has clearly recognized, means must be found whereby women may become mothers instead of remaining wage-earners. In some quarters it is urged that every woman able to fulfill her natural function should as a duty become a mother; and so, for the first time in Christendom, we get a hint that partial polygamy is to be pardoned in the interests of the State, and more boldly the demand that the unmarried mother should no longer be regarded as a sinner.

It is curious how the war should have led to this departure from moral tradition when we remember that one of the origins of polygamy and concubinage among less civilized peoples has been precisely the same national, or tribal, necessity of replenishing the supply of men killed in war. We have here an illustration of the saying of a certain moralist that the only difference between polygamy, polyandry, and monogamy is arithmetical.

But whatever the moral issue may be, since the war is inevitably going to alter the moral status, as well as the social and economic position of women, we have to recognize that statesmen are more accustomed to mold their morality to the needs of the nation than to make national policy subservient to morality. For the good of the State it will be necessary after the war that women should be mothers rather than wage-earners, and that as mothers they should be enabled

to bear and bring up the healthiest children possible.

The solution, then, that is now being suggested is that the State should offer women an inducement to become mothers, or, in other words, pay them for their services as mothers so that they can afford to abandon their wage-earning activities. In many countries social legislation already contains the germs of the more comprehensive measures which will be forced upon the belligerent nations. If the problem is solved as is now being proposed, it will go a long way toward sending the women back to their proper place in the home and leaving industry open to men, not because, as we have now learned, the men cannot be dispensed with, but because, unlike women, they are of no use except as wage-

earners. That woman will prefer the home to the factory, provided an equivalent inducement is offered, is certain, since it is a primary fact that woman would rather perform her natural function as mother.

If this solution is going to be effectively embodied in legislation, it will provide the happy ending to the drama, the first act of which is already being enacted by the women who have in such overwhelming numbers invaded man's industrial domain and are there so strongly entrenched under the flag of economic independence. For the men the happy ending would be the reconquest of their position in the industrial world, and for the women the guarantee of their economic independence, not as rival wage-earners, but in their own territory, the home.

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY.]

Is England Going to Abandon Free Trade?

By a British Observer

IS free trade in Great Britain doomed? This is the question that is now agitating the land of Cobdenism. Already the tariff controversy has been reopened, and free traders and protectionists are bringing their arguments up to date to apply to altered conditions. If Great Britain abandons the free trade system, it will be among the greatest of the world changes wrought by the war, for free trade is the traditional policy under which for seventy years she has grown and prospered, and on which the whole fabric of her industrial and commercial life has rested.

The last great attempt to convert England to protectionist ideas was that initiated in 1903 by the late Joseph Chamberlain, who succeeded in securing the adoption by the Unionist Party of a scheme of tariff reform and colonial preference. But the overwhelming de-

feat of the Unionists at the general election of January, 1906, and the return to power of the Liberal free trade party, proved a decisive setback to the cause of imperial fiscal union. One reason for the failure of Mr. Chamberlain and the tariff reformers to convert the great mass of the people was his bold declaration that "if you are to give a preference to the colonies, you must put a tax on food," (House of Commons, May 28, 1903.) Finally, after about a decade of agitation and controversy, the Unionist Party saw that it was necessary to drop its food taxation proposals, and in doing so it virtually abandoned its protectionist ideas and struck tariff reform out of its official program. Protection in England was once more, to quote Disraeli's words, "not only dead, but damned."

But the war has resurrected the old issue. The tariff reformers are once

more extremely active, for two new sets of circumstances have given them the basis of what they believe to be a new case for a protectionist policy. One is the enormously increased taxation which will be required to meet the new war liabilities; the other is the determination to maintain Great Britain's industrial and commercial position and to destroy Germany as a trade rival after the war. The rise of these two new questions has already influenced free traders, and even by Liberal members of the Coalition Cabinet it is being admitted that the people should keep an open mind on the fiscal system.

The most surprising illustration of the change that is taking place comes from Manchester, the home and centre of Cobdenism, and until now unshakable in its opposition to the least suggestion of protection. For the first time since the death of Cobden in 1865 the Manchester Chamber of Commerce declared against free trade when at a meeting on Feb. 14, 1916, a memorandum was brought forward by the Directors to the effect that it was highly undesirable and premature at the present time to consider any such drastic change of national policy as a reversion to protective duties. Those present at the meeting refused to approve the memorandum. In the course of the discussion the free traders' point of view was expressed by the President, R. Norton Barclay, who said that many of the considerations which were being put forward were not economic considerations at all, but were in the nature of reprisals. He continued:

The protectionists have seized this exceptionally favorable opportunity to force this hoary question on you in the hope that in the excitement of the war they may carry their point. If they succeed, the floodgate will be open and the whole torrent of protectionist fallacy will sweep through. Do not let us be too much swayed by the naturally bitter feelings of the moment. Your action today concerns not times of war, but the long and, I trust, fruitful years of peace which are to follow.

H. Derwent Simpson, a Manchester lawyer and conservative in politics, denied that protectionists were seeking to impose their nostrums upon the coun-

try and said that the memorandum meant nothing more or less than that there should not be free trade with Germany after the war. They wanted definite action to keep our enemy traders. Another speaker said that free trade had guaranteed the life, extension, and vigor of German industries, and that after the war there would be no such thing as a free trade meeting in England. The vote at the meeting was not regarded as conclusive, and a poll of all the members was accordingly taken. This resulted in 988 votes being cast against the memorandum to 527 for adhering to the policy of free trade.

Such a result must be regarded as significant. In conjunction with it may be read recent utterances of Liberal Cabinet Ministers. E. S. Montagu, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Financial Secretary to the Treasury, speaking at Cambridge, advised his Liberal friends "to keep an open mind" on the fiscal system, "the whole of which would have to be rearranged," and also in "our relations with the colonies, which would have to be considerably altered." Tariff reformers take this to be a hint that their ideas are at last in the realm of practical politics, as they do a recent statement by Sir Thomas MacKenzie, the High Commissioner in London for New Zealand, that he believed that Mr. Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade and a free trader, was going to take up some measure involving a protective tariff. Then there is the speech delivered by Reginald McKenna, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Liberal and free trader, to the Executive Committee of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce on Feb. 29, 1916, when he said:

There is an issue which once divided the nation and on which the opinions of most of us probably remain unchanged. But it does not follow, because we stand now as we stood before, that there is not a very large field for common agreement among us. Because trade is free it does not follow that the Government should not assist our traders, and we are prepared to give the assistance of the Government to the development of foreign trade in order that it may no longer be controlled by our enemies.

There is nothing in this statement to

indicate that Mr. McKenna has surrendered his free trade principles, but in the light of the present political situation it suggests that the influence of the protectionists is being exerted within the Cabinet itself, which includes Bonar Law and Austen Chamberlain, the two leading successors of Joseph Chamberlain in the agitation for tariff reform. The coalition, while it represents national unity as required by war, must necessarily be based upon compromise in regard to other matters. It is more than likely that the fiscal question will be dealt with in this way in view of the pressing need for new revenue. The free trade section may decide that a tariff, not as an expression of protective ideas, but merely as a means of raising revenue, may be the only way of solving the Government's financial problem.

It is not only the necessity of finding money that is making itself felt. The antagonism to Germany as a trade rival is a potent influence running in the same direction. At the conference of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce, which was opened on Feb. 29, 1916, with an attendance of a thousand delegates, several important resolutions were adopted, two of them reflecting overwhelmingly the sentiment for an entire readjustment of British economic and trade policy. The first resolution, unanimously adopted, declared that

the experience of the war has shown that the strength and safety of the British Nation in time of national peril lies in the possession by this nation of the power to produce its requirements from its own soil and its own factories rather than in the possession of values which may be exported and exchanged for products and manufactures of foreign countries.

The chief point in the discussion was that the country's internal production was more important than exports and foreign trade, on which hitherto the nation has relied. The other resolution, for trade reciprocity and tariffs, was opposed by free trade delegates, but finally prevailed by a large majority. It provided for

1. Preferential trading relations between all British countries.

2. Reciprocal trading relations between the British Empire and the allied countries.

3. Favorable treatment of neutral countries.

4. Restriction by tariffs and otherwise on all trade relations with enemy countries, so as to make it impossible to return to pre-war conditions.

Despite all these signs that tariff reform is again a live issue, it is too early yet to say that they spell the doom of free trade, since there are other factors to be considered, the most important being the workers, whose determination to prevent food taxation and a general increase in the cost of living makes them the backbone of the opposition which defeated tariff reform and may do so again. The recognition of the fact that it is really the great mass of the nation, the working classes, that has to be weaned of free trade ideas is seen in the line of argument employed by The London Morning Post, the most representative newspaper organ of the British Conservative and Tariff Reform Party. In an editorial on Feb. 21, 1916, that journal says:

We have never believed that a tariff would be anything but in the highest degree beneficial to the working classes. We commend the very interesting account, by Mr. Wise, the Agent General for New South Wales, of the labor policy of Australia, as reported in our issue of Saturday. Mr. Wise reminded his audience that the Labor Party of Australia erected a tariff because Australia "dared not expose their well-paid artisans to competition of the low-paid trades in England." His case for protection was the well-being of labor. "They could not have a standard wage, a living wage, in an industry exposed to the unrestricted competition of the same industry in another country where the wages and standard of living were much lower." That is an example which the workman should consider.

An important phase of the new controversy is whether it should be settled at once or deferred till after the war. The tariff reformers urge that there should be no delay. "If the tariff is to be chiefly directed to meet German plans for commercial supremacy after the war," says The Morning Post, "it is of first importance that it should be imposed before the Germans can deploy their commercial forces. If, on the other hand, it is wanted to raise revenue, the sooner

we begin it the better. It is important that this question should be settled before the end of the war, because when peace comes there will be a rush of new and distracting questions. Our men will crowd back from the front, and their needs will demand attention; there will be peace questions, all manner of thorny and intricate problems to be discussed." The real meaning of this demand for no delay is, according to the free traders, the protectionists' "hope that in the excitement of the war they may carry their point"; or as *The London Daily News*, a leading Liberal free-trade organ, puts it in an editorial on Feb. 15, 1916, the exploitation of the feeling against Germany "to achieve an end which has nothing to do with our hostility to Germany." From the standpoint of the working classes, it is an attempt to rush through a protective tariff at once, because after the war the labor movement will once again be such an important factor in the situation as to force quite a different solution of the problem. The workers will refuse to make all they consume dearer "in order that," as *The Daily News* says, "we may keep the taxes of the rich and well-to-do lower."

The most striking criticism of the new protectionist propaganda comes from W. C. Anderson, M. P., a leading Labor representative. In an article in the issue of *The Daily News*, already quoted, he writes:

The only pro-Germans I have encountered in England are the men who, Prussians themselves in their outlook and viewpoint, desire to rivet upon us the military despotism and economic crudities which for many years have bound and robbed and enslaved the German people. The demand for protection will go forward this time backed by the war heritage of anger and passion. It will be made by men who, while they are fighting, do not know how to make war, and, when they have stopped fighting, do not know how to make peace. They may conceivably add free trade to the various scalps which already adorn their wigmaws. Is it proposed that food should be taxed? If food is to be taxed, who is going to reap the benefit of the change? It will hardly be argued that a momentous fiscal departure

should be made in order that certain privileged individuals and classes may be further enriched at the expense of the working populations of the towns. The fresh impost on food would be paid by those least able to pay.

It will be impossible to raise the protectionist issue without evoking sharp and bitter controversy between the possessing classes and the dispossessed. Already the idea of conscripting surplus wealth, especially landed estates, is being keenly debated by many of the working people. Probably the only alternative to the drastic conscription of wealth is tariff reform and indirect taxation by which the rich will be made still richer, and the poor still poorer. Hence the protectionists are apparently obliged to gamble in stakes that may easily destroy them; certainly the struggle will not be between tariff reform and what they call orthodox Cobdenism.

What is true of the taxation of food is equally true of the taxation of manufactured articles. If the State needs money, it is no answer to offer proposals by which out of the increased exploitation of the poor some revenue would pass to the national exchequer, but accompanied by such leakage and political log-rolling that favored capitalists in protected industries would be enriched at the same time. The working people will stand a good deal, but they are not going to stand that.

It will thus be seen that the British fiscal controversy has been revived with all its old-time acrimony. Even if before the war ends the Government imposes a tariff, the controversy will only be at its beginning, because it will not be until after the war that the great new problems will really arise in their most acute form, and when they do, the contention will not merely be a clash between the ideas of protectionists and free traders, not, as Mr. Anderson significantly remarks, between tariff reform and orthodox Cobdenism, but a struggle between such diverse interests as those of the landowners and farmers, the manufacturers who want their industries protected, the mercantile classes that still see their benefit in freedom of trade, the middle classes that look at things primarily from the viewpoint of the consumer, and last, but by no means least, the great mass of the working people and the legions of the poor.

The Purpose of the Kaiser

By Count Ernst Reventlow

Germany's Most Noted Military Critic

On account of the author's close relations with the ruling spirits of Germany this article from the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of Leipzig may be regarded as more or less authoritative.

WHEN German troops, operating with the Austro-Hungarians and Bulgarians, opened the road to Constantinople through Serbia, so that there loomed new possibilities for Germany and her allies to become factors in the Orient, outspoken opinions were heard throughout Germany that the nation's future now, more than ever, lay in the southeast, on land, rather than on the sea. The events of the war with incontrovertible logic have turned the eyes of the Germans away from the water to Mesopotamia, Central Africa, Asia. It is time to reflect what are the thoughts of Emperor William II. regarding Germany's future.

One of the first acts of the Emperor when he ascended the throne was to order the naval authorities to work out plans for four large battleships, and to place the project of their construction before the Reichstag. Since the time of Admiral von Stosch no large battleships had been built, and his successor, Caprivi, had to be satisfied with a fleet largely for coast defense. As a result a number of small ships appeared, ships that subsequently were found to be useless.

The German Emperor's command for the immediate construction of four big warships meant more than the mere addition of these ships to the navy. The matter was symbolical to the extent that it was meant to be the first step toward the creation of a German fleet of the high seas. It was the denial of the established order that the first aim of the German Navy was to do coast service. That was the first step, and the Kaiser for ten years—that is, up to 1897—had to fight his way until the second step could be taken, the enactment of the

naval laws which von Tirpitz first brought into being.

Early in his reign the German Emperor went to Constantinople, and then, in the Fall of 1888, there followed the first concession of the Turkish Government for the building and operation of the Anatolian railroad, with the privilege of extending the line to Diarbekir and Bagdad.

Before the Kaiser departed on his journey Emperor Alexander III. of Russia asked Prince Bismarck, "And how about Constantinople?" Bismarck answered that the trip meant nothing that would affect the status quo in the Orient, and this satisfied the Czar. Bismarck spoke the truth. The journey of the Kaiser was not for the purpose of changing the status quo, but rather to maintain and strengthen the situation as it existed. Since the time of Peter the Great it had been the aim of Russian policy, by diplomacy or conquest, to upset the status quo of the Near East.

In the beginning of 1914 Sazonoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that Constantinople and the waters thereabout had long been Russia's goal in war. And Russia is waging the present war against Germany to gain Constantinople by way of Berlin.

Emperor William long ago made it clear that Germany's economic existence is closely related to the fate of Constantinople. It was no policy of aggression that the Kaiser desired to follow, nor was it a policy of expansion that prompted his activity in the southeast; but his mind was set upon obtaining economic advantages for the Germans of the future. This purpose actuated the Kaiser in his plan for the navy. The fleet was to give security for the trade and traf-

fic of the German merchant fleet on all the seas; to facilitate Germany's intercourse with the oversea colonies and with other markets in foreign lands.

The task of creating such a navy was extraordinarily difficult. The difficulty was increased by the fact that the German people failed to understand the necessity, and for ten long years opposed the plan. Slowly victory was gained, but, as the war has shown, too slowly. For in the Summer of 1914 the fleet was not strong enough to risk itself in the cause of maintaining peace.

Considered by itself, the task of securing safety for German shipping was much less complicated than the German aim in the Orient. The former was merely a question of building a fleet that should be powerful enough to maintain peace, or in case of war give a good account of itself. The Kaiser's policy in the East had to do with more numerous factors and circumstances. It is true that the latter presented both internal and foreign problems, but no matter what the opposition at home and England's dissatisfaction with the threatened competition, the question itself was simple enough. It was different in the Orient. Here economic and political problems crossed each other—problems of the most delicate and complicating sort. The Turkish Empire was weak, and was under international financial control, principally that of England and France. Those countries looked upon this control as a means for making their influence felt at the expense of Turkey, so as better to prepare for its eventual partition.

On the other side stood Russia, and only the jealousy between Russia and England prevented these from attempting separately to crush Turkey. Sultan Abdul Hamid, who was a diplomatic artist of the first rank, understood always how to play the powers against each other. And he used the same method with the Balkan nations. But it cannot be denied that Turkey's condition was becoming more and more deplorable. The powers mentioned were doing everything to foster disturbances within the Turkish Empire. Germany's

interests in the matter were diametrically different; she needed a strong, independent Turkey, with capacity to make heavy purchases.

For the same reason it was to Germany's interest that Turkey should shake off the economic and political influence of the subsequent Quadruple Entente. The shrewd Abdul Hamid realized that the new German desire for political participation in the East differed fundamentally from what the other powers proposed to do. In addition to this, the German Empire did not border on Turkey, as does Russia, nor did its fleet sway the oceans and the Turkish waters, as in the case of England and later the Anglo-French navy. Germany could do Turkey no harm, but, on the contrary, serve it and give it support.

Abdul Hamid, therefore, not only met the confidence of the German Emperor with readiness, but he knew how to utilize his statesmanship, and then, when the German financial group obtained a concession for constructing a railroad, began a work that has been famous for years—the Bagdad railway. The history of the development of this enterprise, with its many obstacles and delays, is closely interwoven with European political history. As the present war has shown, the movement which Emperor William at that time instituted with his new policy for the Orient has proved of enormous benefit to German prestige. With ever-increasing force this has been apparent in the Balkans within the last year. To Germany and German trade and industry the Orient was accessible only by way of the land route. This route leads across the Balkan Peninsula. It became Germany's essential object not to have this road blocked. For this as for other reasons we were obliged to strengthen the position of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. And for this reason Russian enmity against everything German increased, especially within the last year before the war.

Germany had to shoulder this opposition, for if she wanted to found, hold fast, and develop her new sphere of influ-

ence in the Orient she must expect to encounter opposition. This was the situation with the arrival of the Bosnian crisis in 1908-09, which came off peacefully enough while the German Empire placed its entire weight back of its Austro-Hungarian allies. Russia had not yet recovered from its east Asiatic defeat and was therefore not able to carry on a big war.

Under the direction of Russia and England the Balkan war of 1912 started. This war was to destroy Turkey, rear a Slav wall against Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, and thus pronounce the death sentence upon the German advance in the Orient, upon the Bagdad railroad, and upon all that pertained thereto. But in Turkey energetic and patriotic men began a reorganization which had quick and surprising results. The great war has brought splendid evidence of the capability of our Turkish allies. In vain have the Russians, the English, and the French attempted to get Constantinople by way of the Black Sea and Gallipoli. When Bulgaria ranged herself with the German-Austrian-Turkish allies, and Serbia was brought to her knees, Germany for the first time could look along an uninterrupted roadway connecting Berlin and Constantinople. Today, while the war is raging, regular Balkan trains are passing between the capital of the German Empire and that of Turkey.

A connection of this kind, secured on its own initiative, was the factor that was missing in the German situation in the Orient before the war began. At no time had Emperor William, with his tried desire for peace, even remotely thought of the possibility of forcing a way for the German Empire along this route with the sword. The Kaiser counted much more on the peaceful traffic of the nations and hoped in time to see the same conditions prevail in the Balkan Peninsula. But those envious of the German Empire would not have it so. All of them, not Russia alone, were

determined to prevent by force the civilizing, strengthening, German economic policy that was benefiting Turkey. Germany, therefore, was compelled against her will to use her sword in order to open a way for her trade, industry, and culture; and this was not relished by the others, because they were bent on conquering and robbing there.

Emperor William knew that the outlet for Germany's industry lay toward the East, and that the road thither was over Austria-Hungary and the Balkan Peninsula. But what peaceful efforts during a quarter of a century have not been able to accomplish, the war has done. And it is again worth noticing that Germany and her allies did not of their own choice cut a road to Constantinople, but were compelled to do so by circumstances. The question whether the present status in that region is likely to prevail later may be answered in the affirmative, because of the fact that a wise and far-seeing policy has been inaugurated by the Quadruple Alliance.

The naval policy of the Kaiser has been realized only in part, but his solicitude for the fleet and for the Orient supplement each other. The one cannot supplant the other. Germany in the future dare not turn from the water and confine herself to economic expansion in the Near East, and from there to Asia and Africa. It is not a question of a free sea or an unconfined Orient. Both are necessary. A free hand in the Orient for Germany would not prevent England from disputing a free sea with us. Nor would a free sea guarantee to Germany a free Orient. To understand what the German Emperor has in mind we must consider the questions as connected entities. Both issues are not yet fully developed, but the Germans have their goals before them, and have the power to attain their desires when ready. With the realization of these two objects the name of Emperor William II. will be linked to the history of Germany and the world.

Sketches From the War Zone

By Richard Harding Davis

Mr. Davis was a veteran war correspondent before the present war began, and since then he has wandered over the whole zone of battles from Ypres to Saloniki, recording the things seen in a series of vivid and deeply human word pictures. In this issue *CURRENT HISTORY* presents some of his most recent sketches of war aspects in France and England.

Verdun's Traps and Mazes

SIX weeks ago, when I was in Verdun, the Germans, from a distance of twenty miles, had dropped shells into Nancy and threatened to send more. That gave Nancy a news interest which Verdun lacked. So I was intolerant of Verdun and anxious to hasten on to Nancy.

Today Nancy and her three shells are forgotten, and to all the world the place of greatest interest is Verdun. Verdun has been Roman, Austrian, and not until 1648 did she become a part of France. This is the fourth time she has been attacked: By the Prussians in 1792, when she at once surrendered; again by the Germans in 1870, when, after a gallant defense of three weeks, she surrendered, and in October of 1914.

She then was more menaced than attacked. It was the Crown Prince and General von Strantz with seven army corps who threatened her. General Sarrail, now commanding the allied forces in Saloniki, with three army corps and reinforced by part of an army corps from Toul, directed the defense. The attack was made upon Fort Troyon, about twenty miles south of Verdun. The fort was destroyed, but the Germans were repulsed. Four days later, Sept. 24, the real attack was made fifteen miles south of Troyon, on the village of St. Mihiel. The object of von Strantz was to break through the Verdun-Toul line, to inclose Sarrail from the south and at Revigny link arms with the Crown Prince. They then would have had the army of Sarrail surrounded.

For several days it looked as though von Strantz would succeed, but, though

outnumbered, Sarrail's line held, and he forced von Strantz to "dig in" at St. Mihiel. The salient of St. Mihiel still exists. It is like a dagger that failed to reach the heart but remains stuck in the flesh. On either side the French surround it. In January, from the first line of trenches to the north, I could look across the salient held by the Germans and see, on the other side of them, 800 yards away and facing us, the French trenches to the southwest.

The attack of von Strantz having failed, a week later, on Oct. 3, the Crown Prince attacked through the Forest of the Argonne between Varennes and Verdun. But this assault also was repulsed by Sarrail, who captured Varennes and with his left joined up with the Fourth Army of General Langle. The line as then formed by that victory remained much as it is today.

The present attack is directed neither to the north nor south of Verdun, but straight at the forts of the city. These forts form but a part of the defenses. For twenty miles in front of Verdun have been spread trenches and barb wire. In turn, these are covered by artillery positions in the woods and on every height. Even were a fort destroyed, to occupy it the enemy must pass over a terrain every foot of which is under fire. As the defense of Verdun has been arranged, each of the forts is but a rallying point, a base. The actual fighting, the combat that will decide the struggle, will take place in the open.

Last month I was invited to one of the Verdun forts. It now lies in the very path of the drive, and to describe it

would be improper. But the approaches to the fort are now what every German knows. They were more impressive even than the fort. The "glacis" of the fort stretched for a mile, and as we walked in the direction of the German trenches there was not a moment when from every side French guns could not have blown us into fragments. They were mounted on the spurs of the hills, sunk in pits, ambushed in the thick pine woods. Every step forward was made cautiously between trenches, or through mazes of barb wire and iron hurdles with bayonet-like spikes. Even walking leisurely you had to watch your step. Pits opened suddenly at your feet, and strands of barbed wire caught at your clothing. Whichever way you looked trenches flanked you. They were dug at every angle and were not further than fifty yards apart.

On one side, a half mile distant, was a hill heavily wooded. At regular intervals the trees had been cut down and uprooted and, like a woodroad, a cleared

place showed. These were the nests of the "seventy-fives." They could sweep the approaches to the fort as a fire hose flushes a gutter. That a human being should be ordered to advance against such pitfalls and obstructions, and under the fire from the trenches and batteries, seemed sheer murder. Not even a cat with nine lives could survive.

The German papers tell that before this great drive upon Verdun was launched the German Emperor reproduced the attack in miniature. The whereabouts and approaches to the positions they were to take were explained to the men. Their officers were rehearsed in the part each was to play. But no rehearsal would teach a man to avoid the pitfalls that surround Verdun. The open places are as treacherous as quicksands, the forests that seem to offer him shelter are a succession of traps. And if he captures one fort he but brings himself under the fire of two others.

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In the Forests of the Vosges

WHEN speaking of their 500 miles of front, the French General Staff divides it into twelve sectors. The names of these do not appear on maps. They are family names and titles, not of certain places, but of districts with imaginary boundaries. These nicknames seem to thrive best in countries where the same race of people have lived for many centuries. With us, it is usually when we speak of mountains, as "in the Rockies," "in the Adirondacks," that under one name we merge rivers, valleys, and villages. To know the French names for the twelve official fronts may help in deciphering the communiqués. They are these:

Flanders, the first sector, stretches from the North Sea to beyond Ypres; the Artois sector surrounds Arras; the centre of Picardie is Amiens; Santerre follows the valley of the Oise; Soissonais is the sector that extends from Soissons on the

Aisne to the Champagne sector, which begins with Rheims and extends southwest to include Chalons; Argonne is the forest of Argonne; the Hautes de Meuse, the district around Verdun; Woivre lies between the Heights of the Meuse and the River Moselle; then come Lorraine, the Vosges, all hills and forests, and last, Alsace, the territory won back from the enemy.

Of these twelve fronts, I was on ten. The remaining two I missed through leaving France to visit the French fronts in Serbia and Saloniki. According to which front you are on, the trench is of mud, clay, chalk, sandbags, or cement; it is ambushed in gardens and orchards, it winds through flooded mud flats, is hidden behind the ruins of wrecked villages, and paved and reinforced with the stones and bricks from the smashed houses.

Of all the trenches the most curious were those of the Vosges. They were the most curious because, to use the last word

one associates with trenches, they are the most beautiful.

We started for the trenches of the Vosges from a certain place close to the German border. It was so close that in the inn a rifle bullet from across the border had bored a hole in the café mirror.

The car climbed steadily. The swollen rivers flowed far below us, and then disappeared, and the slopes that fell away on one side of the road and rose on the other became smothered under giant pines. Above us they reached to the clouds, below us swept grandly across great valleys. There was no sign of human habitation, not even the hut of a charcoal burner. Except for the road we might have been the first explorers of a primeval forest. We seemed as far removed from the France of cities, cultivated acres, stone bridges, and châteaux as Rip Van Winkle lost in the Catskills. The silence was the silence of the ocean.

We halted at what might have been a lumberman's camp. There were cabins of huge green logs with the moss still fresh and clinging, and smoke poured from mud chimneys. In the air was an enchanting odor of balsam and boiling coffee. It needed only a man in a Mackinaw coat with an axe to persuade us we had motored from a French village ten hundred years old into a perfectly new trading post on the Saskatchewan.

But from the lumber camp the Colonel appeared, and with him in the lead we started up a hill as sheer as a church roof. The freshly cut path reached upward in short zigzag lengths. Its outer edge was shored with the trunks of the trees cut down to make way for it. They were fastened with stakes, and against rain and snow helped to hold it in place. The soil, as the path showed, was of a pink stone. It cuts easily and is the stone from which cathedrals have been built. That suggests that to an ambitious young sapling it offers little nutriment, but the pines, at least, seem to thrive on it. For centuries they have thrived on it. They towered over us to the height of eight stories. The ground beneath was hidden by the most exquisite moss, and moss climbed far up the tree trunks and covered the branches. They

looked as though, to guard them from the cold, they had been swathed in green velvet. Except for the pink path we were in a world of green—green moss, green ferns, green tree trunks, green shadows. The little light that reached from above was like that which filters through the glass plates of an aquarium.

It was very beautiful, but was it war? We might have been in the Adirondacks, in the private camp of one of our men of millions. You expect to see the fire warden's red poster warning you to stamp out the ashes and to be careful where you throw matches. Then the path dived into a trench with pink walls, and, over head, arches of green branches rising higher and higher until they interlocked and shut out the sky. The trench led to a barrier of logs as round as a flour barrel, the openings plugged with moss and the whole hidden in fresh pine boughs. It reminded you of those open barricades used in boar hunting, and behind which the German Emperor awaits the onslaught of thoroughly terrified pigs.

Like a bird nest it clung to the side of the hill, and, across a valley, looked at a sister hill a quarter of a mile away.

"On that hill," said the Colonel, "on a level with us, are the Germans."

Had he told me that among the pine trees across the valley Santa Claus manufactured his toys and stabled his reindeer, I would have believed him. Had humpbacked dwarfs with beards peeped from behind the velvet tree trunks and doffed red nightcaps, had we discovered fairies dancing on the moss carpet, the surprised ones would have been, not we, but the fairies.

In this enchanted forest to talk of Germans and war was ridiculous. We were speaking in ordinary tones, but in the stillness of the woods our voices carried, and from just below us a dog barked.

"Do you allow the men to bring dogs into the trenches?" I asked. "Don't they give away your position?"

"That is not one of our dogs," said the Colonel. "That is a German sentry dog. He has heard us talking."

"But that dog is not across that

valley," I objected. "He's on this hill. He's not 200 yards below us."

"But, yes, certainly," said the Colonel. Of the man on duty behind the log barrier he asked:

"How near are they?"

"Two hundred yards," said the soldier. The soldier grinned and, leaning over the top log, pointed directly beneath us.

It was as though we were on the roof of a house looking over the edge at some one on the front steps. I stared down through the giant pine trees towering like masts, mysterious, motionless, silent with the silence of centuries. Through the interlacing boughs I saw only shifting shadows or, where a shaft of sunlight fell upon the moss, a flash of vivid green. Unable to believe, I shook my head. Even the Boche watchdog, now thoroughly annoyed, did not convince me. As though reading my doubts, an officer beckoned, and we stepped outside the breastworks and into an intricate cat's cradle of barbed wire. It was lashed to heavy stakes and wound around the tree trunks, and, had the officer not led the way, it would have been impossible for me to get either in or out. At intervals, like clothes on a line, on the wires were strung empty tin cans, pans and pots, and glass bottles. To attempt to cross the entanglement would have made a noise like a peddler's cart bumping over cobbles.

We came to the edge of the barb wire, and what looked like part of a tree trunk turned into a man-sized bird's nest. The sentry in the nest had his back to us and was peering intently down through the branches of the tree tops. He remained so long motionless that I thought he was not aware of our approach. But he had heard us. Only it was no part of his orders to make abrupt movements. With infinite caution, with the most considerate slowness, he turned, scowled, and waved us back. It was the care with which he made even so slight a gesture that persuaded me the Germans were as close as the Colonel had said. My curiosity concerning them was satisfied. The sentry did not need to wave me back. I was already on my way.

At the post of observation I saw a dog kennel.

"There are watchdogs on our side, also," I said.

"Yes," the officer assented doubtfully. "The idea is that their hearing is better than that of the men, and in case of night attacks they will warn us. But during the day they get so excited barking at the Boche dogs that when darkness comes, and we need them, they are worn out and fast asleep."

We continued our walk through the forest and wherever we went found men at work repairing the path and pushing the barb wire and trenches nearer the enemy. In some places they worked with great caution hidden by the ferns and dragging behind them the coils of wire; sometimes they were able to work openly, and the forest resounded with the blows of axes and the crash of a falling tree. But an axe in a forest does not suggest war, and the scene was still one of peace and beauty.

For miles the men had lined the path with borders of moss six inches wide and with strips of bark had decorated the huts and shelters. Across the tiny ravines they had thrown what in seed catalogues are called "rustic" bridges. As we walked in single file between these carefully laid borders of moss and past the shelters that suggested only a gamekeeper's lodge, we might have been on a walking tour in the Alps. You expected at every turn to come upon a ch  let like a Swiss clock and a patient cow and a young woman in a velvet bodice who would offer you warm milk.

Instead, from overhead, there burst suddenly the barking of shrapnel and, through an opening in the tree tops, we saw a French biplane pursued by German shells. It was late in the afternoon, but the sun was still shining and, entirely out of her turn, the moon also was shining. In the blue sky she hung like a silver shield, and toward her, it seemed almost to her level, rose the biplane.

She also was all silver. She shone and glistened. Like a great bird, she flung out tilting wings. The sun kissed them and turned them into flashing mirrors. Behind her the German shells burst in white puffs of smoke, feathery, delicate, as innocent-looking as the tips of ostrich

plumes. The biplane ran before them and seemed to play with them as children race up the beach laughing at the pursuing waves. The biplane darted left, darted right, climbed unseen aerial trails, tobogganed down vast imaginary mountains, or, as a gull skims the crests of the waves, dived into a cloud and appeared again, her wings dripping, glistening and radiant. As she turned and winged her way back to France you felt no fear for her. She seemed beyond the power of man to harm, something supreme, superhuman. A sister to the sun and moon, the princess royal of the air.

After you have been in the trenches it seems so selfish to be feasting and drinking that you have no appetite for dinner.

But for the defenders of the forests of the Vosges you cannot feel selfish. Visits to their trenches did not take away my

appetite. They increased it. The air they breathe tastes like brut champagne, and gases cannot reach them. They sleep on pillows of pine boughs. They look out only on what in nature is most beautiful. And their surgeon told me there was not a single man on the sick list. That does not mean there are no killed or wounded. For even in the enchanted forest there is no enchantment strong enough to ward off the death that approaches crawling on the velvet moss or hurtling through the tree tops.

War has no knowledge of sectors. It is just as hateful in the Vosges as in Flanders, only in Vosges it masks its hideousness with what is beautiful. In Flanders death hides in a trench of mud like an open grave. In the Forest of the Vosges it lurks in a nest of moss, fern, and clean, sweet-smelling pine.

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How Soldiers Blinded in Battle Find New Hope

Richard Harding Davis also is the author of this interesting account of what is being done in France by the Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, an organization whose animating spirit is Miss Winifred Holt of New York, founder of The Lighthouse, where the blind are taught useful work which makes them independent and self-supporting. The similar work done in England by C. Arthur Pearson is no less remarkable.

THESE days the streets of Paris are filled with soldiers each of whom has given to France some part of his physical self. That his country may endure, that she may continue to enjoy and teach liberty, he has seen his arm or his leg, or both, blown off, or cut off. But when on the boulevards you meet him walking with crutches or with an empty sleeve pinned beneath his Cross of War, and he thinks your glance is one of pity, he resents it. He holds his head more stiffly erect. He seems to say, "I know how greatly you envy me!"

And who would dispute him? Long after the war is ended, so long as he

lives, men and women of France will honor him, and in their eyes he will read their thanks. But there is one soldier who cannot read their thanks, who is spared the sight of their pity. He is the one who has made all but the supreme sacrifice. He is the one who is blind. He sits in perpetual darkness. You can remember certain nights that seemed to stretch to doomsday, when sleep was withheld and you tossed and lashed upon the pillow, praying for the dawn. Imagine a night of such torture dragged out over many years. With the dreadful knowledge that the dawn will never come. Imagine Paris with her bridges, palaces, parks, with the Seine, the Tuileries, the boulevards, the glittering shop windows conveyed to you only through noise. Only through the shrieks of motor horns and the shuffling of feet.

The men who have been blinded in battle have lost more than sight. They have been robbed of their independence. They feel they are a burden. It is not only the physical loss they suffer, but the thought that no longer are they of use, that they are a care, that in the

scheme of things—even in their own little circles of family and friends—there is for them no place. It is not unfair to the poilu to say that the officer who is blinded suffers more than the private. As a rule, he is more highly strung, more widely educated; he has seen more; his experience of the world is broader; he has more to lose. Before the war he may have been a lawyer, doctor, man of many affairs. For him it is harder than, for example, the peasant to accept a future of unending blackness spent in plaiting straw or weaving rag carpets. Under such conditions life no longer tempts him. Instead, death tempts him, and the pistol seems very near at hand.

It was to save men of the officer class from despair and from suicide, to make them know that for them there still was a life of usefulness, work, and accomplishment, that there was organized in France the Committee for Men Blinded in Battle. The idea was to bring back to officers who had lost their sight, courage, hope, and a sense of independence, to give them work not merely mechanical but more in keeping with their education and intelligence. The President of France is patron of the society, and on its committees in Paris and New York are many distinguished names. The French Government has promised a house near Paris where the blind soldiers may be educated. When I saw them they were in temporary quarters in the Hotel de Crillon, lent to them by the proprietor. They had been gathered from hospitals in different parts of France by Miss Winifred Holt, who for years has been working for the blind in her Lighthouse in New York. She is assisted in the work in Paris by Mrs. Peter Cooper Hewitt. The officers were brought to the Crillon by French ladies, whose duty it was to guide them through the streets. Some of them also were their instructors, and in order to teach them to read and write with their fingers had themselves learned the Braille alphabet. This requires weeks of very close and patient study. And no nurse's uniform goes with it. But the reward was great.

It was evident in the alert and eager interest of the men who, perhaps, only a week before had wished to "curse God, and die." But since then hope had returned to each of them, and he had found a door open, and a new life.

And he was facing it with the same or with even a greater courage than that with which he had led his men into the battle that blinded him. Some of the officers were modeling in clay, others were learning typewriting, one with a drawing board was studying to be an architect, others were pressing their finger tips over the raised letters of the Braille alphabet. Opposite each officer, on the other side of the table, sat a woman he could not see. She might be young and beautiful, as many of them were. She might be white-haired and a great lady bearing an ancient title, from the faubourg across the bridges, but he heard only a voice.

The voice encouraged his progress, or corrected his mistakes, and a hand, detached and descending from nowhere, guided his hand, gently, as one guides the fingers of a child. The officer was again a child. In life for the second time he was beginning with A, B, and C. The officer was tall, handsome and deeply sunburned. In his uniform of a chasseur d'Afrique he was a splendid figure. On his chest were the medals of the campaigns in Morocco and Algiers, and the crimson ribbon of the Legion of Honor. The officer placed his forefinger on a card covered with raised hieroglyphics.

"N," he announced.

"No," the voice answered him.

"M?" His tone did not carry conviction.

"You are guessing," accused the voice. The officer was greatly confused.

"No, no, mademoiselle!" he protested. "Truly, I thought it was an 'M.'"

He laughed guiltily. The laugh shook you. You saw all that he could never see; inside the room the great ladies and latest American Countesses, eager to help, forgetful of self, full of wonderful, womanly sympathy, and outside, the Place de la Concorde, the gardens of the Tuileries, the trees of the Champs Ely-

sées, the sun setting behind the gilded dome of the Invalides. All these were lost to him, and yet as he sat in the darkness, because he could not tell an N from an M, he laughed, and laughed happily. From where did he draw his strength and courage? Was it the instinct for life that makes a drowning man fight against an ocean? Was it his training as an officer of the Grande Armée? Was it that spirit of the French that is the one thing no German knows, and no German can ever break? Or was it the sound of a woman's voice and the touch of a woman's hand? If the reader wants to contribute something to help teach a new profession to these gentlemen, who in the fight for civilization have contributed their eyesight, write to the Secretary of the committee, Mrs. Peter Cooper Hewitt, Hotel Ritz, Paris.

What is going forward at the Crillon for blind French officers is being carried on in London at St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, for blind Tommies. At this school the classes are much larger than are those in Paris, the pupils more numerous, and they live and sleep on the premises. The premises are very beautiful. They consist of seventeen acres of gardens, lawns, trees, a lake, and a stream on which you can row and swim, situated in Regent's Park and almost in the heart of London. In the days when London was further away the villa of St. Dunstan's belonged to the eccentric Marquis of Hertford, the wicked Lord Steyne of Thackeray's "Vanity Fair." It was a country estate. Now the city has closed in around it, but it is still a country estate, with ceilings by the Brothers Adam, portraits by Romney, sideboards by Sheraton, and on the lawn sheep. To keep sheep in London is as expensive as to keep racehorses, and to own a country estate in London can be afforded only by Americans. The estate next to St. Dunstan's is owned by an American lady. I used to play lawn tennis there with her husband. Had it not been for the horns of the taxicabs we might have been a hundred miles from the nearest railroad. Instead, we were so close to Baker Street that one false step would have landed us in Mme.

Tussaud's. When the war broke out the husband ceased hammering tennis balls and hammered German ships of war. He sank several—and is now waiting impatiently outside of Wilhelmshaven for more.

St. Dunstan's also is owned by an American, Otto Kahn, the banker. In peace times, in the Winter months, Mr. Kahn makes it possible for the people of New York to listen to good music at the Metropolitan Opera House. When war came, at his country place in London he made it next to possible for the blind to see. He gave the key of the estate to C. Arthur Pearson. He also gave him permission in altering St. Dunstan's to meet the needs of the blind to go as far as he liked.

When I first knew Arthur Pearson he and Lord Northcliffe were making rival collections of newspapers and magazines. They collected them as other people collect postal cards and cigar bands. Pearson was then, as he is now, a man of the most remarkable executive ability, of keen intelligence, of untiring nervous energy. That was ten years ago. He knew then that he was going blind. And when the darkness came he accepted the burden; not only his own, but he took upon his shoulders the burden of all the blind in England. He organized the National Institute for those who could not see. He gave them of his energy, which has not diminished; he gave them of his fortune, which, happily for them, has not diminished; he gave them his time, his intelligence. If you ask what the time of a blind man is worth, go to St. Dunstan's and you will find out. You will see a home and school for blind men, run by a blind man. The same efficiency, knowledge of detail, intolerance of idleness, the same generous appreciation of the work of others, that he put into running *The Express and Standard*, he now exerts at St. Dunstan's. It has Pearson written all over it just as a mile away there is a building covered with the name of Selfridge, and a cathedral with the name of Christopher Wren. When I visited him in his room at St. Dunstan's he was standing with his back to the open fire dictating to a stenogra-

pher. He called to me cheerily, caught my hand, and showed me where I was to sit. All the time he was looking straight at me and firing questions.

"When did you leave Saloniki? How many troops have we landed? Our positions are very strong, aren't they?"

I found the seventeen acres of St. Dunstan's so arranged that no blind man could possibly lose his way. In the house, over the carpets, were stretched strips of matting. So long as a man kept his feet on matting he knew he was on the right path to the door. Outside the doors hand rails guided him to the workshops, schoolrooms, exercising grounds, and kitchen gardens. Just before he reached any of these places a brass knob on the hand rail warned him to go slow. Were he walking on the great stone terrace and his foot scraped against a board he knew he was within a yard of a flight of steps. Wherever you went you found men at work, learning a trade, or, having learned one, intent in the joy of creating something. To help them there are nearly sixty ladies, who have mastered the Braille system and come daily to teach it. There are many other volunteers, who take the men on walks around Regent's Park and who talk and read to them. Everywhere was activity. Everywhere some one was helping some one; the blind teaching the blind; those who had been a week at St. Dunstan's doing the honors to those just arrived. The place spoke only of hard work, mutual help, and cheerfulness. When first you arrived you thought you had over the others a certain advantage, but when you saw the work the blind men were turning out, which they could not see and which you knew with both your eyes you never could have turned out, you felt apologetic. There were cabinets, for instance, measured to the twentieth of an inch, and men who were studying to be masseurs who, only by touch, could distinguish all the bones in the body. There was Miss Woods, a blind stenographer. I dictated a sentence to her, and as fast as I spoke she took it down on a machine in the Braille alphabet. It appeared in raised figures on a strip of paper like those that carry stock

quotations. Then, reading the sentence with her fingers, she pounded it on an ordinary typewriter. Her work was faultless.

What impressed you was the number of the workers who, over their task, sang or whistled. None of them paid any attention to what the others were whistling. Each acted as though he were shut off in a world of his own. The spirits of the Tommies were unquenchable.

Brown Five was one of those privates who are worth more to a company than the Sergeant Major. He was a comedian. He looked like John Bunny, and when he laughed he shook all over, and you had to laugh with him, even though you were conscious that Brown Five had no eyes and no hands. But was he conscious of that? Apparently not. Was he disheartened? No! Some one snatched his cigarette; and with the stumps of his arms he promptly beat two innocent comrades over the head. When the lady guide interfered and admitted it was she who had robbed him, Brown Five roared in delight.

"I bashed 'em!" he cried. "Her took it, but I bashed the two of 'em!"

A private of the Munsters was weaving a net, and, as though he were quite alone, singing, in a fine baritone, "Tipperary." If you want to hear real close harmony, you must listen to Southern darkies; and if you want to get the sweetness and melancholy out of an Irish chant, an Irishman must sing it. I thought I had heard "Tipperary" before several times, and that it was a march. But I found I had not heard it before, and that it is not a march, but a lament and a love song. The soldier did not know we were listening, and while his fingers wove the meshes of the net, his voice rose in tones of the most moving sweetness. He did not know that he was facing a window, he did not know that he was staring straight out upon the City of London. But we knew and when in his rare baritone and rare brogue he whispered rather than sang the lines:

Good-bye, Piccadilly—

Farewell, Leicester Square,

It's a long, long way to Tipperary

—all of his unseen audience hastily fled.

There was also Private Watts, who was mending shoes. When the week before Lord Kitchener visited St. Dunstan's Watts had joked with him. I congratulated him on his courage.

"What was your joke?" I inquired.

"He asked me when I was a prisoner with the Germans how they fed me, and I said: 'Oh, they gave me five beef-steaks a day.'"

"That was a good joke," I said. "Did Kitchener think so?"

The man had been laughing, pleased

and proud. Now the blank eyes turned wistfully to my companion.

"Did his Lordship smile?" he asked.

These blind French officers and English Tommies are teaching a great lesson. They are teaching men who are whining over the loss of money, health, or a job, to be ashamed. It is not we who are keeping them, but they who are helping us. They are showing us how to face disaster and setting us an example of real courage. And those who do not profit by it are more blind than they.

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Wartime Changes in England

In another of his interesting articles Richard Harding Davis gives a rapid sketch of the changes which the war has wrought in England:

A YEAR ago the only women in London in uniform were the nurses.

Now, so many are in uniform that to one visitor they presented the most surprising change the war has brought to London. Those who live in London, to whom the change has come gradually, are probably hardly aware how significant it is. Few people, certainly few men, guessed that so many positions that before the war were open only to men could be filled quite as acceptably by women. Only the comic papers guessed it. All that they ever mocked at, all the suffragettes and "equal rights" women ever hoped for seems to have come true. Even women policemen. True, they do not take the place of the real, immortal London bobby, neither do the "special constables," but if a young girl is out late at night with her young man in khaki, she is held up by a policewoman and sent home. And her young man in khaki dare not resist.

In Paris, when the place of a man who had been mobilized was taken by his wife, sister, or daughter, no one was surprised. French women have for years worked in partnership with men to a degree unknown in England. They helped as bookkeepers, shopkeepers; in the restaurants they always handled the money; in the theatres the ushers and box

openers were women; the Government tobacco shops were run by women. That French women were capable, efficient, hard working was as trite a saying as that the Japanese are a wonderful little people. So when the men went to the front and the women carried on their work, they were only proving a proverb.

But in England careers for women, outside those of governess, typist, barmaid, or show girl, which entailed marrying a Marquis, were as few as votes. The war has changed that. It gave woman her chance, and she jumped at it. "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again" he will find he must look for a man's job and that men's jobs no longer are sinecures. In his absence women have found out, and, what is more important, the employers have found out, that to open a carriage door and hold an umbrella over a customer is not necessarily a man's job. The man will have to look for a position his sister cannot fill, and, judging from the present aspect of London, those positions are rapidly disappearing.

That in the ornamental jobs, those that are relics of feudalism and snobbery, women should supplant men is not surprising. To wear gold lace, and touch your hat, and whistle for a taxicab, if the whistle is a mechanical one, is no difficult task. It never was absolutely necessary that a butler and two men should divide the labor of serving one cup of coffee, one lump of sugar, and one cigar-

ette. A healthy young woman might manage all three tasks and not faint. So the innovation of female butlers and footmen is not important. But many of the jobs now held in London by women are those which require strength, skill, and endurance. Pulling on the steel rope of an elevator and closing the steel gates for eight hours a day requires strength and endurance; and yet in all the big department stores the lifts are worked by girls. Women also drive the vans, and dragging on the brake of a brewery wagon and curbing two draft horses is a very different matter from steering one of the cars that made peace hateful. Not that there are no women chauffeurs. They are everywhere. You see them driving lorries, business cars, private cars, taxicabs, ambulances.

In men's caps and uniforms of green, gray, brown or black, and covered to the waist with a robe, you mistake them for boys. The other day I saw a motor truck clearing a way for itself down Piccadilly. It was filled with over two

dozen Tommies, and driven recklessly by a girl in khaki of not more than eighteen years. How many indoor positions have been taken over by women one can only guess.

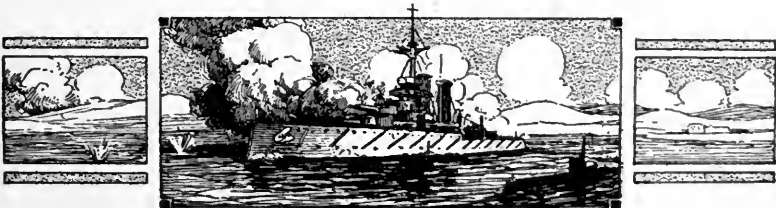
They look very businesslike and smart in their uniforms, and whatever their work is they are intent upon it. As a rule, when a woman attempts a man's work she is conscious. She is more concerned with the fact that she is holding down a man's job than with the job. Whether she is a lady lawyer, lady doctor, or lady journalist, she always is surprised to find herself where she is. The girls and women you see in uniform by the thousands in London seem to have overcome that weakness. They are performing a man's work, and their interest is centred in the work, not in the fact that a woman has made a success of it. If after this women in England want the vote and the men won't give it to them, the men will have a hard time explaining why.

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Lord Rosebery's Only Fear

In an address to the Edinburgh Volunteer Corps the Earl of Rosebery declared that there was not a man, and scarcely a woman, in the British Nation who would spare any exertion to bring the war to a triumphant result, adding:

There is only one thing which I sometimes fear. It is that, when successes begin, there may be some weak-minded cry in this country for a premature peace. I hope that no man of you will lend any support to such a false and misleading policy. A premature peace means a short peace, and a war that will be even worse than this to follow. Therefore, let all of us unite in the resolve that while no exertion shall be wanting on our part to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion and the Prussian bloodthirsty tyrants to their knees, yet, on the other hand, not a finger will be raised to accelerate peace before it is justly due.



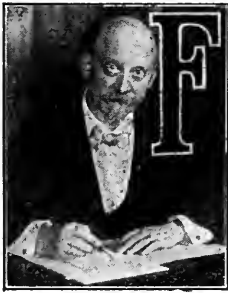
Germany's Peace Conditions

An interesting and important discussion of Germany's peace conditions occurred in the Reichstag recently, precipitated by the leader of the Socialist Deputies, Herr Scheidemann. It reveals in particularity the attitude of the influential minority of the German Nation on the question of peace.—[EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY.]

What the Socialists Desire

By Philipp Scheidemann

Chairman German Socialist Party and Ex-Vice President of the Reichstag



FOR more than sixteen months past we have been witnessing a struggle such as the world has never seen, and such as—I hope—it will never see again. Our deepest gratitude is due to our troops, who have

endured unheard-of sufferings and privations, and whose bravery is beyond all praise. The accounts which we have read of heroic fights during the last sixteen months are without a parallel in history.

From day to day the sea of blood has increased in volume, and the number of victims has swelled; the suffering and distress in all those countries which are participating in this terrible war has been constantly augmented. Is it therefore surprising that in all countries the question should be put: How much longer? After mature reflection I do not hesitate to say that all nations would rejoice if the war could be brought to an end as quickly as possible.

Were it otherwise we should have to despair of humanity. The idea that any nation could possibly desire a continuation of the murderous struggle is positively appalling. For me there is no doubt whatever; every nation is longing for peace.

But—to quote Lord Courtney's words

—the responsible statesmen do not yet know how to find a way out of the *impasse*.

For us Socialists it is self-evident that we should unceasingly raise our voices in favor of peace. If we did not do so, we should forfeit our claim to be the International Peace Party. All of us who are participating in what is certainly the most colossal tragedy recorded by human history must be fully conscious of the heavy responsibility incumbent on us. For my own part, I am conscious of the burden. I am well aware that a single word misunderstood or misinterpreted can produce fatal consequences—can bring about a result diametrically opposed to the one which I wish to attain. But the fear of misinterpretation has caused too many to push discretion to excess. I know many men, whose courage is unquestionable, who do not speak about peace because they fear that to do so might be considered a sign of weakness. Even within the Socialist parties themselves, people are often hypnotized by the magical words: "A sign of weakness." I admit this candidly in order that I may not be reproached with ignoring the fact. I will quote an example of very recent date: The British Minister of Education, Arthur Henderson, who is a Socialist, said at the end of November to Professor Backström that the time had not yet come to discuss peace or to agitate for peace. He did not share the opinion of those who demand that the British Government should step forward and formulate its peace conditions, "since all

talk about peace will be interpreted by the other side as a sign of weakness."

I am also reckoning with this. Nevertheless I venture to speak about peace.

On Aug. 4, 1914, the German Nation stood up to the last man in defense of the Fatherland. When the declaration of the Social Democratic Party was read to you, it was received by the whole House with loud and long-continued cheering. We said in this declaration:

In the event of a victory of Russian despotism, which is besmirched with the blood of the best elements of the Russian people, a great deal, if not everything, will be at stake for the German Nation and for its future liberty. It is necessary to avert this danger and to insure the safety and the independence of our own country. We shall consequently fulfill that which we have always promised: in the hour of danger we shall not desert our country.

But we also said further on in the same declaration:

We demand that, as soon as the object of insuring the safety of the empire shall have been realized, and as soon as our adversaries shall be inclined to make peace, the war be brought to an end by means of a peace which shall render friendly relations with our neighbors possible.

This declaration thus contained at the same time an express recognition of the duty of defending the Fatherland and a definition of the position adopted by us regarding the object of the war. To what we then said, we still adhere today. * * *

That nation can and should be the first to speak of peace whose military position and economic strength permit it, in the consciousness of its power, to remain supremely indifferent to all those misrepresentations which would fain make people believe that its readiness to conclude peace is nothing but a sign of weakness. Such being the case, we Germans can speak about peace, and must therefore do so.

We have not forgotten the wild plans of destruction and dismemberment drawn up in the countries at war with us. But as honorable men, we will also admit that plans of conquest have likewise been

drawn up in Germany, the realization of which no man of mature political judgment in the empire can dream of for a moment. Had it been possible to discuss such plans publicly, the discussion would have shown that the German people will have nothing to do with them. Our party immediately lodged a protest with those in authority against all plans of conquest. These plans have again and again been utilized abroad in order to prove the absolute necessity of continuing the war.

The annexation of territories inhabited by alien races is incompatible with the right of every people to settle its own destiny. Who will seriously contest, moreover, that such annexations would but weaken the inner unity and strength of the German national State? They would permanently damage our foreign relations. Their absolutely certain consequence would be to create an ever-present danger of war, a danger which would increase every year, placing an ever heavier burden of armaments on our shoulders. We shall therefore resolutely oppose all those who would transform this war into a war of conquest.

But we protest just as energetically against all the plans of conquest drawn up by our enemies against the German Empire and its allies.

Until now we have heard the statesmen of the countries at war with us constantly reiterating that there can be no question of peace until German militarism has been crushed and Alsace-Lorraine given back to France. To this affirmation I would reply, calmly and resolutely: Our enemies have a very different conception of the "militarism," which they wish to destroy, than we.

They wish to exterminate our armies in which our sons and brothers are fighting.

That which we call militarism, and which we ourselves combat, is a question to be decided upon within the German frontiers; just as French militarism and English navalism constitute questions which must be solved on the other side of the Vosges and of the Channel.

We reject the idea of an incorporation

of Alsace-Lorraine with France, no matter in what form it is to be realized.

Gentlemen, I trust you will not blame me if I only mention cursorily the numerous disagreeable utterances, the echo of which has recently reached us from France, England, and Russia. I am aware that the English Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, recently proclaimed anew his adherence to his former program: the destruction of German militarism. I am aware that the French Prime Minister, M. Briand, recently said the same thing, besides enunciating other aims. But what has not already been said in the course of the present war? I am the advocate of a speedy peace, and therefore I will only mention those utterances which reveal a similar longing for peace.

You know what efforts have been made on behalf of peace by Ramsay MacDonald in England.

Mr. Trevelyan has spoken in the House of Commons in favor of peace. In the House of Lords, Lord Ribblesdale has sought for a *via media* at the end of which the belligerents might find peace. On Nov. 8 Lord Loreburn spoke in the House of Lords concerning the unsatisfactory position of England, and, according to the report furnished by Wolff, continued as follows:

The situation has no parallel in the annals of history. Every great nation in the war has been led to believe that the war was forced upon it. * * * All of them believe they are in the right and that they have only to hold on in order to win. The losses, which are already estimated at 15,000,000 killed or disabled for life, and the many thousands of millions of war debt, will alter the whole face of civilization.

It is no exaggeration to say that if this war goes on indefinitely, revolution and anarchy may well follow. Great portions of the Continent of Europe will be little better than a wilderness peopled by old men and women and children. I would say that any one must be strangely constructed who does not grasp at any honorable opportunity to prevent what would be the most frightful calamity that has ever befallen the human race. This is what is meant by the war of attrition. These are thoughts from which there is no escape.

In the same sitting of the House of Lords, Lord Courtney expressed views to the following effect:

Whether they looked at home or abroad, their old civilization, which they had built up through long generations, was almost destroyed. * * * The war had operated to diminish the standard of their civilization, to take away the guarantees of liberty and to diminish the trustworthiness of law. It was not surprising that one should begin to ask whether any escape was possible from this rake's progress on which they had entered, and whether they must go on to witness a continually extending panorama of ruin. If the only alternative were that they should be brought under the authority of another power, he would bow in silence. They must be free or die. But he believed there was an alternative. The passion of national independence was glorious and well worthy of any sacrifice, but the passion of national independence must be reconciled if civilization was to continue, with the possibility of international friendship. The consummation of the tragedy was that precisely what they said and believed was believed and said in Germany, with the same sincerity and the same conviction. If that was so, he was led again to the conclusion that there must be some way out of the *impasse*.

Gentlemen, Lord Courtney—who was a professor of international law—has frankly admitted that it is both reasonable and timely to discuss the question of peace negotiations. We Socialists have done this for many months past. In the Italian Chamber the Socialist Deputy Treves demanded a peace which shall not imply the exhaustion of the belligerent States, a peace without annexations, a peace which shall respect the rights and liberties of the nations. He ventured to demand this in face of the Italian Government, which did not recoil from entering upon the most immoral of all wars of aggression despite the fact that the entire world had for several months watched the universal butchery with horror. The Deputy M. Lucci blamed the Italian Government especially for having signed the London Agreement, which provides that none of the Entente Powers may conclude peace separately.

"We want peace"—this is very clear-

ly to be read in these speeches delivered in the Italian Chamber. Within the last few days Count Andrassy cried out in the Hungarian Chamber: "What a stroke of good fortune it would be could we but succeed in making peace now!" Only the day before yesterday, Count Karolyi said in the Hungarian Parliament that it would be nonsense to consider that the desire for peace constituted a sign of weakness.

The Kölnische Volkszeitung recently published a report that the desire for peace in France had increased immensely since the hopes based on General Joffre's offensive had been disappointed. Let me quote a few sentences from a letter from the French front, which M. Romain Rolland published in the *Semaine Littéraire*:

Everything which I have seen and heard confirms my impression that there is not a single soldier who does not heartily detest the war.

The most ardent desire of the poilu is to return home and never to begin again.

I can guarantee that the soldiers of today will constitute the most reliable pacifists in the future.

All these men, whom the war has brought together, have only one wish: namely, that it may never occur again, that their sons may never know its horrors. Solely for this reason do they intend to hold out till the end despite their fatigue.

Gentlemen, the whole world is yearning for peace; yet we are told that we should not speak about peace, for this would be a sign of weakness. Just like all the others whom I have mentioned, Lord Courtney was reasonable enough to pay no attention to this objection. He spoke about the *impasse*, out of which a way must be found. Unfortunately there have also been so-called politicians in Germany who replied to Lord Courtney's speech with savage war cries. Such jingoism flourishes in every country. The warlike enthusiasm of these dangerous braggadocios increases in the same proportion as their incapacity for field service. We are just as little entitled to interpret Lord Courtney's speech as a sign of weakness as foreigners would be to interpret in this way the speech which I am now making. What I am saying to-day about peace I said almost a year ago

at large public meetings, as a Socialist whose duty it is to work for peace. Many thousands of people to whom I spoke in Nürnberg, in Frankfurt, in Solingen, entirely agreed with me when I protested against the twaddle of the annexationists and declared: "We did not enter upon this struggle in order to conquer new lands, but in order to protect our national independence, for such independence is the condition *sine qua non* of the development of a nation's civilization."

This is not my private opinion, but the opinion of the entire Social Democratic Party. I know the arguments by means of which it is sought to maintain, or to kindle anew, the warlike enthusiasm of our enemies. I know that in France and in England prophets have not ceased foretelling the forthcoming collapse of Germany.

With a monotony which has become tedious it has been pointed out, first of all, that we shall soon not have enough men to continue the war; and, secondly, that the lack of war materials and food supplies will soon force us to our knees.

The one assertion is as false as the other.

That numbers do not count for everything in modern warfare has been demonstrated clearly enough by Marshal Hindenburg in the case of the Russian steam roller. In all European countries, including the neutral States, the consequences of the war are bad enough. Europe is systematically ruining herself in the present war, whereas the United States of America is doing a lucrative business. If only people would begin to understand this, not only in Germany, but also in England and in France!

How about the starving out of the German Nation? The British Government hoped to be able to force Germany to her knees with a degree of rapidity proportionate to the measure in which it was possible to prevent the importation of foodstuffs. But the plan of starving out the whole nation has come to naught and could not but do so. True, we lack various things. We have been obliged to accustom ourselves to certain measures, such as the bread cards; and we will have to accustom ourselves later on to

meat cards, fat cards, and butter cards, the introduction of all of which has been demanded by the Social Democratic Party itself. A short time ago over 20,000,000 living pigs were counted in Germany. We have reaped 55,000,000 tons of potatoes. As less than 15,000,000 tons are sufficient to feed our population, nearly three-quarters of the total harvest can be employed as fodder and for industrial purposes.

No, Germany cannot be starved out. Since the Danube route has also been opened, our adversaries should understand that they miscalculated. If expressions of dissatisfaction have been heard—expressions which have been much distorted and exploited abroad—this is because the authorities did not intervene quickly and effectively enough in order to check the dishonest manoeuvres of unscrupulous producers and speculators.

The hopes set by our enemies on our economic collapse are unfounded. In referring, at the beginning of my speech, to the map of the war I showed that their hopes of a military collapse are equally unfounded. It is nothing less than criminal when the statesmen and politicians of those countries which are waging war against us continually seek to make their compatriots believe that the military situation can yet be modified considerably to our disadvantage. But whatever they may say, they are unable to change hard facts. It is these facts which permit us, nay oblige us, to talk now about peace.

Is there a single person in the whole country who would not be glad if we could put an end to the terrible struggle? How delighted would not only the workmen, but especially the tradespeople, the business men, and the peasants be if only we could obtain peace—a peace which shall guarantee our economic development and our political independence! And do you not also believe that the mothers, wives, and children of the soldiers who are fighting against us desire the end of the butchery just as ardently as do the mothers, wives, and children of our own soldiers? If, in the beligerent States, the press could but write freely concerning the aims of the war

and the desire for peace, this desire would assert itself in all countries with elementary violence.

It is evident that, today also, the Social Democratic Party persists in demanding the abolition of the state of siege, and consequently the abolition of the censorship. I have, moreover, been empowered by the Austro-German Social Democratic Party to declare here in its name that the Austrian Social Democrats are in entire agreement with us alike as regards the fulfillment of the duty of national defense and the desire for peace.

The Socialists in every country have invariably opposed the imperialist policy pursued by all the great powers. We knew that such a policy—setting aside every other consideration—was liable to bring about the most appalling catastrophes. Right up to the day before the outbreak of hostilities we worked with all our might against war. The Socialists in the other countries were, like ourselves, unfortunately too weak to prevent it. When war broke out it was self-evident that we should defend our country, its independence, and its civilization. I need only recall the example of East Prussia, in order to show how great was the Russian danger. But an immediate danger no longer threatens our frontiers. It is therefore our duty to ask the Imperial Chancellor if he is in a position to state the conditions under which he would be prepared to enter into peace negotiations.

The Imperial Chancellor knows that the German Nation entered the war unanimously and without a single dissentient voice in order to defend its homes. But he cannot but be aware of the fact that the nation is not disposed to continue the war for a single day longer than is absolutely necessary. For our country and its independence the nation was prepared to risk everything. But the nation will not risk the life of one single soldier in order to serve the egotistical interests of capitalism.

Allow me to quote the words of the Speech from the Throne on Aug. 4, 1914: "We are not animated by the desire of conquest, but only by the inflexible reso-

lution to maintain the position, &c." These words should be remembered by every one, and especially by those who have the heaviest responsibility to bear. If the Imperial Government should be afforded the possibility of concluding a peace which will guarantee the political independence and the integrity of the empire, and which will assure to the German Nation the liberty of its economic development, then we demand that the Imperial Government conclude peace. If the Imperial Government is afforded the possibility of entering upon peace negotiations on such conditions as these, then it must seize the opportunity in the interest of human civilization. We will then stand by the Government and devote our entire strength to keep in check those who would be opposed to such a peace.

If, at the beginning of the war, millions of us rallied enthusiastically to our country's call, we did not do so with the intention of imposing the will of Germany on the world—as our enemies have so often falsely accused us of doing. No,

we rallied around the flag in order to prevent the independence, the unity and the national position of the German Nation from being destroyed by an immense hostile coalition. A peaceful and reasonable nation such as the German may, in moments of great excitement, be dominated by a feeling of indignation, but it does not revel in thoughts of vengeance and extermination. It seeks to acquire the position in the world to which it is entitled next to the other nations, but not above them.

Gentlemen, I have spoken candidly. I have been able to say openly that we desire peace, because the German Nation is sufficiently strong, and because it is resolved to continue the fight in defense of home and country should its enemies not wish for peace.

The Imperial Chancellor knows that the whole world is waiting in breathless expectation his reply to our interpellation. I trust that he will find the redeeming words, and that he will express his readiness to enter into peace negotiations.

Attitude of the German Government

By Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, Imperial Chancellor

In the course of an extended reply to Herr Scheidemann's interpellation the Imperial Chancellor said:

THE English slogan has been adopted by all the allies. M. Sazonoff and M. Viviani, and now M. Briand, have declared repeatedly and emphatically that they would not lay down their arms before Prussian or German militarism was beaten down. Besides, each ally has his pet demands: The English Colonial Minister, in carrying out the principle of nationalities, wants Alsace to be returned to France, but Poland to that nationality to which she belongs. Let me observe by the way that the English Colonial Minister is obviously unaware that the mother tongue of more than 87 per cent. out of 1,900,000 people who dwell in Alsace-Lorraine is German and of less than 11 per cent. French. It is

not quite clear whether he holds that by virtue of her nationality Poland belongs to Russia. Moreover, it will be interesting to learn from England what is to become, say, of India and Egypt in carrying out the principle of nationality. Besides the restoration of Belgium and Serbia, M. Briand wants to have Alsace-Lorraine under all circumstances. As regards M. Sazonoff's military objects he has very distinctly pointed to Constantinople.

Those military objects of the hostile Governments are not adapted to the actual military situation. But I would offend those in power in the enemy countries if I were to consider their demands as bluff, and not to take them seriously. The situation is perfectly clear. Under the protection of their respective Governments, the nations have been deceived

from the first day about the real state of things. By the systematic forgery and circulation of all sorts of lies an inextinguishable hatred against us has been sown among the nations. Now it is seen that all that falsehood and hatred does not win victories. Our enemies have suffered an abundance of military and diplomatic defeats, and have sacrificed hecatombs of lives. They can no longer conceal the fact that we have advanced far into hostile territory both east and west, that we have opened the road to the Southeast and hold precious dead pledges. But the Catonian cry that Germany is to be crushed must be maintained. It has become such a fixed idea with them that they can no longer rid themselves of that thought. Therefore, other hundreds of thousands must be driven to the slaughter block.

One day when history will weigh the guilt of having started this most monstrous of all wars and of protracting it, the appalling mischief will be realized which ignorance and hypocrisy have caused. As long as the statesmen in power in the enemy countries combine guilt and ignorance, and their views sway the hostile nations, any offer of peace on our part would be folly, and would protract rather than shorten the war. The masks must be dropped first. A war of annihilation is still being waged against us. We have to reckon with that fact. We cannot make any headway or reach our goal with theories and expressions of peace. If our enemies come with proposals of peace which are com-

patible with the dignity and safety of Germany we are at all times ready to discuss them. In the full consciousness of the military successes which we have achieved we do not hold ourselves responsible for the continuation of the misery which afflicts Europe and the world. Nobody shall be able to say that we wished to protract the war needlessly because we wanted to conquer other dead pledges.

On one point our enemies must be clear: The longer and more bitter the war they wage against us the larger will the necessary guarantees have to be. If our enemies want to raise a barrier between Germany and the rest of the world for all future time, they must not be surprised that we arrange our future accordingly. Neither in the East nor West must our enemies of today dispose of any sally-ports through which they can threaten us again and more seriously than before. It is well known that France only granted loans to Russia on the condition that Russia complete the construction of the Polish fortresses and railroads to be used against us. It is also known that England and France regarded Belgium as the territory for drawing up their troops. To protect ourselves against all that we must secure for ourselves a political, military, and economic development. What is requisite for that purpose must be achieved, and I think there is nobody in the German Fatherland who does not wish to attain such a goal. As regards the means to that end we must reserve for ourselves full freedom in our decisions.

A Social Democratic View

By Deputy Landsberg

THE re-establishment of communications between Berlin and Constantinople has buried certain hopes which were among the chief causes of the present war. Gentlemen, it is not an accident that the wish for peace should now find expression here and there. Not only in Germany does the impression prevail that the psychological moment has

now arrived to approach the idea of peace. In the English House of Lords brave men, who did not fear unpopularity, have given voice to the desire for peace prevailing among the nations; and within the last few days we have all read the speech of the Pope to the Consistory—a speech manifestly inspired by a noble ideal. We cannot conceal the fact that

the continuation of the war implies an immense danger for civilization, and that this danger increases with the prolongation and extension of the war. How could it possibly be otherwise in view of the wholesale destruction of all those factors on which civilization is built up, viz., human life, health, and wealth?

I will not dwell upon the economic consequences of the war. These consequences may all be reduced to a very simple formula: The disunited States of Europe are making room for the United States of America.

* * * No statesman in any of the countries at war with us can henceforth refuse to enter into peace negotiations under the pretext that the desire for peace could be interpreted as a sign of weakness. For today the spokesman of the German Empire has expressed his willingness to conclude an honorable peace.

We may consequently be permitted to entertain the hope—although the latter is as yet but vague and shadowy—that the hour of redemption for the belligerent nations is drawing near.

Should this hope be disappointed because our enemies do not want peace, because they still continue to proclaim that they intend to destroy Germany's military strength and to annex German territory, then will our enemies have to convince themselves that our cry for peace has not been dictated by concern regard-

ing the outcome of the war. They will, in fact, find that our strength has increased.

Gentlemen, if it be possible at all to increase the courage and the tenacity of our soldiers, to whom we all owe so immense a debt of gratitude, and whose very meagre salaries will—as I hope—be considerably improved within the next few days by the Reichstag, as a small token of its gratitude, then will the increase of those qualities be due to the knowledge that all their further sufferings are to be attributed solely to the fault of our enemies.

I will only make one further remark, not to cause offense, but in order to prevent any misunderstandings. I would like to emphasize once more something that was already said by my friend Scheidemann. A short time ago it was said in the French Chamber that France has no intention of enriching herself at the expense of German territory, and that she only intends, as a matter of course, to take back Alsace-Lorraine. Gentlemen, I wish to declare that we cannot possibly admit a discussion of this question. One of the tasks of German home policy must be to destroy entirely all hopes of the possibility of a reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine. Whoever raises a knife to cut portions from the body of the German people will find—no matter where he may place it—a nation united in self-defense and that will strike the knife from his hand.

Wartime Humor in Italy

[From L'Asino, Rome]

Greece—A nation situated between Scylla and Charybdis.

Bulgaria—A colony of the German Empire by the grace of St. Mark and the will of King Ferdinand.

Cemetery—A place where the dead are buried, now called a trench.

Cavalry—A former section of the army, now abolished because of the new methods of war.

Diplomacy—An old woman who needs a cane to lean on when walking.

Newspaper—What is left of the news by the censor.

Scissors—A tool that cuts in order to unite public opinion.

Censor—A man who carves while holding his head in one sack and his sense in another.

Paris and German Zeppelins

By Stephane Pichon

Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

[By Special Arrangement of CURRENT HISTORY with The London Chronicle.]

PARIS is the last city in the world upon which such deeds of barbarism as those committed by the German aeronauts are capable of creating an impression of fear or discouragement. The capital of France, celebrated for the sweetness and pleasantness of its mode of life, for the delights that it offers to its visitors and inhabitants, for the luxury and elegance, somewhat frivolous perhaps, for which it has a universal reputation, is just as renowned for its bravery and intrepidity in the hour of danger. Its history is full of memories, which Berlin might well envy it, were Berlin susceptible of any other ideal than that of the barracks and the beer saloon, and were any comparison possible between the savages on the banks of the Spree and the civilized folk to whom they are offering the furious and repulsive spectacle of their contortions.

Paris will suffer the sacrifice of its innocent lives; the old folk, women, and children who have been assassinated in its streets and swallowed up in the ruins of destroyed houses; it will bear grief for the dead and will be saddened by the spectacle of woe; but otherwise its life will not be disturbed; once it has paid its debt of recognition to the unfortunates who have succumbed, it will busy itself as best it can with repairing the wrong it has suffered, and it will continue to entertain toward its authors the sentiments that they deserve—horror at their crimes, contempt for their motives, an irrevocable determination to make them expiate to the full their unparalleled wrongs against humanity.

What sort of mind and soul can be long to such as think that by disemboweling a few victims by their bombs and reducing a few buildings to dust they are going to terrorize a country? Can there be folk so dull and stupid as to

nurse such illusions? I do not know which to wonder at most—the moral monstrosity or the simple-wittedness of a people—for in this evil affair it is the whole German people that indorses the responsibility—that can dream of subjecting the world by deeds so infamous and yet so puerile.

Observe, too, that it is all the outcome of long and premeditated preparation; like the submarines that were definitely intended to send liners with their passengers and crews to the bottom, the Zeppelins have not been built in a day nor was their objective decided upon in a week. The plan that is now being carried out before our eyes was conceived long ago; long ago the means for carrying that plan were put on the stocks. Germany's warfare against England in particular was to be waged with submarines, submersibles, and dirigibles (of that I have irrefutable proofs in my personal possession;) and Admiral Tirpitz and his comrade, Count von Zeppelin, were consciously and professedly the organizers of this new form of destruction to be used against the United Kingdom.

As for us Frenchmen, it was understood that we were to be overwhelmed under the weight of Germany's land army, equipped with an artillery against which resistance would be impossible; it was equally arranged that our towns and villages should be blackmailed, looted, and razed to the ground; their inhabitants treated like noxious animals; it was understood that in no war, not even the Thirty Years' War, were human laws and conventions to be so completely set aside. Similarly, it was arranged that the war should be conducted against Great Britain by craft that could escape the sovereign might of her watching fleet; which would sink her merchant ships and torpedo her big



GENERAL PETAIN

The French Commander Who, Under Joffre, Bore the Brunt of the Defense of Verdun

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)



GABRIEL HANOTAUX

Former Foreign Minister of France and a Member of the French Academy

fighting units, and thus isolate her coasts and cut off her supplies; and by dirigible airships that would bombard London and the British ports, factories, and arsenals. Everything was prepared to that purpose.

It is not for me to tell my English friends what has happened to this campaign of submarines and submersibles. They have taken that affair in hand, and are themselves engaged in settling the account. On the "credit" side are certain abominable crimes that have revolted the whole world. But on the other is complete failure and loss. The whole business is now dead, sunk beneath the sea, just as are the craft and their assassin officers whose duty it was to put the entries in the ledger, but who have footed the bill in grim earnest.

As for the Zeppelins, the system was worked out to perfection. Enormous airships were built, and their equipment of bombs and explosives was as "colossal" as everything that emanates from the Teuton imagination. Mishaps, of course, there were, but the German inventors resolutely set themselves to profit

thereby. They have just made one serious trial of their system; they will make others if they are able. But I have hopes that in their future attempts they will encounter greater obstacles.

After all, it is but the raging, helpless, and desperate form that the losers of the Marne, the Aisne, and the Yser are giving to the continuation of the war. Unable to shift our troops or pierce our lines, they are trying to intimidate us by the slaughter of our women and children and the bombardment of our towns by their heavy guns when they are within range, or by Zeppelin bombs. All waste of effort! The more they attack us in this mean and ignominious fashion of fighting, the harder will they make our hearts and the more inflexible our purpose. The more vengeful and desperate they reveal themselves, the greater will be the evidence they afford us of the certainty of our victory. Here, far below the Zeppelins, which we regard solely as the forerunners of their defeat, we kneel in profound respect before the corpses of our dead, whom we glorify and whom we will avenge.

Financing the European War

By Ugo Tombesi

Professor in the University of Urbino, Italy

Following is the substance of a valuable study of war finances which appeared in a recent issue of Nuova Antologia, the leading Italian review:

AT the beginning of the war France went through a veritable financial crisis. For the fiscal year 1913-14 the general budget reached the sum of 5,190,000,000 francs; but the increase of expenses, due especially to the growing demands of the Government, was so great as to conceal within it a decided step backward. Nor were the military budgets sufficient to maintain a foreign policy equal to the necessities of the moment. By the law of July 15, 1914, passed two weeks before the beginning of the conflict, the

Minister of War was authorized to spend 389,000,000 francs in four years for new constructions and armament rendered necessary by the Barthou law for the three-year term of military service, (Aug. 7, 1913,) and the Minister of Marine was credited with 1,175,000,000 francs for the same period.

Moreover, the 3½ per cent. loan of 800,000,000 francs voted on July 7, and issued at 91, had not given good results; the Treasury was scarcely benefited by it. So that on July 31, 1914, France did not find herself in a financial condition to sustain a great war, and once the hurricane was let loose there was no other way than to have recourse to the Bank of France, which, with almost five

billions of reserves in metal, was the granite base of the national finances.

In fact, the decree of Aug. 6, 1914, raised the circulation of notes of the Bank of France from six to twelve billions, and that of the Bank of Algeria from 300 to 400 millions, and withdrew from the two institutions the necessity of replacing their own notes with specie. Besides, the agreement decided on since November, 1911, was approved; by virtue of this the advance payments of the said banks to the Government reached 3,000,000,000 francs, of which 2,900,000,000 were to be furnished by the Bank of France and 100,000,000 by the Bank of Algeria.

Recourse was also made to the emission of "bons du Trésor," (Treasury notes,) which were extraordinary for a sum which reached—according to the decree of Dec. 26—2,500,000,000, and which bore interest varying from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent., according to the date of expiration. And by the decree of Sept. 13, 1914, "bons de la Défense Nationale" were created at 4 and 5 per cent. without limit, and expiring in three months to ten years. Through these two mediums the Treasury, reserving to itself a possible later right of "consolidation," drew from the national savings, beginning with October, about twelve billions, while from the Bank of France it got, in various payments, almost seven billions.

Now, if the French people responded with admirable promptness to the appeals of the Treasury, it cannot be affirmed that the Government had taken all the necessary precautions to keep up financial strength in the event of war; thus Minister Ribot noted, in the report he presented to Parliament in December, 1914, that "such unpreparedness was a new proof that France did not want war," agreeing perfectly with Lévy, who wrote for the most important review in Paris, the following February, that "French lack of foresight in this regard contrasted strangely with the conduct of the German Emperor, who, at the time of the Agadir incident, asked the financiers of Berlin whether they were ready for a war, and, on their replying in the

negative, invited them to prepare themselves."

And the financial preparation of Germany followed her military preparation step by step. In 1913 the expenditure of 775,919,000 marks was anticipated in the ordinary part of the war budget of the empire, and in the navy budget, 197,396,300 marks. And, outside of the ordinary needs, the most recent military laws rendered necessary an unusual contribution of a billion, which the Government procured through a special inheritance tax. So that in the German budget the military expenses amounted in the fiscal year 1913-14 to almost 2,000,000,000 marks, (1,848,939,139.) And not that alone. For some time it had been decided to issue 120,000,000 in "Treasury notes" to raise the war treasure, preserved in the Tower of Spandau, from 129,000,000 to 240,000,000 marks, and to authorize the Reichsbank to issue, if the occasion arose, banknotes to the sum of 720,000,000 marks with the above-mentioned sum as a base—the money to be placed to the account of the military administration. Thus, with the supplementary reserve of 120,000,000 marks in metal, the resources ready for war were 840,000,000 marks. The man who conceived such provisioning was Professor Rieser of the University of Berlin, the head of the special bureau, unique in Europe, created for financial preparation for war.

But in the first days of mobilization Germany also had to have recourse to its principal issuing agent, the Reichsbank, to the extent that the credit of the Bank with the Government rose rapidly to 2,300,000,000 marks, as we may infer from the situation of the bank in October, 1914.

The other belligerents did not escape the necessity of making similar provisions. With the beginning of war operations, the British Government had to issue quickly, through the Bank of England, a paper currency of its own. With the act of Aug. 16, 1914, the Treasury put in circulation "currency notes" for 750,000,000 lire (\$150,000,000) convertible into gold and at the same time "Treasury notes" for £91,000,000. How-

ever, following a praiseworthy tradition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, after the first moment of uncertainty was passed, caused provisions to be voted by Parliament adequate to the gravity of the situation, and to be applied not alone to future expenses of the war, but also to systematizing the engagements that the Government had made from the beginning with the Bank of England, so as to leave the Bank free in its functions as "custodian of the mechanism of exchange and guardian of the country's wealth of gold."

Of Austria-Hungary very little is known, for the Austro-Hungarian Bank did not publish its situation after the first day of the war.

And Italy? She had come out of the Libyan war with a heavy debit against the Treasury, which, also through the military preparations during the first six months of neutrality, amounted on Dec. 31, 1914, to 2,000,000,000 lire, (1,948,659,497.74,) and on June 30, 1915, had risen to 2,835,000,000. To diminish this debt there was issued a loan of a billion at 4½ per cent. during the first part of 1915, as we all know, the sale price at issue being 97; later on there was provided a prudent and gradual expansion of the monetary circulation, with temporary issues of notes and special current accounts, not to mention new issues of Treasury notes—ordinary and for five years.

When war on Austria-Hungary was declared the Treasury had the right to turn anew to the issuing institutions for 200,000,000 lire outside of the advance payments already granted, and also (temporary decree beginning Oct. 21) to provide for the fiscal year 1915-16 by an issue of Treasury notes for the sum of 300,000,000, for the payment of purchases and provisions needed by the administration of the army and navy.

Later the same Minister was authorized to issue special notes due in twelve months, to be marketed outside of Italy in foreign money, to pay foreign furnishers of goods, and thus lessen the disadvantages caused by disturbed exchange rates. * * *

To diminish the issue of paper the

greater powers appealed for internal credit. Germany, in the second half of September, 1914, that is to say, a month and a half after the outbreak of the conflict, launched her first war loan. And we should observe here that for a long time before the war everything was arranged in advance to the extent even that it was established that the individual States composing the empire were not to issue long-term obligations in case of war, but simply notes for short periods. Prussia, for example, issued Treasury notes for 1,500,000,000 marks, which were in large part discounted by the loan banks, and this was after having been paid the 600,000,000 of the loan issued in February, 1914, and though it could count, in case of need, on the reserve fund of the State railways; Württemberg, from April to July, 1915, issued Treasury notes for 50,000,000, the Grand Duchy of Hessen for 38,000,000, and Saxony for 200,000,000.

During the first months of the war the British Government issued, as we have seen, special Treasury notes; but in order not to immobilize bankers' capital in such investments Lloyd George confronted the financial problem in all its aspects and courageously outlined its solution. In the financial statement of Nov. 17, 1914, he calculated how the fiscal year April 1, 1914, to March 31, 1915, including eight months of war, had given a loss of £340,000,000; therefore, without much hesitation, he proposed to increase taxes by £15,500,000, to suspend the sinking fund of the public debt for £2,750,000, and to issue a great loan of £350,000,000.

The 3½ per cent. loan, issued at 95, is to be repaid at par, not earlier than May 1, 1925, and not later than March 1, 1928. Subscriptions of less than £100 were excluded; this was to avoid the withdrawal of small sums from savings banks and other institutions of credit. Recourse was not made, as in Germany, to loan banks; but the Bank of England declared itself ready for a period of three years to make advance payments on the titles issued up to the price of subscription as a limit, in other words, up to 95, and to the interest at 1 per cent. lower than the

official discount charge. The loan was subscribed in just three days in the shape of immediately disposable sums, without disturbing the normal business of the Bank and the nation's economic condition.

"The expenses of the European war," affirmed the Minister of Finance of the German Empire at the Reichstag on Aug. 20, 1915, "reach about 300,000,000 marks a day, that is to say, 100,000,000,000 a year in round numbers. It is the greatest destruction, the greatest displacement of values, that the history of the world records." If, as the latest events lead us to think, the war should pass through its second year before the dawn of peace, the expense would reach 200,000,000,000, that is to say, more than double what was incurred through the twenty-five principal wars of the last century.

But the German Minister alluded only to the expenses of the mobilization and maintaining of the armies, for if we take into account also those which must be met for the restoration of armaments, of fortifications and ships, for the reconstruction of the bridges and railroads that have been destroyed, if we calculate the value of the lives lost and the capital corresponding to pensions for invalids and the families of the dead soldiers, the above-mentioned figures would attain heights never reached before.

"It does not seem at all exaggerated," notes Eggenschwyler, "to foresee a German and French budget double what it has been in latter years. Merely in subsidies to the families of the men under

the colors France is spending 160,000,000 a month, (as against 68,000,000 in the Autumn,) and Germany more than double that amount. And the indemnities and subsidies to the families of the dead and wounded cannot be much less after fifteen or sixteen months of war, apart from matters pertaining to the indirect victims of the war. If, then, the war should be prolonged for another Winter (which is certain) it does not seem exaggerated to foresee for each of the future budgets 2,000,000,000 for the service of the debts contracted, two for aid and indemnities, 500,000,000 for the reconstruction of the fixed capital destroyed, and 500,000,000 loss of fiscal returns. Thus doubling the fiscal burdens of the Governments means evidently more than doubling the pressure of taxes, since the present destruction of peoples, riches, initiative, &c., cannot remain without influence on the material of taxation. It does not seem at all improbable that fiscal burdens will be increased 100 per cent."

The absorption of wealth will, then, be so great that even the richest States, those furnished with an abundance of gold, will with difficulty reconquer the position they had in July, 1914, and if any others thought to enrich themselves at the expense of the conquered peoples they would be indulging the maddest of illusions, either for the reason that all will come out of the struggle financially and economically exhausted, or because history teaches that the vanquished sometimes draw from their own energies greater results than the victors.

Three Great World Powers

H. G. Wells ventured the following prophecy in a recent article in Cassell's Magazine:

Whatever appearances of separate sovereignties are kept up after the war, the practical outcome of the struggle is quite likely to be this—that there will be only three great world powers left—the anti-German allies, the allied Central Europeans, the Pan-Americans. * * * And these new powers will be in certain respects unlike any existing European "States." None of the three powers will be small or homogeneous enough to serve dynastic ambitions, embody a national or racial kultur, or fall into the grip of any group of financial enterprises. They will be more comprehensive, less romantic, and more businesslike altogether.

How the War Will Be Viewed by History and Art

By Gabriel Hanotaux

Member of the French Academy and Former Cabinet Minister.

[Part of an Extraordinary Address Delivered at the Sorbonne.]

HISTORY, in exhibiting the deeds of the past, sanctions and judges them. Art, more remote from reality, has perhaps still more resources. Art holds on its knees and nourishes with its milk the dream, ceaselessly reborn, of future generations. * * *

Let me recall to you that magnificent page of Tolstoy, in which the whole problem of war—the religious scruple of war—rises before the human soul while the wounded hero is lying on the battlefield of Austerlitz and looking up at the sky: "But what has happened to me? I no longer have hold of myself. My legs give way under me!" He falls on his back. He re-opens his eyes in the hope of learning the result of the struggle, and whether the cannon were saved or captured. But he no longer sees anything except a deep, vast sky, in which gray clouds float dimly. "What calm! What peace!" he says to himself; "and it was not thus when I was running, when we were running and shouting; it was not thus when the two frightened figures were fighting for the ramrod—it was not thus that the clouds floated in the boundless sky. That limitless depth—why have I never noticed it before? How glad I am to have seen it at last! Yes, everything is empty, all is deception, except that! And God be praised for this rest, this calm!"

He is in the battle, he is suffering, and he finds in the heavens an unspeakable repose!

There comes an hour when the greatest events, the most violent, even the present war, like that of Thucydides and that of Tolstoy, fall into comparison with the infinite and measure themselves against the Eternal. The mission of history and art is to make a first attempt

in that direction, a first adumbration of that judgment.

What will they say of the present war? Let us try to place ourselves, so to speak, in the far vista of the future.

They will say that Europe had been living for forty years in entire peace, and was enjoying once more that refined rest which Talleyrand called "the sweetness of living." A kind of international spirit was springing up out of the need of the nations for mutual respect. The most powerful of the Emperors, the Czar of Russia, had called together the nations at The Hague Conference; the most powerful of the Republics, the United States, was leading the choir of peace-loving peoples, and, though there were great injustices to repair throughout the world, the best and wisest were inclined to think that immanent justice would find its hour in a fraternal meeting of the soothed nations.

What a "Pastoral Symphony" beginning for the war tragedy!

Perhaps the rudest task of art and history will be that of making the world realize, by sounds at once delicate and deafening, by notes both soft and vibrant, this singular situation of nations living divided and hostile in peace.

Suddenly the storm breaks. One will has unchained it. In what lines will the Milton of the future characterize that figure and his infernal cohorts: "In a moment, through the darkness, appear 10,000 banners that rise in the air with their colors snapping in the wind. With these banners rises a vast forest of lances; and the thronged helmets and bucklers press forward in a dense line of immeasurable depth. * * *"

[The author completes the picture from "Paradise Lost," including Satan.]

I think the future, in studying the present war, will be especially astonished at the power of military masses. What are the armies of Xerxes and Darius, of the Hundred Years' War or the Thirty Years' War, when compared with that which divides the world into two parts, the more numerous of which, in spite of itself, is in a state of hostility? And how will the future characterize the emotion of that great ant-hill which rises and falls in ceaseless agitation on the flanks of the round earth, as if not an inch of that earth were to be left unmarked with blood? The masses collide and are thrown one upon another, tirelessly, interminably. The Marseillaise and the Wacht am Rhein strike each other in the clouds; an implacable fury animates men's hearts; on the earth and on the water are daring sallies and mad flights, alternate ebbs and floods as of sea tides; an immense massacre, not a bush without its corpse, not a furrow without its tomb. The cemeteries stretch away toward infinity with their white crosses, as if the skeletons themselves had knelt in prayer. Eight millions of dead weigh upon a single conscience. What Milton, what Victor Hugo, what Thucydides can tell the story of the incredible crime?

It is a war of masses, but it is also a war of machines. Here is a new stroke for the imagination—the smashing gesture of metal striking from afar the tender flesh of men. War is no longer the coming together of the courageous, body to body, eye to eye, breast to breast; it has become a sort of anonymous smashing of crowds who do not know each other by means of engines that fall on them. All the elements lend their powers to the arm of Death. Zeppelins, aeroplanes, Taubes, submarines, floating mines, torpedoes automatically steered—these new enemies of man crowd the air, the earth, and the sea. Automobiles and trains roar, carrying the masses from carnage to carnage; the word flies and carries the cruel orders over the slender wire; without wires, the telegraph still speaks.

Iron is not only sword, lance, rifle, cannon, shell, shrapnel bullets; it

stretches itself, stiffens itself, bristles into points and barbs. It arrests heroism, and subjects the will of the bravest to its paltry snare. A great fear hovers over the waters and in the air. An implacable science has found at the bottom of its crucibles the most unforeseen and cowardly of exploits; the air is poisoned, and human breath—which is life—is hunted down by a murderous cloud; children going to school through the streets of Rheims wear the sad mask on their faces.

It is the war of metal and of fire, and it is the war of atrocities. We are carried back to the invasions of the barbarians. As to this fact, I wonder not only how history will recount it, but whether history will believe it. The state of soul of the future must be judged according to its way of interpreting this bleeding landscape. On this issue will depend the verdict as to whether man is inherently good or evil.

Let us trust the future. History and art will find terms to qualify the great lie and the great recoil. But a Dante or a Shakespeare will be needed to paint the disgust of the human race. For the blot is indelible. It is humanity itself that is Lady Macbeth if it does not wash this blood from its hands.

Some one has told me that when the chief of armies, von Kluck, arrived in one of the French towns nearest to Paris, believing himself assured then of victory, he took all the French people who had found refuge in the village where he was staying and ranged them along the staircase; then, holding a rifle in one hand and a revolver in the other, (I affirm that things happened just as I tell them,) he walked back and forth, cursing and swearing, he the glorious conqueror, with his helmet on his head, before these free citizens, who were also confident of victory on their side, and shouted in their faces: "Yes, yes, we've got you; your France is conquered, and your Paris will be destroyed! We will not leave one stone on top of another. Your monuments, your Arch of Triumph, your Notre Dame, your Louvre, your palaces, your houses, we will destroy all, burn all. There will be only the bare earth and

the ravens left to raise their broods. We do not hate Paris, but we hate France, and we, the 'barbarians,' will show you that we are indeed barbarians." Those who heard and repeated this to me declared: "We have seen Attila!"

How will history tell it? How will art express it? In what prodigious foreshortening will they show the Cathedral of Rheims stretching its two towers up out of the flames like supplicating arms, the University of Louvain flaming like a funeral pyre, the belfry of Arras pointing its finger to heaven, the most beautiful churches ruined like the humblest homes, the earth honeycombed with the furrows of murder, populations carried away into slavery, destroyed methodically, scientifically; men and women thrown before the guns, children shot at the breast, all the drunken orgies, bestialities, and horrors heaped up together, and all by official order, with the deliberate idea that systematic terror is an instrument of victory and a means of domination? The counter-order itself proves the order. The soldier cannot believe himself so wicked, and he cries, while performing the crime commanded: "I am not a barbarian!"

We feel, we affirm that the most powerful and tragic accents of history will be of one accord in condemning without excuse what this war has revealed to us. The fiercest tones of the perpetrators will be drowned. And "the voice heard in Rama," and the lamentations of the Hebrew captives at Babylon, and the desperate cries of the Greeks confined in the quarries, and the griefs which all the martyrs of virtue, faith, and piety have inscribed in the great book of human suffering, these touching appeals to divine justice will be but a prelude compared to the clamor which all the sorrows of today will raise toward the Eternal.

Punishment equal to such crimes there is none. The arm of God would grow weary trying to administer it.

At least let history and art unite their thought and sharpen their sense of the true and just in order to recount these things as they were, and to draw from them the lesson—that material interests, gross enjoyments, violent ambitions are the evil counselors of the human race. These pretended experts are madmen; these pretended geniuses are lunatics; these pretended calculators count falsely. The peoples will know whither their leaders have led them. A terrible and constant vengeance will hover over the chiefs and their descendants forever. The blind populace will suffer for its blindness and turn upon itself in disgust.

On the other hand, the great figures, the noble figures of the future, those who will be extolled in sublime songs, are King Albert, who came to sit so nobly at the fireside of a friendly nation; the French soldier, who, like his chiefs, never despaired, clinging to the soil of his country until he had driven from it the hordes so strongly prepared and organized; Miss Edith Cavell, who would not betray those who had trusted themselves to her; the shipwrecked ones of the Lusitania and Ancona, swimming in the waves a moment to curse the murderers of neutrals, of peaceful travelers, of women and children; Cardinal Mercier, a man in the image of the Bishops of the fourth and fifth centuries, who held their own against invasions; those executed priests, those soiled daughters; to sum it all up in a word, these are the beauty of a world dishonored, disfigured, blasted.

For the great martyr is Humanity. They have forced it to lapse backward twenty centuries, until it doubts even itself. At the present moment it still drags itself under their spittle and under their whip, marching toward the Calvary whence it will be reborn to life only in the hour when the victory of the Just, the Right, and the Beautiful shall have purified it of so many crimes, assuring its luminous and definitive transfiguration!

Sir Edward Grey and His Problems

By Sydney Brooks



IN the world of diplomacy Sir Edward Grey is an outstanding figure, but he is a statesman about whom contemporary opinion can and does conspicuously err. The difficulty is not the man's personal character, but his relation to events. In the very interesting article by Sydney Brooks, published below by arrangement with THE NEW YORK TIMES, we have an Englishman's estimate which does full justice to Sir Edward Grey's honesty and straightforwardness, and does not ignore the absence of qualifications which most people would consider essential to a Foreign Secretary. It has often been remarked in England that Sir Edward Grey has had more wholehearted support from Conservatives than from Liberals. He certainly did not reverse or modify the policy of his predecessor, Lord Lansdowne, and Liberals have, therefore, accused him of making no attempt to apply Liberal ideas to the conduct of foreign relations. He has been blamed for permitting the British Foreign Office to become subservient to the designs of the Russian autocracy; and, as evidence of this, it is pointed out that in 1906, for the first time since 1854, the Russian Government was given access to the London money market and was thereby enabled to reduce to impotence parliamentary government in its first hopeful beginnings. Again, Sir Edward Grey has been accused of permitting Russia to strangle Persian democracy. His first acquaintance with foreign affairs was made as Under Secretary to Lord Rosebery, and, like Lord Rosebery, he belonged to the Liberal Imperialist group. Because of this experience, he was chosen for the position he now holds when Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman formed his Ministry at the end of 1905. From that time onward, despite Liberal protests, the discussion of foreign affairs in the House of Commons was silenced by Sir Edward Grey as much as possible. How much truth there is in the criticism that he was merely a puppet at the Foreign Office and that Great Britain's international policy was really the work of King Edward and a group of royal favorites, permanent officials, and financiers, can be discovered only by the light of facts which are not yet, nor likely for some time to be, available to the investigator. A considerable section of English opinion believes that a perfectly honest and well-intentioned statesman has been the unconscious instrument of a power greater than himself.—[Editor CURRENT HISTORY.]

SYDNEY BROOKS ANALYZES THE CHARACTER OF SIR EDWARD GREY IN THE FOLLOWING DISCERNING ARTICLE:

It is over ten years since Sir Edward Grey became the British Foreign Secretary. During the whole of that period he has been always a prominent and sometimes the outstanding figure of European diplomacy.

The years during which he has been charged with the conduct of British foreign policy have been years of almost incessant crisis and commotion. They have pretty thoroughly tested him, and,

if for the moment we leave the last eighteen months out of account, the universal judgment of friend and foe would be that he has stood the test well. He entered Downing Street just when the Franco-German feud over Morocco was in its opening stages. The British Liberals, after a long exclusion from office, had returned to power in overwhelming force. There was much curiosity, there was no little anxiety, to see what course

they would elect to steer. Like the American Democrats in 1912, they had a past to live down. There stood in their way, first, a reputation for factiousness and empiricism in their handling of domestic affairs, and, secondly, a reputation for flighty sentimentality and incompetence in the sphere of foreign policy.

Moreover, since they were last in office, two great changes had been effected in England's external relations. Great Britain had abandoned her old policy of isolation. She had formed an alliance with Japan. She had concluded a diplomatic agreement and had struck up a warm, popular friendship with France. She was being drawn—every one could see it—into the whirlpool of Continental politics. How would the Liberals regard these two developments? All their traditions were those of peace and of an abstinence from foreign adventures and commitments. They had no ambition whatever to make England cut an active figure abroad. They had every ambition to concentrate on the task of social and industrial reform at home.

It was a critical moment. But the crisis was resolved when, after some hesitation, Sir Edward Grey became Foreign Secretary. His acceptance of the post was an even greater relief to the nation than to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman himself. Abroad, among the friends of England, it had an instantaneous and reassuring effect. Among the enemies of England, or among those who stood to forfeit by a change in British policy, and who would have welcomed the presence in Downing Street of a Minister governed by the Gladstonian spirit, its effect was not less immediate, and, in a different way, not less complementary. If Great Britain and her friends and allies felt that a danger had been avoided, other powers were no less conscious of an opportunity snatched away. Germany had prayed for an English Bryan. She found instead an English Root.

Sir Edward, with that straightforwardness which is the very essence of his nature, lost no time in showing his hand. He publicly on behalf of the new

Government accepted all the engagements entered into by his predecessor. With equal promptitude he took a definite line on the Franco-German dispute over Morocco and unhesitatingly backed France for all he was worth. It was a course of action that on at least three separate occasions before the final rupture of 1914 involved the risk of war with Germany. But Sir Edward did not shrink from it. He held that Great Britain was bound to support the Third Republic with all the diplomatic, and, if necessary, all the material, power at her command; and after some tense moments the issue abundantly justified his prescience and pluck.

I mean by that that he succeeded in eliminating the Morocco question as a European *casus belli*, that he convinced France of the value and sincerity of British support, and that he proved to Germany that Great Britain could neither be bluffed nor bullied into betraying a friend. Until that point had been reached, until the Wilhelmstrasse thoroughly understood that France and England meant to stand together, and that Anglo-French friendship was a solid fact, there could be no approach to what Sir Edward always desired and always worked for—an Anglo-German understanding. We all know now how persistent were the efforts he made to this end and how Germany thwarted them all by insisting on the impossible condition that Great Britain should remain neutral in whatever war Germany chose to provoke. But I do believe that in 1913 Anglo-German relations had taken a definite turn for the better, that a friendlier atmosphere was being generated, and that the ultimate and inevitable collision might have been postponed for a few years, perhaps for a whole decade, longer but for that spark in the Balkans which fired the magazine.

Sir Edward Grey had dealt with, and one by one had removed, all the causes of an Anglo-German conflict that it was within his power to control. He always, I should say, foresaw the possibility of such a conflict. He would have been blind indeed if he had not. But he never sought it; he took every precaution

against it; when it came it was thrust upon him, and upon the whole British people, by Germany's own deliberate action. Even today, when we have taken the full measure of Germany's schemes and preparations, no Englishman would blame Sir Edward for having striven his utmost to bring about an Anglo-German accommodation. They would be much more likely to blame him for not having realized earlier the futility of all such efforts, and for not having roused the country to the nature of the crisis that was maturing and to the necessity of getting ready for it.

As things have turned out, the war in some ways could not have come at a more opportune moment for England. It is even possible that at the bar of history, where there is more false swearing and where more misleading verdicts are returned than in any court on earth, Sir Edward may have difficulty in escaping from the charge of having precipitated it at the very hour when his diplomatic skill had placed England in an exceptionally strong position for meeting its onset. It will then assuredly be brought up against him that it was he who effected the Anglo-Russian understanding. So he did, and no finer achievement stands to his credit. Think what Anglo-Russian relations had been before Sir Edward Grey, eight or nine years ago, took them in hand. There had been neither sanity in them, nor consistency, nor stability, for over half a century. A seemingly incurable suspiciousness separated the two powers.

Many suggestions for their improvement had been made, but nothing had come of them. Lord Salisbury had informed his countrymen that to regard antagonism between England and Russia as something fundamental and inevitable was "the superstition of an antiquated diplomacy"; but nothing had been done to translate that utterance into terms of policy. Englishmen had gone on repeating that they backed the wrong horse in 1855 and 1878, but their statesmen had not drawn from the admission any practical conclusions. They had declared again and again that there was "room for both England and Russia in Asia,"

but they had not attempted to attach any specific meaning to the words. Anglo-Russian relations, in short, had been marked by a dangerous and drifting inconclusiveness.

Sir Edward Grey made up his mind to end a deadlock that did neither country any good. He saw that the extreme cordiality and intimacy of Anglo-French relations required as their natural and logical corollary the formation of an equally close friendship with the ally of France. He saw, too, that it was not a British interest, but its very reverse, that Russia should be unable to make her due weight felt in the European balance of power. He saw, also, that only if England and Russia came together would Japan and Russia really and sincerely accept the Peace of Portsmouth as the basis of their Far Eastern relations. And above all he saw that London and St. Petersburg were parted by an unhappy state of mind and obsolete prejudices rather than by any concrete antagonism of interests, and that questions might arise which would once again awaken their mutual and inveterate suspiciousness. Therefore, he sought an agreement with Russia.

He sat down and seriously examined and compared the respective interests of the two countries, and he did so in a spirit of conciliatory frankness that very soon bore fruit. The value of the understanding that he effected was abundantly proved when Persia lapsed into anarchy without disturbing, without even ruffling the surface of, Anglo-Russian relations. Its value was still more abundantly demonstrated when the outbreak of the war found England and Russia no longer at odds, but bound by a sober and tested friendship that ripened at once into a firm alliance. Sir Edward pursued an agreement with Russia for its own sake and on its own merits. It has brought him in a return he did not foresee. Does anything, I wonder, change faster than the face of international politics? Less than fifteen years ago England and France were scowling at one another from Newfoundland to Madagascar with every symptom of the most rancorous hatred. Less than eight years ago Eng-

land and Russia had between them the barrier of their insensate past. Today all three countries are united in an alliance that will bear—I say it deliberately—any and every strain.

The hour, however, when Sir Edward stood highest in the well-nigh unanimous opinion of Europe was during and immediately after the Balkan wars of 1912. Four or five times at least Europe stood on the very brink of the struggle that has since broken out. The Serbian question, the Rumanian question, the Albanian question, and the Montenegrin question, each in turn proved crucially provocative. Yet the major peace was never once broken, and for its maintenance the chief credit was rightly awarded to Sir Edward. None of the diplomatists with whom he co-operated or against whom he fought showed himself so fertile in resource, so persistent in suggestion, and so persuasively calm and moderate in his choice of language as the British Foreign Secretary. He spoke but rarely, but whenever he did speak his words were direct, conciliatory, and stamped with the spirit and authority of a man who took above all else the European view.

Throughout those tangled months he took the lead in keeping the great powers together. It was he who suggested the Ambassadorial conference that proved for the time being the salvation of Europe. He was helped, of course, by the palpably disinterested position which Great Britain then occupied. But he made the fullest use of all his advantages. He worked early and late; his good sense and the implicit confidence he always inspired in his veracity and integrity straightened out many a hazardous situation; and I have heard from more than one Ambassador that his skill as President of the conferences which so materially helped to harmonize the differences between the great powers, the modesty of his bearing, and the practical character of the expedients he put forward, revealed him to his brother diplomats for the first time as a really great man. Certainly no British Foreign Secretary has held a more commanding position in the coun-

cils and the popular judgment of Europe since Palmerston's death than Grey held during the first six months of 1913.

In those terrible days that preceded the bursting of the flood that is now devastating Europe Sir Edward tried once more the tactics that had brought him success a little more than a year before. They failed. They failed for the very simple reason that Germany, or the ruling military clique in Germany, had decided that the hour had struck, and would, therefore, yield nothing and agree to nothing. The record shows with how sanguine a pertinacity Sir Edward strove for peace, trying one door after another, making one suggestion after another, even going so far as to intimate that he would withdraw his support from France and Russia if they declined to accept any reasonable solution which Germany herself might put forward. It was all in vain. The issue had been pre-determined in Potsdam.

But Sir Edward's efforts were not on that account wasted. They enlisted the absolute approval of the British Nation. They enabled him to repudiate with splendid scorn the unspeakable proposal that we should barter away the French Colonial Empire and the independence of Belgium in return for a German promise that after the war the European status quo would be restored. And they also gave him a double power when he had finally to draw the line beyond which he would not retreat. It seems an old story now, but let no one forget that what overwhelmingly rallied the British Nation was the appeal of the King of the Belgians to its pledged word.

Undoubtedly the impression exists, and undoubtedly appearances seem to justify it, that Sir Edward's subsequent diplomacy has been less fortunate than were his opening moves. I do not know whether in such a matter it is always safe to judge merely by results. Not until we are informed as to all the intricate cross-currents of all the Balkan States and can tell with some precision how far they were affected by military events elsewhere, shall we be able to say whether Sir Edward misread a situation

that should have been clear to him and let slip opportunities that he ought to have grasped. To disentangle from what unquestionably looks like the general failure of the allied dealings with the Balkans that portion of the responsibility which may properly be laid at the door of the British Foreign Secretary is a task for which I freely confess I have not the necessary knowledge or equipment or audacity. I can only envy those who possess today, or think they possess, all that is required for a final judgment on these excessively complicated transactions, the inner history of which may possibly be divulged to our great-grandchildren.

At the same time it is quite conceivable to one who knows him that Sir Edward should really have been less effective in seeking a desired end than in staving off an undesired one. It is a common criticism in England that "Grey is too much of a gentleman" for the rough and tumble of Balkan politics. He is certainly a gentleman and a very great one; but the notion that his diplomacy would have been more successful if he had imitated the quite unprincipled expediencies of the Wilhelmstrasse is a fallacy of the most sinister kind.

The trouble, I should say, is not to be sought in his habitually candid rectitude of conduct, but rather in a certain rigidity of mind and temperament. He is not a flexible man. He has no great powers of imagination or adaptability. That gift of dramatic sympathy which enables a man to comprehend the spirit and conditions of a country which is personally unknown to him is not among his attributes. Mr. Balfour has it; Lord Rosebery has it; but I do not think that Sir Edward can lay claim to it. And as it happens he is not a traveled man. He has hardly ever, in fact, been out of England. In other words he knows little of other countries and other peoples at first hand; and his nature and intellect are not of the kind to supplement the inevitable deficiencies of all second-hand reports.

Possibly if one were to describe Sir Edward as the most English Englishman in England it might help Americans to a

clearer comprehension of the man. He has almost all the excellencies and some of the limitations that go with the title. To meet him is to feel yourself in the presence of an English gentleman of absolutely the finest type, one whose dignity is so natural that it never occurs to him to wonder whether he is dignified, one from whose lithe frame and Roman Emperorish features there radiates an instantaneous impression of entire cleanliness and squareness of thought and life and conduct. It is inconceivable that he should ever do or contemplate anything mean or petty or underhand—one minute in his company disposes of the notion forever. He is one of the most transparently honest men I have ever come across. So much one sees at a glance, and the conviction is renewed whenever and wherever one encounters him. Along with it one is not less conscious of an atmosphere of quiet reserve, and, as it were, impersonal authority—that outer shell which most Englishmen of his class wear as naturally as they wear their coats and which in his case, as in many others, conceals a fund of warm and human jollity.

He looks the patrician, but he is not, if to be a patrician carries with it any suggestion of haughtiness or disdain or icy immobility. His face is in some ways his misfortune. No man could be quite so statesmanlike as Sir Edward Grey looks. That powerful forehead, the broad space between the eyes, the highly executive nose, the firmness of the lips and chin, do partially belie him. They convey an idea of greater strength and decisiveness than perhaps he really commands. He is a man of genuine modesty and self-contineness whose aim is always to get through the day's work with the least amount of talk and fuss; and I am not sure that his utter incapacity for advertisement and his revulsion from anything that even looks like theatricality are not partly based on diffidence, on a consciousness that he is not really a great man, still less a brilliant one, and that there are several qualifications for his stupendous office with which he might well be more amply endowed.

The Crushing of Germany*

By Lord Rosebery

NO one can predict what will be the condition of things after this hateful war is concluded, but one at any rate is certain that there will be vast new avenues of trade opened, of which our people should be prepared by forethought and preparation long beforehand to take the fullest advantage. The trade of the Central Empires will, I suspect, be for many years to come so restricted as to be insignificant; but, on the other hand, there are enormous openings among our allies and within our own empire which we should most sedulously cultivate; and more than that, there are neutral States, of course, with whom we should always wish to be on the best possible terms and establish the best possible commercial relations.

At the rate at which we are spending money today, however the war may end, it will leave us gravely crippled, half paralyzed financially for long years to come, and our enemies, I hope, utterly ruined. For unless Prussian Germany is utterly ruined nothing has been gained by this war, and there is no hope for Christianity or true civilization for long generations to come.

The point I wish to urge upon you is this, that we shall be exhausted, we shall be victorious but almost bleeding to death, because at the rate of sixteen hundred millions a year of expenditure it is quite obvious that we must be saddled with a debt such as the world has never seen, and with taxation which I trust the world is not likely to see again.

Well, in those circumstances, can you expect any material help from the Government? I think that would be vain. And there are two points on which, I think, we should be prepared to disregard preconceived notions. One to which I alluded in Edinburgh last year is the question of tariffs, as to which we shall have to reconsider, I suspect, many of

our previous formulas by which we cannot be hampered in the prosecution of a successful foreign trade. The other is this, as you are aware: The Foreign Office has always had the greatest antipathy to their Consul agents engaging in promoting commerce of particular firms in foreign countries. I think the laissez aller policy will have to be abandoned, and we shall have to sanction the interference of our Consular agents to promote our commerce in foreign countries.

There was a Minister the other day in melancholy chorus, like Poe's raven over the door, that seemed to intimate that all the Government had done had been too late. I do not by any means say that, but I think they entered the field of thrift rather late in the day, and I am not sure that when they did enter it they entered it in the right way. The first point for Parliament and the Government when it enjoins thrift is to set the example. Parliament, I understand, has cut off its supply of quill pens, and restricted itself in some minor articles of stationery. But if by that economy we are expected to counterbalance five or six millions a day we are a more sanguine nation than is generally supposed.

Well, then, they appointed the Retrenchment Committee. I cannot give the date of its appointment, but I know its first report, which was not a very considerable or impressive effort, appeared in the middle of September. After that we heard that it did not meet for two or three months owing to the occupations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was Chairman of the committee, and who therefore could not preside. Well, that is rather too leisurely a method of proceeding for a Retrench-

*An address delivered before the Rotary Club, an organization of the leading men of Edinburgh, Scotland.

ment Committee when we are spending six millions a day.

One other feature has to be introduced. The predominant partner—by which, of course, I mean Ireland—has deliberately shut itself out as a field of operations for the Retrenchment Committee, which is a little disheartening to that body, because it is notorious the best field for economy in the United Kingdom is Ireland, with its numerous boards and highly paid officials. There is the real field for economy, but from that the Retrenchment Committee is debarred, so, I suppose, it will have to scrape a few flints in poor old Scotland to make its savings here.

One other thing I wanted to say. I do insist upon this—that on the part of every individual among us some private economy, at any rate, may be promoted, and it is our duty, our bounden duty, to find out where any public economy may be promoted. There are all sorts of stories going about the enormous waste of our war expenditures. War expenditures must necessarily be wasteful, but there is a figure beyond which it need not go. I can allude to one point because there is a correspondence about it in *Punch* this week. I mean the purchase of horses. That was a scandal in the Boer war. It has, I believe, been a scandal in this—that horses that have been purchased for the full price of £50 or more have been obliged to be scrapped when they came to the regiment as lame, unsound, and useless. The horses would furnish a chapter not without admonition in the history of the war; and in other quarters we hear about other such wastage.

We have the right to expect that the utmost vigilance should be exercised with regard to this vast expenditure, and that the taxpayers, who do not grudge these heavy taxes so long as they know that they are usefully spent, should have a guarantee that they are indeed usefully spent.

But, after all, there is only one subject which is in all our minds, which blackens every day from morning to evening, which occupies all our thoughts in business or in pleasure, and that is the

great war in which we are engaged. I do not think the present war aspect is particularly encouraging from what I may call the pins point of view, which is the pins fixed in the map which shows the advance or retreat of our troops. We see Germany in occupation of a great part of France, of Belgium, and of Russia, and there has been no real advance, no substantial advance, to repel them.

Our diplomacy has certainly not, judging by the fruits, been particularly successful. But I may say that diplomacy in this war and on most other occasions depends in the last resort on force, and where diplomacy may have been exercised successfully, perhaps when the Russians were advancing, it was not possible for it to make any great triumph when the Russians were retreating. However, the history of our diplomacy we shall never know till after the war, but I, for one, at any rate, have full confidence that all that could have been done was done by Sir Edward Grey, and if the results have not justified our expectations, at any rate he was not to blame.

Then, again, with regard to our armies, I think there is one thing we are apt to lose sight of, which is that no party to this war, with the exception of perhaps Austria, of which I do not know much—no party with regard to this war was prepared for a war of this size and ramifications except Prussia. Russia was not prepared, France was not prepared—I mean for a war of this scope—and certainly Great Britain was not prepared, because she never is prepared. It is not the fault of the Ministry; it is the fault of the nation. We will not prepare for exigencies of this kind, and, therefore, we must always begin with a great arrear to make up.

Just think what we were expected to do at the beginning of the war. We were expected to land 150,000 men in Flanders and keep the seas with our fleets; and now we have kept the seas with our fleets and we have raised millions of men employed in Mesopotamia, East Africa, and especially in France and the Balkans. Well, that was never expected. No one was prepared for a war of this kind, and so we have to

make up the arrears of preparation when we are absolutely fighting for our lives.

But then, I think, there is another point which those who look at the pins on the map gloomily should remember. It is that we are too apt to look at our own deficiencies, and do not sufficiently regard the disabilities of our enemy.

I think it is quite clear from all reports of the varying numbers of the millions of men that she has lost, that Prussia must be approaching a stage nearly of exhaustion. What seems to me the central fact of the war is this. You will remember the old torture when a man was placed between two planks, and they were gradually drawn tighter until he was squeezed to death. That seems to me the approaching position of Ger-

many. She has an impregnable wall of French and British on one flank, and on the other an approaching torrent of innumerable Russians. Between those planks she must, I think, at no long date be crushed, and whether we are doing as well in Mesopotamia or not, or whether we are doing as well at Saloniki as we might, is a matter of comparatively little moment in relation to the enormous importance of crushing Prussia at the centre.

We shall have, I dare say, many dark days yet to pass through, and whatever happens, however long the war may be, the year 1914 will mark the blackest in the whole history of mankind, perhaps. Yet we are certain by the mere endurance which has always marked our national enterprises, we are certain to win.

The Woman's Part

By BEATRICE BARRY.

So it has come at last, you say—the call?
 I did not know,
 Nor can I realize the truth, at all;
 But when you go,
 No hand but mine yon gleaming sword shall take
 Down from its place,
 That you may wield it well, for honor's sake,
 A little space.

A little space, perhaps; yet it may be,
 Since God is good,
 That He will send my soldier back to me—
 (Ah, that He would!)
 But in the meanwhile, soldier-lover, see
 How keen this blade!
 Strike deep, lest Justice, Truth, and Liberty
 Shall stand betrayed.

I am for peace—and fain, love, would I lie
 In your dear arms,
 Knowing myself, while happy moments fly,
 Safe from all harms;
 I am for peace—but when a tyrant hand
 Shall lift to smite
 And menace our beloved native land
 With evil might,

Then I can say farewell, and watch you go
 To do your part,
 Cheered by my Godspeed; for no tears shall flow,
 (Lie still, my heart!)
 And be our parting one of endless length,
 Or briefer while—
 Were it our last kiss—God would give me strength,
 Dear Heart, to smile.

The Situation for the Allies

By Herbert H. Asquith

Prime Minister of Great Britain

In the course of his address at the opening of Parliament Feb. 15, 1916, Mr. Asquith presented this serious survey of the military and financial situation:

DURING the last three months I think the most outstanding feature of the general European situation has been the growingly intimate relations, co-ordination, and concentration of unity of directions and control among the allied powers. That change, or development as I should prefer to call it, applies to diplomacy just as much as it does to strategy. The distinguished Prime Minister of France, M. Briand, did us the honor to pay us a visit earlier in the year. He has since been to Rome, where he met, as might be expected, with a most cordial reception, and these two visits are to be followed, I hope at an early date, by a general conference of the allied powers in Paris, at which both the political and strategic aspects of the war will be reviewed.

Here at home the Government has thought the commencement of the new year a fitting occasion for taking a complete stock of our own resources in men, in munitions, in our industrial resources, and in our financial capacity, both actual and prospective. That survey has been undertaken by us with the object of our being able in the coming months to contribute our maximum effort to the common cause. In some ways our responsibilities here are more varied and more complex than any of our allies. In the first place, look at the position and functions of our navy. Over an area vast and almost immeasurable in extent we have to meet and keep in being against all possible sources and wastage the most powerful and at the same time the most diverse fleet, or combination of fleets, which has ever sailed on the ocean.

WORK OF THE NAVY

The work of the navy during this war

has been to a very large extent silent, inconspicuous, and unobtrusive, and there have been few of the daring and spectacular adventures which light up the naval annals of the past. Our navy during that time has performed, is performing, and will continue to perform with unexampled efficiency and success our supreme and capital duties which the war cast upon it. In the first place the defense of our own shores against the possibility of invasion. Next the complete neutralization of the aggressive power of the hostile fleet which has never tried conclusions with us. Thirdly, the clearance of the high seas from the menace which in the early days of the war was of the most serious and formidable character to the free influx of necessary goods both for ourselves and for our allies. And lastly, the vigilant and continuous stoppage of enemy supplies and enemy trade, which is one of the most important factors in the final successful prosecution of the war. I think we may say without undue complaisancy or boasting that the navy in performing these functions under vastly altered and in many ways more trying conditions than have ever prevailed at any time in the past has shown itself worthy of the best traditions of a great service. This is a function which is almost peculiarly our own.

ARMY TEN TIMES LARGER

I come back to the army. In the actual theatres of war, where fighting is going on, without counting those who are for the time being in these islands for home defense, for reserves, for training, and for the necessary expansion in the future, in the fighting areas we have at this moment ten times our original expeditionary force. I am not including India or the garrisoning of Gibraltar or Malta or anything of that sort. I am speaking of the actual theatres of war, and I am speaking of troops sent from this coun-



SIR EDWARD GREY
British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
(From a New Drawing by Arthur Garratt)



MISS WINIFRED HOLT

Founder of the "Lighthouse," New York. Now Working in France
for Men Blinded in Battle

(Photo by Mishkin, New York)

try. That, Sir, has been done in the course of eighteen months. We started in this war as a naval and not a military power. We were content, with the common consent of our statesmen and of our experts, to provide, as we did provide, for a moderate-sized military force. The resources and patriotism of the country during those eighteen months have enabled us to multiply our forces by the unexampled figure I have named. I do not think there is a more remarkable achievement in the history of the world. I am not using language of boasting; I want the House to realize what are our own special responsibilities in this matter.

FINANCING THE ALLIES

In the face of this tremendous and unexampled drain on the manhood of the nation, we have not only to pay our own way—a serious matter in itself—but we have to take a leading part, from which we do not in the least shrink, and which we perform with the utmost alacrity and enthusiasm, in providing a certain part of the sinews of war for our Dominions and our allies. We cannot afford in the interests of the common cause to impoverish or to unduly curtail our own productive power. It is as much to their interest as it is to ours that we should see to that. Let me remind the House, when I speak of financing the Dominions and our allies, that it is not a question of supplying gold; it is a question of supplying the necessities of war—food, munitions, coal, and other commodities and materials, and, what is equally important and equally essential in all our interests, the services of our shipping to convey all these things in the quantities, at the times, and to the places where they are most needed for our common purpose. That is a gigantic, and, as I have said, an unprecedented task.

I do not say it has always been perfectly performed. I have never pretended for a moment in the earlier or even the later stages of the war that there has been an absence of mistakes or miscalculations. There have been mistakes and miscalculations on the side of the enemy. Both of us have had

to deal with a situation that no one could have foreseen. The best means of accomplishing this entirely new and, as I have said, unexampled task could only be arrived at by time and by experience. I do not say that the problem has yet been completely solved, but, at any rate, we have, during the last few months, taken long steps and even strides in the direction of its solution.

GIGANTIC NEW CREDITS

Lastly, speaking of these special responsibilities of ours, there is the question of finance. It will be my duty next week to ask the House to accord to the Government a new and, I am afraid, a very large vote of credit. That will be a more appropriate opportunity than this for giving at any rate a provisional forecast of the financial situation, but our outstanding liabilities on the first of January of this year had reached a figure quite without precedent in the financial history of this, or, I believe, of any other country, a figure so gigantic that when in the course of time those obligations come to be liquidated they will impose a sensible, and, indeed, a serious strain upon the resources of this country for a generation to come. But the war goes on. I think when I last asked the House, in November, to grant the Government a vote of credit I said that our daily liability for the cost of the war would probably amount to, although I hoped it would not exceed, £5,000,000. That forecast has been very nearly if not quite realized. I need not say that the expenditure shows no prospect whatever of being reduced. It is a figure which, if you multiply it by seven days per week or thirty days per month, and still more if you multiply by 365 days a year, staggers the imagination.

When we are trying to get a perspective, as we ought to do, in their true relative proportions of the various interdependent and related duties which the war casts upon us, this is one which must bulk at least as largely as any other. How is that burden if it is to go on—and it must go on, because we are not going to pause or flag in the prosecution of what we regard to be a supreme duty

and responsibility—how is that burden to be met? As the House knows, I am no pessimist; I never have been since the beginning of the war, and if I ever had been I should not be one today. I have no more doubt in the triumph than I have in the justice and righteousness of our cause. But we must face these things seriously and get our people to face them.

STILL HEAVIER TAXATION

How is this burden going to be met? There are two ways, and two ways only, in which it can be met. The first is by large additions to taxation, and those I believe the House will find before they are many weeks older that my right honorable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have the courage to propose. But no additions you can possibly make to the taxation of the country unless they were of a suicidal and Utopian kind could possibly fill this huge and ever-widening chasm. The only other way in which the gap can be bridged is by the maintenance of our credit, which is the most valuable asset not only of this country but of our allies. How is that credit to be maintained? We must keep up as far as our military and other requirements allow—for the two things must be balanced one against the other—we must keep up our productive activities and our export trade. Even more important—I am only repeating what has been said before, but I repeat it with the added emphasis of growing experience—we must cut down our unnecessary imports and our consumption of luxuries; we must try to reduce not only in our Government departments — although there, I agree, the necessity is all-important—but in every department, public

and local, and in our private life we must reduce expenditure to its lowest possible limit.

CALLS FOR SACRIFICES

It is easy to preach these doctrines, but it is not so easy to practice them, but the first duty that is laid on the conscience of every patriotic citizen, for himself and for those whom he can influence, is to practice the most rigid economy and to cut down every form of superfluous expenditure to the narrowest limits. It is only in those ways, by submitting to the burden—and a very heavy burden it will be—of unprecedented taxation, by the curtailment of imports and of expenditure on non-necessary things, and by the maintenance at the highest possible level of our productive activity and of our export trade—it is only in those ways that we can possibly sustain the unexampled burden which has been cast on our shoulders. But we can sustain it. The strain will be great, but in my opinion not a greater strain than we can bear.

We can render no greater service to the cause of our allies, which is also our own cause, than by co-ordinating and proportioning our contributions of men, financial assistance, and actual endurance, and, if need be, even of privation, both as a community and as individuals. By the combination of all we shall, I believe, if we only persist, earn for ourselves and for history the judgment that in perhaps the greatest crisis to which, both as a nation and as individuals, we have ever been exposed, we have done what in us lay to maintain the liberties of Europe and to provide for the future of civilization.



Review of Military Events

By Lord Kitchener

British Secretary of State for War

At the opening of Parliament on Feb. 15 General Kitchener gave the following official review of what the Allies had done in the preceding months:

THE Austro-German attack on Russia, which was proceeding when I last addressed your lordships on the progress of the war, having been brought to a standstill in September, the German Staff at once commenced to organize a campaign against Serbia. The object of this was to extend their influence over the Balkans and to establish a railway connection between themselves and their ally, Turkey, on whom the presence of our forces in Gallipoli was having a decided effect, causing great deficiency in both men and munitions, the latter of which they looked to Germany to supply. The French and ourselves were at this time bringing considerable pressure to bear on the western front. The operations culminated in the battles at Loos, in Champagne, as well as about Arras. Our offensive in these areas inflicted very heavy losses on the Germans and resulted in the capture of important positions by the allied troops. The German counterattacks failed to recover the ground which the enemy had been compelled to yield.

IN THE BALKANS

Owing to this continuous offensive action on the western front, considerable German forces were withdrawn from the Russian frontier, where the pressure was sensibly relaxed, enabling Russia to obtain certain successes and to hold the enemy in check. In order, however, to carry out the German agreement with Bulgaria, under which King Ferdinand pledged his country to abandon her neutrality and to co-operate with the Central Powers in an onslaught on her neighbor, Serbia, the preconceived movement against Serbia was proceeded with. In these operations the Austro-

German forces which crossed the Danube on Oct. 7 took a minor part, by holding the defending Serbian forces south of Belgrade, while the Bulgarians attacked them on their flank.

To support Serbia, and to enable Greece to send troops to the assistance of her Allies under the convention which existed between the two Balkan States, the French and ourselves, on the invitation of the Greek Prime Minister, sent troops to Saloniki, and entered the field against the Bulgarians in South Macedonia. The inadequate harbor accommodation and the bad railway communications through Greece and Serbia hampered the advance of our troops very considerably, and it was not until Oct. 25 that a French force came into contact with the Bulgarians in the Strumnitza Valley. It was evident that the Serbian Army was not in a position to offer effective resistance to attack by superior forces in front and flank, and could not but be driven back upon Montenegro and Albania. The Austro-Germans and Bulgarians thus succeeded in securing the way for direct communication between the Central Powers and Constantinople, which was, no doubt, their principal objective in these operations. I may add, however, that under the auspices of the French, large numbers of the Serbian Army are being reorganized and reconstituted as a fighting force in the island of Corfu.

THE WESTERN FRONT

In France and Flanders, since the capture of Loos and the forward movement in Champagne, the allied lines have remained practically unchanged. Throughout the Winter the morale of the French Army has been maintained at the same high level which marked it at the inception of the war, and it may certainly be said that the fighting qualities of our neighboring ally were never greater or

more highly developed than at present. Although the Indian Division has been withdrawn from France and Flanders for service elsewhere, our forces in that theatre have been materially increased by no less than eight divisions of the new army, and thus reinforced our troops, through the Winter months, have been constantly carrying out active operations which have given no rest or respite to the enemy in front of them.

The activities of the Italian Army were conspicuous in October and November during the advance on the Isonzo, nor have their efforts since been relaxed, although the positions occupied by the enemy are so strong as to bar for the present the development of the forward movement which the splendid courage of the Italian troops is sure eventually to push home. I had an opportunity last Autumn myself of seeing the indomitable resourcefulness of the Italian Army operating in a terrain presenting the greatest difficulty.

Notwithstanding the heavy blows and consequent losses which Russia suffered during the Summer of 1915, and which would probably have overwhelmed any less tenacious and courageous people, her army has been thoroughly reorganized and re-equipped, her armaments have increased, and the spirit which pervades her forces is as high as at the outset of the campaign. The active co-operation of the Russian people in the manufacture of munitions of war exhibits very clearly the reality of their patriotism, and their determination to carry this life-and-death struggle, whatever its length, to a victorious conclusion.

IN THE NEAR EAST

The Austro-Germans having cleared the path to Constantinople of all obstructions, the political situation in the Near East was thereby greatly affected. The Turkish Army, reinforced by German supplies, was able to organize a movement of troops either against Egypt or to strengthen their forces in Mesopotamia, and at the same time were able to bring a far more powerful artillery attack to bear on our positions in Gallipoli. It was therefore decided to withdraw our troops from the peninsula to

reinforce Saloniki and Egypt. During the last week of December our positions at Anzac and Suvla were successfully evacuated with practically no loss. This military achievement has already been the subject of eulogy in both houses of Parliament, and was only surpassed by the later strategic withdrawal from Cape Helles. Although when on the spot I had formed the opinion that this withdrawal could be accomplished with less loss than had been originally anticipated, the method of its execution by the competent naval and military officers in charge exceeded my most sanguine expectation. The Franco-British forces operating in Macedonia were gradually concentrated in a strongly entrenched position surrounding the town of Saloniki. Its line of defense was completed and occupied before the end of the year, and, in order to emphasize the principle of unity among the Allies, the supreme command of the forces at Saloniki, both British and French, was placed in the hands of the French Commander in Chief, General Sarrail.

It will be remembered that during last Winter an abortive attempt on the Suez Canal was easily brushed aside by a small British force operating in that neighborhood. But as a more serious attempt has been threatened by the Turks to invade Egypt from the east adequate preparations have been made to defend the canal. The Turco-German influence with the religious chief of the Senussi, on the western flank of Egypt, has succeeded in inducing the Arabs of Cyrenaica and Tripoli to assume a hostile attitude toward us in Egypt. The first attempts made by the tribes have resulted in complete failure and disaster to them, and though the movement in the western desert still causes a certain feeling of unrest the admirable loyalty of the people of Egypt forms an effective barrier to any penetration by these raiders into the cultivated areas.

ON THE TIGRIS

In Mesopotamia our forces at the end of September, advancing up the River Tigris, defeated the Turks at Kut-el-Amara, and, pushing after various minor engagements, were at the beginning of

November in a position threatening the City of Bagdad. The Turkish forces thus driven back had, however, received considerable reinforcements, and at the action of Ctesiphon, on Nov. 22, showed themselves to be in such strength as to outnumber our expeditionary force. A retirement from our advanced position, therefore, became necessary, and this was carried out under General Townshend's direction as far as Kut-el-Amara, a strategical point which he decided to hold until the arrival of fresh troops which were being pushed up the river under the command of General Aylmer.

General Aylmer and his forces drove back small parties of Turkish troops, and reached a point twenty-three miles below Kut-el-Amara, where the Turks had intrenched themselves. The Turkish position was attacked on Jan. 27, but proved too strong to be forced, and General Aylmer, who has been joined by General Lake, is now awaiting further reinforcements before renewing his forward movement to effect a junction with General Townshend's forces. The behavior of the British and Indian troops in Mesopotamia has been one of the traditions of our army, and the operations which have been hampered by the worst possible weather will, it is hoped, before long reach a satisfactory stage. General Townshend has sufficient supplies at his disposal to maintain his force for a considerable period. The operations in Mesopotamia, which have hitherto been controlled from India, will now come under the direction of the War Office.

CAMPAIGNS IN AFRICA

In East Africa several small engagements have enabled us to extend our positions, and the Union Government, after their victorious campaign in South-west Africa, having offered troops for service in that country, General Smith-Dorrien was appointed to command the increased forces which it was proposed to employ there. Unhappily his health has prevented his retaining the command, which I am glad to say has been accepted by General Smuts, in whom we can have the utmost confidence in view of his varied military experience.

In Cameroon the combined operations undertaken by the French and British troops have brought that country entirely under the control of the Allies. In January Jaunde was occupied and the German garrisons were either captured or driven out of their colony. All resistance having now ceased and the enemy's levies having laid down their arms, the campaign in Cameroon may be regarded as virtually concluded. It is greatly to the credit of General Dobell and General Aymerich, commanding the French forces, and the troops under their command that this difficult country has been satisfactorily cleared of the enemy.

At the end of the year an important change occurred in the highest command of the British forces in the field. Sir John French, on whose shoulders had rested the heavy burden of seventeen months' ceaseless activity in the field, having relinquished, at his own request, his post in France, was invited to assume command of the forces employed in this country, and to co-ordinate duties of first-rate importance which require the direction of a central authority. The country will feel that by his invaluable services he has placed us all under an obligation, and will rejoice at the honor conferred by the King which makes him a member of this House. Sir Douglas Haig has been intrusted with the task of conducting the operations of the British troops in the western theatre of war, and his brilliant record and high soldierly reputation are sufficient warrant for the confidence in his success which his countrymen and our allies feel in him.

THE GROUP SYSTEM

I cannot omit to mention the important measure that has recently passed your Lordships' House enabling the country to call on the services of all single men of military age. We have now some experience of the working of the vountary group system, and we realize how seriously the numbers immediately obtainable are affected by exemptions. I would pay a tribute to the conscientious work of the advisory committees and

tribunals which have been set up to deal with appeals, and I am not without hope that when these appeals have been decided the anticipated numbers of men will be obtained. Time alone will show what increase the results of appeal will give us, but I trust on a future occasion to be in a position to reassure your Lordships as to the chances of our obtaining the numbers required. I would, however, seize this opportunity of again urging on employers of labor that they should do their very best to release young men to service in the army and replace them

with older men, with women, and with men who for physical reasons have been invalidated out of the army

In the future as in the past we shall have our dangers, our difficulties, and our anxieties in this great struggle, throughout which the splendid state of our troops at the front and the calm determination of the people at home to support them to the utmost of their ability will enable us to look forward with complete confidence to a victorious issue which shall insure peace for this and many succeeding generations.

“Germany Hid a Stone in Her Bosom”

By S. D. Sazonoff

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

IF Prussian militarism is destroyed, if that evil thing which has darkened all our lives for so many years is finally destroyed, as I most firmly believe it will be destroyed, then I think some measure of disarmament may be possible. It should be quite possible, for with England and Russia friends the rest of the world is safe. The peace of the world and the happiness of humanity are bound up with the friendship of England and Russia, and I believe this friendship will be eternal.

When the Germans, by the mouth of their Emperor and by the mouth of their Imperial Chancellor, in July, 1914, said Russia was crossing the frontier to attack them, they said what they knew was a lie. They wanted an excuse, and they deliberately lied. For more than forty years, years which kept the whole of Europe in a condition of feverish unrest, the Prussians have been preparing for this war. They have sat at our frontier with a stone in their bosom, as we say in one of our Russian proverbs. They have been waiting to throw that stone. Their one object in all these long years has been to strike Russia down, and they had not got

honesty enough to say so. They must pretend they were attacked. Bah! They are not even good criminals!

How can any one like such a nation? Their arrogance—that insufferable arrogance of the German—has the world ever seen anything like it? It is an offense to all mankind. And they speak of culture! They dare to disdain Russia on the grounds of culture—Russia, who has given to the world two of the very greatest masters of literature—Pushkin and Dostoevsky!

We know that while England holds the sea Germany, who is the enemy of the human race, cannot win the war. I have said again and again in committees of the Duma, in the Imperial Council, and to my sovereign that England and Russia together can secure the peace of the whole world, and I am sure of it. It is my supreme political conviction that England's hold of the sea is the greatest fact of the war. We know that fact in Russia, and we are perfectly satisfied.

Ah! they have guilty consciences over there in Germany. They have burned cities, towns, and villages; they have destroyed houses and laid waste the land;

they have driven vast numbers of people into exile. Ah! how merciless they have been, how cruel, how brutal, how ferocious! And they do not want the same thing to happen to them. But as for the idea that we shall not enter their territory, that is for our Generals to decide. After a great victory it may be possible and it may be right for us to invade Germany. If so, we shall certainly do it. Do you suppose that after a great victory on their side they would hesitate to enter Moscow or Petrograd? They have announced that they are only fighting to destroy the Russian armies, but if they think we and our allies are fighting to destroy the German Nation then I do not mind saying they are wrong. How can you destroy a nation of 80,000,000 people?

Our purpose is to destroy once and for all the greatest danger which ever menaced the human race. We shall fight on and shall never cease fighting until that menace is destroyed, and we cannot rest with a victory which would permit that menace to lift its head again. Our victory must be absolute. We must be free to live without continual fear of war. Things must be so settled by this war that the nations will feel themselves safe, and until German militarism is destroyed to its roots no nation can feel itself safe. Let the German people know

—I have not the least objection to this—that if they themselves like to destroy their militarism absolutely then the war will come to an end; but as for us, we shall never stop for one moment until we are satisfied that the curse of Prussianism is lifted from the human race.

England, France, and Russia are responsible now for the future of Europe, which means the future of civilization, the fate of the world. We can and we shall destroy Prussianism. It may take a long time. We are prepared for that; there will be no inconclusive peace, no peace with a risk attached to it. Prussianism, which is a deadly poison, must be flung clean out of the human body. We dare not leave it there to work once more for the destruction of nations.

Russia desires with her whole heart and soul the peace of the world. It was the Emperor of Russia who proposed disarmament in the hope of saving mankind from this very catastrophe, and it was Germany who deliberately frustrated that noble intention. Well, let us hope that after this war is over we may find ourselves nearer to that noble ideal of my sovereign. Russians do not want war. They are fighting now to end war, and with England and Russia victorious in this war the peace of the world will be assured. I have no firmer faith than that.

M. Sazonoff on Russia's Foreign Relations

An Official Survey

At the recent opening of the Duma the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs gave the following summary of the situation:

THE catastrophe which has overtaken the Serbian Army has placed Montenegro in a very difficult position, and has subjected the country to a very heavy trial. However, the position which has arisen in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula cannot, of course, under any circumstances, be permanent. The hard situation in which Serbia and Montenegro find themselves is temporary. The fate of these two kingdoms is closely knit with the fate of the Allies; their

fate, therefore, and with it the whole Balkan question, will be decided at the end of the war in conformity with the victory of that righteous cause which the Allies are defending.

Naturally, while speaking of the Balkan kingdoms, I cannot refrain from touching on Greece. Whether Greece will preserve a benevolent or a non-benevolent neutrality, is another question; but in any case Greece will remain neutral; and it only remains to hope that nothing will induce her to break with the Allies.

As regards our relations with Rumania

—these relations are altogether satisfactory and maintain their hitherto friendly character. The trepidation which took possession of Rumanian public opinion, because of the unfriendly attitude of the Central Empires, which threatened Bucharest, has not quite ceased. The Central Empires, as heretofore, are making every possible effort to sway Rumania finally to their side. But Rumania has a very clear understanding of the true value of the Austro-Hungarian proposals and knows that she cannot in any case expect the realization of her national ideals from solidarity with the Teutonic bloc. Therefore, although the Austro-Germans continue to carry on the same agitation as before in Rumania, this agitation, so far as can be seen, is already producing less effect in the country.

In spite of all the efforts of our enemies to destroy our friendly relations with Sweden, these friendly relations continue to develop and to grow stronger. Our friendship with Sweden is based not only on mutual sympathy, but also on a true understanding of the community of our interests and profits. Yet it must not be forgotten that the same Chauvinist elements exist everywhere. Whatever may be said in Sweden with regard to Russia, I can state categorically that, should Sweden ever be compelled to defend herself against the attack of an enemy, that enemy will not be Russia. The excitement which has arisen in Sweden in connection with the measures which England has taken concerning contraband at sea, and the misunderstandings which have arisen on this basis will, we must hope, be dissipated. It must not be forgotten that, though England, in the given circumstances, is compelled to protect her vital interests, yet, at the same time, she is filled with the determination to do everything that is possible to comply with the interests of neutral powers.

The activities and interests of the Allies in the struggle which they are carrying on show themselves to be now, what they have been hitherto, bound together in solidarity. But in order to bring them into still closer harmony and to unite their activities, the Allies have established two councils at Paris—a mili-

tary and a political council. Both councils have already produced a series of favorable results. Since every co-operation which may create a still closer approach among the Allies and increase their understanding of each other appears desirable, the realization of the project of a visit of representatives of our legislative body to England is the more desirable. The representatives of the Russian people will have the opportunity to convince themselves by ocular demonstration as to how much England has done for the common purpose, and to secure victory. How considerable are the sacrifices made hitherto by England may be seen, if need be, from the fact that England has, up to the present, lost 25,000 officers and 600,000 men.

The friendship between Russia and Japan continues to grow ever stronger and stronger, as well on the basis of community of commercial interests as on the ground of a complete absence of causes of political divergence of interest.

The solidarity of the operations of the Allies has been made manifest in the Far East, among other things, by the fact that the Allies united in friendly representations to the Chinese Government concerning the untimeliness of the establishment of a monarchical form of government. It may be remarked in passing that, although the Chinese Government did not inform any one of the impending change of system, Austria hastened to announce in Peking her recognition of the new order of things.

I shall not dwell at length on the efforts of Germany to bring about a separate peace. All these efforts were left by us unanswered, and this we shall continue to do. The thought of a separate peace is, in the actual situation of affairs, tantamount to the bankruptcy of the nation. That we should run into bankruptcy or consent to it is, of course, unthinkable. To the question, how long the war is likely to continue, I answer thus: A war protracted for many years, Germany cannot endure, and therefore it is a mistake to say that the war may last for several years yet. The war will probably come to an end this year—perhaps in November.

Recruiting in Canada

By Major General Sam Hughes

Canadian Minister of Militia and Defense

General Hughes, the military idol of Canada, recently told an interviewer of the remarkable activities of the Dominion under his direction:

ONE night there was a story of three aeroplanes coming across the United States border and heading straight for Ottawa. The scare that night was so great that all the lights in the House of Parliament were extinguished so that the airmen could not find the capital.

But our danger is not here. The menace to Canada and all the rest of the civilized world is on the battlefields in Europe and our real work throughout this Dominion is to prepare to do our full share of the work over there. And that work is to smash Prussia and restore human liberty.

So far, I think, Canada has done her share and will keep right on to the finish. We are recruiting at the rate of a thousand men a day. We have sent 125,000 men overseas already and have 125,000 more ready to send as fast as we can find ships to take them. That is the chief difficulty of our problem in Canada, getting the transportation for the men who are prepared and equipped to go. Of the 125,000 who have gone to England 60,000 are now in the trenches, and they are doing splendid work. There are no better troops than the Canadians in the war. Our losses so far have been approximately 10,000.

The entire Dominion is divided into ten militia districts. That is not a war measure, but a part of our old machinery for recruiting that has been in force for many years, and it has been adequate in the emergency of war. We had 75,000 men in our regular militia before the war, but the law prohibited the Government from sending that body of men, as such, out of the country, so we began the organization of the overseas expeditionary force, and the reg-

ular militiamen, for the most part, went from the stay-at-home troops over into the new forces, giving us an excellent nucleus for the fighting organization. This plan enabled us to equip and send across the Atlantic 33,000 men in six weeks after the war began. Since then we have sent nearly 100,000 more.

It has not been necessary to open new recruiting stations. The preliminary work of getting the men is carried on in each of the ten districts by the regimental or battalion organization of each province, and the response is so loyal and spontaneous that, as I have already told you, the new men are enlisting at the rate of a thousand a day for the entire Dominion. We have some difficulty in the problem of housing them till we can get them aboard ship. All the available armories are in use as barracks; we have been obliged to hire a good many buildings, and in some cases we are billeting the recruits in homes, which is an awkward thing to do. If we could only get the boats we could have a constant stream of well trained men going from Canada to where they would do the most good. Of course the bulk of them are infantry, but every arm of the service is represented in the Canada expedition.

[General Hughes shares the opinion of the rest of official Canada, as expressed by Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister, and by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the opposition leader, that the war is only in its early stages, that England has been obliged to devote the first two years of hostilities to getting ready.]

"This recruiting is going to continue until we have defeated Germany and crushed Prussia. There are in Canada 1,600,000 men of fighting age—that is, between 18 and 45—and they will all go if they are needed.

In factory towns, where manufact-

uring plants are running overtime and calling for help in the work of getting out war munitions, we do not expect to get as many men as we do in the rural districts or in nonmanufacturing communities. But there is nothing to complain about, and we cannot say that this or that element in the population is hanging back. The rich and the poor, the French and the English Canadians, and even the Indians, are all coming out to help Canada and the rest of civilization. Many of the employers of labor in the country are giving their men leave of absence, with pay, to serve in the overseas forces, and nearly every woman and child in the Dominion is doing something for the welfare of the men who are fighting or for the support of the families left at home.

What Canada is doing is raising a trained democratic army. Both of the adjectives I have just used, trained and democratic, are of the utmost importance in understanding this situation. Our strength, up to a million and three-quarters of men, if necessary, will be in a volunteer army of citizens, every man trained in modern methods of warfare. And the lesson of all history is that the democratic army, after it gets its bearings, always defeats the standing army of professionals. One third of the army that won the battle of Waterloo was made up of farmers. We have farmers, fishermen, lumbermen, hunters, Indians, thousands of keen athletic young fellows from the cities and big student delegations from the universities—all the elements needed for the army that wins.

That is the sort of an army that

Canada and every other country should always have potentially, war or no war. I certainly do not believe in any form of compulsory service, but I do believe in universal, voluntary training for all boys and young men by means of the cadet system in the schools. The youngsters should begin to get such training when they are 12 years old and keep it up till they are 18. I would advocate this if there were never to be another war. It would make good men out of the bad ones and better men out of the good ones.

[General Hughes's advocacy of the democratic army and the training of all the men of a nation for it is based on the knowledge of his own experiences and the traditions of his family. His great-great-grandfather, with two sons, was killed at Waterloo, and another son was wounded there. His own son and two of his brothers are officers in the Canadian army now in Europe, and his own life has been a blend of literary activities in times of peace and of fighting whenever England or Canada has had any little trouble to attend to. For example, he has been Lecturer in English Literature and History in Toronto Collegiate Institute and for twelve years he was proprietor and editor of a newspaper. On the other hand, he fought so well in South Africa that he attained high rank in the British Army, and he has had various military experiences in minor uprisings. Then, to keep the balance between the civil and military parts of his career, he has been a member of the Canadian Parliament since 1892. In 1911 he became Minister of Militia in Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet.]

British Merchant Marine Losses

According to W. S. Abell, Chief Surveyor to Lloyd's Register, London, who delivered a lecture on the subject before the Greenock Philosophical Society in February, out of 4,400 steamships entered in the war risks insurance associations, 172 had been lost by perils of war. The value of the ships lost was £6,250,000, and the value of cargo lost £7,250,000. The percentage of loss on the total value of 4,400 steamships came to about 4 per cent., and on the total value of cargoes one-half of 1 per cent. The greater proportion of these losses was, of course, inflicted by submarines.

Changes in the American Spirit

By Siegfried Dyck of Halle

While our readers will instantly note certain points where this keen-minded German writer goes astray in his analysis of American national psychology, the interest of his conclusions is undeniable. Incidentally the article is valuable as a revelation of German hopes regarding the coming Presidential campaign in the United States. It appeared originally in the Frankfurter Zeitung.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY.

WE should not identify the people of the great American Republic with the Government at Washington and hold them responsible in their entirety for the unfriendly attitude of the United States toward the Central Powers. The person who wishes to form a correct estimate of the conduct of the United States should not overlook the fact that the Government of a nation always is the representative of the strongest elements of power in the composition of the State. In looking for these elements of power we must recollect that a country developed from colonies, like the United States, in the nature of things presents a very different physiognomy from that of a national State. An effort has been made to reduce the position of Wilson, Lansing, and the American press to the following formula: "The hostile attitude of the American Government and of the American press is due to the influence of the speculators in war material." This formula is, however, only a half truth.

During the different periods of the development of the United States very distinct currents of thought have been in the ascendancy, the majority of which still influence the policy of the nation. At the time of the British domination, when the necessity for independence arose in England's North American colonies, the urge toward liberty ruled the minds of the rising colonial race. And this urge, the ideals of which were based on a fanciful picture of the old Roman Republic as conceived by the fighters for freedom, received a fresh impulse from those immigrants from the Old World who, in order to escape political persecution, abandoned their homes and sought in the new and great

Republic the freedom denied them by their fatherlands.

Germany, too, in the days when the spirit of Metternich suppressed every manifestation of freedom in the German States, and during the period of reaction following 1848, when the agitators for a united and greater Germany were thrown into prison and threatened with death, repulsed and made homeless many able men who then sought a new home in the land beyond the sea. Thus the spirit which founded the United States was preserved through generations and became deeply rooted, especially as the new immigrants belonged to an energetic element that soon made itself felt in the life of its new home.

The generation of the old settlers and of the earlier immigrants had not been driven from home because of the difficulty of obtaining sustenance. Even when they brought but little of this world's goods with them, they found a sparsely settled country in which their activity soon enabled them to earn their living, and which soon guaranteed them a comfortable existence, without compelling them to regard the accumulation of money as the main thing in life. In later years, as the development of transportation continued to land ever-increasing streams of human beings on the shores of the young colonial country, the descendants of these early seekers of liberty constituted an aristocracy of vested wealth and preserved the tradition of the ideals of freedom of their forefathers. They also clung to the picture of the enslavement of free souls that their ancestors had brought with them from their old homes. France had sent them men inspired with the spirit of the Revolution to aid in the great battle for

independence. All they knew about Germany was that it sighed under the despotism of its Princes and officials and that German Princes—like the one from Hesse-Cassel—even sold their citizens to foreign lands for cannon fodder.

These ideas became fixed and were nourished and strengthened by some embittered men who made the alleged, or perhaps real, injustice they had suffered in Germany the basis for much generalization. This was the main reason why the sons of the patriotic Germans of the colonial aristocracy became Americans who occupied an attitude of suspicion and even of hostility toward the new Germany that was born in 1870. They did not know it and, influenced by their prejudices, they did not take the trouble to become acquainted with it.

Already in the sixties, and to a still greater degree after 1870, a new stream of immigration completely changed the physiognomy of the people. Instead of the seekers of liberty, Europe, as a result of the material cheapening of transportation, sent to the United States many persons leading a precarious existence who, because of the economic conditions then prevailing, found no opportunity in their own fatherlands either to earn their bread or to improve their material standing. Now it was no longer the idealists, the individualists seeking freedom of action, who formed the majority of the immigrants, but it was a body of men, hardened by the struggle for their daily bread and determined to advance the interests of themselves and their children at any cost. The gold fever of the sixties and seventies contributed toward impressing this characteristic more strongly upon the stream of immigrants. The struggle for existence which these new and strange immigrants found forced upon them in the eastern part of the United States, already more thickly settled and equipped with vested property rights, ruled their every thought. Whoever lost in this struggle was irretrievably ruined. And so the lust for gain rose to the boiling point and was communicated to that part of the existing population which had not yet obtained economic security.

It was inevitable that from this condition there should develop and spread that overvaluation of material wealth which is embodied in the variety of Yankeedom to whom nothing is more sacred, or of greater value and weight, than money. Of course the members of the aristocracy descended from the early settlers, secure in the possession of comfortable fortunes, have not allowed themselves to be swallowed up entirely by this movement. They have understood how still to maintain a certain influence over the Government, which at one time they furnished with its best statesmen. It is self-evident, however, that such a transformation in the mind of the people could not fail to affect the Government, so that the latter, from a representative of liberal-minded individualism, has become, in the main, a representative of materialism and egoism, as personified in the trusts and great industrial corporations.

Both of these phases of development essentially affect the relations of the United States with Germany today. President Wilson depends principally upon the North Americans' acquisitiveness and upon the groups of big capitalists, but he is also supported, on what they consider idealistic grounds, by the members of the old aristocracy, who cannot rid themselves of the idea of an illiberal Germany, and who believe they are fighting for the old idea of individual liberty by taking a stand against her.

We must not underestimate the power of the prejudices of the colonial aristocracy, to which Wilson is attaching himself all the closer now that a new opposition has arisen that seriously endangers his candidacy for the Presidency. This new current of thought, which already had attained considerable strength before the war, was the result of a change in the economic position of the great mass of the people. The agglomeration of huge fortunes has put an entirely different face upon the industrial situation. Whereas formerly working for wages was almost always a mere transitory stage, and nearly everybody, even the poorest, had the possibility of attaining an independent existence and entering

into the competition for the accumulation of wealth, nowadays it is only in the rarest cases that members of great social strata succeed in freeing themselves from their subjection to big capitalism. This has led to more definite divisions among the people and to a sharp contrast between the interests of workingmen, employes, and little business men, and those of big business.

Such a state of affairs, which has now prevailed for a couple of decades and which practically precludes success in a competitive struggle, has lowered the exaggerated estimate placed on material things in the former circles. When a person is no longer able to obtain riches himself he is likely to become more critical in valuing them. The workingmen, employes, and small business men are happy when they succeed in making their existence comparatively secure, and as they see that big capitalism ruthlessly exploits them and then throws them on the junk heap, being aided in the process by the lawmaking machinery, the interest of these classes in political life and other questions not so closely connected with business is awakened.

Under the influence of this current of thought the later generations of German immigrants have not lost touch with the old fatherland as did the immigrants of the first two epochs, the political refugees and the fortune hunters. They read German newspapers, have business relations with the old country, exchange letters with their relatives at home, are acquainted with Germany and feel themselves to be Germans, even in their new home. Therefore, in a great part of the broad masses of the people, (the younger German-Americans and the Irish,) together with the opposition to a Government controlled by big capitalists and anti-German sentiments, is to be found a warm sympathy for imperiled Germany.

This is the beginning of a fresh transformation in the soul of the American people and of an increase in the significance of the German spirit in the United States. Even in cases where this sympathy is not the result of the ties of blood

or friendship, or of common opposition to England, self-interest will induce the greater part of the propertiless classes to become opponents of the Wilson policy. The uncertainty of employment due to the cessation of activity in a great number of industries depending upon German trade connections, the increased cost of living resulting from the stimulated exportation of meat and grain, the fact that by far the greater part of the enormous profits of the trade in munitions of war only goes to swell the wealth of the millionaires; all this, combined with the support of the financially powerful cotton interests and of the American textile industry that cannot get along without German dyestuffs, is working to create a strong opposition to the Wilson policy in the mass of the American people. Bryan, no doubt, recognized the change in sentiment and for that reason let Wilson drop.

Whether the new current of thought is strong enough to carry its point only time can tell. That it has already become a power is demonstrated by the deliberations in the House and the Senate, and the recent slight change of position on the part of Wilson. He is looking for solid support in the face of this new force. He believed he had found it in the group of war speculators surrounding Morgan and in the old anti-German colonial families who, besides the millionaires, still set the fashion, especially as the leading newspapers of the West, with few exceptions, unconditionally defended the financial interests of the war speculators, in the meantime draping themselves with the mantle of the old friends of freedom. But as the press cannot continue in permanent opposition to the great mass of its readers, it is hardly to be doubted that there will be a sudden change there, too, as soon as the movement becomes strong enough. Thus a new struggle for power has begun in America, the result of which is sure to be of great importance in connection with our relations with the United States after the war, even if it is not noted before the close of hostilities. Consequently, we have every reason to be interested in this development.

A Bugle Call to Duty

By Leonid Andreyev

Foremost Russian Dramatist

PEOPLE are asking one another these days: "Will this be the last war, or is the world condemned to experience again in the future the horrors of bloodshed and slaughter of millions?" The answer seems to be this: If people in the future will be as they were before the war, war with its horrors will visit them just as it has visited us. As the flood for the contemporaries of Noah was a severe punishment for their crimes and vices, so the present war is but a terrible retribution for the weakness and flabbiness of the past.

Who wanted the war? All the participants in it say: "We did not want it." But how could that which no one wanted happen? If we admit that a score or a hundred persons planned and sought the war, how can we admit that this score or hundred maniacs swept all humanity to the field of carnage? And this is precisely what happened. Nobody except the small group of maniacs wanted or wants the war, and nevertheless it is raging like a hurricane, carrying to death and destruction ever new portions of mankind.

And this could happen only because the intelligent will to live and create in the men of yesterday was weaker than the elemental desire in them to destroy and kill. No illness can develop in a body that is strong, overflowing with life. When people really will to live and create, they live and create. When they cease willing it, they die. A slight cold is sufficient to bring such weaklings to their graves, for this is what they seek. And the people of yesterday sought their own graves. Well, they found them. They sank low, they grew petty; from the temples and spacious halls they went to narrow cages. They preferred the artificial fires of the night life to the flame of creative genius. They could not dominate the fountains of life, and they have dimmed the glow of the human soul.

The ancients said: "Do whatever you do." While it may be useful for a sick person to attempt to discover the cause of his sickness, there is a still greater task before him—to prevail over the sickness. If we were weak yesterday and could not avert the war, let us be strong today and continue the struggle, as behooves one who is strong. Not with the sword but with the will we shall attain victory.

There are many, of course, not at the front, who complain against the fatigue of a prolonged war, who turn their faces away from the war-news in the papers, who seek dissipation in normal entertainments. This is bad; it is the voice of weakness, the echo of the blind and deaf yesterday, when before the eyes of humanity the mad sacrifice to Moloch was being erected. And they, the men of yesterday, thought it a toy and dreamed of careers for their children. And where are their children now?

Weak in peace, we got the war. Strong in war, we shall win a firm peace, based on our power of will and not on accident and the wish of a Wilhelm. One must not say: "Let the war end, and then I will labor and create a brighter future." This is wrong. It is the voice of weakness and cowardice. It is the treacherous murmur of an illness, persuading the body not to struggle against death, for there is rest in death. No, we must be restless, we must be feverish, we must be strong now, at this very moment; we must continue to the end the work before us. Let us enter the triumphal arch of tomorrow as powerful masters, then the day will be clear and bright, and our will shall dominate it. To get there through the hole of a rickety peace means that tomorrow will dominate us, as the miserable and negligible yesterday did. It means that tomorrow we shall still remain the slaves of accident and faithlessness.

Those who turn away from the war,

expecting a bright future, err bitterly; they are weak, and there is no future for them. They have overlooked the coming of the war, so extensively prepared under their eyes; they will also overlook peace, whose approach the thundering mouths of the cannon are already announcing. Let us devote our minds, our wills, our passions, to the war and to victory. Wielding the destinies of war, we shall also wield those of peace. Taught by suffering, strong in its determination, humanity will create a real, permanent peace, and not a state of passivity, barbarously styled "armed peace," which the weak and condemned to death people of the gloomy Europe of yesterday accepted as normal.

Now the children are paying for the sins of their fathers. The children are made responsible for their weak, petty, wretched, thoughtless, spiritless fathers, who traded in cannon as in common merchandise, whose hands dug the graves for their children, and who trod the paths that led their sons there.

Happily, not all of them will be killed. Many will remain alive and return home. It is necessary that these martyrs, who escape slaughter, should not experience at home a torture more bitter than death, the torture and shame of defeat. How would we justify ourselves? With what eyes would we face them? How would we counterbalance that feeling of profound and blind revenge, painful despair, characteristic of one who fought bravely and met his defeat because of faults committed not by him.

Let us be strong and upright. Let us give all the love we have, all the care and attention we possess, to our soldiers. Let us not allow the war to become our master, but let us dominate the war, bridle the evil elements let loose, subjugate their fury to the yoke of mind and will.

Then the daybreak of which the cocks are crowing already will be fair and bright, and the sun of a lasting peace in the human world will rise upon the land of the strong.

"It Will Take Europe at Least Fifty Years to Recover"

Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian historian, said in an interview at Milan:

The relations between Italy and France since the beginning of the war have been cemented into a friendship that I believe will be permanent. These relations prior to the war were not good owing to the Triple Alliance treaty, which, though its context is still secret, I believe was broken by the Central Powers when they entered upon a war of aggression and conquest without consulting us, thus treating Italy as a vassal State.

To my mind there is no doubt that the Quadruple Entente will win. The only question is: To what extent will Germany and Austria drag down the rest of Europe in their fall? It will take Europe at least fifty years to recover.

The material loss is a small matter. The institutions of Europe, like a badly constructed building, are crumbling under the effects of the war. There will be after the war a terrible conflict of ideas. In this conflict our generation will be sacrificed.

France will come out of the war the greatest European nation, for she has astonished the world by the magnitude of her efforts against her powerful enemy, compared with which the efforts of the rest of the Quadruple Entente are insignificant.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of the current thought of all the warring countries, as represented by many of their leading writers and most influential periodicals.

Peace or Desperate War

By Maximilian Harden

In an extraordinary article in Die Zukunft Herr Harden says:

SIX months ago the Germans could be content with defense, holding and using what they had conquered, and saying to the enemy: "We will not budge until you compel us to repel you." Now it is too late. * * * Can we wait until the enemy has spied out every feature of our system of war economics, and until at last there creeps upon us the state of want which at present is mere lies? It cannot be denied that our third harvest would be more difficult than the second, that it would be difficult to make good our supplies—not indeed of men, but of important raw materials—and that our expenditure of money would increase immoderately. After three blockade years others would occupy the places in the chief markets from which it seemed impossible that German trade could be expelled. Dare we wait? The enemy's longing for delay gives us the answer. No.

[Herr Harden thinks Germany should address her enemies as follows:]

A limitation of armaments, adapted to the new graduations of power, is thinkable, for a nation which has got the indispensable breathing-space need not wear so much armor as if it still had to win this breathing-space against the swords of other armed nations. Conceivable also is a War Debts Association, which would be a firm support of the will for peace. Do you want to escape from the fog of lies into clear air, and to leave the crumbling pomps and vanities of palaces already undermined for the clean halls of honorable community

in labor, which in a generation might wipe out a part of the damage done yesterday and today? You will find us not unreasonable. Are the survivors to feel that the war, in spite of all its horrors, has brought the white races of Europe forward, and so erected a permanent monument to the fallen, or are your people still to be swindled with the pretense that the strong and stubbornly efficient Germans must be so thrown down that they cannot rise up again in any near future? There is still time—a short time—for agreement.

We are not to be caught in pincers between a miserable peace and exhaustion by a long war—with the consolation that a long war will devastate the world, enemies as well as friends. We will not wait upon your pleasure. If there must be death, we will determine the hour. No neutral State could expect us to think of its advantage and its comfort rather than of the security of our life. If the dispute with the United States can be covered over with any respectable formula there need be no splitting of hairs; after a settlement the Anglo-American dispute about the right to export and about the making of cotton contraband would soon become hot.

But if Britain is yearning for proof that we cannot wound her in the heart with submarines and air craft, and if she will not discuss peace until this has been proved, the United States must reconcile itself to the conviction that no further hesitations will cripple our submarine war, and that no stars and no stripes will protect a ship in the war zone. * * * We are not tired and not afraid, and nine-

teen months have not paled our resolution. A worthy and moderate peace is welcome, but the enfeebling of Germany's power to strike—never!

It is a lie that Germany wants to wipe out her enemies, and that, if she cannot harvest the spoils tomorrow, she will the day after tomorrow arm for a new rob-

ber campaign. It is a lie that this Germany can be banished from Europe's future. She will never beg for peace. Gladly, however, will she greet the dawn which frees her from her terrible task, and permits the return to quiet creative work and the preparation of worthy and free common life.

Saving the Life of Poland

By Henryk Sienkiewicz

The famous Polish author of "Quo Vadis?" now living in Switzerland, is devoting all his time to relief work for his suffering compatriots. To an interviewer he said recently:

HAVE you any idea of the misery that has been inflicted on the Polish people by the operations of war? Has Europe any adequate conception of the state of affairs in the territory now occupied by the various armies? Woes upon woes have fallen upon Poland. The war swept like a destructive machine over the land; the whole country is devastated; the fields are neglected, having nobody to work in them; all the available cattle have been requisitioned by the passage of the three belligerent armies; food of all kinds is scarce and prices are high; worst of all, there is no milk for the Polish infants, who are dying off in thousands from sheer lack of nourishment of the proper kind; in blunt words, these little children are dying of starvation. Here indeed, is one of the most poignant if not the supreme tragedy of the whole war.

Actively as we are working to meet the necessities of the hour, it must not be supposed that we have forgotten the great cause of Polish independence. There is no doubt in our minds that this war will bring about, at last, after all these long years of suffering, the self-government of Poland. It is, indeed, one of the most urgent needs of Europe that the Poles should be allowed to develop on their own national lines under a Polish Government.

We number some twenty-five millions.

We are the most typical Slavic race; we are the most Slavic of the Slav peoples. We have the most ancient civilization. Our university, founded by Casimir the Great in 1364, was the first of the Slav universities of Europe. For centuries we were the bulwark of civilization in the East. Our literature is grand; our history is glorious; our aspirations as a nation are noble and justified. There is much talk now of small nationalities. Much sympathy has been accorded to the Serbians, and rightly so.

But the natural right of the Poles to independence is the same, and on greater grounds, in view of the extent of their territory and the number of their inhabitants.

It is with very great regret that I and my friends have read the suggestion that the food which we collect for our own people really goes to the Germans. I can state definitely that there is no possibility of this happening. The name of the President of the Relief Committee for the Victims of War in Poland, my friend, M. Antoine Osuchowski, is in itself a sufficient guarantee that there is no misapplication of funds or material collected for the Poles. The President of our committee in Warsaw is Prince Lubomirski.

Just as relief is conveyed to the Belgians who have remained in their own country, so it is extended to Poles in the territory occupied by German armies. It is as unjust to describe our efforts as pro-German as it would be to apply this description to the relief of the Belgians in the occupied parts of Belgium. It is

true that relief has been distributed in Vienna, Gratz, Innsbruck, and other Austrian towns, but exclusively to Polish refugees in those places. Many of our people fled from the zone of war to the towns of the interior, where their misery is also very acute. Shall we refuse to succor them because they happen to be in Austrian towns?

It is, above all, necessary to save the life of Poland and the self-existence of the Polish Nation. No one

can foresee what the future will bring. Our sympathies will always be on the side of those who come forward in the name of freedom and of the rights which belong to every nation. But at present, so long as our committee is not dissolved, its main object is the saving of the national life of Poland. This is the cause of my having, as President of the committee, refused to engage with many correspondents in conversation on purely political subjects.

Poland's Future: Russian or German?

By Gregory Mason

Mr. Mason reviews the situation of the Poles in The Outlook, New York, for Feb. 2, tells of the irreconcilable factions into which they are themselves divided, and concludes:

IF Polish history means anything, it means that long-continued Polish independence is impossible. The big kingdom of Boleslaus fell apart because Poles could not live together amicably. * * * The real Polish question today is whether Poland is to exist under the protection of Russia or Germany; or, rather, the first question is whether Poland is to be reunited under one Government or whether it is to continue divided, and, if it is to be united, the question then arises, Under what auspices, Russian or German? For the two great powers that have quarreled over Poland in the past, like two wolves quarreling over a sheep, cannot both be separated from the future fortunes of Poland, and it is better for the sheep to be given entirely to one wolf (to continue a somewhat unpleasant metaphor) than to be torn between the two. The worst enemies of Poland are those impractical Poles who cry for the immediate, absolute independence of Poland, for this angers both Germany and Russia, and the sheep can throw off the grip of one wolf only with the help of the other, and alone can free itself from neither.

Between Russia and Germany, Russia is the natural guardian for Poland to select. With the views on this question of the distinguished Russian Pole above quoted probably most impartial observers will agree, with the exception of his denunciation of Russia's civilization as barbarous, a tirade in which some inherited racial animosities came to the surface. Despite the bitterness of the past, Poland is more indebted to Russia than to Germany, and the future of the Poles is more bound up with the future of their fellow-Slavs than with the future of the alien Teutons.

A buffer State Poland has been and a buffer State she will continue to be. But her lot will be happier if she is a Slav bulwark linked to Russia, used by Russia against Germanic onslaughts, but reinforced and protected by Russia, than if she is given a feeble independence and left to fear attacks both from east and west.

Moreover, Russia is the nation to whose greatest interest it is to reunite Poland, and there is a fair chance that if the Allies are victorious Poland will be reunited under Russian protection. But even now, with German armies holding Poland, there is little chance that Germany can keep what she now has, for she must use some of it as a quid pro quo for the freedom of the seas that only England can give her.

Need of a Lasting Peace

By Jules Clemenceau

Referring to the outburst of joy in Berlin at the time of the killing of many women and children in France and England by Zeppelins, M. Clemenceau said in his Paris journal, L'Homme Enchaîné:

I AM not committing the wretched error of wishing to found the future on eternal hatred which could only prepare for a more or less risky renewal of extreme violence. In the ages that our children will not see there will be forgetfulness, for if the joy of memory is short lived the happiest gift of man in the tumult of life is probably the tranquilizing ease of amnesia. But we who are paying for incredible faults of character and ideas by holocausts such as the world had never before seen—we whose strength, which was not always sufficient, will be lessened precisely at the moment when the greatest effort of French reconstruction will be demanded of us—we should be betraying our dead, or glorious wounded, and our history if we allowed ourselves to drop from the grand effort we have made to win to the supreme cowardice of forgetfulness.

It will not be with us, as it was with the Germans in 1870, to raise the hue and cry after the stricken beast. We shall respect ourselves by respecting the conquered, even though they are irreparably dishonored by their unparalleled

excesses and terrible atrocities. We could not, without being false to our own natures and without incurring the eternal reproaches of our descendants, basely betray the cause for which they have poured out their noble blood by recoiling before the duty of taking all necessary precautions in order that the establishment of a durable peace should at least be assured us.

Germany will not be suppressed tomorrow. She will wish to recuperate, and no one can blame her. Her resources in bold initiative and methodical organization will not be less powerful than before. Not having been able to destroy us in war she will renew her attempt at peaceful absorption. The peace therefore must be ours and not hers—for ourselves, who have human law to preserve, in the establishment of a new Europe, and for her that can only be regenerated by returning under our auspices to the civilized condition that one day, I hope at any rate, she will be ashamed of having repudiated. Simple-minded politicians are apt to say that this war will be the last. I will not profess a folly that might perhaps have appealed to me at a time when I did not test my ideas by reference to facts. I would merely state that the coming peace will be the more solid and the better in so far as our victory is the more complete.

M. Milenko Vesnitch: Spokesman of Serbia

According to the Revue Hebdomadaire, M. Milenko Vesnitch, Serbia's Minister to France, said in the course of a recent oration at the Sorbonne:

HOW are we to explain the interest which France has always felt toward us unless by some spiritual force stronger than all political combinations. * * * That which separates

us from the Germans and brings us close to each other is the fine feeling of human solidarity, of Christian compassion. There is no human wretchedness—no matter in what corner of the world—that has not found an echo in your noble hearts. You have had compassion for the victims of all atrocities, whether they were called Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek,

Serbian; you have fought for the liberties of all peoples. But no German has ever had a noble feeling for the sufferings of other nations! * * * There is not in the world a nation, small or great, which owes its liberty or its independence to Germany. And this cannot be otherwise; for, even under the standards of Bonaparte France fought

for fraternity, for equality, for the liberty of all.

But Germany has never fought except from motives of egotism exclusively German. This is why there may be moments in history in which other peoples will fear Germany, but never an instant when any other nation will love her.

Economic Demobilization in Germany

By Dr. Jacob Riesser

As President of the Hansa-Bund Dr. Riesser speaks for the great German shipping interests and for many other influential business men. His article emphasizing the need of Government aid in the battle for trade after the war originally appeared in *The Cologne Gazette*.

THE most essential problems of economic demobilization must be established at once in the order of their organic relation and prepared for without a moment's delay. This is the more necessary because there is no doubt that in Great Britain and the Entente countries far-reaching and systematic provisions, particularly regarding the supplying of raw material and the obtaining of cargo room, for the period immediately following the restoration of peace, already have been worked out and partly put into effect.

Naturally the question of what measures are to be taken is by no means limited to these two problems. On the contrary, there are a great number of just as important matters which should be investigated and prepared for at once. Among these are the measures which will be necessary in those first days of peace to prevent the disturbing of the market for mortgages, securities and building loans, and the setting in of a shortage of dwellings, with an accompanying sudden rise in rents; to insure, as far as possible, the organization of the labor market in that initial period; to enable the German shipping companies immediately to advance the interests of German exporters; to support the German export trade through the development or extension of the existing war credit banks or through export credit banks and trans-

portation insurance companies to be created especially for this purpose, and to support German exchange, certain action toward which happily has been taken already, at least so far as may be possible at that time in the face of the lack of German overseas exports.

Over many of these pertinent questions there will be hardly any serious differences of opinion. For instance, it will be almost universally admitted that the broad powers given to the Federal Council, (Bundesrat,) under Paragraph III. of the Law of August 4, 1914, regarding the authorizing of the Federal Council to take action in the economic field, will have to remain in force for some time after the end of the war; also that for a certain length of time the same course must be adopted in the matter of redeeming our banknotes in gold and in connection with a considerable number of necessary war laws, which, like those concerning the control of business and the court orders delaying the payment of debts, have been enacted for the purpose of preventing a financial crisis. Of course these laws will have to be appropriately altered and extended. Also a great many of the organizations and institutions created during the war will have to be continued in existence for some time, and there is no doubt that new organs and institutions will be necessary in order to facilitate the economic

demobilization and to prevent economic crises.

There is not the slightest doubt that the matter of supplying raw material cannot be left to the tender mercies of the unregulated and feverish competition sure to set in from all sides as soon as peace is restored. At that time the stocks of raw material will be pretty well cleaned out, not only in Germany but in all the warring countries. Therefore, an exaggerated demand on the one hand and a mighty increase in production on the other is to be expected. As a consequence of this extraordinary rises in prices will be inevitable, especially as the sellers naturally will be slow at first in making offers.

Coincident with the scarcity of raw material will come a shortage of cargo room which will entail a very material rise in freight rates at sea. Therefore we shall have to deal with the decline in exchange, with fresh hindrances and higher prices in obtaining raw material, with lack of cargo room, and with an increase in freight rates. Consequently we are facing dangers that may grow to immense proportions unless timely and effective precautions are taken which aim to prevent a free-for-all competitive struggle, a struggle which, under the circumstances mentioned, might become particularly serious.

In the nature of things, in this case as well as that of all the other questions touched upon, it is impossible publicly to discuss here the details of the measures to be adopted, but it may be pointed out that purchasing syndicates, (trusts,) which at the same time would have the task of providing cargo room, should be organized. The combining of all these individual syndicates into a single great organization, which, as such, would have to make allowances for every point of view, probably would be desirable. The organization of purchasing syndicates as mentioned for the large industrial groups is hardly to be avoided, as the conditions are quite distinct in the different industries.

It is not to be supposed, however, that these arrangements could be put into

operation without the co-operation of the State, particularly as Government compulsion will be indispensable in putting through many of the necessary measures and may be needed to bring individuals into the organization. But during this time immediately following the restoration of peace, to which period the whole arrangement must be limited, we must reverse the basic principle which prevails now, in time of war. While during the war the Government organizations, with the co-operation of industry, have laid down the rules to be followed, in time of peace the rule must be: industrial organization, with the co-operation of the State. All this should be planned, however, with a view to bringing about the disappearance of the tendency toward State socialism, which is here apparent, although in a diluted form, as soon as possible after the great difficulties of the transition period from war to peace shall have been overcome. The institution of such purchasing syndicates probably would avoid the necessity for putting into effect the proposal to prevent, in a limited degree at least, the flooding of the market with goods and raw material of all sorts in the first few years after the war by means of legislation and tariff measures, a proposal which, in view of the expected measures of reprisal, is perhaps not without drawbacks.

The question whether we should take steps to protect German ships or the ships of our allies from unfair competition by hostile States, or concerns, or companies working in their interests, during the first years of peace, and how soon such measures are to be adopted, is worthy of serious consideration. The conduct of England and her allies in this sphere of action makes it seem impossible for us to avoid taking a hand in the matter swiftly and in combination with our allies wherever possible. In connection with the above proposals, especially in the matter of purchasing syndicates, the possibility of their being put into effect in conjunction with our allies, particularly Austria-Hungary, will have to be weighed. This is a question that will be of importance to the raw material combine, perhaps already during the

transition months and certainly in the period following.

Immediate action is necessary along all these lines, as every day spent in

hesitation may be the one that will bring us to the rear in the worldwide competitive struggle that will follow the ending of the war.

Land for German Soldiers

By Ludwig Eschwege

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WHAT is the most important gain to us in this war? It is that millions of our countrymen have "found" their Fatherland, so to speak. In the course of a long peace, what with the numerous economic changes that have taken place, the name Germany had in many instances become nothing more than a geographical term. Today, aside from a few inconsequential fanatics, there is no one to deny that it is the Fatherland, and the Fatherland alone, which gives him his peaceful vocation and the enjoyment to be derived from such labor. Now, is this realization of national obligation only an exalted feeling resulting from the war, or may we expect it to last? This is a big question, the satisfactory answer to which may determine whether the terrible sacrifices of this war have not been made in vain.

In many circles the question has been raised as to what should be done when the millions of German soldiers return from the war on the conclusion of peace. There is no denying that the rapid transit service instituted from the larger cities with the use of electric motive power constitutes one of the chief agencies for the urban population to get into the country. But the greatest obstacle is the speculation in land which raises prices to abnormal proportions. Now, the coming peace period must see to it that there shall be a different situation from that which obtained among us in the seventies, when the returning heroes from the victorious war were rewarded by a stupendous rise in house rents. Adolf Wagner, the noted economist, is authority for the statement in his celebrated work on national econ-

omy that this abnormal rise in rentals worked more effectively in a certain political direction than all the speeches of Most and Bebel.

Let the seventies be a lesson to us! The native soil, which has contributed so liberally to the prosecution of the war, should not again be subjected to that which will enrich the few at the expense of the many who must live in rented quarters. We know today that the fundamental basis of national existence is the soil under our feet, and that this must be brought within the jurisdiction of a law and Government that will protect against misuse where it is a question of homes for the masses.

It remained for this world war to teach us that it is necessary to make ourselves independent of other countries in the matter of food stuffs. This can only be possible by increasing the small land holdings. If the lessons of this war are not to be forgotten we must be sure to continue the cultivation of every spot, as is now being done through stern necessity.

The general committee in Berlin for the securing of homesteads to returning soldiers has gone to work with a will and secured the co-operation of every city of consequence. The purpose is, then, to conduct such a campaign at home that every soldier will have his reward in some piece of land that he may call his own. When word went forth to the men in the trenches that such a movement was on foot it created a tremendous enthusiasm among them. Many of the former workers in factory and shop, who during the long months in the field have acquainted themselves with the benefit of living in the open,

look longingly to the time when a free existence may be had in the home environment.

No matter how great the victory in the field against the enemy, this win-

ning of homesteads on native soil will prove a conquest of such surpassing importance that the coming peace years will find in this national gain a new evidence of patriotic co-operation.

Political Lessons of the War

By Professor I. Hashagen

Professor Hashagen, a noted Bonn University scholar, analyzes the political causes of the war in the Illustrierte Zeitung of Leipsic in a long article of which this is the kernel:

THE political history of the war, the history of the regrouping of the interested parties during the war, may be summed up in the fact that while in the beginning the conflict stood between two powers on the one side and three on the other, it has now come to a contest between a Quadruple Alliance and a Quadruple Entente.

This superficial observation alone is enough to shed new light on the political history of the war, and to make clear many heretofore obscure points during the preceding seven years, when diplomacy concerned itself with the preservation of peace. At once we shall perceive some characteristic differences between the new coalitions. To start with, the Quadruple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria—has been suffering less from internal difficulties than the Quadruple Entente. The relationship of Germany and Austria-Hungary has stood the test of time. The rapprochement toward Turkey took solid form, and while the latter country and Bulgaria shortly before had been enemies, the various questions at issue were settled to the satisfaction of both.

The history of the forming of the Quadruple Entente reads less pleasantly. Italy's treachery toward its former partners throws a shadow on the Entente transactions, for Italy is the only power in the world which in such manner has transferred its interests and allegiance from one political group to another.

This is a phase of the newer political history which is without precedent and opens up vast speculations.

Italy aside, the inner political history of the Quadruple Entente becomes much more confusing than that of its opponent. It will not hold together because of direct need thereof. Its existence depends on an identical desire for conquest. Certainly, the Entente is much more widely apart as regards individual national interests, and, while Germany takes the lead in all that governs the attitude of the Quadruple Alliance, it has not shown the tyrannical sway that characterizes England's position in the Entente group. An illustration is furnished by France's attitude during the Morocco crisis in 1909, and that of Russia in the crisis of 1911.

Even before the war the Entente group was taking shape. As a matter of fact, today the Entente should be considered as composed of five parties with Japan a partner as early as 1902, when it formed its agreement with England. We may even say that neutral America plays a rôle here, for since the beginning of the present century friendship for England has influenced American world politics to a noticeable degree.

The history of the two groupings finds clarification through the war. The three great international crises during the seven preceding years were the Bosnian affair of 1908-09, the Morocco crisis of 1911, and the Balkan crisis in 1912-13. Each of these came very close to causing an eruption in the international situation. Now we know that they were the political preludes to what was to follow in the Summer of 1914.

For more than a generation the Near

Eastern question has exercised a preponderating influence over the political issues of the world. It is now known for a fact that the great mischief of the Balkan question lies not with Constantinople, but with Belgrade, Kragujevatz, and Nish. It has remained for the world war to show to what a degree the Balkans have been a disturbing centre. The experience obtained in the period from 1908 to 1911 does not appear to have taught the Entente anything except that crude diplomatic methods,

such as those practiced on the Central Powers, lead nowhere. New tactics were then employed. There followed what may be termed the veiled tactical defensive, the purpose of which was to appease the Central Powers in order later to give the Entente the chance to overpower us.

But the war has opened our eyes to the true situation. The great war, with all its misery and destruction, has proved a rich source of politico-historical wisdom.

M. Painlevé, Minister of War Inventions

By Charles Nordmann

A contributor to the Revue des Deux Mondes says of the new French Cabinet Minister in charge of the technical problems of the war:

A FEELING of lightness of heart, a joyful hope stirs the hearts of all the servants of French science, be they illustrious or lowly, when they remember that the new Ministry of Inventions Important for National Defense is intrusted to M. Paul Painlevé. * * *

It was at the beginning of August, 1914, that M. Painlevé, whose ardent proselytism had done so much for several years in technical matters touching the navy, aviation, and explosives, obtained from the War Ministry the decree instituting the Superior Commission of Inventions Touching the National Defense.

The idea that the war would soon be over was in part the cause of our slowness in beginning to supply the front with heavy artillery and munitions, and the prolonged neglect of our workshop and our technical services. "Let us not fall again," as M. Painlevé himself has said, "into the same mistake which has already cost us so dear. Already at the outbreak of the war we were told that it was too late to improvise. It is not enough today to deplore the delays caused by this systematic error in judgment. It is a question of not repeating it." * * *

The technical sections of the Ministry of Inventions are composed in all of thirty members. They number eight, whose titles will sufficiently indicate their varied activities: (1) Ballistics and armament; (2) mechanics; (3) physics, electricity, wireless telegraphy; (4) hygienics, medicine; (5) chemistry; (6) navy; (7) trench warfare; and (8) aeronautics.

Speaking of the researches in mathematical analysis of him who was, sixteen years ago, and still is, the youngest member of the Institute, our great Henri Poincaré has said: "When I saw M. Painlevé undertaking his series of works, I wanted to cry out to him: 'Stop! You are entering a road which ends before an impassable wall.' The path which our young colleague followed has indeed brought him to the wall which I foresaw; but, by an admirable and prodigious effort, he has succeeded in getting over it. He has achieved one of the finest triumphs of French science."

Today, a new wall, formed over there by the engines and breasts of the Boches, invites the assault of his ardent and comprehensive spirit. "This admirable soldier of truth," as M. Louis Barthou recently called him, will know how to find there a yet finer triumph for the science of France.

German Inventiveness in War Time

By Heinrich Goehring

Recent inventions due to Germany's isolation are thus described in Ueber Land und Meer:

THE tremendous war of the present has proved a mighty stimulus to the inventive spirit of Germany. The old saying that necessity is the mother of invention has found the most practical application in the Fatherland. It is especially the case in Germany owing to our isolation from world communication. Our entire economic life has been compelled to undergo a change. Many Gordian knots, which in ordinary circumstances would have been unsolvable, in this hour of need have been cut in twain instantly. And the solution has been a manifold blessing.

Of particular value is an entire series of discoveries in the domain of coal consumption, especially anthracite, which Germany possesses in such quantities. In former days the various gases coming from the coke ovens have been permitted to escape through the chimneys. But now, not only is the vicinity of these establishments of a much purer atmosphere than before, but the by-products from coal, including tar oil, anilin, naphthalin, &c., are of the utmost usefulness. In the matter of the coke ovens we have even gone so far as to utilize the surplus heat, which formerly was wasted, by conducting it through pipes and using it in baths, as in the case of the public institution at Tuebingen.

The utilization of coal tars for dyestuff manufacture has for some time helped to make Germany's position in the world of chemistry unique. We know now how dependent other nations have been on our chemicals. But while our specialties have long acclaimed us leaders in the domain of tar product industrialism, the coming of the war brought along such new discoveries as we had not conceived possible.

In the matter of nutritive articles a recent addition of the utmost value is a feed for horses which consists of sugar,

animal blood, and a coal tar derivative. Sugar, as a matter of fact, is playing an increasingly important rôle in our entire economics since the beginning of the war. In the production of alcohol and of yeast, for the conservation of meat products, in tanneries, sugar combined with certain of these coal tar by-products has become one of the great essentials.

An interesting medical discovery has been made by Dr. F. Hammer, who in the Munich Medical Weekly explains that by subjecting sawdust to a roasting process he has obtained an excellent antiseptic for healing wounds.

The extraordinary demand for benzine in the army caused laboratory investigators to expend their energies in finding suitable substitutes. In some instances the principle of the Diesel motor has been followed, and by the employment of new machines an enormous saving in fuel has been obtained. The utilization of offal has also yielded an excellent fuel substitute.

When it comes to replacing metals formerly considered indispensable for specific purposes, our inventors have been particularly happy in their substitutes. German electro-technical science has proved itself superior. Copper, tin, zinc, nickel, antimony, each of which metals has been used in great quantities since the war, may not be replaced fully by other products, but ingenuity has been able to find articles that could take the place even of some of these.

Iron and steel, so plentiful in Germany, are now widely used where formerly copper alloys were considered necessary. This discovery is expected to prove of far-reaching benefit even when peace prevails. Bronze, an alloy derived from copper, tin, and zinc, is now replaced by steel in the manufacture of armament and wherever the ammunition makers required copper alloys.

The substitution of paper for rubber has been one of the chief achievements of our investigators. The scarcity of

rubber might easily have become a serious question for our electrical industries, but, happily, that crisis has been passed successfully. At the head of the more recent experiments stands the noted chemist in Leipsic, Dr. Wilhelm Ostwald, whose theories regarding rubber substitutes have been found to be entirely practical. Dr. Ostwald declares that certain limes, rich in glycerine, and to which are added tar oil and bichromates, will produce a most excellent substitute for gum. Further experimentations are being carried on along that line.

Fireproof wood is another invention that has proved its worth during this abnormal war period. The wood is soaked in certain chemicals and even though exposed to 1,000 degrees of heat it is unaffected.

In substitutes for foodstuffs our chemists have perhaps shown their greatest solicitude and ingenuity. Chemical-synthetic discovery in the matter of substituting fats still has its limitation, and again it is sugar that is expected to play a leading part in finding something that shall reduce Germany's shortage of food articles to a minimum.

Wheat, rye, and potato flour are now being used in the textile industries where before grease was necessary. The soap industry, however, is now forbidden to use potato flour because substitutes have been found for making soaps. As for the textile works, here flour paste is used for smoothing the yarn during the weaving process, to stiffen the materials, and in other ways.

Talcum has become one of the most useful of all the soft minerals. This substance lends itself admirably to uses where flour had formerly been employed in polishing rice, beans, coffee. Talcum is used as a preventive against explosions in mines, where the pulverized mineral is mixed with the coal dust.

In the manufacture of optical instruments a wonderful advance is noted. Carl Zeiss of Jena, in collaboration with the chemist Otto Schott and Ernst Abbe, professor of physics, through the discovery of a new glass product, has brought the science of optics to a stage of unheard-of proportions. Dr. Donnan has invented a signal mirror which is invaluable to military aviators.

War Painting and War Photography

By W. Scheuermann

A novel phase of German war activity is described in an article which is here condensed from the Hamburger Nachrichten:

AT the beginning of the war our Great General Staff organized the work of war painting almost simultaneously with that of the war news service. A number of well-known German painters were accepted for the service and distributed among the different army groups on the western front. There they have had an opportunity to become thoroughly familiar with the life of the soldiers and of the staffs, to study the landscapes and the districts, the positions and battlefields, and, so far as chance permitted, to observe decisive events at as close range as possible.

With a liberality not equaled by any

of the enemy army authorities, our General Staff has allowed the war painters to move about at will in the military districts, to get as near to the front as possible and to enter the most advanced trenches whenever practicable.

Through the relief of some and the consequent addition of others, the number of German war painters on the western front has become considerable, and all with whom I have become acquainted have been able, by dint of hard work under conditions that were frequently difficult, to reap a rich harvest in drawings and sketches in colors. Little exhibitions that I have had a chance to see at the different army headquarters have surprised me by their variety and abundance of materials. Upon the whole, I have found the war painters whom I

have met at the front filled with tireless industry and convinced of the necessity of availing themselves of every minute at their disposal to study subjects which are only to be seen during these great times. Later they can work up the material collected, either in their homes or during the longer pauses in hostilities, in the temporary studios constructed by the war painters in their quarters.

Besides the work of the real war painters, we must not overlook the documentary value for the future of the sketches made by the fighting members of the army, some gifted amateurs, some noted professional painters.

Where the work of the painter is not sufficient, the completion of the war records will be made possible by photography. It is self-evident that in no other war have as many pictures been taken as in this one. In this important field, too, the Great General Staff has kept everything in good working order from the beginning. A number of war photographers were distributed along the front, many of whom have been replaced by able members of the profession from home. Photographs are also taken by members of the aerial division, of the surveying sections and of other branches

of the service designated for this work. Most of the war correspondents have carried cameras with them along the entire front and used them diligently. And, finally, many pictures are being taken in the camps and advanced positions. Many a man who never had thought about learning the art before has sent home for a little black box and gone out to try his luck.

Photography at the seat of war is subjected to a very wise censorship which prevents any harm being done, a danger much greater than many in their innocence suppose. But in spite of the necessary precaution, the limitation of photography is never carried out through bureaucratic orders, and many a warrior will, after his return home, be able to depict his experiences in a series of pictures that will be of the greatest value as a souvenir to him and his family.

In some of the men's shelters, with the shells falling all around them, regular dark rooms have been installed and a rushing business is being done in turning out picture postcards to send home. The necessary chemicals are obtained through the military postal service and, for the most part, there is no lack of time, darkness or—water.

Armor for Modern Soldiers

By Dr. Ing. Selter

The fact that a modernized form of armor is being used in the present war is thus commented upon by Dr. Selter in the Technische Rundschau, Berlin:

WHEN we read about the French soldiers being supplied with steel helmets and the use of masks provided with slits for the eyes; when we hear of breastplates held in position by a leathern strap around the neck, then may we well think ourselves back in the Middle Ages.

From time immemorial warriors employed bodily protections against enemy attacks. The earliest measures were by utilizing plants and fibres. Then came skins of animals; later, metal was used. History is responsible for the statement

that in the year 710 B. C. Assyrian warriors used head and breastplates made from buffalo skins and studded with metal scales.

It is interesting to examine to what extent ingenuity has been at work in Germany and elsewhere during the last decade in regard to bodily armor. We must differentiate between armor that outwardly looks like ordinary garments or uniforms, armor that is carried over the clothing, and, finally, shields. The first kind is not of any considerable importance today, owing to the penetrative qualities of the modern rifle bullet. Still, in the discussion of the subject, it is worth considering. Asbestos has been used rather effectively in the manufac-

ture of such an outfit, and experiments have shown that it is proof against revolver shots. A similar revolver-proof covering is that based on the invention of the Berlin tailor, Dove, who, at the close of the last century, produced something that at the time attracted universal attention in military circles.

The so-called Schaumann armor uniform is made of thin steel plates of an elastic nature, back of which is another plate, in the composition of which aluminium is employed, and which is not elastic. The purpose is to break the force of the bullet in the first instance. Another invention deals with a uniform made up of metal rings and points with a view to deflecting the bullet.

The most common means for bodily protection today is the breastplate. Some

of these plates are intended merely to protect the heart or the lungs. The intention is to carry them in pockets under the military uniforms. It has been argued, however, with considerable justification, that in certain respects this intended protection may itself prove deadly to the soldier, since, if struck at an angle, it may add to the injury of the bearer.

The use of protective shields on rifles has been much discussed. On the whole, it is a question whether any real benefits accrue from any of these methods, as to a great extent they hinder the movements of the soldier on the offensive; but the present war will at least demonstrate to what a degree modern military operations can depend on agencies that come down to us from an epoch when entirely different conditions obtained in warfare.

German Birth Rate in War Time

A Russian View

In a general study of conditions in Germany during the war a writer in the Petrograd Vjestnik Evropy (the Herald of Europe) gives the following very interesting account of the effect of the war on the birth rate of Germany:

IF we do not count foreigners and defectives, there were in Germany on Jan. 1, 1915, including the army and fleet, 16,500,000 men and 17,000,000 women between the ages of 17 and 60. Not all of them belong to the producing classes. Among the number of those working for wages, and in service of every kind, including domestic service and the staffs of factories, and also those occupied in home industries, there were, between the ages of 17 and 60, 11,500,000 men, or 70 per cent. of the entire male population of those ages, and almost 5,000,000 women. The number of all those working for wages and in service is 13,435,000 men and 5,840,000 women, counting those below the age of 17 and above the age of 60.

The diversion to the army of an immense number of men naturally low-

ered the marriage rate. In Berlin in April, 1915, there were celebrated only 1,747 marriages, as against 2,996 in April, 1914. At the very beginning the war led to an extraordinary increase in the number of marriages. In August, 1914, 5,793 couples were married in Berlin, as against 1,309 couples in August of the preceding year. But the increase was for the most part only apparent: many of those going to the war found it expedient to contract official marriages with their "unofficial wives" in order to secure for the latter the allowance from the Treasury which, at the beginning of the war, was paid only to official wives; later the Council of the Empire published a series of decrees in accordance with which the allowances were paid not only to the "unofficial wives" themselves but also to the illegitimate children of the "unofficial wives," even in cases when they were the offspring of unofficial husbands who did not go to the war. Thereafter marriages decreased. In the last four months of 1914 5,835 couples were married in

Berlin, as against 8,265 in the same months of the preceding year.

The same thing happened throughout the whole empire. The excess of births over deaths in 1902 for the whole of Germany amounted to 12.7 per 1,000 inhabitants; the births amounted to 29.1 and the deaths to 16.4 per 1,000. Parallel with the decrease in the death rate in Germany during the last fifteen years, the birth rate has decreased even more rapidly. In Prussia, for example, in the years from 1901 to 1913 the death rate for each 1,000 population fell from 21.7 to 15.8, while the birth rate fell from 37.4 to 29. The excess of births over deaths thus fell from 15.7 to 13.2. Thus the growth of the population began to slacken even before the war.

Since the beginning of the war the diminution of the birth rate by two-thirds, as a consequence of the transfer to the army of two-thirds of the mar-

riageable men, would in itself mean an absolute diminution of almost 1,000,000 of the population in two years. To this must be added another 1,500,000—those who during the two years were killed or died of their wounds, according to the average of the first half year. This would mean a diminution of the population of Germany during two years of war to an extent that would require the normal increase of five years to make good. But in the years following the war the birth rate will be diminished by at least one-sixth if we take into account the numbers of men killed and incapacitated. Russia, on the other hand, during these same seven years will increase by 20,000,000, and German scientists compute that within a generation 300,000,000 Russians will face 90,000,000 Germans. The difference then will be 210,000,000, instead of 110,000,000, as at present, and the fate of Germany will be decided.

Corking Up the Kiel Canal

By Rear Admiral Degouy

After a lucid exposition of the whole naval problem of the North Sea and the Baltic, Admiral Degouy develops in La Revue de Paris a striking plan, the first step of which is the bottling up of the German High Seas Fleet in the Kiel Canal:

A VERY interesting point: Several railway lines, four of which are important, and roads which require bridges, cross the Kiel Canal. We need not mention foot bridges and ferries for the ordinary roads. Now, as the German engineers themselves admit, the necessary engineering works, executed in a hurry and on ground far from solid, give only very insufficient grounds for security. Some of these works remain as they were before the broadening of the canal, (1912-14;) certain bridgeheads have subsided because of the removal of the lateral supports to which they owed their former stability. They admit in particular that the lack of stability of the Levensau Bridge constitutes a permanent menace to the navigation of the

canal. In any case, and in a general way, the greater number of the railway and road bridges, being uncovered, could easily be destroyed by an aerial fleet. (These data are taken from the Russian Bourse Gazette, March 30, 1915.)

Nor is this all; even the banks of the canal are, for a certain distance, so loosely built, because of the character of the sandy, clayey soil, which is further very damp, that landslides take place, and that it is necessary to interrupt or slacken the circulation as well in the canal itself as on the railway bridges which cross it. The same insecurity exists in the region of the lakes and the wide marshes east of Rendsburg. Infiltrations undermine the banks, too hurriedly executed when the canal was widened. * * *

It is, therefore, not doubtful, and we have seen that this was the opinion of an eminent engineer a year ago, that a well-studied, well-combined attack of an aerial fleet on the German ship canal could produce the most interesting re-

sults. Not only would this waterway be obstructed for several days with wreckage of broken metal bridges and fallen piers; the canal itself could be destroyed at several points, and the disaster would be the greater because the lack of interior locks would not permit the localization of the effects, so far as the height of the water level is concerned. * * *

Especially regarding the basis of operations of the squadrons of aeroplanes which might attack the canal we must be reticent. However, an attentive ex-

amination of the coast of Schleswig will make sufficiently clear to my readers what I cannot tell them. How could one fail to see that a vigorous blow by the English fleet could bring into our power, whenever we wish, isolated points at which it would be easy, after having rendered them impregnable, to organize an immense aviation field with all its dependent services? The distance of this base from the central section of the canal should hardly exceed 100 to 110 kilometers, (62 to 68 miles.) This condition is perfectly realizable.

Japanese Menace to America

By George Bronson Rea

In a pamphlet entitled "Japan's Place in the Sun," compiled from authoritative Japanese sources, Mr. Rea sums up the argument thus:

THE United States is a nation anxious for peace at any price; she is a woman's country, and women love peace," are the words of Kazan Kaya-hara, the Maximilian Harden of Japan, in a recent number of *The Third Empire*, his own magazine, translated and reprinted in *The Far East* of Oct. 16, 1915, the last issue of the paper to arrive in America.

Remembering the existence of the super-censorship imposed by the Japanese Foreign Office last September to prevent the publication of any article, comment, or news which may injure the relations of Japan with foreign nations; remembering the recent publication of a Japanese Bernhardt book in this country, which has called forth the unanimous condemnation of the leaders of Japanese thought as "the irresponsible utterances of a penny-a-liner, hack newspaper writer in Japan," let me close this series of articles with one more extract from *The Far East* of Oct. 24, 1914:

"'Tsugi-no Issen' ('The War to Come') is the title of a popular Japanese book published in Tokio early last Summer, since when several editions have been issued. The author's name is not given, but it is

now generally known that he is a commander of the imperial navy with a reputation for literary work. The sale of the book was forbidden for some time by the Government authorities for reasons quite obvious, though it was later permitted to be published with revision here and there. The following preface tells of the object of the writer in presenting the Japanese with a book which is somewhat sensational:

"'Is a war between Japan and America inevitable? That is the great question for the world to solve in the first half of the twentieth century, and for Japan a question of the utmost significance. * * * I have witnessed the cruelty and misery of war with my own eyes, and again have read the far-reaching effects of war in the annals of past battles. I am not a whit behind others in the ardent desire for peace. But if the arrogance of the Americans toward the Japanese continues as in the near past, and if the deficiency of Japan's national defense is left as it is today, how can we expect the waves of the Pacific to remain calm and tranquil for many years to come?"

"'Let us direct our attention to the sea only, and then no storm from Siberia is to be feared. Even if Japan remains in her island empire, what shall we do with the yearly increase of half

a million of our population? Japan is now in a dilemma. Have you, my dear reader, an iron will and determination?"

No comment is necessary on the above. This is the utterance of an official of the Japanese Navy, and the book was passed by the censors and permitted circulation.

Let us not forget that the German von Bernhardt derived his source of inspiration from the Japanese. Germany has drawn the sword to perform her mission in the world. Against whom is Japan sharpening the sword to enforce her concept of her divine mission?

A Monroe Doctrine for Europe

By Maurice Révai

Former Austro-Hungarian Deputy

The Revue de Hongroie, Budapest, publishes this anti-English plan as a portion of a book by Maurice Révai on the same subject:

THE only way to prevent another war such as the present is to rid Europe of the bacillus of the disease, to deprive the country which has caused almost all wars of the ability to interfere in the affairs of Europe. We have shown what an insuperable barrier there is between England and the peoples of the Continent from the political, social, and ethical viewpoints; that geographical situation, climatic factors, and historic traditions render change on this score absolutely impossible by preventing the English and the peoples of the Continent from having ideas in common on any subject whatsoever; that our interests differ totally from theirs, that our way of understanding life and our national aspirations are quite other than those of the English, and that, if the peoples of the Continent are capable of understanding and judging with equity the insular position of the English, the English are absolutely incapable of penetrating into the being of another people, of understanding and sympathizing with it.

Since a solidarity of interests between the English people and those of the Continent cannot be imagined, it is very necessary that the latter recognize among themselves at least their common interests in opposition to England, that the Continent is a world in itself in which England has no place, that England has unduly played a continental

rôle until now, that England exercises an illegitimate influence on the destinies of Europe, that this unnatural situation ought to be brought to an end, and that it is necessary that England cease to be a continental power. In place of the old political system another ought to be substituted, and that will be the application to Europe of the Monroe Doctrine.

We desire to live at peace with England, and that is why we should apply in Europe the Monroe Doctrine and firmly declare, as do the Americans, that we wish to be "practically sovereigns on this continent." A Monroe Doctrine for Europe will start from the principle that England is an insular country outside this continent, that her conditions of existence are quite different, and that the possession of an immense colonial empire imposes on her tasks other than ours. England herself has recognized this truth, since she has always considered herself as not part of Europe, when it used to be a question of the European balance of power. She constantly kept apart from every grouping of the powers.

A European Monroe Doctrine will solve the greatest problem of the world war. Europe will be delivered from England's maritime hegemony and will thus gain freedom of navigation for all peoples. The first consequence will be that England will have to evacuate those portions of the European continent which she now occupies, to abandon Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar, the isles of Lemnos and Tenedos, which she has,

according to her custom, "provisionally" occupied during the war. If the Central Empires succeed in liberating Egypt and with it the Suez Canal, then after the restitution of this country to its legitimate masters and the evacuation of the three naval bases above mentioned, the Mediterranean can be considered freed, and the freedom of the seas guaranteed in these parts to all peoples.

The Suez Canal is the Achilles heel of the British Empire of today. It is the gate by which England communicates with India, her finest colony. From the standpoint of the commercial independence of the Continent it is of great importance that this base of her naval power should be taken from England and placed under the suzerainty of a State capable of guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal and the free passage of the ships of all nations.

The conquest of the freedom of the seas is not specially a German scheme, but is in the interest of the whole of humanity. If we can hold her in check at Suez, England, for whom the canal is a vital interest, will no longer be able to close the Atlantic to us. The essential thing in this war is not to take territories more or less extensive, but to deliver the world from English tyranny. The Monroe Doctrine for Europe being in the interest of all the European States, it can become in the hands of the Central Empires not only a condition but also an instrument of peace. By its application England would not be represented at the congress or conference of powers desirous of peace. If the victorious group negotiates a separate peace with a State of the other group, the idea of a conference will

naturally not be urged and in that case England will be negotiated with separately. But if a conference is decided on at which all the States interested would be represented, England ought none the less to be excluded in conformity with the new Monroe Doctrine, which does not permit England to take part in the discussion of political questions that concern only the continent. Besides, the participation of England at such a conference would compromise its success. A peace negotiated with the help of the diplomats and peace apostles of the United Kingdom would be a lame peace.

To exclude England will be the first blow at English pride. This is all the more necessary since the statement of Mr. Bonar Law, the British Colonial Secretary, that in consideration of the services rendered by the "Dominions" during the war, it had been decided to give them a voice when the question of making peace arose. The "Dominions" are the British colonies that have their own government. England thus wants Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to decide the destinies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, and the other European States. It is indeed kind of Mr. Bonar Law not to have invited to the conference the Malays, Zulus, Somalis, Kanakas, and Papuans, who do not enjoy self-government. To keep England out of the peace negotiations is to make certain of success, for her allies of today will recognize at the end of the war, if they have not so far become aware of it, that England is much more dangerous as a friend and ally than as an enemy.





GEORGE BAKHMETEFF

Russian Ambassador at Washington Formerly Master of the Czar's
Court at Petrograd

(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)



MME. BAKHMETEFF

Wife of the Russian Ambassador, Formerly Miss Mary Beale of Washington
(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)

Human Documents of the War Fronts

Behind the dry official reports of military events is a vast fund of emotional human interest. It is the aim of this department of CURRENT HISTORY to give each month the best available glimpses of this side of the war, as found in private letters, personal experiences, and thrilling episodes of courage, humor, or pathos.

How They Died for France

By a French Piou-Piou

Following is a French soldier's story of a terrible charge from which two battalions came back only eighty-six strong. Its moving and vivid qualities entitle it to rank with the best literature that has yet come from any battle front:

FOR nearly seventy hours the bombardment was raging. Shells of all calibres, showered by the French artillery, were falling like hail, causing the German trenches with their subterranean shelters, barbed wire netting, machine guns, and trench guns, to fly in the air with torn limbs and shapeless pieces of metal, concrete, and wood.

It was frightful. We ourselves, crouched in our holes, were literally stupefied by this terrible noise.

It was the prelude to the general attack. At 6 o'clock in the morning that day the rumor spread in the companies that it was for the afternoon.

The same night a profoundly tragic scene was witnessed in the shelter of the Colonel of our regiment. Here it is, as it was related to me by the secretary officer of the Colonel, who was present.

He had assembled around him the eight commanders of the companies which had to prepare for the assault, and, map in hand, explained the plan to them and told them what headquarters expected of them.

"The attack will take place in the form of a conversion movement to the left, toward A, of which the positions of B will be the pivot. Our rôle consists of taking B and holding on to it at all costs for the whole of the

day. We must not reckon on any reinforcements. The regiment must draw and maintain there the main body of the German forces. On our tenacity depends the success of the attack. * * *

He said these things with as much calm and simplicity as though he were making an ordinary, commonplace statement. The officers acquiesced. Prey now to a visible emotion, the Colonel concluded: "Gentlemen, this evening many of us will be no more; let us shake hands." What a clasping there was!

The assault was fixed for 2 o'clock. At 1:40 the eight companies were assembled ready for departure. The bombardment was more intense still, it seemed.

A thick cloud of smoke and dust covered the enemy line, a cloud which, brought down upon us by the wind, took us by the throat. The silent, nervous men, with beating hearts, were electrified with anguish and impatience.

At 1:50 the order runs from section to section: "Fix bayonets." Our Lieutenant is upright, sabre in hand, and consults from time to time his watch, which he is wearing on his left wrist.

1:54. A murmur, "Attention!" Two o'clock! The bombardment stops suddenly. An inappreciable brief instant of absolute silence.

Then a sound of bugles—the charge, "En avant!" With a single bound the men jump over the parapet and run with all their strength under the rain of bullets, in line as on the field of manoeuvres, the Colonel at the head with sword upraised.

There was a distance of about 150 meters to cover before reaching the Ger-

man trenches. After going 100 meters, one lay down to regain breath; how long, I could not say; perhaps a second, perhaps five minutes.

The blood is afire, the mind intoxicated by the sound of the trumpet, the epic sound of French heroism, the sound of the Grenadiers of Austerlitz and of Friedland, of the veterans of Saint-Privat and Patay.

The men are ready to suffer everything. The great sacrifice is joyously agreed to. I have seen them plunge down to death, a smile on the lips.

The artillery has resumed its part in the concert. It lengthens its fire now and executes beyond B a barrier fire.

Relieved, the Lieutenant thunders: "Forward, with the bayonet!"

He goes down, shot in the throat. A Sergeant assumes command: "Follow me, boys, I am going to show you how to die!" He also falls. But the charge is continued.

The Germans fire no more, but when we arrive at twenty-five meters from their lines the sinister crackling of the machine guns begins. The élan is stopped by their squalls. The men fall, fifteen, twenty at a time. Already a bending makes itself felt. Some sections show a recoil.

The Colonel has given an order. Fantastic, the bugles render the "Marseillaise," and the soldiers recover themselves; with a single voice they strike up the hymn. Wounded rise again, the chant extends, prevails, becomes the whole immense charge, covers the feelings of the dying, the cries of the mutilated, the noise of the cannon and the machine guns. It is the sublime Voice of France!

The regiments bound forward. In an irresistible rush we pass, sweeping the first line, then the second. The maddened Germans throw down their arms at once. B is taken.

Now organization is necessary, for the enemy is going to counterattack. In haste, iron wire is put up, loopholes are pierced in the sides of walls still upright, for the village is nothing more than ruins; machine guns placed in position—

in half an hour all is ready. Only just in time.

In close formation the Germans advance. Our fire mows them down pitilessly. With remarkable stoicism, it must be acknowledged, they continue to advance, striding over their dead.

The "75s," warned by signal, fire into a heap of their shells, and the hurricane disperses them.

Four times they come back, increased tenfold in number, four times we have to resort to the bayonet to free ourselves, and four times they are repulsed.

But at 5:30 it is necessary to begin to retreat. * * *

We fought for every by-street, every stone. Hand-to-hand fighting was compulsory. Killing went on relentlessly.

At 7 o'clock the Germans had retaken B. Night had now quite fallen. Then, considering his mission accomplished, the Colonel gave the order to retreat. He had to be brought away by force, for he wished to be killed there. Out of the two battalions only eighty-six men and one officer remained.

By crawling, we managed to reach our original trenches once more, the enemy not daring to pursue us.

As our old first line was held by the third battalion, we were able to go down to rest immediately. In the communication trench, when passing his shelter, we saw the Colonel, sunk down on a stone, his head in his hands and his shoulders shaken by heavy sobbing.

"My soldiers, my poor children!" he was saying. Never, never, shall I forget my Colonel seated in the shade and crying for his regiment.

The next day, in a barn at C, the eighty-six survivors were reunited, listening to the results of the offensive—the enemy routed, four kilometers of trenches carried, three army corps annihilated, 121 guns captured.

And they, the martyrs, forgetting the sufferings of yesterday, forgetting the dead and wounded, thinking only of immortal France, straightened up again more strongly when hearing the news of their victory.

Winging His Seventh Flier

By K. Richter

The following account by a German officer of an air battle on the western front, resulting in the defeat of an English flier by Lieutenant Bölcke, a noted German aviator, originally appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

WE are visited by aviators every day, whether the sky is clear or overcast. Many times four or five Englishmen and Frenchmen hover over us at once. To be sure, these hostile acrobats of the air have become somewhat more cautious than they were last Summer. At that time they appeared above our trenches without ceremony, flew over our artillery and reserve positions and then, with devilish audacity and apparently scornful confidence, sailed back along the old road through the clouds in the midst of a hail of shrapnel.

Today they hardly come as far as our trenches—they very seldom get past them, except when they break through in squadrons—before they find themselves in the midst of clouds of inflammable shells hurled by our anti-air craft guns. The flier who fails to beat a hasty retreat must be prepared to meet the same fate as did our friend in an English biplane a week ago when his engine stopped just over our trenches and, amid the enthusiastic hand clapping and cheering of the audience, he had to make the prettiest glide of his life and land in the wrong army camp. And then what a volley of oaths and bullets came from the trenches in front of us. "Farewell, my dear, farewell!"

Recently, however, we had quite a different treat—recently, when Bölcke brought down his seventh within our lines. At first there was a period of intense suspense in our trenches as the spectacle suddenly began to be unfolded high above our heads—and then, after a few minutes, came a proud, rattling shout of joy.

For quite a long time an Englishman had been making circles before our eyes—calmly and deliberately. Our artillery shelled him soundly. He simply flew higher and continued to cut circles far above our heads almost unmolested,

sometimes sailing to a great distance and sometimes coming directly over our trenches. He appeared to be on a very important errand. My men on duty clenched their fists in impotent wrath. "The dog —." Shooting would do no good. And so it went for some time.

Then suddenly from the rear a harsh, deep, singing and buzzing cuts the air. Everybody hears it and searches for the source. It sounds like a German flier. But he is not yet visible. Only the buzz of an approaching motor is heard in the clouds in the direction of the Englishman. More than a hundred eyes scan the horizon. There! Far away and high among the clouds is a small, black, humming bird—a German battle aeroplane. Its course is laid directly for the hostile biplane and it flies like an arrow shot with a clear eye and steady hand. My men crawl out of the shelters. I adjust my field glasses. A lump rises in our throats as if we are awaiting something new and wonderful.

So far the other does not seem to have noticed or recognized the black flier that already is poised like a hawk directly above him. There is a moment of breathless expectancy—no, not one moment alone, as the one above feels so sure of his prey that he coolly sharpens his claws. We look for a catastrophe at any minute. How will he attack him up there, a mile high?

All at once there is a mighty swoop through the air, like the drop of a bird of prey, and in no time the black flier is immediately over the Englishman and the air is filled with the furious crackling of a machine gun, followed by the rapid ta-ta-ta of two or three more, all operated at the highest speed, just as during a charge. The Englishman drops a little, makes a circle, and tries to escape toward the rear. The other circles and attacks him in front, and again we hear

the exciting ta-ta-ta! Now the Englishmen tries to slip from under his opponent, but the German makes a circle and the effort fails. Then the enemy describes a greater circle and attempts to rise above the German. The latter ascends in sharp half circles and again swoops down upon the biplane, driving it toward the German trenches.

Will the Englishman yield so soon? Scattered shouts of joy are already heard in our ranks. Suddenly he drops a hundred yards and more through the air and makes a skillful loop toward the rear. Our warrior of the air swoops after him, tackles him once more, and again we hear the wild, defiant rattle of the machine guns over our heads. Now

they are quite close to our trenches. The French infantry and artillery begin firing, in a last desperate hope. Neither of them is touched. Sticking close above and behind him the German drives the Englishman along, some 600 yards over our heads, and then just above the rooftops of St. A. Once more we hear a distant ta-ta-ta! a little slower and more scattered, and then, as they drop, both disappear from our view.

A great thrill of pure joy runs through our ranks. Who was he? Who was our man?

Scarcely five minutes pass before the telephone brings up this news: Lieutenant Bölcke has just brought down his seventh flier.

General Joffre at Close Range

By H. G. Cardozo

Special Correspondent of The London Daily Mail

I CHANCED to see General Joffre the other day as he stepped out of his motor car on his return from a long tour of the eastern front with President Poincaré, and was struck by his vigorous appearance, the firmness and elasticity of his stride, and his general look of robust good health. He was wearing the traditional undress uniform of a French General—black dolman, with black brandebourgs, red trousers, with a large black stripe on either leg, soft leather high boots, and a red képi with golden oak leaves. On his sleeve were three stars indicating his rank. Had he wished it a marshal's baton might have figured there, but General Joffre modestly prefers to wait till the end of the war for honors.

The Generalissimo is now in his sixty-sixth year, and far from seeming to feel the tremendous strain, both mental and physical, which he has undergone during the last eighteen months, and under which many other Generals, allied and enemy, have broken down, he has taken on more work. At the beginning of the war he was in command of the French armies in France and Belgium, and since

the end of last year he has had to grapple with problems of Balkan strategy, as well as having been placed in supreme command of all the French armies in the field at home and abroad.

General Joffre probably owes his wonderful good health, which enables him to withstand the constant mental fatigue and responsibility of commanding some four and a half million men, to his frugal and temperate life and frequent exercise. Hardly a day passes without the Generalissimo going for a long tour of personal inspection of the trenches and front line positions, entailing the covering of many miles on foot. His stride is so steady and uniform that he nearly always tires out his staff officers before he is himself ready to re-enter his motor car and return to his headquarters.

General Joffre lives in a small villa in a quiet street in a country town. His orderly has instructions always to call the General at 5 o'clock in the morning, but he generally finds his master awake. Breakfast, coffee and roll, is quickly dismissed, and then General Joffre is ready for work. The early morning passes quickly in listening to and reading re-

ports and signing the countless documents which have to pass through his hands.

At 11:30 he has luncheon, which is his principal meal, and to which he does ample justice. The French Commander in Chief drinks but little wine and never touches spirits in any shape or form. Neither does he smoke. The afternoon is generally devoted to a drive in a motor car and a long walk, and almost invariably General Joffre is back at his quarters for dinner at 6:45 and in his office hard at work again at 8:30. "Lights out" is at 11, and General Joffre then goes to bed.

I have spoken to many staff officers who have lived with the Generalissimo during these two Winter campaigns, and all of them have been struck with his wonderful rapidity at grasping essential details and dealing with the mass of work which awaits him every day. He is not at all the traditional Frenchman, as most Englishmen picture him. Tall and stout, but with the legs of an athlete, "le père Joffre," as he is known by his men, hardly ever makes a gesture and never raises his voice.

As one officer told me, he possesses a most wonderful control over his nerves, and in the gravest circumstances he has

always shown the greatest calm. The night before the battle of the Marne, on which hung the destinies of France, an officer who arrived at headquarters with an urgent message found the Generalissimo fast asleep in his bed.

Another anecdote which I have been told about General Joffre shows that he has activity and staying power remarkable in a man of his age. He was making a tour of inspection of the front in Champagne some time after the offensive of last Autumn in the company of several staff officers and a distinguished neutral Military Attaché. At one point it was necessary to climb for four or five hundred yards up a steep hill to an observation post. Recent rains had washed the path away and mud and gravel made the foothold very difficult.

General Joffre, with a small ash stick in his right hand, set out at the head of the officers, most of whom were from twenty to fifteen years his junior. He set such a pace that it became something like a race for the top. The Generalissimo did not seem to notice that he was outdistancing the others, and when he reached the top he found he was alone, with the neutral attaché some sixty yards behind him, tired and out of breath.

Foraging at the Front

By a British Subaltern

A GOOD deal of time at the front is spent beyond the reach of the mess van, and it is then that the young officer must learn to look out for himself. I remember very well when we first arrived in France—"we" being Mulligan, myself, and a draft. We were quartered for the first ten days at a big base camp by the sea where there were no messing facilities for officers whatsoever. The men had their rations issued to them daily, so many biscuits, so much jam, cheese, and uncooked or tinned meat as the case might be, and we had our share given to us. We each had a claspknife, a cup, and a plate, and our first meals

were distinctly "picnicky." The claspknife had to be used for everything, and so had the plate. After a day or two we got things more into shape and collected a small stock of extra utensils—cups, spoons, forks, and more plates.

We also discovered a small baker's shop in a village where we could buy bread, and a farmer with eggs and milk to sell. By the end of the week we could have given a dinner party. But then Mulligan was an exceptional forager. He had an eye like a hawk for little shops in villages where one would never have expected them, and a way with the French farmers which extracted from the good men

things they might not otherwise have cared to part with. This happy knack of picking up anything that was going he carried with him from the base camp to the firing line. No matter how cold or wet the night or how desolate and dinnerless the prospect, if Mulligan was near there was always something to be had.

I shall never forget one night just after we had got up to Flanders from the Aisne. The division was feeling forward toward the Germans, who were known to be holding a line somewhere ahead and reputed to be coming down in fresh strength from Antwerp. Those were busy times, and neither sleep nor food had much place in them. My platoon had got pushed out ahead of the firing line and were holding a hedge some way in advance. As night was coming on I sent back for further instructions and received orders to intrench and stay where I was for the night. When I sent back the orderly with an acknowledgment of the message I told him to see if he could find Mulligan and ask him to send up something for me to eat. For some reason or another I had not drawn

my rations when the men drew theirs and I was feeling very hungry.

The orderly came back later and slipped a paper package into my hands "with Mr. Mulligan's compliments," and also pulled from his overcoat pocket two bottles, saying "and Mr. Mulligan said there was some wine and coffee for you, Sir." I opened the package, which contained half a loaf of bread, a beautifully cooked piece of cold mutton, a scroll of salt, and a wedge of cheese. The wine was a good sample of the vin ordinaire of the country and the coffee was steaming hot. Imagine the joy of getting suddenly such a meal in such surroundings. The platoon Sergeant and myself set to on it with a will. I asked Mulligan afterward where he had got all the provisions from.

He said that he had got the mutton off a carter's wife, the bottle of wine from the farmer's cellar, (he used to carry about 1,200 francs in a belt around his waist, for which we had laughed at him heartily till our own smaller sums, which we had thought adequate to take with us, began to give out,) and saved the cheese from his day's rations.

The Flaming Fokker

By a French Marine Fusilier

AS we were taking our coffee a violent explosion shook the air. I thought at first that a shell had fallen near us, but the battalion commander, who would not budge for all the "420s" in the world, merely said, as he pointed seaward, "The British monitors." He recognized them by their voice. And I had been yearning to see them in action. Clearly visible to the naked eye, massive, like fortresses, surrounded by their light mobile squadron of torpedo boat destroyers, they were there sitting—I mean the word—in front of us, on the line of the horizon, from which their enormous guns were bombarding Westende and the German defenses of the coast.

One sees the flash of the guns long before the sound reaches one like thunder. Boche artillery does not reply at

once. But beneath the gray waters perhaps Zeebrugge submarines are already at work. And behind Lombaertzyde the Fokkers are rising for an aerial attack. Over the sea, under the sea, and in the air there is the same danger. And it is the same day by day.

Last week two German aeroplanes darted down on to a cargo boat aground in front of Zeepanne. Our torpedo boats replied to them. Too far away to join in action, some Fusiliers Marins, under the orders of an officer, anxiously followed from the beach near by the incidents of the struggle. Their officer had given them the "Stand at ease."

Suddenly one of the Boche aeroplanes staggered, struck to the heart, its reservoir in flames. The Fusiliers cheered

with delight. "Fix bayonets," rang out the command. The officer drew his sword to salute the men who were about to die.

While the enemy aeroplane in a long trail of purple fell vertically into the sea the order came: "Present!"

A Belgian Woman's Ordeal

By Mme. Carton de Wiart

Wife of the Former Belgian Minister of Justice

Mme. Carton de Wiart, whose arrest and imprisonment by the Germans was widely commented upon, recently told her experiences to a Paris newspaper:

I WAS immediately given over to the examining Magistrate, if that title can be applied to the military bungler who made me endure about twenty hours of cross-examination. What an examination it was! Every paper found in my house was the object of a hundred questions. They meant to prove that I was in direct relations with the Entente armies, and that, consequently, I was sending them information regarding the exact situation of the German armies in Belgium.

This singular Magistrate determined to implicate me in the imaginary plot against the life of von Bissing, had the cellars of the Ministry searched again and again, and wished to know how long ago the furnace had been constructed. Think of it! That furnace might conceal a tunnel through which assassins could slip in and be near the Governor General. It was droll.

The examination took a grotesque turn. This thought of Talleyrand: "It is easy to militarize a civilian; it is impossible to civilize a military man," had been discovered in a little notebook found in my home. The examining Magistrate saw in that phrase an allusion to a pretended organization of free-shooters imputed to the Belgian Government.

"What is Talleyrand?" he demanded of me.

"A Minister."

"Ah! A Minister. What Minister?"

"A French Minister."

"So, Madame, you admit that you have had communication with a French Minister?"

"I admit nothing at all. I am answering the question."

"Of what department is this Minister?"

"Why, of Foreign Affairs."

"Ah, ah!" my Judge triumphs, "you are joking; the French Minister of Foreign Affairs is Delcassé."

"I did not say he was the present Minister."

"He is a former Minister?"

"Very much so—a Minister of the King of France."

"Madame, you are mocking German justice!"

[Condemned to three and a half months in prison, she was then deported to Germany.]

They drove me from my country, as they thought, forever. My departure was fixed for the next day. The lively protestation which I represented in Brussels was going to disappear. I demanded the right to take with me my young children and one of my domestics. I was met with a pitiless refusal. I demanded that my children should be brought to me before my departure; I wished to embrace them. An absolute refusal. I confess that my courage melted before such cruelty, and, when I was alone, I broke into sobs. * * *

In Berlin I lived four days in the Hotel Metropole, on the Friedrichstrasse, scarcely a prisoner, simply watched. I had to present myself twice a day to the Commissary of Police, but, beyond that obligation, I could go and come freely in Berlin from 8 in the morning to 7 in the evening. It is probable that policemen followed me step by step, but I did not notice them. It was a transitory situation which could not last.

My decree of condemnation arrived,

and two detectives in plain clothes searched me and took me to the Moabit Prison, where I was immediately put into the common régime, the separate cell régime. I would not have wished anything else, for, I repeat it, the slightest favor from those people would have taken the heart out of me. That is so true that when M. Polo de Barnabé, the Spanish Minister, intervened in the name of King Alfonso XIII. to lighten my sentence, I informed him of my declaration to the War Council.

During a visit to me in prison he told me that the German Government had attacked that reply of mine in its first diplomatic note: "Mme. Carton de Wiart has confessed her fault. By re-

fusing to have recourse to the clemency of the Kaiser she acknowledged that her punishment was in due proportion to the infractions she had committed." That is how those people interpreted the patriotic sentiments of a woman!

I refused even to turn over a cent a day to my jailers for a régime of luxury. Thus, day for day, I did my three months and a half in prison, exactly like the German women who were expiating crimes at Moabit, going to mass with them in the same druggist prison clothes.

[At the end of her imprisonment Mme. Carton de Wiart was banished from German territory and later found her children at Havre.]

Raiding on the Black Sea

By a Russian Marine

Russia's destructive work among Turkish shipping, and the hard life of the sailors who accomplished it, are revealed in a letter to the Russkoe Slovo, ("Russian Word,") the most interesting parts of which have been translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

THE results of our torpedo boat raids along the eastern coast of Turkish Anatolia are already known from the telegrams; more than 200 Turkish transports were sunk by us in that corner of the Black Sea, and about half of these ships carried freight. This raid, which we made when our turn came, our torpedo boats accomplished under extremely trying circumstances.

Generally speaking, the present Winter is not spoiling us soldiers with too much good weather; it is a long time since there have been so many storms. We had to forget, all our cheerful ideas about the warm Anatolian sun. At this time last year, to sail along the Turkish shores of the Black Sea was sheer delight. After our Crimean frosts and icy winds and rain, our sailors felt as if they had come to a seaside resort. With the experience of last year in their minds,

our sailors, when, on leaving the home waters, they ran into a fierce storm, consoled themselves with the thought that on the Anatolian coast everything would be all right. * * *

No one who has not himself sailed on a torpedo boat can imagine what happens on board one of them in a storm. A cruise in a ship of the line seems a mere joke in comparison with a trip on a torpedo boat. On deck you don't know where to catch hold; water, wet, damp, cold, everywhere. Then you see that the water does not reach the torpedo apparatus. Here, on the platform, you can find a place that is not particularly risky and, even more important, there is something to hold on to.

The crew make their way about the deck in "rushes," choosing a convenient moment. If science does not recognize a "ninth wave," still there are certain waves, perhaps the "tenth" or the "eleventh," or some other number, between which are spaces of comparative calm; the boat pitches less; you don't feel as if you were going to turn a somersault. The sailors take advantage of these moments of quiet. Waiting in a cramped corner, where there is some-

thing to hold on to, through the worst pitching of the boat—as much as fifty degrees to either side—the sailors carefully make their way to the next stopping place. The ways are narrow, and if you lose your balance as the boat pitches it is pretty hard to keep hold of the thin handrail. You feel disinclined to leave your favorite corner beside the torpedo apparatus; here, at any rate, you feel yourself comparatively safe. But the wave comes, sweeps along the deck, and finds you out even there. Your legs are soaked up to the knees. You feel cold in the wind. You must change and get on your wading boots.

You make your way below, down the light trap ladder. Everything all around you is creaking. Every cabin is signaling by the knocks of various objects; glass is rattling; water is gurgling somewhere close at hand. Down the half dark passageway the sailors of the watch below are sleeping in their clothes on the warm hatchways in different attitudes.

Almost crawling, catching at door handles, you make your way to your own cabin and tumble hopelessly on your bunk; to change your clothes looks almost impossible. Your trunk has traveled under your writing table, and it groans and wabbles crazily there. You try to get at it, but the deck suddenly sinks away beneath your feet and you try to turn a somersault. Water keeps spurting from the wash basin, the pitcher skids about the floor, splashing water all over the cabin.

They have had dinner, juggling with the plates; the orderlies in the buffet have carried on a valiant fight with the dishes. * * * At night you dreamed you were traveling in a cart along a frightful mountain road. The cart kept upsetting you into a ravine. * * * About 4 in the morning you had to get up, because your head ached unendurably from banging against the cot. In the companion cabin, just as if nothing was happening, the officers' pets were sleeping on the divan, two dogs which were "fulfilling the function of poodles," as the officers jestingly say of them; for their actual race defies definition. Below decks the boat is a desert, because most

of the officers and nearly all the crew spend the night on deck. Pretty hard luck! * * *

One is struck, at first, with the good and even friendly relations that exist, on a torpedo boat, between the officers and the crew and the directness of their relations with each other. All form a single family. Of course, you feel that there are older and younger members, but all are one family.

Under the lee of the Turkish coast the wind at first lulled; then it suddenly came on to blow again from the opposite direction, with the same mad gusts. The old and new rollers met in unimaginable confusion. The air was full of spray; rain was falling, mingled with wet snow. The shores were hid in the mist. In order to make an examination of the coast the torpedo boats had to poke their noses into every crevice.

As the reports of the General Staff described, our torpedo boats examined every nook along the Anatolian coast, from the frontier of the Russian Caucasus to Sinope; that is, a distance of about 500 versts, (330 miles.) The movement of Turkish ships throughout this whole region almost ceased. You see, in one year the Turks lost more than 4,000 sailing ships sunk by our sailors.

You no longer meet big flotillas of sailing ships—the system which the Germans at one time industriously practiced, on the calculation that where there were large numbers of ships some at any rate might count on getting safely away. But this system only increased the number of our trophies.

The Turks say that there is now no possibility of sending large flotillas of sailing ships to sea. There is no place to build them in. Most of the docks have been destroyed by our bombardments, set on fire on the stocks by our shells. According to the information of the Turks there is no longer any organized movement of ships anywhere on the Black Sea. All supplies for the Turkish Army in the Caucasus go by road, through the interior of the country.

And, in fact, many of the cargoes of the ships we captured astonished you by

their insignificance — bread and nuts, which are now given to the soldiers as rations. Yet close to the shore of the Black Sea lies the exceedingly rich district of Samsun, which alone could feed an army with tastes more exacting than those of the Turkish Ashers. And on the majority of the sailing ships there were no cargoes at all, while supplies for the crews were extremely limited. On such supplies as we found the crew could only exist in a state of semi-starvation.

The Turks complained that every one along the coast was equally destitute. Unheard-of high prices reduced to a minimum even the demands of the rich. Sugar, for example, is a luxury which very many cannot allow themselves even on holidays. Sugar has long reached the price of a ruble a pound, but under present conditions it is not always obtainable even at that price.

And here it must be remarked that before the war Anatolia was distinguished by its extremely patriarchal conditions; the cost of living was very low, and the population did not need much money.

Because of the foggy weather our torpedo boats kept in close to the banks, so that the panic which spread through the villages could be observed, the inhabitants running off to the mountains. Such details generally escape observation altogether because of distance. But even under these circumstances it was not possible to discover even a sign of industrial life. In one place, it is true, we noticed three wharves, where sailing ships of wood were being built. We immediately destroyed these wharves and burned the ships. But only a year ago the whole

coast of Anatolia was almost a continuous wharf. Not a convenient creek, but you saw the ribs of ships a-building sticking up.

In the absence of convenient roads on land, the sea was everything for this coast. Without the sea, without sea communication, the Sanjaks and Vilayets of Anatolia (the smaller and larger districts) are almost deprived of all communication with each other.

They tell us, for instance, that in Sinope mail is no longer received, and it looks like the truth.

In Samsun our torpedo boats bombarded some port fortifications and, among other things, burned the Custom House. At Inieh we came on several sailing ships loading, the crews of which quickly fled inland. These sailing ships we, of course, destroyed. Two piers at which they were loading were likewise destroyed. At Fatis a large brickyard was discovered, evidently established by Germans. This brickyard was also destroyed.

After this first survey of the coast the torpedo boats made a second search. The sea was found to be almost deserted. Our torpedo boats destroyed two Turkish motor boats. The sailing boats we met could be counted by units.

Along the coast hung the same impenetrable fog; a pitiable picture of a rich country ruined by war. The desolation was redoubled by fog and storm. Nature seemed to be weeping over the greatness that had disappeared.

Leaving behind the now inhospitable shore of picturesque Anatolia, the torpedo boats ran into a fierce storm, with icy rain and sleet. * * *

MARINE.

Dogs of War That Save the Wounded

Story of the "Sanitätshunde"

ONE of the many novel features of the great war is the work of the 2,500 trained dogs that are doing hospital service in the German Army. These "sanitätshunde," as they are called, are sent out after a battle to

search for wounded soldiers left on the field. They are taught to distinguish between the dead and the wounded, and, according to the official reports printed in the North German Gazette, they have not been taught to avoid the enemy

wounded, as it is charged the Belgian Red Cross dogs have been trained.

At a recent meeting of the German Society for Hospital Dogs held in the Hotel Bristol in Berlin, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, the head of the society, described how the service had been begun with eight dogs shortly after the outbreak of the war and estimated that up to date at least 8,000 wounded men had been picked up on the battlefield through the aid of the war dogs. Since this meeting it has been announced that convalescent soldiers at Jena have built a special hospital in which wounded war dogs are being treated. Among the official bodies represented at the Berlin gathering were the War Ministers of Prussia and Württemberg, the field hospital service on the eastern front, the General Quartermaster's Department, the Prussian and Saxon Ministers of the Interior, and the Berlin Police Department.

The official reports on the dogs' activities said in part:

"Early in the morning six dogs were sent out with the stretcher bearers on a search for wounded men. The nature of the battlefield made the finding of the wounded particularly difficult, as it was in part swamps and woods and in part hilly fields of stubble, covered with bundles of grain, and here the dogs did excellent service. They located many wounded men in the shocks of corn and brought helmets, caps, and handkerchiefs to show the result of their search.

"Toward the end of the work a dog brought to his guide a piece of the cloth cover of a canteen which he had found on a wounded soldier who was lying under his cloak and a piece of tent, motionless and apparently abandoned as dead by his comrades. At first the guide could find no signs of life and passed on. But the dog insisted upon again leading him to where the wounded man lay, and, after a long examination, it turned out that the soldier was not dead after all.

Following the battle at D. six dog trainers were ordered to search the field abandoned by the Russians. After a long trip, one of the dogs brought back a piece of a Russian infantryman's blouse and

led his guide to the ruins of a Russian fortification from which projected a man's foot and a piece of an army coat. The guide found a man, completely covered with mud and seemingly lifeless, as he lay quite still and did not heed the shouts of his would-be rescuer. The guide then started to leave the spot, but the dog would not abandon his find and barked and scratched so vigorously that the guide finally cleared away all the rubbish and dug out an unconscious but far from dead Russian."

The dogs are trained to take along some sort of an object to show that they have found a wounded man, but in many cases there is nothing on the soldier which they can tear loose. This problem the dogs have solved for themselves by digging up a piece of sod or biting off a twig and bringing these evidences of their discovery to their guides.

Sometimes the fallen soldiers of the hostile armies fail to recognize the peaceful missions of the "sanitätshunde" and try to drive them away, as is shown by the following excerpt from the report of a commander of a field hospital company:

"All the Germans had been picked up, but there were still a great many wounded Russians scattered over the field, most of them hidden in the long grasses. The dogs began their work with the greatest assurance, but it was soon noticed that the Russians struck at them with their caps, haversacks, canteens, and other objects and, in some cases, even tried to kick the dogs. Consequently, before the day was over three of our dogs refused to approach the wounded Russians. That day, with the aid of the dogs, we saved twenty-one wounded Russians."

In closing its account of the work of the "sanitätshunde," the North German Gazette gives the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals of Holland as its authority for the charge that the Belgian hospital dogs are trained not to aid wounded Germans, and quotes as follows from a pamphlet issued by the Dutch society on the use of dogs in the war:

"Close to one of the trenches Dic

noticed a man in a sitting position, a man whom Dic had learned to hate from the very first hour of his training, and at whose sight he growled wrathfully. Hadn't such men clad in gray abused him in his former school? Hadn't they always spoken roughly to him and refused to give him food or water, even taking these things away when they had

been plainly put there for his use? And hadn't the man who wore blue, with red stripes, always been good to him? He did not know that all this had been done to teach him to aid only Belgians. Dic had also learned to avoid the 'pickelhauben,' the German helmets which could be used to give dogs such hard blows."

Letters From the Wife of a Russian General

CURRENT HISTORY presents herewith a second installment of these interesting letters, written to an American friend by the wife of a Russian General ("Alexei") whose real name, when revealed after the war, will be found to figure in some of the most important operations on the Russian front. The writer's brother, "Rostia," holds the rank of Adjutant General.

I.

I RECEIVED the only letter we have had from you for the whole Winter—the registered one. I am grateful that this, at least, has reached me. Shall I send you your money, or shall we wait till the end of the war? Perhaps we shall live to see that great joy! Many people say it will be over by July. But in my eyes we are still very far from the end. Alexei also writes that it is useless to expect the end, soon.

Rostia spent several days with us, which was a great delight. The week before Easter Jakoff, the cook whom you know, came here for provisions. We sent him back to Alexei's camp, supplied with Easter bread and cakes. Here we have arranged everything beautifully in the hospitals and orphanages and have sent a freight car full of Easter gifts to Alexei's army. Every mail now brings us postcards from the soldiers, with their thanks. Some of them are so amusing and touching.

As to our losses in the north, everyone's opinion is that the traitor Myassoyedoff was hanged too promptly and too secretly. He should have been put in a cage with chains, and dragged all over Russia to see if he would dare to look us

in the eyes! * * * That would be a punishment worthy of a Russian officer and a gentleman! It is unjust. They hang in the same way any poor little Jew, driven by hunger to play the spy for the other side. Oh, how horrible it all is! * * *

I inclose some pretty postcards: Alexei's latest portrait; the view from our windows; and some of the Easter cards which the Empress sent us to distribute in her name in the hospitals. Poor Sonya Witte is desolate over Sergei Julitch's death. She is constantly ill. There have been wild rumors that Sergei Julitch poisoned himself because his Matilda was mixed up in the Myassoyedoff business. What nonsense! So many lies are current on this theme. I am weary. * * *

II.

* * * We are in Moscow once more. I must get some rest and some medical treatment. If God grants, I shall presently take up my work again. Throughout the country we are all full of courage and certain of ultimate victory. Wilhelm is Anti-Christ on a small scale; such as he can and must be conquered. During the last few months we have been in Odessa and Kieff, working very hard. Rostia and Alexei, Jr, paid us a visit. But as to Alexei, Sr., he has been working over his maps for fourteen months now without a break. Sukhomlin is his Chief of Staff—the husband of the lady who showed Charlie the fort at Ivangorod; she herself is dead. Her son was killed. Our dear Captain Ilyashenko has also been killed. But never mind; we shall win back everything and render Ger-

many powerless, however many may be the traitors, individuals, or whole nations like Bulgaria. The dark powers must be conquered. If only we can avoid haste; in this, all Russia agrees. There is a small group of intriguers, thirsting for untimely peace, but they are not strong enough to outweigh the whole of Russia.

In V. I had several hospitals on my hands. I organized three orphanages; then various aids for the wounded and their families. To this work there is no end. In November I shall go back there for a while; I shall work until I die. But, merciful Heaven, never in my life did I imagine that the world contained so many scoundrels!

What is Charlie working at? I cannot imagine him not being useful to human beings—human beings, I mean, not devils in human shape.

Fedya is head of a shrapnel factory; his son Kolya is one of his apprentices.

If you in America could only see one of our soldiers asphyxiated by poison gas, as we see hundreds, you would understand that this crime cannot be forgotten or forgiven. Everything within me shudders at the mere remembrance of many and many, blind, fighting for breath, their skins black though they are still alive!—"a cultured, highly developed nation!"

If I am still alive when peace comes I shall refuse to shake hands with any German. Nothing will force me within a yard of one of them. They are monsters, children of the Evil One.

I write so seldom * * * I cannot write—I have no time.

III.

* * * I wrote to you sending our new address in Moscow. Did you get my letter? It is a long time since we heard from you. Lena is with me. Rostia is with Alexei. Things are going much better at the front now. A few months and they will improve still more. Throughout the land there are many knaves and fools who, consciously or unconsciously, work as German agents. But no matter; everything will come out right.

I only wish we all had more strength. Here I find a great deal to do; and in V. our work is still unfinished. I am going

there one of these days. I shall also go to Odessa.

Alexei has no end of decorations, but most attractive of all is the one which he has received from the Kuban Cossacks. They have conferred on him the title of "Honorary Old Man," and the Emperor has given him the right to wear the Kuban army uniform. In his letters Alexei calls me "Honorary Old Woman."

Rostia we have seen several times, but as to Alexei, we have not set eyes on him since he went away with his army on July 27, 1914. I am sending you his two latest portraits which they have sent us from the front. Lina, Boris's daughter, took the photo of Rostia; it's a pity it has come out so dark, as the likeness is very good.

Well, and how are you two getting on? Is your America waiting for the Kaiser to attack her also; leaving to our coalition the struggle against this brother of Anti-Christ? Never fear, with God's help we shall scramble through our troubles. But shall I be able to avoid a certain satisfaction when the ferocious beast, enraged by failure, rushes against the countries which, even at this late hour, are still playing the game of friendship with him? Through cowardice? Or through hypocrisy? If only we had attacked them together the thing would have been over long ago.

Lena has been ailing ever since we came to Moscow; she cannot live away from the South. I write you our new address once more, below; the mails are in a terrible condition. I hope there will be a word from you by Christmas. Greeting to Charlie. We both embrace you. Keep well, and may God guard you. I am grown old and so like mother. Charlie was right when he first foretold it.

IV.

* * * I have just received your letter, which has taken a month in coming. This gives me the hope that you will receive this, if not for Christmas, at least before the new year, which I trust by God's grace will be a happier year than this. Yet, so far, there has been nothing too unfortunate, either for Russia or for us as individuals. With my

whole soul I trust that the worst is over. I send you a small group photo in which you will recognize both Alexei and Rostia. Rostia has been with Alexei all the time, since the very beginning of the war. I also send two recent snapshots of Alexei—very good likenesses—the best portraits he has ever had taken, though they were taken in the midst of this terrible campaign.

I quite agree with you that our chief trouble is vain babble and exaggerated fears. You cannot imagine how angry I get with people. Side by side with the greatest heroism there is so much that is common and mean that it is simply astonishing; just the same thing among ourselves as in France and England. We have to live through it all, till Satan is conquered, in the guise of the Germans—and of our own knaves and fools. But God will help us. There is so much work for us all, that at times I feel ready to kneel down in reverent respect for all that is being accomplished around us. And, as you say, for the sake of what is so good in people, we should, as far as possible, not take notice of what is bad.

In spiritual strength and faith Alexei is greater than any one could have imagined before the war. Both in society and among the masses he is trusted and respected, and the Emperor is endlessly good to him. But envy and intrigues are rife. When I spoke to him about this in my letter he answered:

"I never sought popularity, and do not seek it now. What need have I of it? I attend to the small part allotted to me of the great task, so far as I understand it; but personally, for myself, I seek and wish for nothing. I only pray the Lord that the sum of all our efforts may enable us to break our wicked and cruel foes, and to drive them back beyond our frontier. As to all personal schemes and plottings, I will have nothing to do with them, thrusting them away as filth with the whole force of my soul. I hold that a war which sets flowing human blood is a sacrament in the name of our country and our monarch; and this sacrificial offering must be approached and performed with clean hands, clean thoughts, and a clean conscience; everything base

and personal must be rejected as sinful and unworthy. And I offer myself also as a sacrifice to my country, so long as I am needed; but I seek nothing, and have absolutely no other object. I am already an old man and it is time for me to reject every feeling of self-love, and all other unworthiness. In order to carry out my arduous duty in war time, I must be inexorably severe, even cruel; this is inevitable, without it no victory could be won. I have no fear of the faithless people you write of: I seek neither glory nor money. And, under these conditions, it is not easy to injure me. No matter who he may be I shall destroy any one who can injure our cause—but not myself. All attempts to harm me personally I shall ignore. So do not take things to heart on my account. All will be according to the will of God. * * *

If Charlie is interested to know what foreigners say of his brother-in-law, here are a few words:

"Le Général — est un des plus populaires généraux de la Russie. Il n'est pas grand, mais bien proportionné. Il porte une tête très fine et de temps en temps un peu narquoise. Il est extrêmement gai, vif, fort travailleur, a un âge qui est celui des chefs d'une armée, et a l'oeil partout. Hospitalier, homme du monde, moqueur, la parole facile, sévère contre les abus, encourageant pour les jeunes talents. S'il n'était pas tellement bon Russe, on aimerait à dire qu'il représente un type très français, et très gentilhomme, qu'il est, d'ailleurs!"

Translation: General — is one of the most popular of the Russian Generals. He is not tall, but well proportioned. His head is very finely formed, his expression very keen and penetrating. He is exceedingly gay, vivacious, a great worker, at the age of the heads of armies, and he watches everything. Hospitable, a man of the world, with a touch of irony, a ready talker, severe in the case of abuses, ready to encourage rising talents. If he were not such a good Russian one would like to say that he represents a very French type, and very aristocratic, which, indeed, he is.

I feel like crying and laughing when I read opinions like this. Looking thus from the outside one might think that Alexei had no nerves at all. Even during

the retreat from the Carpathians their ammunition exhausted, after all those glorious victories, I read in the newspapers: "General — is as energetic and calm as usual. * * *"

God grant him strength to bear all this to the end, for the sake of our monarch and of Russia. But I cannot help fearing that even an iron will must be worn down, and my heart bleeds to think what he has borne these eighteen months.

What shall I tell you about Lena and myself? For fourteen months we worked to the point of exhaustion; now, since we have been settled for a while in Moscow, we have had a little rest. But one of these days we shall begin work again. I had thought of sending you some photos

of myself surrounded by the orphans of my asylum and in hospitals, in the midst of crippled soldiers, nurses and doctors, but they are all so large that it is difficult to mail them. One of these days I shall have some printed on postcards, but so far I have not had time.

Rostia has been here on leave several times. Every one has had leave except Alexei. He has never had either rest or quiet for nearly two years now, but he is convinced, and Rostia also, that all will be well—and sooner than might be expected, judging by present circumstances. God grant that they may be right. We send you kisses, Lena and I; to Charlie also, with all our hearts. May the Heavenly Power help us all.

NADYA.

Twenty Soldiers Captured by a Girl

An Episode in Russia

The Petrograd correspondent of The London Telegraph vouches for this remarkable story:

AMONG a party of Letts who have succeeded in escaping from a village in Courland, now occupied by the Germans, is a girl of seventeen, who has been rewarded, for a great deed of bravery, with the St. George's Cross.

A small German detachment marched on to the farm owned by this girl's father. Sentries were left outside to keep watch on a hill quite close, while the rest entered the house and prepared to have a good time. The young German Lieutenant turned to the girl, with the order to get wine at any cost, as their supply had run short. She was told that unless she fulfilled the order the house would be set on fire and she herself subjected to violence.

There were two barrels of heavy old liquor, made of spirits and berries, in the cellar, and a bright idea struck the girl. Before giving them the cordial she dropped into it some powder, made of bluebells, which brings on heavy drowsiness. The first barrel was soon

emptied, and the demand came for more. The second barrel contained a double portion of the power, and the Germans soon began to roll on to the floor, one after another.

Seeing her enemies helpless around the barrel, she filled a bowl with the liquor, took it out to the sentries, who stood freezing in the cold, and gave it them to drink, incidentally mentioning that she was fulfilling the officer's orders. The bowl was soon emptied. She then returned to the house and carefully disarmed the soldiers, who, sunk in heavy slumber, lay about in different attitudes, and hid their weapons deep in the cellar. Meantime her father was fastening with ropes the limbs of the insensible Germans.

Having accomplished her task with the prisoners, the girl proceeded to find her way out to the Russian positions. Following forest paths and making her way through swamps, she finally reached a Siberian outpost.

"I have disarmed and tied up twenty German soldiers and one officer; hasten, and take them prisoners," were the

excited words with which the girl addressed the head officer of the Siberian Rifles. The soldiers were amazed at the audacity of the young Lett, and could hardly believe her story. However, she persuaded them to follow her, and when they reached the farm they found the Germans still fast locked in sleep. Several pails of ice-cold water flung in the faces of the sleepers roused them to the grim realities of their situation. To their bewilderment, they

found that they were no longer soldiers of the German Army, but prisoners of the Russians.

The girl was brought into the presence of the commanding General, who thanked her for her heroic deed, and promised to make a report of it to the higher military authorities. This was done, and as a reward for her services she received the much-coveted decoration which signifies valor in the Russian Army.

Hard Struggle of Middle-Class Germans

By Field Marshal von Hindenburg

Commander in Chief of German Forces in the East

A significant letter from General von Hindenburg to the Imperial Chancellor and other Ministers of State appeared in January in a newspaper issued by the Tenth Army, and has since been republished in other German papers—with the Government's sanction. Here is the full text of it:

A RETIRED County Court official named Finhold has written to me from Bensberg begging me to support the efforts he is making to alleviate the anxiety of the men in the field concerning their families, who are having such a hard struggle at home. Finhold's endeavors are in the interest mainly of the industrial middle class, the small shopkeepers, artisans, and tradesmen who in times of peace make a good income, but are now in danger of losing all their property and of being reduced after the war to indigent day laborers.

Numerous requests for help and support received by the soldiers in the field from those depending on them prove to me that Herr Finhold has laid bare a real wound. It is one of the results of German economic development that the small business man in particular is compelled, almost without exception, to have recourse to loans. In view of the conditions of payment and of the markets produced by the war the wife and family have the utmost difficulty in keeping the trade or business of the husband or

father going. This difficulty and constant anxiety exert a paralyzing effect on the man in the trenches, and all the more as he sees no prospect of help or improvement either now or after the conclusion of peace.

It is of the utmost importance for the economic strength, and thus for the future of our country, that in such cases as these definite relief should be provided. The empire must avert the danger of a large proportion of its able and economically independent sons returning home from the war impoverished or falling at once into the hands of their creditors, which would mean their economic ruin, with their wives and children.

The army leader who has the welfare of his soldiers sincerely at heart cannot ignore such difficulties and needs. I consider it, therefore, to be my duty to draw attention to the dangers described above, and to the necessity for providing relief by means of legislation. The sense of duty and the death-disdaining courage which inspire our soldiers demand an equitable return from those at home, and especially in this domain.

The nerve-strength of the individual man, which is the fundamental condition not only for holding out, but also for the decisive victory, cannot be maintained unless the man feels certain that those he has left at home have an assured existence, and that he can hope to continue



HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ

Polish Author of "Quo Vadis?" Who Is Laboring Day and Night for
His Suffering Countrymen

(Photo from Bain News Service)



PRINCE SAID HALIM PASHA
Turkish Grand Vizier, to Whom the Kaiser Recently Gave the Black
Order of Nobility

his trade or business successfully after the war.

The great changes in the economic life of the nation, which are even now taking

place, and which will be much more pronounced after the war, must have people who are economically sound and capable of development to deal with them.

The Charge That Captured Hill 70

By Lieutenant A. M. Tuck

Seventh King's Own Scottish Borderers

Lieutenant Tuck, an American who is serving in the British Army, and who was wounded in the battle of last September near Loos, wrote the following vivid account of his experiences. He is a son of Pinckney Tuck, Judge of the International Court of Egypt, and was studying at Oxford when the war broke out, trying to complete a course for the Bachelor of Arts degree, which has since been given him by Dartmouth College.

WE did not take our places in the trenches until about midnight of the 24th. The rest of that night was spent in dealing out the next morning's rations and in filling the new machine-gun magazines which we had just drawn from the ordnance. All through the night there was a steady drizzle, and then a hopeless gray dawn broke upon us, every one wet through by this time and feeling like anything but an attack. The scanty breakfast was quickly served out and consumed. For this great attack the breakfast included an ounce and a half of rum for each man. This allowance of rum varies both as to its frequency of issue and amount, and is usually put in the men's tea, to keep them from hoarding it up and making an occasion of its consumption at the end of the month. That morning it was given to us neat, and well we needed it. At 5:40 we started our gas, and huge gusts of this yellowish-green vapor started drifting toward the enemy trenches. Our battalion had the honor of leading the attack on Hill 70, and we were to be the first out of the trenches.

No sooner had our gas started than a veritable hail of German machine-gun fire could be heard on the parapet of our trench. By this time the Germans could no longer see our trenches, but, having previously fixed their guns on our trench parapets, their fire was only too accurate. At the same time their guns started bursting shrapnel over us with equal accuracy. Words of mine could never de-

scribe the noise and din of all this firing. All we knew was that at the end of forty minutes we were to leave our trenches and start our attack. Our watches had been synchronized the night before with those of the engineers who were controlling the gas.

Then orders started coming down the trenches. "Fix bayonets!" was the first order, and this was hastily and willingly complied with. Then the cry came down, "Remember the Twenty-fifth!" for this was the number of our regiment as it was known in the old days. The next order came, "Put on gas helmets," and then we knew that only a few minutes separated us from the comparative safety of our trench and the veritable sheet of lead outside. The air by this time reeked of a sickening sweet smell of high explosive and shrapnel shells, and the atmosphere was even more clouded by the faint smoke of these. It had been prearranged that as we left our trenches automatically our artillery was to lift its curtain of fire from the German first-line trenches to their second, and as we advanced to their third, and so on, time limits being given for these movements. As the fortieth minute ticked itself into eternity orders were given, and the men climbed up on the fire steps and over the parapet. We threw our heavy tripods over the parapet, passing the guns and magazines after them, and straightened out our line so as to resemble the formation of the infantry as much as possible.

I had not advanced more than forty

yards when a shell burst over us, the concussion of which as well as the fragments knocked men all around me to the ground. At the same time that I fell I felt a blow in my hand and chest. What followed directly after this is very hazy in my mind, and what concerns the advance of the regiment has been told me since. I found later that I had been shot through the right hand and had a flesh wound in the left breast. I got up working more as a machine than myself before I stumbled and fell again thirty yards further on. One machine gun team only went on, and I learned later that this team was knocked out two minutes afterward. I remember vaguely crawling into a shell hole, and from there being helped into the head of a sap by a stretcher bearer. These saps are short trenches that run out from the main trench at right angles and are used as listening posts. Here a stretcher bearer gave me a first field dressing, and later I found my way to Quality Street, which was the name given to a very small mining village which was being used as a small base for the attack of these two brigades.

Here was a scene which no one who saw it could ever forget. The great majority of the men here had already been brought back from the two brigades in front, most of the men being killed, as the brigade on our right was the Highland Brigade. The street was covered with men lying on the pavements or just sitting wherever they found room; other men lying on the coal trucks, whose upper framework had been so changed as to hold three stretchers. Here dressings were being applied to the more serious cases. The street literally ran red with hot fresh blood, and although half a dozen shells would have wiped out the lot the enemy were too busy with our advancing infantry to bother about this place. And so we were passed on in motor ambulances to various casualty clearing stations, until we reached one about five miles behind the lines. Here we remained all afternoon until the large

motor ambulance convoy started that night for Lapuygnoir. Here we were put in Red Cross train, consisting of twenty-eight carriages of sitting and lying cases, and we started our trip down country.

It was at Versailles that we first learned the price the regiment had paid. The official casualties in officers out of the twenty who went to the attack were fourteen killed or died of wounds, five wounded. Only one came through untouched. Yesterday I went to the funeral of our Colonel, who had died of his wounds in the same hospital at Versailles. A very gallant soldier, who had returned to his regiment after having been retired four years, and had been given the command of this new battalion. Out of 1,000 peace-loving citizens in a few months he had made a perfect fighting machine. After I fell I remember seeing lines of khaki advancing toward the German trenches, which were then invisible on account of the gas, and later I realized how great had been the work of our Colonel and how successful it had all proved. He was buried with full military honors, accompanied by 200 Cuirassiers and a small detachment of English troops from the hospital. I have learned that one of our pipers has been recommended for the V. C. His gallantry consisted of walking up and down the parapet after the hail of bullets had started and piping his men to the attack.

In a few days I return to the base, from which place I will be sent up to what is left of the regiment, which is now re-fitting behind the line. New drafts of officers and men are arriving shortly. The casualties in the ranks we do not know officially as yet, but they must number well over 500 men out of 1,000, as the casualties in the brigade, consisting of four battalions, were 2,000 out of 3,500. The officer casualties in the brigade number 72 out of 80. And this was the price a battalion paid for leading a brigade, and a brigade paid for leading an attack which resulted in the capture of Hill 70 and the village of Loos.

The Coming Victory

By a French Army Captain

This thoughtful and clear visioned article, written in the trenches, is translated from L'Illustration, the leading French illustrated monthly.

THE victory of the Marne, though we greeted it with joy, did not arouse in our ranks the complete feeling of safety which it created behind the lines. We knew what it had cost. We knew what it represented. But we did not believe that it marked the term of our efforts.

We had learned to know our adversary, his resources, his ruses and his method. We felt that he was wounded. We felt ourselves armed to crush him in the time to come. But that that time was near, we did not believe.

And because we did not believe it, because in the intoxication of our advance, we retained the exact perception of the real and the possible, because all, leaders and soldiers, were unwilling to deceive ourselves a second time—because of this, and because of this alone, we remain after eighteen months able to endure what, in this war, is worse than death, worse than the mud, worse than want and vermin—waiting, immobility, weariness.

Ask a neutral who has seen us fight what he most admired; he will say it is our dash, our daring, our power of shock. But one who has fought will answer, No. The profound strength of our army is its capacity to endure, without complaining, almost without suffering, the gloomy passage of the days. It is terrible and magnificent to come forth from the trench when the hour of attack sounds. It is still more terrible and magnificent to endure to remain in it, without attacking, for months and years.

The loophole through which you watch a corner of the Boche sector, marked by sacks of earth in rags; the shooting bench, on which you sit in the mud while your comrade keeps watch; the connecting trench, full of ice-cold water, in which your feet freeze; the muddy shelter, with the damp smell of rotting straw; the set tasks, the digging of

earthworks, the transport of grenades and soup; then cantonment, reviews, inspections, the duties of barrack life, with the likelihood of death at the end, this is our lot, officers and soldiers. And this lot we accept, and shall accept, as long as it is necessary. For in this acceptance, spontaneous, general, reflected upon, we think, men and leaders, that the secret of our victory lies.

People write to us. They ask us questions. They say: "Are you going to attack? Will you pierce through?" That is not our business. We shall pierce their lines if we can. But afterward there will be other trenches, and yet others, and there will be other battles. The essential thing for us is not to attack, to conquer at one point, even to pierce through on a point of several miles; it is to hold out. Our principal duty, our sovereign virtue, is to hold on. In holding out we shall gain the victory.

The soldier of the end of 1915 and the beginning of 1916 has his ideas concerning the war. They are simple and modest.

After months of experience we do not flatter ourselves that we can without difficulty gain against the Boche, a result which we believe the Boche incapable of gaining against us. So long as the armies which face each other, with normal effectives on a depth that daily increases, continue to occupy the trenches which they hold at present, we do not believe in the possibility of carrying by assault a fortress whose centre can constantly change its position.

We know that, wherever we wish, we can gain successes, as in Champagne and Artois. We do not believe that our enemy can carry off like successes, because, for several months now, we see him ever less and less on the offensive. But when we have said this, it is not from such successes that we expect the

victory that every one of us is certain of.

Let those behind the battle line who argue about our soldiers have the goodness to believe me; our moral force, which they praise, is fed on more substantial motives. We are sure of success for one reason alone; because we are sure of our patience and sure also that, between the Boches and ourselves, it is we, and we alone, whom patience can save.

We did not need to read Bernhardt and the military philosophers from beyond the Rhine to know that, against the coalition of four great powers, Germany could win only by rapid successes. To teach us, the facts have sufficed, and the comparison of the successive attacks which we have met.

The Boche who will leap forth against our trench tomorrow, who will, perhaps, capture a little bit of it, without being able to push further forward, is no longer the Boche of Charleroi or Ypres. He fights well. But he is careful of himself. He just fulfills his duty as a combatant. He has no longer anything of the furious waves which, in the first four months, we saw break over us in foam.

He knows that the great gains which justify great sacrifices are henceforth forbidden to him. He attacks on a small scale, never at two points at once, absorbed by an effort which is always mobile—the Argonne in Winter, the Yser in the Spring, Poland in Summer, Serbia in Autumn.

Where are the "rushes" of the past which, from Belfort to Mons, seized us by the throats? We remember. We look and compare. They have changed our Boche for us. He was coming to devour everything. But he ended by only biting. Now, he does not even bite any more.

A pessimist would say he is biting elsewhere. Was it in order to conquer Serbia that he declared war against us? Is it by conquering Serbia that he will smash England, France, and Russia?

This is the matured reasoning we have come to, through our active experience. This reasoning has been born in us along the thread of the days while we have

looked through our loopholes and while we have read the daily reports, the emptiness of which fills us with satisfaction because it confirms our view.

The Germans have missed their goal. They will not gain it in the third year of the war. They missed it at a time when the French Army lacked many indispensable things, when the British Army was little more than an outline sketch. They will not gain it now, when the French Army, fully supplied, when the British Army, grown more than a hundredfold, and the Russian Army, always inexhaustible, and henceforth sure of being armed, shall unite their efforts, supported by Italy, which at the outset was neutral.

The inequality of effectives will one day turn the balance. When? We do not know. But since we are patient, that matters little. And this is why we believe that the patience which possesses us all will bring our victory.

Let people not hurry us, and let them not be in a hurry themselves. We are men in earnest, who are staking our lives. If the war had only been going on for three months, we should hesitate more perhaps before expressing our opinions. After eighteen months have passed in effort and suffering, we have the right to give our view, and our view is this:

Since the passage of time increases the inequality of forces to our advantage, let us allow it to pass, and let us strike only blows which are certain; I mean, let us strike only when it is certain that we can deliver a deathblow. Until then, we undertake, we soldiers, to bear our cross; let the civilians bear theirs.

We have yet another desire; it is that, while waiting for the decisive assault, our men should kill along our front as many Boches as possible, and that beyond the battle lines our side should increase as much as possible the difficulties of the Boche behind the fighting line.

For the first object, we hope that the progress of our artillery, the increase in our shell production, the reinforcement of our aviation corps, the judicious use of really asphyxiating gases, the scien-

tific development of the material of war, will give us in the coming months better means of action than in the months that are past. There is not a soldier in our ranks who, while rendering justice to the results already gained, does not feel that we can do more, and, since we can, then we ought to do more.

For the second object, we should be glad to know that all measures are taken, if not to starve Germany, which is difficult, at least to close to her certain sources of supply from neutral nations, from our allies, even from ourselves. The less she receives during the months of waiting imposed by the necessity of striking surely and striking hard, the less she will be capable of resisting our pressure and prolonging her resistance. Here also we believe that more can be done in the future than has been done in the past, and, since more is possible, more ought to be done.

To increase our offensive power, to put our allies in a position to utilize to the full the resources in men which they possess and which are superior to ours,

to keep our units up to the mark, to maintain our stores in their present state, which is excellent, such are the wishes of leaders and soldiers who have formed their ideas in the sanguinary school of reality.

I have written this in my shelter. The enemy is quiet. The sector is calm. I have made two rounds. Every one is at his post. If there should be an attack our machine guns are ready to mow it down. As always, I am full of admiration for the complete devotion of these brave men, calm under fire, cheerful amid the mud, always mindful of discipline, who obey us with their hearts, as we command them with our hearts, and whose spokesman I have tried to make myself.

In reading over these rapid notes I feel that I have put in them what we are all thinking—a modest pack made up of our experiences in Lorraine and Belgium, in Champagne and Artois, the sum of our long reflections, ripened far from our families, in the seriousness which solitude brings.

CAPTAIN X.

“In Three Months London Would Have Fallen”

David Lloyd George, British Minister of Munitions, recently made this striking statement to a reporter:

If the military class in Germany should win we should see a Germany of triumphant warriors, seeking whom they could devour, looking out for fresh spheres—or shall I say fresh hemi-spheres?—to conquer. If we overthrow German militarism now it is because our command of the sea has given us time to organize, and so make good our unpreparedness. You have only to imagine what would have happened if the command of the sea had not been ours, or if it had been wrested from us. We could have been overrun as easily as the Balkan Peninsula. Within three months—three months, mind—of the declaration of war, London would have fallen as quickly as Belgrade. France would have made a gallant resistance; so would Russia; but the armies on the northeastern frontier of France could have been turned by descents on her south and west coasts. If Germany were to win this war Europe would be helpless. Let us never forget that indisputable fact. Russia and France would not be permitted to build up great armies to defend their frontiers; and, of course, the command of the sea would be taken from Great Britain. I cannot help wondering if the Monroe Doctrine would fare better than the British Fleet.

What Changes Will the War Bring?

Views of Famous Publicists

The great German offensive at Verdun and the probability of an early attack by the Allies on the same front give a special timeliness to the prophecies printed below. They are condensed from interviews in leading Paris journals, notably *Le Matin* and *Je Sais Tout*.

The Great Teutonic Plan

By Professor Masaryk

Former Czech Deputy in the Austrian Reichsrat, now a Professor in King's College, London

*M. Masaryk** is the soul of a movement that aims to re-establish the independence of Bohemia. When asked how such an aim could fit in with the greater objects for which the Entente Allies are fighting, he said:

THE most urgent task, naturally, is to expel the enemy from the territory he occupies, but it is indispensable that we should first have formulated a plan of what Europe should be like after the victory of the Allies. This plan will make it possible to render Germany harmless after she is beaten, and, even at the present stage of the war, it will give us the means of combating her.

The true German objective is to create, under the aegis of Berlin, a powerful confederation of States in Central Europe. It is expressed today in the Berlin-Bagdad formula, a creation of General von Moltke. As, before 1870, Prussia brought about the economic union of the German States in advance of their political union, so today it is under color of an economic association that the grand Teutonic plan is making its appearance. I will tell you its ultimate object:

It is to put 97,000,000 Austro-Hungarians, Turks, and Balkanites under German domination.

After Sadowa in 1866 Bismarck understood that it would be better for his purposes to keep Austria intact and in submission rather than to mutilate it and make it an enemy. That idea has been

fruitful. Leading Austrians realize today that their country can exist only by leaning upon Germany. The real Austria — Austria without Germany — has been beaten in this war by Russia and by Serbia. In saving Austria, Germany has organized it as one of its own provinces. To strengthen Austria is, strictly speaking, to work for the King of Prussia. To weaken Austria is to weaken Germany. To destroy Austria is to strike Germany to the heart, ruining its plan for Central Europe and cutting its famous Berlin-Bagdad line.

To say that Austria-Hungary is a guarantee of peace is folly. It was that empire which sowed the seeds of the present war on the day when, with the aid of Bismarck, it occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and decided to play the rôle of German vanguard in the Balkans. To destroy Austria does not mean to destroy the nations that compose it. It is only the dynasty of the Hapsburgs, the slave of Germany, which it is necessary to banish, and, if it appears useful that the Austrian nations should remain confederated, let them be so, but under the aegis of the Entente Allies.

The fear is sometimes expressed that if Germany's *Drang nach Osten* is suppressed, it will create a *Drang nach Westen*; that is to say, in place of the pressure toward the Orient there will be a pressure toward the Occident. This is an error. Deprived of the support of Austria and Turkey, Germany is too weak to threaten the Western Powers.

Believe me, the vulnerable point of Germany is Austria-Hungary.

If, at the end of the war, the Entente powers shall have declared categorically that all the Austrian Slavs are to be free, and the Hapsburg monarchy destroyed, Austria-Hungary, instead of being a source of strength to Germany, will prove to have been a heavy burden, and the whole orientation of subsequent events will have been modified.

I am well aware that certain political leaders imagine that some day Austria-Hungary will rise up against Germany. It is a fatal illusion. The Pan-Germanic current has triumphed as completely at Budapest as at Vienna. On the other hand, if, in place of being completely divided up, Austria lost merely the Polish and Ruthenian provinces to the profit of Russia, and the Adriatic regions to the profit of Italy, the Germans and Magyars, who would then be 20,000,000 against 10,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks, would tyrannize over us completely. I say this in reply to the illusions of some of my compatriots who imagine that in an Austria which has been simply diminished we could hold our place.

There is one last objection advanced by those who believe the partition of Austria-Hungary would be harmful: it is that Germany would take over the

Germans of Austria. My answer is that in that case the German Empire would be increased by 7,000,000 inhabitants, whereas by maintaining the Hapsburg monarchy you would be allowing the Kaiser to extend his sway over 51,000,000 new subjects.

In brief, the great Teutonic plan of the future, which menaces the existence of all the Allies, is the plan to make Germany mistress of Central Europe. I believe that the liberation of Central Europe ought to be the final object of the war. The normal organization of the nations which compose it is a work of creation that should be under the direction of France. We have long recognized your sympathy for Bohemia, and we expect from you—from your moral prestige, which increases every day—powerful and efficient aid. The new Europe will owe its birth to a positive and creative policy. A purely negative policy will not suffice to bring it into being.

You should strike at the defect in the enemy's armor by taking away the instruments which he wishes to use for purposes of world domination. The ruin of the Hapsburg monarchy is the surest means for reducing the German dreams to nothingness—by reducing Germany itself to the limits of its own power.

A Limping Peace Impossible

By Alfred Capus

Member of the French Academy and Editor of Le Figaro

I FEEL sure that the war cannot long preserve its present form. Massacres will cease before armies are disbanded, and if the war should last many months battles will become less and less frequent. We have already witnessed two kinds of war—at first, action in movement; later, after the Marne, action in immobility, that is, without great military movements. One can imagine a third kind—inaction in immobility, armies standing face to face, without disarming, while tedious negotiations are spun out, and Germany at bay discusses

in despair the hard conditions of peace imposed on her by us.

During this time there will be reactions, collisions, reflecting the fits of German indignation at our demands; the roped beast will struggle, but the days of great slaughters will be over. This intermediary state between war and peace may drag along indefinitely. Shots will be fired from time to time, there will be "seasons" for fighting.

When it is said that a nation will fight to the last man you must bear in mind that this is a figure of speech; the great-

er the armies the greater the number of men that represent the last man. Germany will not wait until she is crushed to earth before treating with the Allies; it will be enough for her to realize her unavoidable, inevitable insufficiency for achieving victory. Then will be the moment for considering peace.

For my part, I can contemplate nothing but a decisive peace. Some speak of a "limping" peace; I deem that impossible. The German character is adverse to it; either the Germans will get all they want or they will be forced to grant what we want. A limping peace would be one allowing them the hope of better terms after one more effort. It is exactly compatible with their disciplined and stubborn nature to essay this extra effort before thinking of peace; therefore they will not sue.

That a nation may be brought to actual ruin seems to me a mere illusion. Some words are abused. Whatever gold will have been spent will certainly be tucked away somewhere; wherever it may be, it will be valueless until put in circulation, so that it will have to be ferreted out by active barter.

Moreover, there is current a very false

idea as to the circulation of money. Europeans are prone to believe that all Americans are multi-millionaires; the truth of the matter is that there are a certain number of millions that come and go and are always the same. There is no difference in other parts of the world; this movement of millions back and forth will be re-established by force of circumstances. Each country will turn its products into money. Of course, it will be necessary to work.

I was talking the other day on this subject with a rich Englishman. "How can you suppose," he was saying, "that there could ever be commercial rivalry between you and us? I must sell you 200 tons of coal in order to buy a dress for my wife in the Rue de la Paix!"

Let us, then, buy coal and sell dresses, and we shall soon recover from a difficult situation, and so will other lands. All we have to fear is that, instead of turning to commerce, art, and literature, instead of developing our industries and devoting ourselves to the enriching of the individual and the nation, we may turn in a body to playing politics. That, I think, may be a possible and dire result of victory; it would be the best way of paralyzing ourselves.

France Gaining a New Status

By Emile Boutroux

Member of the French Academy and Noted Philosophical Writer

TO fix even approximately the date of peace presupposes the gift of foreseeing the unforeseeable; it belongs to the domain of prophecy. But it seems the part of wisdom, nevertheless, to predict that the war will be a long one. Marvelous as has been the task accomplished by us, unquestioned as is our tenacity, incessant as is our progress, we cannot say that the goal of our efforts is drawing near. All of us must persevere to the end; the patience of the entire nation must be boundless. It must convince itself, following the maxim of Caesar, that nothing is done if all is not done. Active

sympathy and actual aid are coming, and doubtless will come more and more to the Allies and hasten their victory. Without doubt a greater industrial mobilization will contribute to bring about the decision, but we must gird ourselves with unshakable moral force to meet what lies before us.

When peace comes France will resume her place among the nations. She will fully resume her standing in the eyes of the world. We must acknowledge that she had not entirely recovered politically from 1870. There was much vaunting of her literary and artistic superiority in order that her shortcomings

in other things might more easily be glossed over—an ingenious method of relegating her to the past.

By the treaty of Frankfort, Germany sought to crush us as a political power. Peace will re-establish the balance. But it must not be said there will be a veritable rebirth of France, as has been too often the case, for this is unjust to the past and incorrect in relation to the present. The men of yesterday were immediately found to be equal to the task of today. France will resume her place because she will be better known and appreciated.

No matter what happens, I think the German mode of thought is destined to lose in influence; it has shown too clearly to what horrors it tended. I

cannot say what transformations it will undergo. It is a historical law that something like an intellectual transformation takes place between belligerents, but it is not always from victor to vanquished.

It is to be presumed, at all events, that Germany, having returned to her senses, will shake off the contempt which she has shown since 1870 for everything not German, and try to become again what she should never have ceased being—a nation among nations. Thus, her qualities may develop usefully for all because they will tend to become reconciled to the qualities peculiar to other nations. Specialization is undoubtedly good and indispensable, but it must not abolish humanity.

Only a Long War Can Bring Peace

By Emile Verhaeren

Famous Belgian Poet, Driven from His Home by German Invasion

PUBLIC opinion should have looked upon the present war as a long and costly one. People in France have not learned to consider it thus, owing to the character of the French, who are too prone to deceive themselves. When I was told that this or that French General prophesied a speedy end of the struggle, I not only could not believe that such an oracular remark had been made, but I was astonished at its being believed.

You are just beginning. Listen well to what I say. You got into the fight very late, and you have had to make up for lost time. That was your work in this first year of war; now you are equal to the work ahead. The wonderful part of it is that you have been able to maintain yourselves as you have, considering how much less prepared you were than the enemy.

Germany went into the fight equipped with everything; she reached the fields of battle in her full strength. All was calculated, there was no negligence to overcome. Some time before the war I was in Germany, and I was struck by the feeling of security reigning there;

the entire land was ready for the fight and never doubted of victory. This atmosphere had been created. It was the result of an identical twist given the minds of all. I repeat: You at first had to catch up with an adversary who had a long start, but now he has lost this start and you will soon be able to outstrip him.

From the very first day Germany showed, so to speak, a completed façade, while yours, on the other hand, was full of holes which you had to stop up one by one. The breaches now visible in your building are holes that need stopping up; those on the German building are newly made breaches. You are completing your building; theirs is beginning to crumble. There can be no doubt as to the fissures.

But I do not think the fight will cease on either side for lack of combatants; you must have long wars, Napoleonic wars, in order to have a peace resulting from exhaustion of men. But there is moral, financial, economic exhaustion, of which Austria and Germany already show signs.

As an instance of their weakening,

I will bring to your attention only one thing: the checking of their campaign of propaganda in neutral countries. This campaign, prepared long ago, was one of the manifestations of their war organization; yet, despite a maximum of preparation, it did not succeed any more than did the German military campaign, under like conditions, on the different battle fronts. There is a striking discrepancy between the results achieved and the methodical efforts made; it is like a machine using up all its power for a very small product.

The Allies, on the other hand, may expect to increase their strength, and, by a natural progression, to redouble their efforts until definitive success is reached. At some time—and I do not think it is far away—we shall be superior in everything: numbers, material, morale, diplomacy. This will enable us to beat down the enemy everywhere.

To the question, "Will vanquished Germany undergo a transformation?" M. Verhaeren replied:

Frankly, I do not think the German soul is very susceptible of improvement;

it is the only one in Europe of which this can be said. In a book which I have just published, "Bleeding Belgium," I have devoted a chapter to uncivilizable Germany; it is to these pages of my book that I attach some value. There is nothing less supple, less free, than the Germanic soul; there is nothing more refractory to moral beauty. If you wish my sentiments regarding this, read over this passage in my book:

"We have today the sad but immovable conviction that the true Germany was only by accident the Germany of Goethe, Beethoven, Heine; on the contrary, it was almost always the Germany of implacable landgraves and bloody mercenaries. Thousands of years ago she loosed her hordes on Europe. She is doing the same thing now. That is her sinister and terrible function.

"But do not let us be deceived again in future; she is the dangerous nation, because she is the uncivilized nation. Her castles, her fields, and her barracks have continued to be the unexhausted and perhaps inexhaustible reservoir of human ferocity."

More Manliness in Literature

By Vicente Blasco-Ibañez

Celebrated Spanish Novelist

I THINK that the war will last at least until 1917. I have always thought that it would be long, because I have never doubted that it would end in the right way. A short war? Why, that would be a disastrous war. The Germans might have won quickly, but French victory will be a work of patience and energy. The victories of justice, the victories that command respect, are always won only at such a price.

We must show perseverance, but despite all the difficulties in our path, I have the most absolute confidence in the final victory. On that I have an almost feminine intuition; for me, French victory is a clear vision.

And my reason confirms my sentiments. Germany held all the good cards

at the beginning of the campaign, and your playing at that time was not brilliant. Now the German play cannot improve, while yours will improve constantly until at last you take in every trick.

It will be a hard task. The future holds in store for you alternating hours of discouragement and confidence: We have not yet seen the end of moral fluctuation and public opinion will have still further ups and downs.

But what matters this if all is to result in a joyous triumph? The enemy must be struck down at any cost.

There is a Spanish story which is apropos here: Two men had gone to law, and neither wished to back down. It was an important matter, and both were resolved to use up all the tricks of the

law. They went from court to court until finally their money ran out.

Judgment was given at last but the two litigants were in a sorry plight. The vanquished was stark naked; the victor had nothing left but his shirt.

Well, you will have your shirt left at the end of the war, provided you are willing to lose all the rest!

Men? You have them and will have more. Russia and England are deep reservoirs of humanity. Munitions? When the factories of England, joining hands with your own, turn all their attention to war, you will lack nothing. Money? Oh, you can always find money somewhere in the world when evil is to be wrought with it. For fighting and pounding and blackmailing sheets there is always plenty of it.

Look at South America! There the masses go in rags beneath the burning rays of the sun, yet magnificent cannon and spiked helmets and sometimes even splendid and ruinously costly battleships glisten under this same sun that scorches their naked bodies. Finance never fails him who wishes to destroy!

If Germany counts on French supineness—and I think she does—she is wrong. Abroad one is often asked: "Do you think France will hold out?" This attitude of doubt is fostered in neutral lands by Germany—we must admit that her propaganda is most carefully organized, and much might be done along this line for the French cause! But I prefer not to harp on this point.

Let us speak rather of the great results which we must expect from this war; let us speak of the genius of the Latin race, which will burst into flower when you have dictated the terms of peace.

I hope that, in literature, your young people may be influenced less by the nebulous works of the north, that they may turn again to clearness and sim-

plicity. The warrior's life will, of course, make them more manly, more vigorous. In their thoughts and their style we shall find again traces of the same energy shown by them in the trenches; they will be strong and independent. French literature lacked a certain incisiveness, ruggedness, brutality, that is now being given to it. And we shall soon see Latin genius, powerful and clear, reconquer first place in the world.

Do not think I meant that it should impose itself. The great mistake made by Germany was just that—she tried to suffocate the world beneath German culture. We live in a day of rapid communication, when minds receive the most diversified impressions and fashion themselves on most complex models. For that reason one can neither expect nor desire that one element should destroy all the others; there must be inevitable mixtures.

But as for us Latins, what we have learned of foreign ways of thought has come to us through France. France is an intellectual vehicle of the first order, and will be so all the more certainly after victory. Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Hegel, are accessible to us in Spain only through translations made by your writers.

To the question whether he meant the French themselves were partly responsible for the prevalence of German ideas in France, M. Blasco-Ibañez answered:

Perhaps. But still you don't know what an active propaganda they have instituted in my country. They may not have many partisans, but they make a tremendous lot of noise. In newspapers, on the streets, one hears nothing talked about but Germany, always Germany, still more Germany. And the multitude, always docile, catches up the cry. Their publicity is excellently managed, and in these times of ours great nations can no more do without publicity than great department stores.



Russia's Economic Strength

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Russian Diplomat and Distinguished Publicist

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Russian Word, Moscow.]

ALL outward appearances in Russia support the pessimism prevailing among the many observers of our national life. Pessimism has become a cheap medium of looking wise, and optimism is considered with us a sign of naïveté and superficiality. Nevertheless, I venture to come out in defense of optimism, for that is the state of mind of the real, inner Russia.

At the first glance the arguments of the pessimists may appear to have been founded on solid ground. In the Fall, for instance, it looked as if Russia were on the brink of ruin. Our great defeats demonstrated our technical backwardness and our internal chaos. Deep differences between the Government and the people, a disorganized front, the prohibition of patriotic demonstrations, and the resultant lack of public interest in the outcome of the struggle; the irresistible flood of refugees, the sharp crisis in the cities in food supplies, coupled with the wild orgies indulged in by those who got suddenly rich at the expense of the impoverished population; the domination of the dark forces, the approaching danger of starvation, plus all that which is known to everybody but is not allowed in print, [Prince Troubetzkoy refers to the panic in Petrograd at the approach of the Germans and to the sinister intrigues in the Court,] all this led to gloomy forebodings, and the pessimist declared that Russia was perishing.

Yet, instead of perishing, Russia went through one of those paradoxical experiences of which only Russia is capable. Some profound, elemental, incomprehensible, and unknown power stopped the enemy's progress. Instead of following up and completely routing our army, wherein lay his only salvation, he nervously turned aside—to the Balkans.

The pessimistic predictions did not come true. A revolution did not blaze up. Russia did not disintegrate, did not perish, but instead went soon on the offensive, and is now pushing the enemy to the frontier. The meaning of this offensive is materially enhanced by the unmistakable moral victory won by us since last Autumn. I am speaking of the lowering of our enemy's peace demands, which certainly shows his weakening. Scarcely had our troops made an effort at an offensive in Galicia when Germany began to give up some of her annexation plans. The peace "feelers" in the neutral press indicate that Wilhelm is willing to forget the annexation of Belgium, Serbia, and Poland. The latter is at present being spoken of as an independent "buffer" State.

Where is to be found the explanation for Germany's concessions? No one asked her for them. If the Teutons could break Russia there would be no talk of concessions on their side, and they would cease sending out their now almost regular peace "feelers." It is clear that they must have realized the tremendous power of resistance we possess. But how can one reconcile this elemental strength with those ominous signs of decomposition found in Russia by the superficial observer?

Apparently those fateful signs of ruin, which deceive the pessimist, lie on the surface of the national life, and do not express the state of affairs in the very heart of our nation. Along with the Russia which strikes our eye first and fills its field of vision, there is another, truer, better Russia, which has so far escaped attention and has been little appreciated.

It is not difficult to understand such an optical illusion. Russia, to a very high degree, is a rural, agrarian nation,

while the observer sees but the urban Russia. The daily ills and maladies of our urban life have thus been attributed to our national system. They are considered as critical and dangerous maladies in our entire organism, while all these signs of "decomposition" come solely from the surface, not having even touched the kernel of our existence—the village.

The fate of Russia, after all, is not in the hands of the city, but of the village. And our village during this war has been in many respects an amazing contrast to our city. Almost all the social maladies from which contemporary Russia is suffering are not rural but urban phenomena. This contrast is especially strong in the economic realm. While our cities, on account of the rise in prices, are suffering from poverty, our villages are getting richer, in spite of the war and high prices.

This growth in the prosperity of our rural population in times of a world war is a remarkable, astounding paradox. About two years ago such a thing would have been thought impossible, but now it is a fact on which all observers of our rural life agree. The farmers, land owners, and all others who reside in the country or come in close contact with its life concur in the opinion that our village is prospering now, as never before, for three reasons. First, because of the prohibition of alcohol; second, because the wives of the reservists receive sufficient support from the Government; third, because the peasantry is earning high wages.

The most eloquent proof of the prosperity of our villages is the added billion rubles in our savings banks since the beginning of the war. The ban on alcohol amply accounts for this billion. But the monetary billion should be multiplied several times in order to get the nation's prosperity, for prohibition has raised the productivity of the country many times.

We are observing a phenomenon unique in the history of the world. In war times, it has been an axiom, the productivity of a nation is diminished. All enterprises by a Government at war

are intended for destructive and not constructive ends. In Russia you find the reverse, you witness a colossal increase in the nation's power of productivity. If to the billion incident to the prohibition of alcohol be added the total of the monthly allowances paid out to the wives of the soldiers, and if the fact that the wage of the laborer is now from one and a half to two times as high everywhere as before the war be taken into consideration, the prosperity of our villages is fully accounted for.

I had numerous occasions to inquire of peasants if they needed any help, and every time I received an astonishing reply. In spite of the habit of the Russian peasant to complain always, I was told that there was no acute need now, that the wives of the soldiers need nothing, and the more children they have the better off they are, as they get larger allowances, which cannot be spent on alcohol. In some cases I heard of paupers and down-and-outs who became prosperous. Not long ago an ex-drunkard was pointed out to me with this remark: "You see his boots? Well, it is the first time in his life that he has been shod." The man, smiling blissfully, confirmed the compliment. Generally, the village is now more and better shod than ever before, and this in spite of the fact that shoes cost more than double the price paid before the war.

The high prices have hardly caused any hardships in our villages. The fact that it is very difficult to hire laborers from the peasantry and that many landowners suffer from lack of hands is significant. It is not a question of higher wages, but of the impossibility to procure labor for *any* price, not because there is no labor supply, but because the peasant is prosperous where he is.

In light of the conditions instanced, one things that were considered maladies turn out to be in reality signs of our economic strength, which fills all the nooks and corners of our village life. Not long ago we were all alarmed by the disappearance of silver from circulation, now replaced by paper certificates. A peasant thus explained to me the whole

affair: "Why should not the silver disappear? You, the lords, have hidden all the gold. Well, we hid all the silver we could get. You will hardly find a woman in a village that has not secreted her savings in silver, say, forty or fifty rubles." To verify these savings is, of course, impossible, but the fact that they exist with the parallel growth in the savings bank deposits is truly significant. It shows that there is the surplus to save. From a social worker engaged in fighting high prices I hear that the rise on everything is to a great extent due to the increased demands of the village. It is indeed very logical that those who save will not suffer any want. A large part of the products before manufactured for our urban population is being drawn off by our villagers.

There are many similar facts corroborating these statements. And all these facts, taken together, answer the question: "What was that elemental power which arrested the German invasion?" It was the power of the Russian village, against which the Napoleonic hordes were once wrecked. Urban Germany would have many advantages over us in a short struggle in which technical superiority decided the issue. If the war had been a short one we could not have won. But it is all different now, when it has become a war of exhaustion. No machinery in the world can create the basic forces necessary for winning this war. And here we have the advantage over our opponent. In the economic circumstances of our village life we can continue the war indefinitely. Our foe can do no such thing, and that is why instead of continuing the invasion of Russia he turned to the Balkans in quest

of human and food supplies. But Bulgaria and Turkey could spare none of the former and very little of the latter.

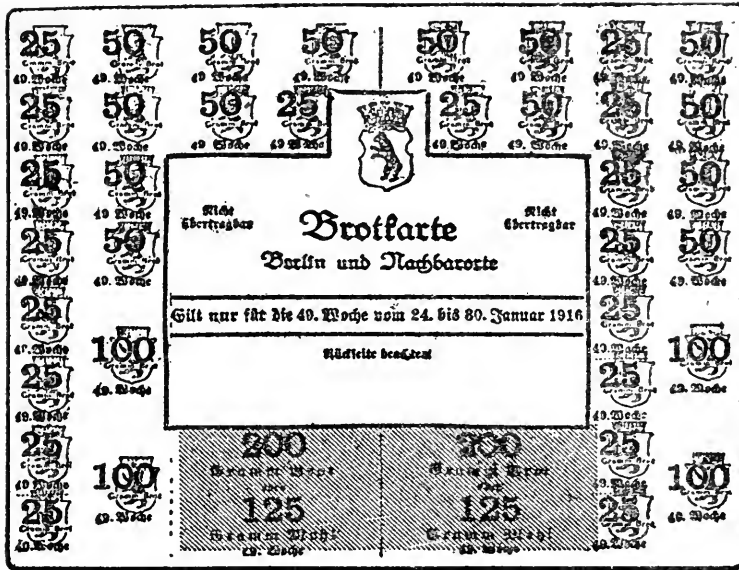
Our chances for victory are very good. Whatever the advantage of the enemy over us in efficiency of organization and management, whatever the degree of disorder in our country, in this prolonged war the decisive factor will be the power of resistance based on numbers and on the prosperity and spirit of the population.

We have the material power necessary to exhaust Germany. Have we the moral power to sustain the heroic patience necessary for it? The question can have but one answer. If the most important material advantage is with us, we could be conquered only because of cowardice and lack of spirit. In other words, we could be beaten if we voluntarily agreed to become Germany's vassal. But the masses of the Russian people have enough courage to defend their country and independence, and that courage will grow into an invincible force with the growing realization that our material reserves are inexhaustible.

The prosperity of our villages is not merely a material gain; it is the result of a great moral and spiritual victory—our victory over alcohol. This victory would never have been won without that powerful spiritual upheaval which seized the country in the beginning of the war. There must be courage in a people that could do such an unprecedented miracle in the days of a world conflagration as to raise the condition and increase the prosperity of millions of human beings. Russia begins to understand her powers and have faith in herself. This faith will lead her to victory.



Latest German Bread Cards



Four million of these bread cards are used each week in Berlin alone. The two here reproduced show that the allowance of bread was reduced Feb. 1 by 50 grams, or about 2 ounces.

Italian Prisoners in Austria

By Cardinal Scapinelli

Following a request by Pope Benedict XV. the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, Cardinal Scapinelli, made a tour of investigation through the prison camp at Mauthausen, a little village on the banks of the Danube, and reported on the conditions obtaining among the Italians confined there. This report, which appeared in the *Osservatore Romano* of Feb. 8, has been characterized as over-rosy by the anti-clerical press, which goes into details regarding the Cardinal's pro-Austrian sentiments, but many of the leading newspapers of Italy have expressed their faith in the sincerity and accuracy of Mgr. Scapinelli's impressions.

IN the centre of a broad plain at Mauthausen is spread out the big city of barracks, covering more than twenty-four square kilometers, the Italians' quarters on the right and those of the Serbians on the left. The barracks are well built and well arranged, being separated by wide streets and large squares for strolls and athletic games. They are heated and are illuminated by electric light. The rules of hygiene are strictly observed. There are buildings for disinfection, baths and quarantine quarters where the men just arrived from the battlefield are obliged to spend a few weeks. The houses for the officers resemble elegant little villas, each with a veranda or porch where, during bad weather, their occupants may divert themselves and breathe fresh air.

A big barrack church, which will be very imposing when finished, is being constructed. In the meantime there are several large buildings in which the Holy Sacrifice is celebrated on holy days, and three chapels devoted to the care of the Holy Sacrament. The religious services leave nothing to be desired. The curate in charge of the camp is from Tyrol, has a good command of Italian, is earnest and zealous, and is assisted by two Italian priests who are prisoners of war, one of whom is a Capuchin friar. Mgr. Vicario Castrense at once intervened on behalf of these priests, induced the Ministry of War to grant them special treatment, authorized them to celebrate the holy mass, and now he has furnished them with every facility necessary to enable them to exercise their holy offices for the benefit of their countrymen. I asked, and quickly obtained, permission for them to wear the garb of

chaplains instead of the regular military uniform. They have permission freely to visit every part of the camp and to call upon the prisoners, especially in cases of illness. Another priest is interned in the special hospital for infectious diseases. There are also ten members of the lay clergy among the prisoners, some of them deacons, and I have warmly recommended them to the care of the pastor and the two Italian priests.

Not only healthy prisoners are confined at Mauthausen at present. There are special quarters which receive not only those who become ill in the concentration camp, but also a number of wounded men brought there because there is no room for them in the hospitals near the front. I visited the well-cared for cemetery, in the centre of which is found a chapel, and where fifty-three Italians who have died here since last May are buried. Then I went to see the various hospitals, including one devoted to the Serbians. I found that the care of the sick left nothing to be wished for. The Colonel in command shows a loving interest in the poor sick and wounded men. The Austrian doctors are assisted by Italian medical men among the prisoners who have full freedom of the entire camp. The rooms are light and well ventilated and heated. The food for the sick is prepared in special kitchens. I talked with all the sick and wounded men, one at a time, and when I asked them if they were well treated and if they needed anything, they all declared they were contented and gave special praise to the head doctor, who cares for them like a father.

Later I visited many of the soldiers'

quarters and talked with a number of the men freely and without witnesses. Occasionally one of them complained about the insufficiency of the rations. I sampled the food and found it of good quality. The quantity is the normal allowance for soldiers. I looked over the bill of fare for the week and found that they had meat every day at noon, except on Tuesdays and Fridays, days on which the sale of meat is forbidden throughout the entire empire, and then they have fish. In addition to the 150 grams (about a third of a pound) of meat, they receive 350 grams of vegetables, potatoes, cornmeal, rice, &c., besides soup. In the morning they have tea or broth and at night they have soup with a portion of vegetables, potatoes, cornmeal, beans, &c. There is enough bread, and it is of the same quality as that used by everybody in Austria. The only basis for the complaint regarding the insufficiency of the rations may be found by considering the age of the men and the fine, pure air which descends upon the camp from the snow-capped mountains round about. Every week each soldier gets a package of tobacco and paper to make cigarettes. In every division of the camp are little shops where, at prices fixed by the commander, eatables, wines, and other things that may be wanted are sold.

Some of the prisoners, especially those from the south, said they suffered from the cold during the night and asked for more covering. It must be admitted, however, that the barracks are well roofed, have windows with double sashes, and are heated sufficiently.

Then I saw the vast barrack theatre where a small orchestra, made up entirely of Italians, and with instruments mostly obtained from the camp's curate, played a few pieces in honor of the visitors.

The officers have nothing to ask or wish for. In fact, their houses are excellent, well heated, very clean, and furnished with a certain degree of elegance. From the rank of Captain up, each one has a room for himself. The other officers are quartered two in a room. Their table is directly under their own control. They

are paid the allowance corresponding to their rank, the minimum being 4 crowns a day, (about 80 cents at the normal rate of exchange.) The officers are allowed to take strolls outside the limits of the camp once or twice a week.

I talked with Della Porta, Lombardi, San Felice, and Ronca, all of whom are in excellent health. Colonel Riveri, while complaining of the treatment accorded him during the first days of his imprisonment before he came to Mauthausen, sincerely praised the Colonel and the other Austrian officers of the camp for the gentlemanly manner in which they treated the Italian officers. He complained about the shortage of milk for the sick men, but I reminded him that the scarcity of milk was only due to the lack of cattle, a great part of which had been butchered for the army, and to the difficulties of transportation, the lines being used for military purposes. Riveri also complained that there had been cases of prisoners having been personally maltreated by the Austrian soldiers guarding the camp. Colonel Dini, who was present, replied that if there had been some abuses he had punished the guilty men severely, and besides he was always ready to lend a willing ear to any well-founded complaints that might be made to him in the matter.

I believe I am able to affirm that upon the whole the treatment of the prisoners is good and that the Government is doing everything possible on its part to avoid any occasion for complaints. In regard to the shortages noted, it is necessary to remember that Austria has an immense number of prisoners in her charge in different places, and that her care of them is naturally affected by the hardships that are the sad consequences of the terrible war ravaging Europe. For my part I did not fail to direct the attention of the commander to the complaints and desires that I had heard during my visits and chats with the officers and soldiers, and he assured me that so far as he was concerned they would receive full consideration. As the Minister of War had already declared to Mgr. Bjelik that he would be glad to listen to my recommendations in the matter in

order to do something to please the Holy Father, I hope that he will not fail to

do what he can in favor of the Italian prisoners.

Italian Prisoners in Russia

By Renzo Laroo

Petrograd Correspondent of the Corriere della Sera

[NOTE.—Thousands of Italians lived in Austrian territory and were compelled to serve in the Austrian Army. This accounts for the curious fact that Russia holds many prisoners who belong by language and nationality to one of her own allies.]

HOW many Austrian prisoners of Italian nationality are there in Russia? Many have asked this question, here in Petrograd and elsewhere, but so far it has been impossible to obtain the exact figures. There are certainly several thousands of these prisoners and their number increases in proportion as the search for them is extended. Letters, notices, and other data keep coming in from the most distant regions of this huge empire. The soldiers captured from Austria and Germany have been gradually distributed throughout all the provinces as they have been sent on from the front.

Italian prisoners are to be found today in large numbers in Kirsanof and Orlof in European Russia, and in Omsk in Siberia. There are about 1,300 of them, including fifty-eight officers, at Kirsanof, 929 in Orlof, and eighty-four in Omsk. They have not always been in these places. Nearly all of them have made long trips, regular pilgrimages, while being shifted from one locality to another. There are groups, for example, that at first were sent to Turkestan, then to Siberia, then to Kirsanof, then to Orlof, and finally back to Kirsanof again. Thus they have traveled something over 5,000 miles. It would be difficult to figure out the reason for these changes. The main fact is that whenever the prisoners settle down in any one place they declare that they are not at all uncomfortable. Those who lived in Siberia were especially contented. Enormous stretches of ground, unlimited horizons, and almost entire freedom! The soldiers were distributed among the cabins of the peasants and with the middle-class families, and they worked and earned a few rubles.

It was in Siberia that a group of officers and soldiers conceived the idea of organizing an association of those who wanted to leave for Italy to go to the front and fight against Austria. The association, which is called Cernagora, is composed of young men animated by a high military spirit and an undying hatred of the House of Hapsburg. From Siberia the first members have carried on a lively propaganda in the various centres to which they have been scattered. Today they form a band of considerable size, there being 300 of them in Kirsanof alone. These latter have an Italian flag which they fling joyously to the breeze whenever they see a group of Austrians or Austrophiles. The Austrians take revenge by deriding the names of Italy and Savoia, and by menacingly displaying a piece of rope. But our boys have plenty of good humor, and, moreover, when the occasion presents itself, they are able to give a good demonstration of skill with their fists. One member of the Cernagora has sent us the following beautiful, although rather sad, note:

The news of the beginning of the war for our redemption came to us like the voice of Providence. At last the hour had struck for our liberation from the heavy yoke of the oppressor. We responded with enthusiasm to the Russian invitation to go and fight against Austria, happy in the thought of being able to lend the power of our arms toward the realization of the common ideal. From day to day we have been flattering ourselves with the hope of being able to begin the march on Trent and Trieste, via Rome. But up to the present our hopes have not been realized.

Somewhat later, when the Russian

proposal to make Italy a present of the Austrian prisoners of Italian nationality was rendered impossible of execution because of the events in the Balkans, which blocked the only easy way of communication, a plan was thought out for the repatriation of the officers, at least. Then a person who had the opportunity of being in touch with these officers reminded them of the position in which the soldiers would be left, without leaders or guides, and, above all, without doctors to care for them, as the only medical men admitted to the camps are those found among the prisoners themselves.

"I do not dare express any wish," said he to the officers selected for the journey. "I haven't the courage to ask that any of you renounce the joy of returning to liberty; I am simply making these observations."

Five officers stepped out of the group and said: "We will stay."

Of course no one should imagine that the prisoners are enjoying an enchanting sojourn. But, in order to give the Italians special privileges, as compared with the Austrians and Germans, the Russian Government consented to a plan of segregation and sent one of our officials to make an official inspection of the concentration camps and thus facilitate the work of selection. Commander Gazzurelli, our Consul General at Moscow, visited many localities, and the results of his trips were quickly apparent. In Kirsanof some 300 men had been living for two months in a damp cellar. One soldier was ill with typhus, another was suffering from erysipelas, and a third was affected with tuberculosis. This promiscuity was becoming deadly. Our Consul saw to it at once that these deplorable conditions were remedied and the 300 men quartered elsewhere, in a decent and healthful place. Another result of his visit was the careful separa-

tion of the genuine Italians from the traitors and Austrophiles who had identified themselves with the former, either in order to enjoy the special privileges or to carry on the work of spying, even in prison. Many Austrian officers, devoted to their Government, have been busy trying to spread false news among the soldiers, alleging, for example, that the City of Venice has been destroyed and the entire province occupied. By means of all kinds of intimidation they seek to suffocate the noble Italian spirit, and there is no doubt that in some places they have obtained some results. In Omsk, in Siberia, out of 800 prisoners of uncertain nationality only eighty-four came out frankly for Italy.

Our men have obtained the right to have separate kitchens. The squad commanders sally forth every morning to buy the day's rations and the cooks do their best to try to make the food seem as Italian as possible.

And the men have organized an Italian orchestra. Just think of it, an Italian orchestra in Siberia! And it seems to have made a hit already, because the little orchestra is in great demand in all the houses in the neighborhood when there are festivities, and the Russian officers are eager to hear Italian songs. Now the little orchestra is anxious to grow and to take on a more regular appearance, as it is about to play in a theatre. It already consists of six violins, a flute, two guitars, and a contrabass, but it appears these are not enough, so the director defined his needs to us as follows:

"As this is an ensemble much too small to appear before the public, it is very necessary to increase the number of our instruments in order to maintain our prestige, consequently I take the liberty to ask you to help us obtain a trombone, a viol, and an oboe."



Mail Service in the World War

By O. Grosse

Special Director of German Mails in War Time

Herr Grosse, who has been intrusted with special supervision of the reorganized postal service during the war, writes in the Grosse Zeit, published at Berlin and Vienna:

AT no time is there so much said and written about the mail service of a country as when war breaks out. The moment the troops begin to move toward the frontiers uncountable pens at home get busy for the purpose of dispatching letters with the first field post. And no sooner are these letters consigned to the letter boxes at home than the writers begin to count the days and hours when answers may be forthcoming.

But the answers are long in coming. Uncertainty then takes possession of the letter writer. Why, comes the question, can the mail service not do its duty when it is evident that the railroads themselves are promptly caring for the transportation of the troops? Then we hear how the "organization of the post has broken down."

Nobody knows better than those immediately charged with the work in hand how unjustifiable such a charge is. It must be recalled that in peace times the normal mail requires a closely woven service, whose parts fit into each other. Before the war the main arteries of the German mail service made use of 21,000 daily railroad trains. These were supplemented by 17,000 posts for the country roads. But mobilization naturally changed this over night. The passenger and freight schedules ceased to be. The entire apparatus of transportation went to service of the army.

It is now 200 years since the first Prussian field post became effective—during the war of King Frederick Wilhelm I. against Sweden. The present-day system is patterned in many ways on what was found serviceable during those

campaigns. But it was not until the war of 1864 that such far-reaching efforts were made to handle quickly the accumulating mail matter. The divisional work of today is so regulated as to afford the quickest possible dispatch, both in coming and going. How to have the letter reach the individual, who may be in one place today and quite another place tomorrow, is one of the hourly problems before the postal officials.

The system obtaining in the Austro-Hungarian army is quite similar to the German. Russia primarily considers the postal service in the field a matter for the military and not the general public. The French field post has for many years been a sort of stepchild of the "grande nation." When, after the battle of Sedan, Stephan inquired of the French prisoners as to their field post, he received the answer that since their departure from home they had had no letters. They added that this fact was in large measure responsible for the dejection and apathy of the troops.

During the first months of the world war the greatest irregularity prevailed in the French Post Office in respect to the sending of letters to the soldiers in the field. If one is to believe the Temps, which has no reason to make wrong statements in the matter, letters became heaped up at home, and it had even got to the point where mail was left unasorted for want of enough men to do the work. In January, 1915, Clemenceau took occasion to take the French Senate to task for permitting such bungling. The conditions even compelled relatives of soldiers to insert important personal items in the newspapers in the hope that these might come to the attention of their sons and brothers in the field.

In contradiction of the Temps exposure, the Matin would have the French public believe that the nation's field-post

service was equal to the German. However, the facts in the case must be allowed to speak for themselves.

The British postal service in France offers certain peculiar difficulties, due mainly to the fact that extra postage is required. The intricacies of this system have led to many complications. The many-hued postcard of the French, showing grouped flags of the Entente powers, has also been a factor in complicating matters since the entrance of the Italians in the war.

The handling the of war prisoners' mail is a problem in itself. The World Postal Union at Rome in 1906 laid the foundation for the first systematic handling of this correspondence, although The Hague Conference in 1899 had made preliminary reports to the same effect. Up to that time the German Post Office Department had been the only one to arrange for the sending of letters and money to the 400,000 French prisoners in Germany during the war of 1870-71. No postage was exacted of the prisoners for sending letters home. Today similar privileges are ac-

corded war prisoners throughout the world.

The cessation of mail service between enemy countries since the beginning of the war has done not a little toward further complicating the work of the Post Office Department at home. The fact that the neutral countries are exposed to inconveniences resulting from the stopping of mail and transportation service between enemy nations naturally does not improve the situation. We Germans have reason to know that England's interest for the neutrals stops whenever there is cause to think that Germany might be benefited in the slightest measure. The neutrals, for their part, ought to be convinced by this time that what is England's pleasure in the premises has caused them untold trouble in respect to the mails to and from countries with which these neutrals are doing business. It is to be hoped that when peace once more returns precautions will be taken not to permit England such highhandedness as makes every neutral nation its victim in the domain of postal operations.

A Speech by Cardinal Mercier

The Vingtième Siècle, a Belgian newspaper appearing at Havre, recently published a speech delivered at Ghent by Cardinal Mercier, in which he said:

My brethren, yet another word: I am anxious to tell you how proud we are of you. Not a day passes without my receiving from abroad, from friends of all nations, letters of condolence, which almost always end with these words: "Poor Belgium!" and I reply: "No, no, not poor Belgium, but great Belgium, incomparable Belgium, heroic Belgium." On the map of the world she is only a tiny point which many foreigners would never have looked at without a magnifying glass; but today there is not a nation in the world which does not pay homage to this Belgium.

How great and beautiful she is! if they saw her as we see her with our eyes, they would know that after a year of suffering there is not yet a single Belgian who weeps or murmurs! I have not yet met a workman without work, a woman without resources, a mother in tears, a wife in mourning who murmurs! They bow beneath the hand of Providence.

It is what disconcerts the men who have been among us for a year. There is "one year" since they have been living among us, and they do not know us yet! They are stupefied! On the one hand, no one murmurs, we all respect and will continue to respect their regulations. But, on the other hand, not one heart has given itself to them.

We have one King! one King only, and we will always have only one King.

The Berlin-Constantinople Express

By Dr. Ludwig Stein

As special correspondent of the Vossische Zeitung, Dr. Stein traveled on the first through train from Berlin to Constantinople. His account of the trip is, in part, as follows:

BETWEEN Budapest and Semlin we easily made up the little time we had lost, so the train was able to draw up at the platform in Belgrade with true Prussian punctuality. This was at 6:45 in the morning, and with the brilliant sun and the clear sky we could see the former capital of Serbia from the station at Semlin. The ruins of the great railway bridge lay on both banks of the Save—it had been blown up the day after the declaration of war. The famous pontoon bridge which the German engineers had erected in its place is a wonderful monument to the rapid strategic technique of our army. Belgrade was just waking up as we approached, and when we arrived at the station I could hardly believe my eyes. I had expected to see every sign of ravage and ruin, but I found instead a completely new station which had never felt the effects of a shell. Here again our military sense of order had rebuilt in a few weeks the buildings which the guns had destroyed, so that one was forced to say that the inevitable victory must surely fall to those who have proved their abilities both in destruction and in restoration.

In Semlin and in Belgrade, as well, we saw large numbers of Russian prisoners who looked at the new train as if it had been some fabulous animal—doubtless not knowing that this latest journey meant a stab at the heart of territory which Russia had been longing for ever since the time of Peter the Great. Thanks to the bravery of our gallant soldiers, we could now travel through a single geographical stretch of territory from Hamburg to Constantinople. A cruel awakening, symbolized by this very "Balkan train" we are

traveling in, follows Russia's century-old dream. The dream has been fulfilled, but negatively. The dream has become a reality, not for the Russians, but for us.

The ravages of war are more in evidence when we leave the station at Belgrade. Of the dwelling houses in the neighborhood, only heaps of stones remain. The suburbs, too, have suffered, and I noticed whole streets in which every house had suffered from shell-fire. But in comparison with the suburbs, one of the railway officials at the station assured me the town of Belgrade itself was not much injured. The people had returned to their occupations for the most part, and more or less normal life was now in evidence.

Outside Belgrade the country presented a desolate appearance, much of it being under water. Soon after we had passed the Avala Hill, which cost us hecatombs of men, we came to the plains, and here there was a distinct improvement. The fields were cultivated, and the villages seemed to be as peaceful as if nothing whatever had happened to the Serbian dynasty. The houses had not suffered much; but there were few men to be seen—mostly women and children and Russian prisoners working under supervision. Our troops leave the local inhabitants to themselves, and order has been restored.

The Morava Valley was not gained without hard-fought battles, but there are no signs of strife now. All traces of the war have been removed, and normal life has been resumed. Here again, however, men are scarce, and the work is being done by the women. We are now at Jagodina, where the wild strawberries ripen early in May; the mild climate of the place made it a favorite resort of wealthy Belgrade merchants. So mild, indeed, was the climate in the middle of December last, as a German General told me, that the troops were able to bathe in the Morava River.

The restaurant car was put on at Nish,

and thence the journey to Sofia was rapid. The nearer we approached the Bulgarian capital the fewer sights of war did we see. The roads were better, the

villages more active, the aspect of the inhabitants more contented. A warm welcome awaited us at Sofia, and now we are off to Constantinople.

The Bagdad Railway

Its Present Status

Some particulars regarding the Bagdad Railway given recently by the Hamburger Fremdenblatt are especially interesting in view of the Russian advance in Asia Minor. Following is a summary of the article:

WORK on those portions of the line which were being constructed before the war began has been completed. Between Aleppo and Bagdad two sections of the line have been completely finished and are now in use, viz., the section from Mostemie to Ras-el-Ain, (about 186 miles,) and the section from Samarra, (about eighty-eight miles.) Between these sections lies the stretch of line from Ras-el-Ain to Mossul, and hence to Samarra, about 366 miles long. In view of the difficulty at present of getting labor and material, it is not likely that work on this section can be begun until after the war.

Between Aleppo and Konia (and thence to Constantinople) the tunnels on the line which is to run through the Amanus and the Taurus ranges have not been finished. The Amanus line, however, has been connected with the Baghtshe Tunnel (about two miles long) since June 1, 1915, and the work is being so rapidly proceeded with that on Feb. 1, 1916, the stretch of railway from Islahie to Mamure may be opened as a branch line, and it is expected that it

will be in full working order by Oct. 1 next as the main line. After that it will only be necessary to complete the Taurus section of the line to link up the Syrian railway systems with Constantinople. There are, however, a number of tunnels to be constructed in this area, and their total length will probably be about eight or nine miles. This work can hardly be completed for two years, and in the meantime the road is used in the places where the railway will run by and by.

The total length of the Bagdad Railway from Haidar Pasha (opposite Constantinople) to Konia, and thence to Bagdad, is 2,435 kilometers, (about 1,510 miles,) made up as follows:

| | Kilometers. |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Haidar Pasha—Eski Shehir..... | 313 |
| Eski Shehir—Karahissar..... | 162 |
| Karahissar—Konia..... | 262 |
| Konia—Kara Pounar..... | 293 |
| Kara Pounar—Adana..... | 77 |
| Adana—Islahie..... | 153 |
| Islahie—Aleppo..... | 142 |
| Mostemie, (Aleppo)—Mossul..... | 633 |
| Mossul—Bagdad..... | 400 |

Total *2,435
*Equals 1,510 miles.

Of this total mileage 1,083 miles are already in use, and when the Amanus branch is opened on Feb. 1 this figure will be increased to 1,117 miles, leaving only a comparatively small distance still to be covered. The rolling stock in use is of the best quality, and is worthy of its German manufacturers.



The Future of Serbia

By Pavle Popovic

Professor of Literature, Belgrade University

[By Special Arrangement of CURRENT HISTORY with The London Morning Post.]

EXHAUSTED as she was by the Balkan wars, it was much against her will that Serbia entered upon the world war, and she would never have done so had she not trusted in the support of the great powers of the Entente. It was with great satisfaction that she saw—an occurrence without precedent in her history—Russia, France, and, above all, England, the three countries she most loved and admired, undertaking to defend her. The depression that weighed upon Serbia during the first days of mobilization gave way to an outburst of joy when the news came that England herself stood by her side, and I myself saw the Serbian soldiers, on hearing it, throw their caps high into the air, wild with delight.

Yet Serbia realized that, in spite of this valuable help, she must undergo a fearful ordeal. Well she knew that in this long, cruel war—a veritable war of giants—her slender forces could not endure as long as those of her powerful allies. When a poor man is by chance obliged to live at the same rate as others who are richer, his resources soon give way. The feeble convalescent cannot hope to accomplish the feats of endurance that are well within the power of the strong and healthy whom he meets upon his road.

Serbia was conscious that it was herself, and not her allies, who would suffer the greatest misfortunes. But she was resigned. Alone, she twice expelled the aggressor from her country and for a long time she stood firm. Bleeding from her wounds, wearied by her immense efforts, she saw fresh danger threatening her and asked for help. But no help came. On the contrary, she was asked to cede Macedonia. It is difficult to realize what Macedonia meant to her and the immense sacrifice its cession entailed, but she saw clearly what the outcome of

the war would be, were it to be complicated by another Balkan campaign; so she made the needful sacrifice. When Bulgaria mobilized, Serbia sought permission to attack Bulgaria immediately—from a military point of view this was the only possible thing to do—but the permission was refused.

It was then that Serbia prepared to die. Over and over again the enemy offered peace, but she refused it. She chose the path of honor rather than that of interest. In the words of the poet, she was "pale in her suffering, yet faithful and without reproach." Like Abraham of old, she was ready to sacrifice her sons, only because the Voice from on high had commanded it. And the sacrifice was made, no angel appearing at the moment when the sword flashed in the air. All this happened to Serbia quietly, and she made no protest, no accusation against any one. And today she has the same faith in her allies that she had before. But now that the sacrifice is made what will be the reward? What will be the future of Serbia? In the month of December, 1914, the Serbian Government declared that its program consisted in the deliverance from the Austrian yoke of all Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, so that they should be united with Serbia and Montenegro into one State.

This program is, indeed, that of all Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Every one who is acquainted, however little, with the recent history and actual conditions of the Southern Slavs must recognize it as a matter of fact. Serbia's program was always to deliver her brothers groaning beneath the foreign yoke and to unite them to her in one single State. The wise Prince Michael made it the principal object of his policy, with the enthusiastic approval of all Serbian and Southern Slav people outside Serbia. The Croats, since their national awakening,

soon recognized that they were the same nation as the Serbs, speaking the same language and having the same aspirations of deliverance and union. The great Croatian patriot Bishop Strossmayer was the very incarnation of the noble idea of the Serbo-Croatian unity. The Slovenes at last, in a similar manner becoming conscious of their nationality, adhered also to the same idea, fully recognizing that their national existence, too, depended on it. Moreover, the common sufferings of the last few years closely united the dispersed members of the same family and strengthened the faith in the national unity and the confidence in the leading rôle of Serbia.

What is, then, more natural and more just than the program of the Serbian Government? Is not the latter alone the spokesman of the whole Southern Slav race? And when other nations have been helped to realize their political union, why not allow Serbia to achieve the same purpose?

I wish especially to emphasize that England, too, has every interest in assisting my country in her aspirations. England has not realized till now the importance of Serbia. She needed the whole Serbian tragedy to be enacted before her eyes for her to comprehend that, at the decisive moment, Serbia alone of all the Balkan States is ready to fight at her side, no matter what the cost. Serbia must needs drain the cup of poison to its dregs for this country to understand that it is she who holds the gate of Britain's Eastern Empire. For she is indeed the holder of that gate, and it was not till she had fallen that England began to see that Egypt was threatened from that quarter. It has been said that the first German guns fired across the Danube were aimed not at Serbia but at Egypt, and the saying is the bare truth.

No one knows what will be the extent of victory. If the Allies enter Berlin as conquerors they can dismember Germany at their leisure. If, however, they merely expel the foe from the countries he is now occupying, their greatest object will be to prevent Germany from being a permanent danger to them. And wherein

lies this danger, for England especially? It is one that threatens the British Eastern possessions and them alone. Germany is forcing open the gateway to the East that she may threaten the British Empire. Let her, then, close that gate with strong steel bars, and as for Serbia, who holds the key, make her so strong that she can successfully resist any German aggression in the future. In doing that England will be performing an act of justice. She will also be saving her prestige, which has been badly shaken in the Balkans, where it was hoped she would have acted with greater energy. She will also safeguard her vast interests. By creating a strong Southern Slav State she will strengthen, firstly, the military power of Serbia, and secondly, by the same stroke, will deprive the enemy of an equal amount of power, for today Austria compels to fight for her those who tomorrow will be citizens of Serbia.

What, however, is disconcerting is when we see that in England there is still some misplaced feeling for the Bulgarians, which is quite the reverse of all right political understanding. Bulgaria is the enemy of the Allies just as much as Germany, Austria, and Turkey. She is their foe exactly in the same way.

An enemy such as that must be punished. While Serbia bars the road to the east against the Germans, Bulgaria throws it open. All that Serbia strives to do for England Bulgaria destroys. Bulgaria is England's only inveterate enemy in the Balkans, as Serbia is her only faithful friend. And as England's paramount interest is to close the gateway to the east, it is likewise her interest not only to strengthen Serbia but also to weaken Bulgaria. Never again commit the error of demanding Macedonia for Bulgaria, but force Bulgaria to restore to Serbia all that of which she has so treacherously robbed her. It is England's duty to make Bulgaria powerless to work evil on England and on the Allies. If she cannot be sure of entering Berlin, she can be absolutely sure of entering Sofia and crushing Bulgaria. This also must be the first objective of the Allies' armies.

Important War Books in Press

This department is devoted mainly to significant extracts from advance sheets of books relating to the great European war or to world affairs that are directly affected by the war. Some of the volumes are still in press, though they will appear this month. The object is to give in advance the same sort of information that may be had later by turning over the pages in a bookstall.

A Book From the Trenches

THE FIRST HUNDRED THOUSAND. By Ian Hay. Frontispiece in colors. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.50.

IAN HAY, widely known as a breezy novelist, comes before the public in this book under his real name and new title, Captain Ian Hay Beith. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war he enlisted and joined a Highland regiment, becoming one of the first hundred thousand of General Kitchener's army in France. He is still in the trenches, and "for some mysterious reason" was recently recommended for the military cross. His experiences as a raw recruit and as a seasoned soldier make a unique war book, a verbal moving picture of the whole "licking into shape" process through which other hundreds of thousands of British civilians are still passing today.

Captain Beith writes with the light, bright, humorous touch of a cheery novelist, and at the same time he makes one breathe the very air of the drill ground and of the battle-swept trenches. Though the names he uses are fictitious, the men are real and become familiar friends of the reader long before the climax in the fighting near Loos is reached. From the humors of the awkward squad to the cool courage of the battlefield the book is a delightful revelation of the British or Scottish Tommy as he is in real life.

One of the more dramatic battle episodes must serve here as a sample of Captain Beith's graphic pages:

Still the enemy advanced. His shrapnel was bursting overhead; bullets were whistling from nowhere, for the attack in force was now being pressed home in earnest.

The deserted trench upon our left ran right through the cottages, and this restricted our view. No hostile bombers could be seen; it was evi-

dent that they had done their bit and handed the conduct of affairs to others. Behind the shelter of the cottages the German infantry were making a safe *détour*, and were bound, unless something unexpected happened, to get round behind us.

"They'll be firing from our rear in a minute," said Kemp between his teeth. "Lochgair, order your platoon to face about and be ready to fire over the *parados*."

Young Lochgair's method of executing this command was characteristically thorough. He climbed in leisurely fashion upon the *parados*; and standing there, with all his six-foot-three in full view, issued his orders.

"Face this way, boys! Keep your eyes on that group of buildings just behind the empty trench, in below the Fosse. You'll get some target practice presently. Don't go and forget that you are the straightest-shooting platoon in the company. There they are"—he pointed with his stick—"lots of them—coming through that gap in the wall! Now, then, rapid fire, and let them have it! Oh, well done, boys! Good shooting! Very good! Very good ind—"

He stopped suddenly, swayed, and toppled back into the trench. Major Kemp caught him in his arms, and laid him gently upon the chalky floor. There was nothing more to be done. Young Lochgair had given his platoon their target, and the platoon were now firing steadily upon the same. He closed his eyes and sighed like a tired child.

"Carry on, Major!" he murmured faintly. "I'm all right."

So died the simple-hearted, valiant enthusiast whom we had christened Othello.

One cannot close Captain Beith's humorous-pathetic book without hoping that he may be spared to tell the further doings of the remnant of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders who survived those first fifteen months.

The Russian Soldier at Close Range

DAY BY DAY WITH THE RUSSIAN ARMY. By Bernard Pares. With Maps. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

BERNARD PARES, who in peacetime is Professor of Russian History in the University of Liverpool, has long had close connection with Russia. At the outbreak of the war he joined the Red Cross work in that country and was made by his own Government official British observer of the Russian armies in the field. His book contains his diary from the time of his departure from England in August, 1914, his observations in Petrograd and Moscow, and at the front in Poland and Galicia. Much of the time he was with the Third Army in Galicia, at the main curve in the Russian front, where the German and Austrian forces joined hands. Of the general atmosphere of the army he remarks:

It was a delight to be with these splendid men. I never saw anything base all the while that I was with the army. There was no drunkenness; every one was at his best, and it was the simplest and noblest atmosphere in which I have ever lived.

Of the attitude of the Russian peasants toward the war, he says:

When the news of war came, the peasants, who were harvesting, went straight off to the recruiting depot and thence to the church, where all who were starting took the communion; there was no shouting, no drinking, though the abstinence edict had not then been issued; and every man who was called up, except one who was away on a visit, was in his place at the railway station that same evening. In other parts the peasants went around and collected money for the soldiers' families, and even in small villages quite large sums were given. The abstinence edict answered to a desire that had been expressed very generally among the peasants for some years. It was thoroughly enforced, both in the country and in the towns. In the country the savings banks at once began steadily to fill, and the peasants, who would speak very naïvely of their former drunkenness, hoped that the edict would be permanent. * * * In all this time I saw only one drunken man.

At the Galician front he had much conversation with Russian staff officers, and his account of the army operations reflects the viewpoint of general staff headquarters. He thus describes the methods of the German army as it forced the Russian army back:

The German method is to mass superior artillery against a point selected and to cover the area in question with a wholesale and continuous cannonade. The big German shells, which the Russian soldiers call the "black death," burst almost simultaneously at about fifty yards from each other, making the intervening spaces practically untenable. * * * It is the wholesale character of these cannonades that makes their success, for there is nowhere to which the defenders can escape. The whole process is, of course, extremely expensive. When a considerable part of the Russian front has thus been annihilated and when the defenders are, therefore, either out of action or in retreat, the enemy's infantry is poured into the empty space and in such masses that it spreads also to left and right, pushing back the neighboring Russian troops. * * * The German hammer, zigzagging backward and forward, travels along our front, striking further and further on at one point or another, until the whole front has been forced back. The temper of this corps, as of practically all the others, is in no sense the temper of a beaten army. The losses have been severe; but with anything like the artillery equipment of the enemy, both officers and men are confident that they would be going forward.

Mr. Pares was allowed to question the prisoners and had much conversation with both Austrian and Prussian men and officers. He mentions some members of the Prussian Guard as speaking with small respect of the Austrians, while the Austrian soldiers he often found discontented with the war and willing for it to stop upon almost any conditions. The Austrian Slavs, when captured, showed more sympathy for the Russian than for the Austrian cause, while the Slavonic troops were often, under German direction, moved from one point to another to keep them away from the infection of

Russian sympathy, which otherwise often caused them to desert and go over to the other side. Some twenty pages are filled

with the diary of a captured Austrian officer, which indicates a remarkable inferiority of spirit in the Austrian army.

A Memorable War Novel

WHERE THE PATH BREAKS. By Captain Charles D. Crespigny. New York: The Century Company. \$1.30.

OPENING in a German hospital in Brussels, where an English officer has been practically brought back from the dead by a skillful German surgeon, this novel of war and of love moves through scenes in the hospital, a German prison camp, in the steerage of an Atlantic liner, in New York, and thence to the Pacific Coast, where finally it ends in happiness. The scenes descriptive and reminiscent of war experience are very graphic, but the book differs from most war novels in the profound spiritual significance that informs the whole story. Its theme is the power of love, the human love of man for woman that is also so fine and unselfish and noble that it becomes almost Christlike in its expression and its influence upon his life.

The opening paragraph, in which Captain Denin returns to life again, after eight months of unconsciousness, gives an idea of the author's ability to put into words fugitive sensations and strange experiences:

In dim twilight a spark of life glittered, glistened like a bit of mica catching the sun, on a vast face of a gray cliff above a dead gray sea. There was nothing else in the world but the vastness and the grayness of the cliff and the sea, till the spark felt the faint thrill of warmth which gave to it the knowledge of its own life. "I am alive," the whisper stirred, far down in the depths of consciousness. Next the question came, "What am I?"

For a long time he cannot remember who he is, but at last his whole past comes back to him when he sees his picture in an old London paper with the story of his life and the account of his death on the field of battle, together with the picture of the girl he had married an hour or two before his regiment had marched away. A little later he learns

that she has married again, believing him dead. Feeling sure that her welfare and happiness demand that he should not make himself known, he does not reveal his identity, but takes another name. Finally he escapes from the German prison camp and makes his way in the steerage to New York. Possessed with the idea that if he will put into words the belief that has come to him as the result of his sensations and dreams in the mid-world between life and death—"where the path breaks"—he can make it a message of helpfulness to the woman he loves, he writes a book in story form, "The War Wedding," which achieves immediate success because of its philosophy of war and suffering, life and death. It is the tale of a soldier marrying just before going to the war, but:

The story did not end with the ending of the soldier's life. The part before his death was no more than a prelude. The real story was of the power of love upon the spirit of a man after his passing, and his wish that the adored woman left behind might know the vital influence of a few hours' happiness in shaping a soul to face eternity.

The book is read by his wife, who gets from it consolation and reassurance, but of a different kind from that which he had expected it would give her. In deep trouble and unhappiness she writes to the author of the book and a long correspondence develops between them, in which he carries out still further the philosophy of his novel. He writes to her also of the vision he had brought back from that land of dreams as to the causes of the war and its function in the evolution of civilization:

Those young soldiers I tried to write about, who had thrown off their bodies, and even their enemies, with the rags and dirt and blood they left on the battlefield—they were listening to the great music, and hearing in it the call to some

special mission which only they were fitted to fulfill, going to it in the Summer of their youth, before they had grown tired of anything. I do believe that was more than a dream of mine; that this torrent of splendid youth, this vast crowd of ardent

souls suddenly rushed from one plane to another, has some wonderful work to do, which can be done only by souls who go out with the wine of courage on their lips.

This is unquestionably one of the best novels thus far inspired by the war.

Word Pictures of Northern France

BY MOTOR TO THE FIRING LINE. An Artist's Notes and Sketches with the Armies of Northern France, (June-July, 1915.) By Walter Hale. Illustrated by the author with line drawings and halftones from photographs. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

WALTER HALE has written his own impressions of a journey he made for the purpose of illustrating a book by Owen Johnson, the result being a volume somewhat different from most eyewitness books of the war. It views the wreckage of the battle zone and the scenes of the trenches and the firing lines with the observing eye of the artist, trained to see the value of details and their use in making a truthful picture. He sees the region, also, through the artist's conviction of the sinfulness of destruction. His descriptions, of which this of Arras is an example, have something of the quality of his pictures:

Arras was like a city of the dead; it gave one something of the sensation of walking through the ghostly cairns of Pompeii or St. Pierre, Martinique. It was like a giant catacomb, and the lowering clouds of yellow smoke hanging like a pall overhead, the deserted streets, the empty shells of houses, the growl of artillery, and the occasional violent detonation when an explosive bomb landed increased the uncanny feeling of death and disaster. In spite of the intermittent crackle of gunfire we unconsciously lowered our voices. A leaning chimney, all that remained of the one-time residence of some prosperous merchant, toppled over as we looked at it.

Mr. Hale thinks that after the war is over the long strip of France which has been so stubbornly contested by the opposing battle lines will be a favorite

motoring ground for visits to battlefields, cities, towns that have won a sacred place in human esteem, and he devotes a good many pages to description of the region as it is now and the outlining of such a trip from end to end of the present battle line:

It is a land where no man may live, a land swept day and night by heavy shells, searched by rifle fire, hand grenades or contact bombs and torn up from beneath by subterranean mines. It is a region desolate of trees, of vegetation. Though it runs through what once were forests and fields, there is nothing in the grizzly landscape to faintly suggest forests and fields except for occasional tree stumps hacked off close to the ground. Though it runs through villages, the villages have been swept away—the houses are mere shells—broken walls, heaps of dusty powdered stone and chimneys rising unsteadily out of the ruins. Though it skirts wooded slopes, their outlines are serrated as though by some titanic mining operation. Though it crosses winding rivers, the stone-arched bridges that span them have been destroyed. It needs only the presence of the solitary boatman to ferry one across their blackened waters—the shell-torn banks on either side might easily be that desolate land of empty spaces across the Styx.

Vineyards and old *manoirs* have been beaten down beneath a hail-storm of metal. In place of tilled gardens are furrows plowed by shells, in place of long green meadows are uneven surfaces—craters, shell pits, sharpened stakes and broken rock. At times the earth disgorges boot legs, knapsacks, spiked helmets, rusty rifles or discolored underwear. It is a region where nature has been crushed, a modern visualization of Dante's Inferno.

Dr. Jordan on Peace Plans

WAYS TO LASTING PEACE. By David Starr Jordan. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.

WITH some additions and revisions to bring the matter up to date, Dr. Jordan's book contains the address delivered by him as President of the World's Peace Congress, held on Oct. 10, in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition. He summarizes and to a certain extent discusses the most important of the various propositions which have been put forward since the beginning of the great war for the securing of lasting peace when that conflict shall end. Among these are several peace manifestoes, the resolutions of half a dozen congresses, the efforts and plans of the women of the leading countries of the world, the individual plans and arguments set forth by a score of persons of America and Europe, and one long chapter analyzing the plans and propositions of a great number of organizations and individuals in several countries who seek to end war by bringing it under democratic control. There is a full statement of the purposes of the League to

Enforce Peace, of which William Howard Taft is President.

In a final chapter on "World Federation," Dr. Jordan briefly discusses its possibilities and its probable efficacy:

The abuse of nationalism has carried Europe backward financially and socially for a generation, biologically for a century. It has put the whole system of nationalism on trial. It has forced the world to look forward to the next era, that of federation. Complete federation with autonomy must sooner or later follow nationalism, even as partial race federation (nationalism) succeeded the anarchy of feudalism. Such a change will not take place instantly, nor without opposition. But the progress of the federated states of our union, each of which, retaining autonomy or local self-government, has given up its armies, its tariffs, and its special citizenship for the common good, indicates the route which civilized government must traverse. As surely as feudalism gave place to nationalism, as certainly as day follows night, so must nationalism merge into federation in the movement of civilization.

Would Abandon Both Oceans

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE. A Study in American Foreign Policy. By Roland G. Usher. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.75.

PROFESSOR USHER'S "Pan-Germanism" and "Pan-Americanism" have attracted much attention within the last few years. In this new book he endeavors to analyze the country's problems of the present and the future in the light less of our present needs than of what will be the needs of our posterity two or three generations hence. His title indicates the purpose of forecasting the "challenge," the demand, that those generations have the right to make of Americans of the present day, and of setting forth what we must do in order to meet their expectation that our national heritage shall be passed on into

their hands at its best and most secure estate. He thinks that our foreign and domestic policies should be shaped toward that far end rather than bent solely to the meeting of our immediate needs.

But immediate and decisive measures are necessary, says Professor Usher, if we hope to make sure of the continued safety of our country. Our present dangers are so great and our means of meeting them so inadequate that we must surrender much, he thinks, in order to conserve the rest:

Our economic disabilities and our present lack of administrative and industrial correlation dictate the abandonment of the Atlantic to Great Britain, of the Pacific to Japan, and the partial renunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. That force

which we cannot at present exert we must supply by an alliance with the sea power in the hands of Great Britain which will insure us present protection against the aggressive schemes of all other European States and the force necessary to advance and protect the lives and property of American citizens outside the United States.

Having surrendered the Monroe Doctrine so far as South America is concerned, given up the Philippines and Hawaii to Japan, and concluded an alliance with Great Britain which would

enable us to protect ourselves with her fleet, Professor Usher thinks that we should devote ourselves to the tasks of making ourselves economically independent and of solidifying the nation and infusing it with a truly national spirit. "In last analysis," he says, "the future depends upon the brain and heart of this nation." Our democracy has justified itself in securing the welfare of the individual, but "it has yet to demonstrate its ability to think in terms of the community, of the nation, and of the world."

Peace Through Buffer States

L'ORGANISME DES ETATS-TAMPONS GARDIENS DE LA PAIX (Essai d'une proposition de paix.) Par M. D. Horowitz. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

THE gist of the proposals contained in this closely reasoned essay (in the French language) is that the idea of the buffer State should be extended by organizing the neutral States of Europe into an international police which would be primarily concerned with eliminating mistrust from the relations of the great powers. The author believes that the outbreak of war was due not to the aggressive nationalism of the various belligerents, but to the flaming up of smoldering suspicions. The psychological diagnosis of the condition that led to war is the best part of the essay, which is distinguished by its strict impartiality and its scientific method.

The author is no sentimental pacifist. He does not expect that national animosities will cease with the signing of peace. Suspicion and mistrust will still be potent forces, still likely to act as ferments in the numerous political, colonial, and economic problems of the near future. To find a basis of lasting peace it is necessary to get at the facts, which fall into two categories, according as they are part of the minimum or the maximum program of the different powers:

The minimum program is the truly national program, on which the great majority of the nation is

fully in accord, which the authorities proclaim officially, and which resides in international relations *in normal times*. It is based on the maintenance of the *status quo*, national security, territorial integrity, and freedom of economic expansion. The maximum program is preached by reactionaries, ultra-nationalists, militarists, and in the hotbeds of the most retrograde finance, but is in normal times repudiated by responsible opinion and kept out of international discussions. It is the minimum program that determines the facts, deeds, and intentions of the powers; but when times become abnormal once war is begun, things take a new turn. The maximum program of the different nations was not the cause of the war, but is rather the consequence. The minimum program was not of a nature to bring about or even tend toward war if a morbid international factor had not entered into the discussion.

The States that it is proposed should act as keepers of the peace are fifteen in all: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania, and three yet to be created, Lorraine, Poland, and Palestine, the last a Jewish State as buffer between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain's Egyptian dependency. These fifteen States would have an international armed force, which would preserve all the nations from every bellicose tentative and do away with the instability and insecurity in the relations of the great powers.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS OF THE MONTH

BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LOANS TO GERMANY'S ALLIES

H. R.—Has Germany assisted her allies, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, with loans?

A WAR loan to Turkey was reported on Nov. 21, 1914, of \$50,000,000. Jan. 31, 1915, it was reported that Germany had sent Turkey, in gold, sums amounting to about \$15,000,000. A loan of \$125,000,000 to Austria was reported July 10, 1915, and in October, 1915, a dispatch from Rome stated that Germany had lent the Bulgars \$12,500,000 for the families of reservists, to allay dissatisfaction among the Bulgarian troops. Information in this country as to the finances of the Central Powers is not very full, and there may have been other loans which are not on record here.

THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM

T. M. H.—I have heard, or read, that the United States signed a treaty some time in the thirties to stand by the neutrality of Belgium. If such a treaty was signed can you tell me where and when?

THE United States has never been a signatory to any treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. The treaty of 1839, providing that Belgium should form "an independent State of perpetual neutrality," was signed by Prussia, France, England, Austria, and Russia, as guarantors of a treaty concluded on the same day between the King of the Belgians and the King of the Netherlands. A similar treaty had been signed by the powers in 1831. What the United States signed was The Hague Convention declaring the territory of all neutral powers inviolable.

THE DIFFERENCE

S. J. S.—In a recent issue you state in reply to a question that the United States has never signed any treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, but that the United States was signatory to The Hague Convention declaring the territory of all

neutral powers inviolable. Will you please explain the difference in meaning between these two?

BRIEFLY, the difference between these two statements is the difference between the treaty of 1839, whereby the neighboring powers stood guarantors for the specific neutrality of the Kingdom of Belgium, and the general provisions respecting the rights and duties of all neutral powers in case of war on land, as drawn up by the nations at The Hague Conference of 1907. On April 19, 1839, a treaty was concluded between the King of the Belgians and the King of the Netherlands which contained the following sentence: "Belgium forms an independent State of perpetual neutrality." Of this treaty Prussia, France, England, Austria, and Russia declared themselves guarantors. This is the famous "Treaty of 1839," by which the powers bound themselves to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and Belgium on her part was forbidden in case of war to take the part of any of the belligerents. This treaty, as you see, was not a laying down of general laws, but a specific guarantee of the neutrality, in perpetuity, of one specific country. With this treaty the United States had nothing to do. In 1907, at the Second Hague Conference, the nations drew up the "Convention Respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in Case of War on Land." This convention opens with the general provision that "The territory of neutral powers is inviolable." It proceeds to define such neutrality, calling upon neutral nations to defend their neutrality against violation; but it is not a guarantee of the neutrality of Belgium or of any other specified country, nor does it bind any of its signatories to fight in defense of the neutrality of another power.

THE BRYAN PEACE TREATIES

S. J. S.—Has the United States signed a treaty with any country agreeing not to declare war without giving one year's notice to that effect?

YOU doubtless refer to what are known as the Bryan Peace Treaties, providing for the arbitration of all possible difficulties that may arise between the United States and the other signatory powers. These treaties agree, in all cases of dispute between the signatory nations, to refer the discussion to a commission of inquiry, and not to go to war within a year. They have been signed by France, Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Russia, Greece, China, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Persia, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Panama, Dominican Republic, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Ecuador.

GREECE AND BELGIUM

S. S.—Is there any parallel between the landing of troops by the Allies in Greece and that of the Germans in Belgium? Was a treaty disregarded by the Allies, as in the case of the Germans with Belgium?

S. V. G.—What was the difference between the invasion of Belgium by the Germans and the occupation of Greek territory by the Allies? Was the latter also a violation of neutrality, or had the Allies some other rights or permission for occupation?

THE situation in regard to the Allies in Greece and the occupation of Saloniki is entirely different from the German invasion of Belgium. At the close of the second Balkan war Greece made a treaty with Serbia, under which Serbia acquired certain leasehold rights in Saloniki. In pursuance of these rights the Allies, in Serbia's behalf, applied to the Greek Minister, Venizelos, and were given permission to use that port. Some of the things they have since done have not been strictly in accordance with this treaty, but the Allies certainly had a special right of occupation, granted first by the treaty, and second by the expressed consent of the Greek Prime Minister. The cases of Greece and Belgium are, therefore, not parallel.

ANTWERP

M. J. S.—How was Antwerp defended?

ANTWERP was defended by two chains of strong forts (an inner and an outer circle) and by ramparts. The Belgian Army also made use of an armored train, aeroplanes, and miles of electrified barbed wire.

LEMBERG

M. K.—What was the date of the siege and occupation of Lemberg by the Russians? What is the strategic value of the possession of Lemberg?

THE Russians "began to draw nets around Lemberg" Aug. 29, 1914; they defeated the Austrian forces before Lemberg Aug. 31, and seized the fortified positions around the town Sept. 2. The Russian Army occupied Lemberg Sept. 5, 1914. The Austrians recaptured it in June, 1915, entering the city on June 22.

The importance of the possession of Lemberg is, first, that no campaign against Galicia can be pushed forward by this town while untaken, as an army could not leave such a heavily fortified place in its rear as it moved forward. In the second place, it is a very important railroad centre, as all railroads entering Galicia from the east, all entering from Bukowina, and all from Southern Poland centre here.

FIRST "AIR RAIDS" IN THE WAR

E. S.—Please tell me the date and place of the first air raid in the present war. I remember hearing in Switzerland of an attack made on Frankfort-am-Main about the 8th of August. Was there any prior to this?

THE first report of airships of which we have any record of in this war was from Berlin under date of Aug. 2, 1914, stating merely that "hostile craft" had been seen in the Rhine provinces; another dispatch said that airships had been near Naumburg, in Bavaria. On Aug. 3 a report was published to the effect that a French aviator had dropped bombs on Nuremberg, and that German troops had shot down a French aeroplane near Wesel; also that a French aviator had wrecked a German airship at Longwy. Further reports in the next few days were of German airships seen over Belgium Aug. 4; a duel between Belgian

and German aviators Aug. 6; the destruction of a Russian aeroplane by Austrians Aug. 6. We have no record of "air raids" between that date and Aug. 14, nor have we a record of an attack on Frankfort.

JEWISH ARMY OFFICER

W. B. LEWIS.—Will you kindly let me know whether at the present time there are any Jewish Generals in either the French or German Armies, and which army—French or German—has the greater number of Jewish officers?

THERE is at least one Jewish General in the French Army. There may be more, but that cannot at this time be positively stated. In the American Jewish Year Book for 1916 there is a reference to the fact that the Jewish General Jules Heyman had been made a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. There is no record at the present time of any Jewish General in the German Army. It is impossible to state which army has the greater number of Jewish officers; but it was very difficult for a Jew to become an officer in the German Army before the war broke out, and this difficulty did not exist to any appreciable extent for French Jews. On the other hand, it may be noted that the Jews of France comprise only one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the total population, whereas in Germany they make up almost 1 per cent. You, of course, understand that during the progress of the war it is impossible to obtain detailed, exact, and up-to-date information from time to time as to the possible changes in the existing personnel of the fighting armies.

THE HOHENZOLLERN FAMILY

H. H.—Is not the reigning house of Germany—that is, the house of Hohenzollern—a cadet or younger branch of the original house? Is not the wife of King Manuel of Portugal of an older and higher branch than the reigning German house?

THE Almanach de Gotha sets down the "non-reigning" branch of the house of Hohenzollern as "probably the older," and adds that both lines are "probably descended from the two sons of the marriage of Count Frederick of Zollern with Sophie, daughter of the last Burgrave of the house of the Counts of Raabs," in

1911. The Almanach further states that the founder of the reigning German house of Hohenzollern was Conrad, Count of Zollern, Burgrave of Nürnberg, 1208-1261; and that the founder of the non-reigning branch of the Hohenzollern Princes was Frederick, Count of Zollern and Burgrave of Nürnberg, 1205-1251.

RELIGION OF ROYAL FAMILIES

G. M. STEWART.—What is the religion of the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, and the other royal families of Europe?

THE reigning house of Hohenzollern (the family of the German Emperor) is Protestant Evangelical; the non-reigning house of Hohenzollern is Roman Catholic. The reigning line of Hapsburg-Lorraine in Austria-Hungary is Roman Catholic. The royal family of England is Protestant, the Anglican Church being the established church in that country. The Spanish Bourbons and the Italian House of Savoy are Roman Catholic, the reigning houses of the Scandinavian countries Lutheran, the Netherlands house of Nassau members of the Reformed Church. The Russian Romanoffs and the reigning house of Serbia belong to the Orthodox Eastern Church, and the royal family of Greece is listed in the Almanach de Gotha as "Greek Orthodox."

ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC NOTES

M. R.—Please tell me whether, in replying to one of our notes protesting against the restriction by England of our commerce, England said that changed conditions changed the application of international law, or words to that effect?

IN the British note of July 23, 1915, answering the American communication of March 30, Sir Edward Grey made use of the following sentences:

"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. * * *

"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."

GERMANY'S WAR DEBT

H. R.—The war debt of Germany is, in round figures, about \$8,915,000,000.

NEUTRAL NATIONS AND BELGIUM

L. M.—No neutral nation protested against the invasion of Belgium.

THE BRITISH WAR MINISTRY

R. S. GOODWIN.—The British Coalition Cabinet, as composed at present, is as follows: Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, Herbert Henry Asquith; Lord Privy Seal, Earl Curzon; Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey; Lord High Chancellor, Lord Buckmaster; First President of the Council, Marquess of Crewe; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald McKenna; Home Secretary, Herbert L. Samuel; Colonial Secretary, Andrew Bonar Law; Secretary for War, Earl Kitchener of Khar-toum; Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd George; Secretary for India, Austen Chamberlain; Secretary for Scotland, Thomas McKinnon Wood; First Lord of the Admiralty, Arthur James Balfour; President Board of Trade, Walter Runciman; President Local Government Board, Walter Long; President Board of Education, Arthur Henderson; Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster, Herbert L. Samuel; Postmaster General, Joseph A. Pease; Lord Chancellor for Ireland, Ignatius John O'Brien; President Board of Agriculture and Fish, Earl of Selbourne; First Commissioner of Works, Lewis Harcourt; Minister of War Trade, Lord Robert Cecil.

This also answers the question of B. P. on the same subject.

THE NATIONS' FIGHTING FORCES

E. F. KOHN.—The forces of the belligerents at the outbreak of war were approximately as follows: Germany—

Peace strength, 870,000; reserves, 4,530,000; total war strength, 5,400,000. France—Peace strength, 790,000; reserves, 4,516,507; total war strength, 5,300,000. Russia—Peace strength, 1,384,000; reserves, 4,016,000; total war strength, 5,400,000. Austria-Hungary—Peace strength, 436,035; reserves, 3,163,965; total war strength, 3,600,000. Italy—Peace strength, 306,000; reserves, 2,994,200; total war strength, 3,380,200. Great Britain—Peace strength, 138,497; reserves, 2,743,986; total war strength, 3,000,000. Japan—Peace strength, 250,000; reserves, 1,250,000; total war strength, 1,500,000. Belgium—Peace strength, 58,033; reserves, 291,967; total war strength, 350,000. Bulgaria—Peace strength, 66,583; reserves, 433,417; total war strength, 500,000. Serbia—Peace strength, 38,316; reserves, 317,139; total war strength, 355,455. Turkey—Peace strength, 210,000; reserves, 890,000; total war strength, 1,100,000. Montenegro—Peace strength, 35,000; no reserves. These figures do not include the estimates of unorganized forces based on the figures of the population, nor do they include the colonial armies of the nations possessing such troops.

THE FRENCH COALITION CABINET

B. P.—The French War Ministry, the first Coalition Cabinet of France, is composed as follows: Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand; General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jules Cambon; Vice President of Cabinet and Minister of State, Charles de Freycinet; Minister of War, General J. S. Gallieni; Minister of Justice, Rene Viviani; Minister of the Interior, Louis L. Malvy; Minister of Marine, Rear Admiral Lacaze; Minister of Finance, Alexandre Ribot; Minister of Public Instruction and Inventions Concerning National Defense, Professor Paul Painleve; Minister of Public Works, Marcel Sembat; Minister of Commerce, Etienne Clementel; Minister of the Colonies, Gaston Doumergue; Minister of Labor, Albert Metin; Ministers Without Portfolio, Emile Combes, Leon Bourgeois, Denys Cochin, Jules Guesde; Under Secretary of State,

War, Munitions, Albert Thomas; Under Secretary of State for Subsistence, Joseph Thierry; Under Secretary of State for Sanitary Service, Justin Godart; Under Secretary of State for Marine, Louis Nail; Under Secretary of State for the Fine Arts, Albert Dalimier.

THE FORD PEACE PARTY

PAUL F. FRAHBITO.—A "historical sketch" of the Ford peace party, such as you ask, begins with the hiring of the Scandinavian liner Oscar II. by Henry Ford on Nov. 24, 1915, and Mr. Ford's announcement of his intention to end the war and "get those boys out of the trenches by Christmas." The "peace ship" sailed from New York Dec. 4, and three days later twenty other members of the peace party sailed on the Frederick VII. The ship was held up by the British at Kirkwall Dec. 15. The peace party arrived at Christiansand Dec. 18. On Dec. 21 it was reported here that Ford was ill in Norway following a dispute of the peace delegates over their "platform," and that Sweden had barred a public peace meeting. The "peace plan" was vetoed by Norway on Dec. 22. On Dec. 24 the statement was published here that Ford was about to return to the United States, and on that same day he sailed, leaving the sum of \$270,000 with the committee for the party's use. On Dec. 27 the party, without Ford, reached Stockholm, where they were welcomed, but a statement was received to the effect that no meetings would be allowed in Denmark. A meeting was held in Stockholm, however, on the 28th of December, and on the 30th the Mayor of Stockholm extended the time for the return of the delegates if they were unable to reach The Hague. In Copenhagen, which the party reached Dec. 31, no public meetings for the discussion of the war were allowed, and the party's "propaganda" had to be confined to receptions and the like. Ford himself arrived in New York on Jan. 2. After some uncertainty as to whether or not they would be allowed to pass through German territory, that matter was settled, and the party left for The Hague Jan. 7, arriving there the next day, and

passing easily across German boundaries on their way to the Dutch frontier. A meeting was held at The Hague Jan. 13, and as delegates to the Permanent Peace Board the party elected William Jennings Bryan, Henry Ford, Jane Addams, Dr. George F. Aked, and Mrs. Joseph Fels. The peace party was disbanded Jan. 14, and most of the members sailed for home the next day.

"PACIFIST" AND "PACIFICIST"

ROBERT L. SMITH calls our attention to the fact that, while neither "pacifist" nor "pacificist" appears in the Century Dictionary proper, the latest supplement to the dictionary lists the latter word. "J. F. C." writes that in a recent small edition of the Standard Dictionary, known as the "Desk Standard Dictionary," the word "pacifist," which is not in the large Standard Dictionary itself, appears.

THE DARDANELLES

MISS M. V. F.—The present name of Dardanelles was given to the ancient Hellespont from the two castles that protect the narrowest part of the strait, and that themselves preserve the name of the famous City of Dardanus in the ancient Troad. The name of "Dardanelles" is briefly referred to as having been derived from the name of the City of Dardanus, but the Encyclopaedia Britannica states that it is the twin castles for which the strait is actually named.

"FACIAL SURGERY" IN THE WAR

C. D. RICHARDS.—The department of plastic facial surgery of the American Ambulance in Paris, concerning which you inquire, has been established to treat wounds of the face and jaw and in so far as possible to do away with the mutilations and distortions that would result if such wounds were merely allowed to heal. The department is under the management of Drs. Hayes and Davenport. The French Government has lately given the hospital the use of between three and four hundred beds for these facial patients. Briefly, the surgeons may be said to "rebuild" the faces and jaws of the mutilated soldiers.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

Getting His Back Up



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

Apropos of the Washington-Berlin Submarine Controversy.

The Guard on the Austrian Alps



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

“With Him Intrust Your Loved Tyrol.”

Notes



—From *The New York Times*.

U. S.: "I'd rather hear you playing notes than have you writing them."

At Potsdam

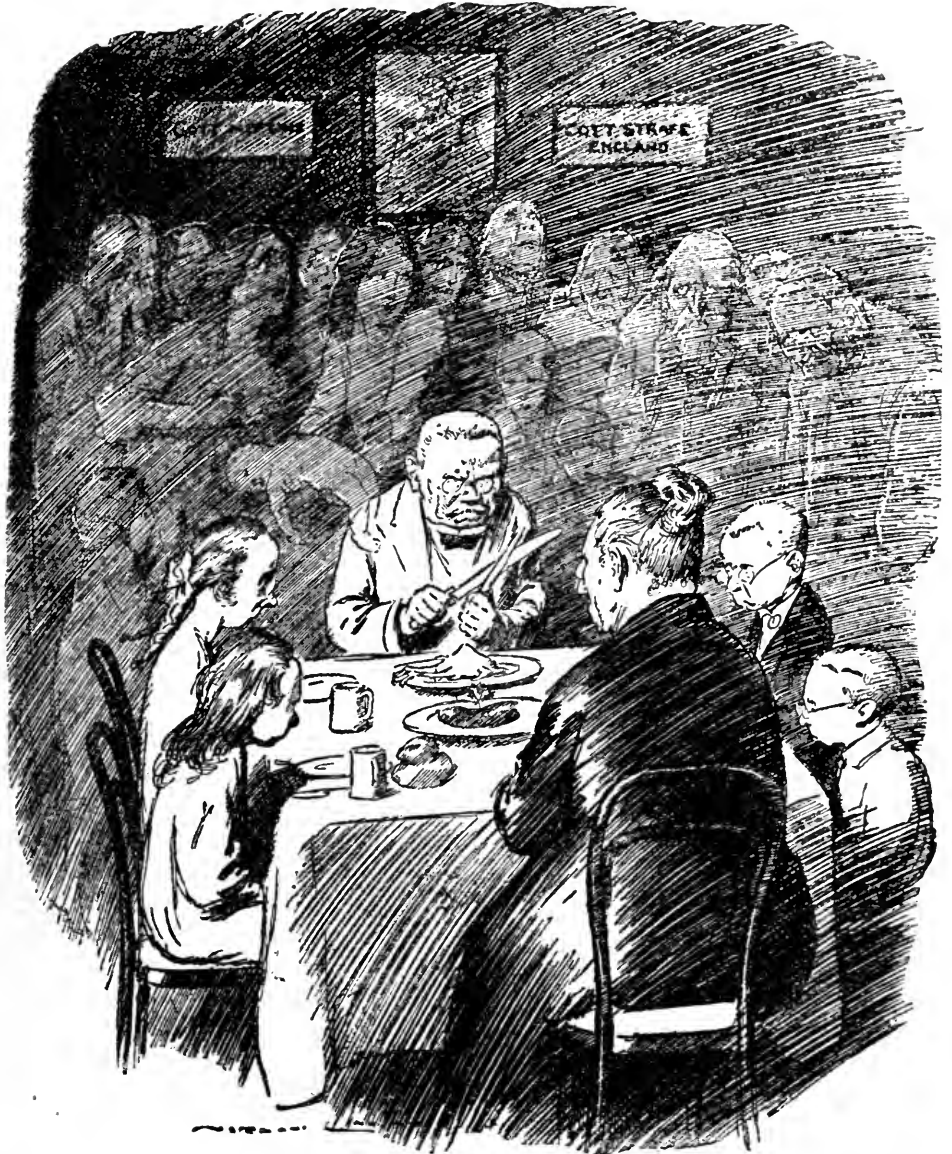


—© Le Rire, Paris.

GERMANY: "What! Has your Majesty come for our Kaiser?"

DEATH: "The idea! Suppress my best provider? I am not so stupid. I have come only to get his orders."

The Uninvited Guests



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

A No-Fat Feast in a German Home.

The Russian Surprise



—L'Asino, Rome.

CHORUS OF THREE: "Imagine! We thought it a small toy!"

The Progress of Culture



The Highwayman of Olden Times



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

—and the Highwayman of Today.

[German Cartoon]

Torturing Greece



—© *Jugend, Munich.*

JOHN BULL: "Give up your neutrality, or I'll break all your bones!"

Holland and Bluebeard



—*De Nieuwe Amsterdamer.*

“You’ll come and join me soon, my pretty—and what a future you’ll have!”

[English Cartoon]

“Reported Missing”

A Cartoon That Cost \$1,000 in Fines



—From *The Bystander*, London.

The sensitiveness of official opinion in England is indicated by the fines amounting to \$1,000 imposed upon the publishers, editor, and cartoonist of *The Bystander* for printing this picture. The court held that it was prejudicial to discipline and recruiting.

[German Cartoon]

The Entente Joy Ride



—© *Lustige Blätter, Berlin.*

Making Rapid Progress—Into the Valley.

Defeat of German Credit



—From *The Montreal Star*.

A victory which may finish the war more quickly than the gun.

A Herod Window



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

Designed à la Kultur.

A Modern Plague



—© *Jugend*, Munich.

The Serbian "invasion" in Corfu.

[German Cartoon]

How London Sees at Night



—© *Fliegende Blätter*, Berlin.

With the Aid of the Policeman's Electric Lamp.

Shortage of Copper in Germany



—From *The Bystander*, London.

GERMAN SOLDIER: "If you please, Herr Major, I have here a man who has refused to give up his wife's saucepan for the Glory of the Empire."

[French Cartoon]

Count Zeppelin



—Pele Mele, Paris.

GERMAN AIR PILOT: "No hospitals, no cathedrals here—pass on!"

The Traitor



—© *Ulk, Berlin.*

JUDAS ISCARIOT: "Here, take my halter, Salandra!"

There's Many a Slip



—From *The New York Sun*.

For Instance: The Möwe.

[German Cartoon]

British Protection From Torpedoes



—© Jugend, Munich.

"Is everything on board?"

"No, Captain, the usual three Americans are not yet on board."

[American Cartoon]

The Sower



—From The Baltimore American.

As ye sow, so shall ye reap.

The Great Housecleaning



—© *Fliegende Blätter*, Berlin.

GERMANIA: "This new brush will clean out the furthest corner."

The Sea of Debt



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

No Rescue in Sight.

Our Lady of Antwerp



—By Louis Raemaekers, Noted Dutch Cartoonist.

The Sorrows of Belgium.

[German Cartoon]

The Sacrifice



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

To the chasm's edge, O Beast, thou brought
Fair Greece, her protests set at naught;
But "dies irae, dies illa,"
Thy doom now cometh, John Gorilla!

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From February 12 Up to and Including
March 12, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Feb. 12—French hold Champagne gains; Germans fall back before French fire at Het Sas and Steenstraete.
- Feb. 13-15—Heavy fighting for Hill 140 in Artois region; Germans gain in the Champagne region between Tahure and Somme-Py.
- Feb. 15-20—Germans repulse the British around Ypres.
- Feb. 21—Heavy artillery fire begun near Verdun.
- Feb. 23—Fierce German offensive eight miles northeast of Verdun, on twenty-five-mile front; Germans pierce line two miles.
- Feb. 24—Germans take Samogneux, six miles from Verdun.
- Feb. 25-28—Fighting around Fort Douaumont, which is finally silenced by the Germans, who also take Champneuville and Côte de Talou.
- Feb. 29—Germans take several villages in the Woevre.
- March 2—Germans resume attack on Verdun; British recapture 800 yards of trenches on the Ypres-Comines Canal.
- March 3—Germans take village of Douaumont; French seize dominating hill.
- March 6—Town of Forges captured by the Germans.
- March 8—French check Germans west of Verdun and retake most of the Corbeaux wood.
- March 11—Germans gain foothold in the town of Vaux.
- March 12—Germans shell Fort Vaux; French offensive west of the Meuse fails.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Feb. 12—Germans take hill in Tsebroff region from the Russians.
- Feb. 16—Russians repulse German attacks on Garbounovka.
- Feb. 18—Germans repulsed on the Dvina River between Jacobstadt and Dvinsk.
- Feb. 22—Russians win skirmishes near Dvinsk and occupy craters in Buczacz region of Galicia.
- March 2—Germans bombard villages in Lake Kanger district.
- March 3-12—Indecisive fighting on all fronts; Russians report victory in many small skirmishes.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Feb. 12—Italians assail heights held by the Austrians northeast of Durazzo; French

cross the Vardar River northwest of Saloniki and hold both banks!

- Feb. 16—Austrian and Bulgarian forces have effected a junction and are fighting Essad Pasha's forces defending Durazzo.
- Feb. 20—Austro-Hungarians advance near Bazar-Szak, northeast of Durazzo and occupy Berat, northeast of Avlona.
- Feb. 25—Durazzo evacuated by Italians; Austrians capture much booty.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Feb. 12—Austrians victorious in artillery combat near Plezzo.
- Feb. 16—Italians repel attacks in the Tofano and Rombon zones.
- Feb. 18—Austrians shell Crosano and Borgo.
- Feb. 20—Italians shell Uggowitz, in the Sugana Valley.
- Feb. 22—Italians conquer zone of Collo and towns of Ranchi and Rocegno in the Sugana Valley.
- March 1—Positions near Marmolada captured by Italians.
- March 12—Italians shell Gorizia and Doberdo Heights.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- Feb. 12—British defeated by Turkish volunteers near Korna, 150 miles south of Kut-el-Amara; Russians win another victory near Khynyskalka in the Caucasus and occupy town of Khopy.
- Feb. 14—Russians capture an Erzerum fort.
- Feb. 15—Another Erzerum fort surrenders to the Russians, making nine now in their hands.
- Feb. 16—Russians capture Erzerum with eighteen forts.
- Feb. 19—Russians occupy Mush and Ablat, south of Erzerum, and capture fleeing Turks.
- Feb. 21—Turks evacuate Bitlis, leaving the entire district of Lake Van in the hands of the Russians.
- Feb. 22—Turks begin evacuation of Trebizond.
- Feb. 25—Russians occupy Bidesurka Pass and Sakhac Pass in Persia; Turks retreat toward Kermanshah.
- Feb. 29—Turks are evacuating Trebizond and neighboring towns on the Black Sea coast.
- March 3—Russians capture Bitlis, southeast of Erzerum.
- March 4—Russians occupy Bijur, in Persia.
- March 8—Russians seize port of Rizeh on the Black Sea and shell Trebizond.

March 12—Russians in Persia occupy Karind.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 12—British repulsed in attack on Sallaita Hill.

Feb. 18—German garrison at Mora yields; Allies' conquest of Kamerun complete.

AERIAL RECORD

Austrian aeroplanes raided Ravenna and neighboring towns in Italy on Feb. 13, killing 15 persons and wounding many. The hospital and basilica of Sant' Apollinare were damaged. On the following day 6 more people were killed in a raid on Milan. In Schio, on the 15th, 6 more persons were killed and many wounded. On the 21st the province of Brescia was raided. Four lives were lost. On the western front the Germans made air attacks on Revigny. A Zeppelin was brought down by the French near Brabant-le-Roi. The French dropped bombs on Mülhausen and on a German munitions factory at Pagny-sur-Moselle. On Feb. 20 a German seaplane raided the Kent and Suffolk coasts of England. Two men and a boy were killed at Lowestoft. The southeast coast was raided on March 1, and a baby was killed. Zeppelins raided the northeast coast on March 5, killing 12 persons and injuring 33.

NAVAL RECORD

The German raider *Möwe* returned to Wilhelmshaven after a raid in which fifteen merchantmen were sunk or seized. She had 199 prisoners and \$250,000 in gold on board.

The S. S. *Maloja* was sunk by a mine off Dover and more than 40 persons were drowned or killed. The tanker *Empress of Fort William* struck another mine while going to the rescue and was blown up.

Six Turkish munition ships were sunk by an allied submarine in the Bosphorus.

In the Mediterranean the French Auxiliary cruiser *La Provence* was sunk by a sub-

marine, with nearly 4,000 men on board, of whom only 870 were saved.

The French S. S. *Louistane* was torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel.

The Norwegian S. S. *Silius*, with seven Americans in the crew, was torpedoed and sunk in Havre Roads. One American was injured.

MISCELLANEOUS

Japan made a strong protest to Germany and Austria against the sinking of the *Yasaku Maru*.

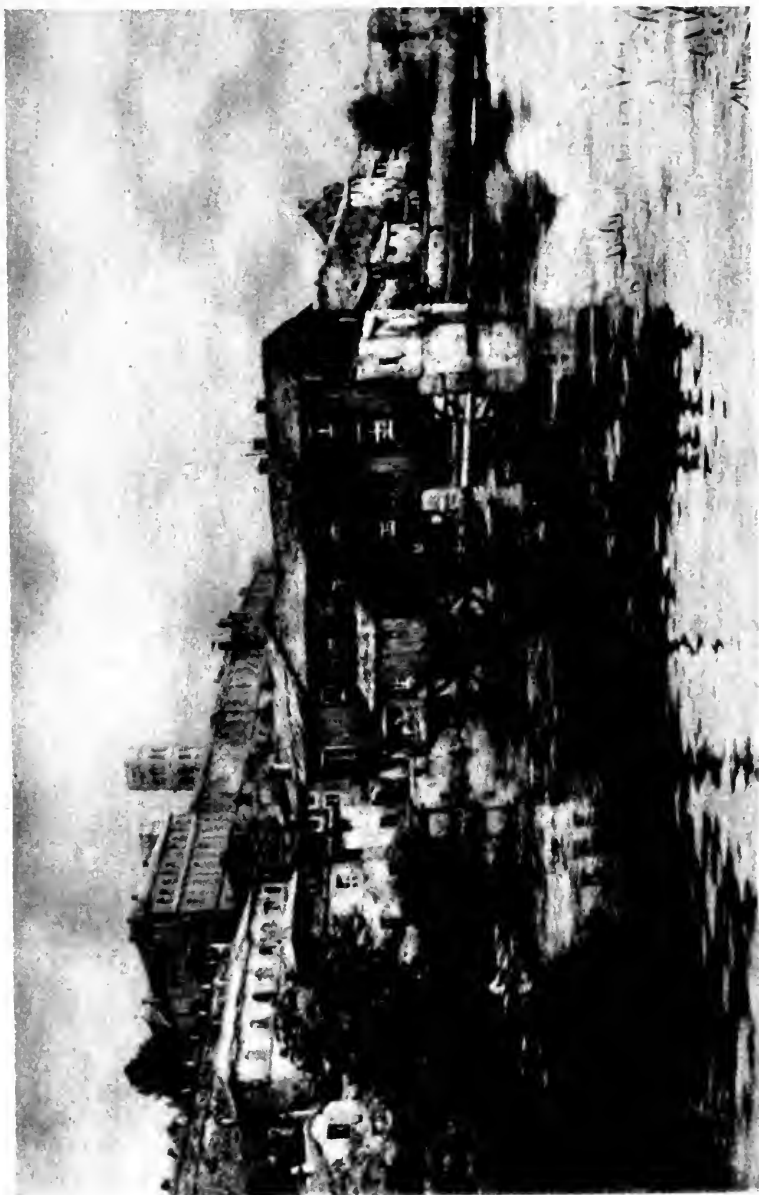
Italy, by a royal proclamation, broke off all trade relations with Germany on Feb. 12. The Italian Government requisitioned thirty-four German ships interned in Italian ports.

Portugal precipitated a crisis with Germany by seizing thirty-six Austrian and German ships in the Tagus River. This was regarded as the culmination of a series of breaches of neutrality and on March 9 Germany issued a declaration of war.

Austria sent an unsatisfactory reply to a protest from the United States Government on the sinking of the Standard Oil tanker, *Petrolite*.

Germany sent a new note to the United States in the *Lusitania* case, agreeing to "recognize" instead of "assume" liability for the sinking, but the settlement of the controversy was held up by the threat of the Teutonic allies to sink armed merchant ships without warning. Following this threat, and the notification of neutral countries, Sweden warned her subjects to keep off armed ships, but President Wilson held that the rights of American citizens should not be abridged. A crisis followed in the American Congress, which ended in a victory for the Administration. On March 8 Germany sent a note to the United States Government charging England with forcing her into submarine warfare and offering to observe international law prevailing before the war if England would do likewise.





VERDUN: THE OLD MILL AND THE BISHOPRIC
Quiet Town in the Centre of the French Fortress, Objective of the
World's Greatest Battle



NEAR THE FRONT AT VERDUN
General Joffre and General Petain in Action--in the Foreground--
After a Conference

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

A DIPLOMATIC CRISIS

MOST important of all the war developments of the month—for the United States, at least—has been the increasingly acute strain in our diplomatic relations with Germany, due to the submarine issue. At this writing (April 19) President Wilson has called a joint session of both houses of Congress in order to make a frank statement of the critical situation and of the contents of the decisive note which he is about to send to Germany. After reciting the long list of cases in which rights of neutrals and pledges to the United States have been violated by German submarines the President's note will practically compel the German Government to choose between two divergent courses: It must either modify its present submarine methods or suffer a break in its friendly relations with the United States. At the present moment a break seems imminent. The President's speech, the note, and the other official documents in the case will be published in full in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

* * *

SUBMARINE OFFENSES

THE imperiling of American lives on the Channel steamer *Sussex* is only one item in the long series of illegal and inhumane acts of German submarines against the most fundamental rights of neutrals. President Wilson has taken his stand upon the issue in this broader sense, laying down the principles of international law and humanity whose further infringement will be regarded by

America as an unfriendly act entailing severance of diplomatic relations.

As this means a radical change in the whole conduct of submarine warfare, and as the submarine is Germany's most effective arm against British sea power, the point is one which the Germans will be loath to concede. Yet the breaking of diplomatic relations with the United States would be no slight matter. At the present time our nation happens to be the most wealthy and prosperous in the world, and the millions of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians living here possess their share of this wealth, and are sending large sums to their relatives in Europe. If we should break off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers this stream of wealth would cease to flow, and millions of Teutons, especially Austro-Hungarians, would be among the first to suffer. This is why the newspapers of Budapest have long been voicing the fear that German ruthlessness would estrange America, and have been warning their own Government not to drift into Germany's desperate state of mind. The possible effect upon German-American trade after the war also is an item which even Germany cannot well afford to leave unconsidered.

* * *

THE FALL OF TREBIZOND

THE capture of Trebizond, the most important Turkish city on the Black Sea, marks another important step in Russia's historic campaign in Asia Minor. After a sanguinary battle at Kara Dere on April 14 the Grand Duke's troops broke through the fierce resist-

ance of the Turks and, with the co-operation of the Russian Black Sea fleet, fought their way three days later into the fortified city of Trebizond. With this strongest point on the Anatolian coast in Russian hands, the menace to the back door of Constantinople becomes more imminent.

* * *

WAR COUNCIL IN PARIS

NEVER perhaps have deliberations so important been so carefully guarded from the public as those of the war conference of the Entente allies in Paris on March 27 and 28. The thirty-seven persons who took part included the chief Ministers of all the eight allied nations except Russia, and even Russia was represented by her Ambassador to France. Premier Briand of France presided, and among the more influential members were General Joffre, Premier Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Kitchener, General Roques, and General Castelnau; Premier Salandra of Italy, with Baron Sonnino, Signor Tittoni, and General Cadorna; M. Isvolsky, Russian Ambassador to France; Mr. Matsui, Japanese Ambassador to France, besides the official representatives of Serbia, Belgium, and Portugal.

History tells of many great congresses and war councils, but a conference of eight allied States, five of them great powers, in the supreme phase of a world war is a new thing; and new also are the spirit and purpose of the meeting in Paris. It was in essence a business meeting for co-ordinating all the means to victory, including the formulation of a plan for a punitive fiscal system to be used against Germany both during and after the war. It is not improbable that hundreds, if not thousands, of books written in the coming decades will hark back to the Paris Conference for the shaping of their themes.

* * *

CEMENTING ENTENTE UNITY

ALL that the world is allowed at present to know of what the Entente leaders at Paris decided to do in the way of a common military and economic policy is contained in the brief resolutions

given below. The main significance of this utterance, unanimously adopted, is its proof of unity. The resolutions are as follows:

1. The representatives of the allied Governments assembled in Paris on the 27th and 28th of March, 1916, affirm the entire community of views and solidarity of the Allies. They confirm all the measures taken to realize unity of action and unity of front. By this they mean at once military unity of action, as assured by the agreement concluded between the General Staffs, economic unity of action, the organization of which has been settled by the present conference; and diplomatic unity of action, which is guaranteed by their unshakable determination to pursue the struggle to the victory of their common cause.

2. The allied Governments decide to put into practice in the economic domain their solidarity of views and interests. They charge the Economic Conference, which will be shortly held in Paris, to propose to them measures adapted to realize this solidarity.

3. With a view to strengthening, co-ordinating, and unifying the economic action to be exercised in order to prevent supplies from reaching the enemy, the conference decides to establish in Paris a permanent committee upon which all the Allies will be represented.

4. The conference decides:

(a) To continue the organization begun in London of a Central Bureau of Freights.

(b) To take common action with the shortest possible delay with a view to discovering the practical methods to be employed for equitably distributing between the allied nations the burdens resulting from maritime transport and for putting a stop to the rise in freights.

* * *

PER CAPITA COST OF WAR

THE official publication of the French Army contains an important computation showing that the present annual per capita cost of the war to the Powers named is as follows:

| Country. | Population. | Total annual cost. | Amount per head. |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Turkey | 20,090,000 | £40,000,000 | £1.92 |
| Italy | 34,685,653 | 120,000,000 | 3.68 |
| France | 39,691,599 | 800,000,000 | 20.4 |
| England | 44,177,000 | 1,240,000,000 | 27.88 |
| Austria | 51,399,000 | 560,000,000 | 10.72 |
| Germany | 66,835,000 | 1,500,000,000 | 22.4 |
| Russia | 131,230,500 | 740,000,000 | 5.68 |

The cost per annum to run the Government of the United States in 1915 was, in round numbers, \$725,000,000. Estimating our population at 100,000,000, this is \$7.25 per capita per annum. Therefore, the war at present is costing England alone nearly twenty times as much as the

total expense of the United States Government per annum. In fact, we are conducting Government for 100,000,000 people for less than *one-fiftieth* of what the war is costing each person in England, France, and Germany.

* * *

INSURANCE AGAINST BOMBS

THE British Government now sells regular insurance to its citizens against property damage caused by Zeppelins and aeroplanes; also against the falling fragments of shells sent into the sky by anti-aircraft guns. Against aircraft alone the rate on private dwellings and their contents is 2s. per £100; on all other buildings and their rents, 3s.; on farming stocks, live and dead, 3s.; on contents of shops, factories, &c., 5s.; on merchandise in transit or in public warehouses, timber in the open, oil tanks and the like, 7s. 6d. Insurance against both aircraft and bombardment costs about 50 per cent. more. Premiums are the same for every part of the United Kingdom, and the Government insurance can be obtained through the ordinary fire insurance companies or at the War Risks Insurance Office in London.

* * *

WAR DECREASES CRIME

OFFICIAL reports for England and Wales in 1915 show an increase of 3.9 per 1,000 in the marriage rate, but a decrease of 3.6 per 1,000 in the birth rate. The death rate showed an increase of 0.7 per 1,000 in 1915. While the war reduces the birth rate, it also decreases crime. The report of the English Commission of Prisons for 1915 shows that twenty prisons were closed or are in process of closure, eleven having been closed entirely. Between the years 1904-5 and 1913-14 total convictions decreased from 586 per 100,000 population to 369; in the year ended March, 1915, it dropped to 281 per 100,000; the year 1915-16 will show a much further drop. The English prison estimates for 1916 are \$500,000, or 12 per cent. below the previous estimate. The decrease in crime is ascribed to (1) the drafting into the army of a considerable section of the population from which the criminals usually come, (2) the increased

and new demands for remunerative labor, and (3) the restriction of the liquor traffic.

* * *

CHANGES OF LEADERSHIP

WITHIN a period of eighteen days France, Russia, and Italy have changed their War Ministers. In France General Gallieni, who won fame as military Governor of Paris during the Marne battle, retired, and his portfolio was intrusted to General Charles Roques. In Italy General Zupeli resigned, King Victor Emmanuel appointing General Paolo Morrone to succeed him. In Russia General Polivanoff was dismissed by the Czar, and General Shuvaieff placed at the post of Minister of War. Another notable change took place in Russia with the retirement of General N. I. Ivanoff from command of the Russia armies in Galicia and Volhynia—sometimes known as the southern front in contrast to the northern front commanded by the recently appointed General Kuropatkin. The chief command of the southern front is now in the hands of General A. A. Brusiloff, a brilliant leader, who was responsible for the initial Russian successes in Galicia, and whose knowledge of the terrain of the Volhynian and Bessarabian fronts is said to be as complete as von Hindenburg's knowledge of his "lakes." It would appear from these nearly simultaneous changes in the high military administration that the long-awaited allied offensive is approaching.

* * *

WOMEN AND WAR

THE industrial revolution wrought in Europe by the entrance of women into occupations heretofore closed against them is rapidly developing. The situation in England was treated in April CURRENT HISTORY; the situation in Germany and France is treated elsewhere in this issue. Women workers in Berlin are estimated at 900,000, of whom 300,000 are skilled, and are represented in all industries. Women are doing laborers' work at Berlin as shovelers and diggers on the new subway construction there, and have replaced the men as street cleaners; they serve as

conductors on trams and trains, as chauffeurs on taxis, as mail carriers, messengers, &c. In London the number of women mail carriers has been increased from 500 to 1,000. In France they are serving in all capacities, the latest employment being that of garrisons in the place of soldiers of the auxiliary service. The French drafts of the 1888 military class will be limited, so that professional men may continue to attend to their duties, and this will give employment to the widows, mothers, and sisters of soldiers killed.

* * *

UNPRECEDENTED LOSSES

A COMPARISON of official figures of our civil war with casualty reports of the German armies demonstrates the sanguinary character of the present war. Americans generally assume that we fought the bloodiest war in history: that fratricidal strife arouses the fiercest passions and, anyway, "that Americans shoot straighter and kill quicker than any other race." But they are entirely wrong.

The official figures of German losses in the present war show that their fatalities on the field were more than double our own during the civil war. In other words, they either dared twice as much, or the French, English, Russians, and Belgians shot twice as straight as Americans.

The British Official Press Bureau reports the German casualties during February, 1916, at 35,198, of whom 10,211 were killed or died either of wounds or sickness; 2,017 missing, 5,217 severely wounded, 1,340 prisoners, 11,865 slightly wounded. The German casualties during March, including the slaughter at Verdun and the sanguinary struggles in the eastern theatre, are estimated at 175,000. This estimate, added to the previous reports, swells the German losses since the beginning of the war—including all German nationalities: Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Württembergers, but excluding naval and colonial casualties—to the grand total of 2,842,372, of which number about 660,000 were killed and died of wounds, 40,000

died of sickness, 120,000 are prisoners, 220,000 are missing, 365,000 are severely wounded, 265,000 wounded, about 1,050,000 slightly wounded, 140,000 wounded remaining with units. The number killed in action, estimating one-half the missing as killed, is over 25 per cent. of the total.

The total casualties among United States troops in the four years of the civil war were 877,165, including 212,608 captured, 16,431 paroled on the field, 199,720 died of disease, 40,154 died in Confederate prisons or killed by accident, murder, and other causes, also 199,105 reported as deserters in the four years. Of this total 67,058 were killed in battle and 43,012 died of wounds, being a total of 110,070, or less than 12½ per cent., a little less than one-half the total German fatalities on the field.

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"CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS"

UNDER the British Conscription act, which applies to unmarried men, exemption from military service may be claimed if the applicant can show that he has a "conscientious objection" to fighting. To judge from the reports of proceedings before the tribunals set up to hear the claims of "conscientious objectors," the law is more honored in the breach than in the observance. Members of certain religious bodies, such as the Society of Friends, have been granted absolute exemption; but men who are only humanitarians, pacifists, and anti-war Socialists without belonging to similar religious denominations have been treated with extreme severity by the tribunals.

Here are a few examples: At the Oldbury Tribunal a "conscientious objector" was told that all he possessed was cowardice and insolence. At Port Talbot a member of the tribunal defined a conscientious objector as "a man trying to save his own skin." Another applicant was told that he was a traitor and "only fit to be on the point of a German bayonet." At Huddersfield two Socialists were granted exemption from noncombatant services only, absolute exemption being refused because they

would "hinder recruiting if left." At the Shaw Tribunal a conscientious objector was told: "You are exploiting God to save your own skin. It is nothing but deliberate and rank blasphemy. You are nothing but a shivering mass of unwholesome fat." At Birmingham an applicant said, "It is against Christ's commands to go and fight," whereupon the military representative exclaimed, "Filled up with the madness of insane views!" The great majority of conscientious objectors make no distinction between combatant and noncombatant military duties. This was the stated intention of the Government when the Conscription act was passed, but the tribunals have, with few exceptions, imposed noncombatant service on conscientious objectors even where applicants have made it abundantly clear that this fails to meet their objection to participation in the war. The Government has apparently decided to ignore the law.

* * *

BRITAIN'S NEW BLOCKADE

A NEW British Order in Council, issued March 30, undertakes to tighten the blockade against Germany by abolishing the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband and applying the doctrine of continuous voyage to both alike. In the words of Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of War Trade: "In future everything passing through British waters on the way to Germany, whether listed as absolute or conditional contraband, is subject to seizure." This applies to cargoes bound from one neutral port to another and to all international mails, which are now being seized and taken to London to be searched for articles whose ultimate destination is believed to be Germany.

The new policy not only ignores Article 19 of the Declaration of London, which provides that "whatever may be the ultimate destination of a vessel or of her cargo, she cannot be captured for breach of blockade if, at the moment, she is on her way to a nonblockaded port," but it also arbitrarily annuls Article 35, which provides that the doctrine of continuous voyage is not appli-

cable to conditional contraband. As the new decree is made retroactive, and as the original Order in Council of Oct. 29, 1914, had definitely ratified Article 35, the change entails unexpected hardships upon American shippers and places a new and serious handicap upon the trade of all neutral nations.

In a recent interview Lord Robert Cecil undertook to justify his Government's new sea policy on the ground that the former distinction between absolute and conditional contraband has vanished since the German Government has taken over the control of all important commodities and is using them for military and civil purposes combined. The degree of patience with which the American shipper will endure this new exercise of British sea power will depend largely upon the still greater extent to which he disapproves of German war methods.

* * *

A PROTEST AND THE REPLY

THE United States Government at once filed a protest through Ambassador Page against the removal of mails from neutral ships, and especially against their detention and delay. The protest added that the American Government was inclined to consider parcel post shipments as subject to the same treatment as goods sent by freight or express.

To this communication the Entente Allies made a joint reply, on April 3, through the British Ambassador at Washington, asserting their right to search general mail, but making no mention of the matter of delay and interference. The main point insisted upon was that the "inviolability" guaranteed to mails by The Hague Convention No. 11 cannot be regarded as curtailing in any degree "the right of the allied Governments to visit and, if need be, stop and seize the goods which are deposited falsely in the covers, envelopes, or letters contained in mail sacks." It could not be applied, in short, to merchandise sent by parcel post. In the words of the official reply:

Such parcels can in no circumstances be considered as letters, correspondence, or dispatches, and it is clear that nothing can save them from the exercise of the rights

of police control, visit, and eventual seizure which belong to the belligerents on the high seas in regard to all cargoes. Among other numerous examples, it will be sufficient to quote 1,302 parcel post packages containing 437,510 kilograms of rubber for Hamburg * * * or, again, 69 parcels containing 400 revolvers for Germany via Amsterdam.

The comment of London newspapers upon the American protest is that last

year Germany sank twelve mail-carrying liners without warning, sending to the bottom not only parcels, but letters, which The Hague Convention declared inviolable; yet not a single neutral Government protested. "Why should Germany be allowed to steal a horse"—thus runs the British comment—"and we be criticised for looking over the hedge?"

Interpretations of World Events

Verdun and French Defensive Tactics

FOR more than two months the battle of Verdun has raged almost ceaselessly day and night. It is conceded that Germany has concentrated picked troops and heavy guns in quantities never before seen in war. Yet, apart from the first withdrawal of General Petain's army from outlying positions to its definite lines of defense, the two months' fighting has not given the attacking forces a gain of two miles. It is instantly evident that, much as has been written, and eloquently written, concerning the great battle, the essential thing has not been written yet, has not been disclosed at all—the secret, that is, of France's defensive tactics.

The problem is this: Germany masses on a single spot the fire of numberless guns, from her 77s to the great 12-inch mortars with their huge charges of high explosives, and continues this fire on a single spot, whether near Vaux or close to Douaumont or on the front of le Mort Homme. It would seem that such a deluge of fire and death must not only annihilate the defenders in the trenches, but must even tear up the earth to many feet in depth, and something like this seems to be the case.

Then the bombarded area is soaked with chlorine gas and strong fuming ammonia, deadly to lungs and eyes alike, and, after this tremendous preparation, the German legions charge in heavy columns with extraordinary energy.

What happens? Has the preparation in fact disorganized or annihilated the

French defense? Not a bit. Immediately the oncoming Teutons are met with the famous "curtain of fire," largely a dense hail of bullets from shrapnel, timed to explode a score of yards or more before their faces; and, if a remnant succeeds in getting past, they are met by furious bayonet charges; where the assailants manage to seize a bit of trench they are quickly counterattacked and generally driven out again. Thus it comes that two months of furious assault have not given two miles of advantage.

The mystery, then, is this: First, where were the famous French 75s while the German preparation was going on? Next, from what skillfully hidden points were the French mitrailleuses, that is, machine guns or pompoms, able to pour a deadly hail upon the charging Germans? And, thirdly, where did General Petain hide the men who made the gallant countercharges? The events at Liège, Namur, and Maubeuge demonstrated that the old-time forts of steel cupolas and reinforced concrete were worse than useless against the big Skoda mortars; Antwerp reinforced the same lesson; and the steel forts about Verdun seem to have been practically abandoned, as at Vaux. The unanswered question is, What have the French discovered to take their place? Here is an intellectual victory that may make possible a real decision on the field of battle, for it seems certain that the attacking Germans are losing at least three men for each one lost by the French. From the beginning General Joffre has been very economical with his men, and the result is beginning to tell, and will tell every day now with increas-

ing force. The question is, How is General Joffre able to do this and yet not lose ground?

Germany's Submarine Blockade

LEAVING aside all questions of international law and the rights of non-combatants and neutrals, it is evident that the present epidemic of submarine attacks bears a very close resemblance to what took place a year ago, when the first great series of attacks took place. At first, every day brought news of the sinking of liners, whether passenger ships or merchant vessels. Then little by little the successful attacks began to dwindle, until they practically ceased. It was learned afterward that the reason was that the allied fleets had discovered the countermove which seems to have been not so much a use of steel fishing-nets as a systematic pursuit of the submarines, based on certain principles. One of these was that even while beneath the surface the submarine makes a kind of wake or track, visible from above by aeroplane observers; another was the fact that, just as a whale must come up to breathe, so the submarine, when the energy of her electric storage batteries is used up, must come to the surface to recharge them again by the use of dynamos, driven by gasoline engines. Assume that the electric energy will carry the submarine a dozen miles. If a submarine is observed to submerge at a given spot, it becomes certain that, whale-like, she must come up again somewhere on the circumference of a circle with a twelve-mile radius, and fast torpedo boats, scouting along the rim of this circle, have a fair chance to pick her up and sink her. And it seems that in this way great numbers of German submarines were in fact sunk, while others, perhaps, were enmeshed in the somewhat problematical steel nets. So it happened that there was a long lull in submarine warfare. During this lull, German inventors seem to have perfected a new submarine which probably has very much larger electric storage capacity, and so are able to run much longer distances without coming up to "breathe."

Therefore the torpedo boats can no longer pick them up and sink them, so the work of destruction of which we have, during the last two months, been witnesses, goes on. Yet every move has its countermove, and it is only a question of weeks until the Allies divine the counterstroke to the new German submarine, when we shall once more have a lull in the sinking of ships, another "interval" in submarine warfare. In war the important thing to remember is that for every attack there is an adequate defense, if it can only be found out.

From Trebizond to Bagdad

IT will be remembered that Xenophon and the Ten Thousand emerged from their long march among the Armenian mountains at Trebizond; here it was that, greeting the sea, they cried out: "Thalassa! Thalassa!" Do we equally remember that they had come almost direct from Bagdad, up the Tigris Valley, then across the headwaters of the Euphrates, and so, by the very road which the Russian forces are now following, from Erzerum to the sea? So that, in order to obtain an accurate chart of their route, the Russian forces have only to read the later chapters of the Anabasis backward and to translate parasangs into versts.

The importance of Trebizond to the Russians is obvious. They already have several considerable groups of men operating in the general area covered by Xenophon's army, and ought to have more. But to keep these troops supplied, whether by the Caspian Sea, Enseli, and Teheran, or by the route through Kars and over the high passes of the Caucasus, is extremely difficult. The one easy road is the old caravan line from Trebizond to Erzerum and thence down the Tigris Valley to Bagdad. This necessity is the key to the various scattered operations of the Russian forces, from within a few miles east of Trebizond, where Russian forces are approaching the Turkish seaport along the shore of the Black Sea from the Russian Caucasus, or in the direction of Erzingian, or as far south as Bitlis. All these points are on the caravan road, and the

Turks are seeking, with new forces sent up from Constantinople, to destroy the open line of communication, which Russia, for exactly the same strategic reasons, is working to maintain and defend. We may expect that, once the Russian troops enter the open valley of the Tigris, their advance will be rapid, synchronizing with the descent of General Baratoff's forces, doubtless greatly strengthened, from the foothills of the Persian boundary mountain chain.

Kuropatkin's Strategy on the Dwina

GENERAL KUROPATKIN, acting under the inspiration of General Alexeieff and the Russian General Staff, has probably had two objectives in his recent aggressive action along the lower Dwina, from Dwinsk to Riga. The most obvious has been to draw eastward as many German troops as possible, who might otherwise be available against Verdun; just as, in August, 1914, General Samsonoff and General Rennenkampf were sent to Prussia, and did in fact succeed in drawing eastward two army corps that had been destined for the attack on Paris. But General Kuropatkin evidently had another and more immediate object. The Dwina flows along a low, flat valley, which, when the snows melt in Spring, is almost always inundated to a considerable width, this flooded area being precisely the zone of the eastern battle front. On either side, at some little distance from the river, the land rises into what may almost be called plateaus. On the western plateau the Germans held positions of considerable importance, and Kuropatkin's objective seems to have been to get a firm footing on the rim of this German-held plateau, so that he might, when the floods ebb, begin an advance movement from that point, thus very effectively forestalling any German offensive by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, his opponent. The German purpose was exactly opposite—to get to the eastern, Russian side of the flat river valley before the floods came down, and so to be in a position to begin a new advance movement, which may have, at least as its theoretical goal, the capture of Petrograd; but it is doubtful that

Hindenburg at present seriously believes in any such move as that.

The Serbian Army Re-enters the War

WHEN French warships recently occupied the island of Corfu, on the west coast of Greece toward Albania, they had two objects in view. The first and more immediately pressing was to smoke out the bases for submarines which the Teutonic powers had established in the little frequented bays of the island, and from which had proceeded some of the sensational submarine raids on ships passing through the Mediterranean. The second and more considerable aim was to provide a base for the recuperation and refitting of the Serbian Army, or that part of it which, having eluded its Bulgarian and Teutonic adversaries, had fought its way through the hostile Albanian hills and had embarked, under cover of Italian forces, at Durazzo and Valona. These troops, probably more than 120,000 in number, are now once more fit to enter the field. There arises the problem of transporting them to Saloniki. To carry them by water all the way would be to invite attacks by Teutonic and Turkish submarines, several of which are believed to be lurking among the bays of the Morea, receiving supplies from the Teutophile friends of Queen Sophia. Therefore the Allies have, it would appear, determined to carry them by ship only as far as Patras, on the south shore of the Gulf of Corinth, and thence by rail to Athens, to be re-embarked at Piraeus and at the terminus of the railroad at the extremity of the peninsula of Attica. This determination places Greece in a difficult position, between the formidable, if distant, threats of the Central Empires and the immediate pressure of the Entente Powers, who are on the spot, and who command every Greek port with their warships. Premier Skouloudis energetically protests, but the Entente Powers have a threefold answer: first, that his Government has a defective standing on the basis of the Greek Constitution, and does not really represent the will of the Greek Nation; second, that the treaty which created modern Greece provides for in-

tervention by Russia, France, and England, when, in their judgment, it becomes necessary; and, third, that the failure of Greece to keep her treaty pledge to Serbia makes it morally incumbent on Greece to do all in her power to repair the consequent damage to Serbian interests; and this would without doubt include giving all possible aid to the recuperated and renewed Serbian Army. The addition of 120,000 Serbians will seemingly raise the total of Entente forces at Saloniki to not less than 350,000 men.

The Italian Battle Front

THE Italians and Austrians continue to hammer each other across the valleys of the Trentino and Sugana, and along the gray, barren edge of the Carso uplands, a wilderness of treeless limestone where hardly anything grows but a few stunted tufts of heath. In itself the Carso is quite worthless; its only value is that it is the front door of Trieste, or perhaps one should say the outer wall, which must be passed before Trieste, with its 150,000 Italian inhabitants, can be reached. A large part of the coveted Trentino is hardly more inviting than the Carso; so much so that the greatest of all Italians, Dante, chose a characteristic piece of Trentino landscape as a simile for the seventh circle of Hell: The place to which we came, he writes in the Twelfth Canto, in order to descend the bank, was Alpine, and such, from what was there besides, that every eye would shun it. As is the ruin, which struck the Adige in its flank, on this (southern) side Trent, caused by earthquake or by defective prop, for, from the summit of the mountain whence it moved to the plain, the rock is shattered so that it might give some passage. It is this wilderness of shattered rock in the tongue of the Trentino that forms the most hotly contested territory on the Italian line. The Italians seem to be making headway, though at an almost inappreciable rate; and, though they entered the war just a year ago, on May 22, they have as yet reached none of their three chief objectives: Trent,

Gorizia, Trieste, though none of the three lies many miles beyond the Italian frontier. The nature of the ground may account in part for the slowness of this advance; the immense strength of modern defensive warfare may account for another part; but undoubtedly the conservative strategy of General Count Cadorna is the dominating cause.

The Indian Moslems and the Holy War

IT will be remembered that about the time Turkey became involved in the war a telegram was published as having been sent from Kaiser Wilhelm to the Crown Prince announcing with evident satisfaction that the supreme Moslem authorities at Constantinople had given their sanction to the declaration of a Holy War against Russia, England, and France "as oppressors of the Moslems." At one time it looked as though the aspirations implied by this message might be carried out. There was a mutiny at Singapore in which Moslem troops were implicated; there were outbreaks in the Italian Tripolitana and among the Senoussi tribesmen on the western border of Egypt; there was at least a threat against the Suez Canal, from the direction of Beersheba, and there was, or seemed to be, the possibility of a pro-German uprising in Persia. The advance of the Russians from the Caspian has dissipated this last possibility; the Suez Canal is no longer even threatened; the Senoussi have given their submission. Finally, from India, from Sultan Mohammed Aga Khan, who is the spiritual head of the many million Moslems in India, comes a declaration which shows that the hopes of a holy war, as it seems to have been expected in Germany, were never anything more than a myth. The conviction on which these hopes rested never had any reality. The spiritual potentate of India proclaims that the attempts by German gold to stir up religious ill-feeling among the Indian Moslems have been perfectly fruitless. The Indian Mohammedian troops cheerfully fight their Turkish co-religionists in Mesopotamia or Gallipoli "just as fellow-Christians kill each other in France." There is,

perhaps, just a touch of satire in that; but there is entire sincerity and truth in the statement that India, as a whole, understands and appreciates the benefits of English rule.

The Air Raid on Constantinople

WHILE the Russians are making steady if slow headway in a campaign which must lead them ultimately to the back door of Constantinople, the forces of Britain and France are beginning a more active movement directed toward the front door, and their airmen are already dropping bombs on the roof of Constantine's city. On the evening of Friday, April 14, a daring English airman, Flight Commander J. R. W. Smyth-Pigott, led a raid of three naval aeroplanes, which dropped bombs on the Zeitunlik powder mills, in the northern outskirts of Pera, the suburb immediately north of the Golden Horn. The flight, going and coming, amounted to 300 milles, the record for a raid of this kind; the previous record, from Nancy to Stuttgart and return, 240 miles, being held by a Fenchman. The base of this new raid forms an interesting subject for conjecture. Obviously, it was not Saloniki, which is 300 miles from Constantinople, or 600 for the round trip. Nor is there any land base in possession of the Entente Allies within 150 miles of Stamboul. The nearest is Imbros, which is nearly 170 miles from the Golden Horn. It will follow, therefore, if the figures quoted are correct, that the three attacking aeroplanes set out from and returned to a sea-base, an Entente warship, anchored somewhere on the Gulf of Saros, between the Gallipoli Peninsula and the southern coast of Bulgaria. This would give the 300 miles exactly.

This is not the only point of the Turkish war area in which the Entente aeroplanes have been very active. All through the first week of April there were air contests along the strongly defended line before Saloniki, and on April 12 and 13 Entente aeroplanes, twenty-three in number, rained down bombs on the Teutonic base at Guevgheli

and bombarded the Bulgarian camp at Bogoroditsa. The Bulgaro-Teutonic forces were also active in the air, probably foreshadowing more serious fighting in that region.

The Russian Forces in Persia

AFTER moving with astonishing rapidity the Russian forces in Persia seem to have come to a halt; the predicted descent on Bagdad hangs fire. It was at the end of last October that a Russian force, numbering in all not more than 24,000 men, was landed by transports at Enseli on the southern (Persian) shore of the Caspian Sea. Enseli is only eighty miles from the nearest port in the Russian Caucasus, or some half dozen hours by steamship. It is also close to Resht, which is connected by good and accessible roads with Teheran, the Persian capital. This Russian force advanced by rapid marches to Kasbin, which is about half way by road from Resht to Teheran. At that time the German envoy, Prince Henry of Reuss, had the Shah under his thumb and was persuading his Majesty to fly from Teheran and the approaching Russians. When the Russian advance guard of 4,000 reached Yeng-Iman, fifty miles from the Persian capital, Prince Henry began to pack, and when the first thousand Russians entered Herej, twenty-five miles from Teheran, on Nov. 14, Prince Henry departed, leaving the Shah behind. General Baratoff, the Russian commander of this expeditionary force, had thus only 24,000 men, hardly more than one division, to start with; with these he effectively occupied half a dozen Persian cities, of which Teheran, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Kermanshah are the most important. It follows that he has only some 12,000 men free for the descent from the frontier mountain terraces of Persia upon the plain of the Tigris and Bagdad, and 12,000 men are not enough. The cause of the Russian delay is thus made clear—more men, more munitions must first be sent from the Caucasus to Enseli and Resht, and thence, over caravan roads, to the front, beyond Kermanshah. And this takes time.

BERNARD SHAW ON IRELAND AND GERMANY

The two articles printed below are Mr. Shaw's first important contribution to the literature of the war since his famous essay, "Common Sense About the War," which appeared in the first issue of CURRENT HISTORY. The present articles are published here by arrangement with THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Irish Nonsense About Ireland

By George Bernard Shaw

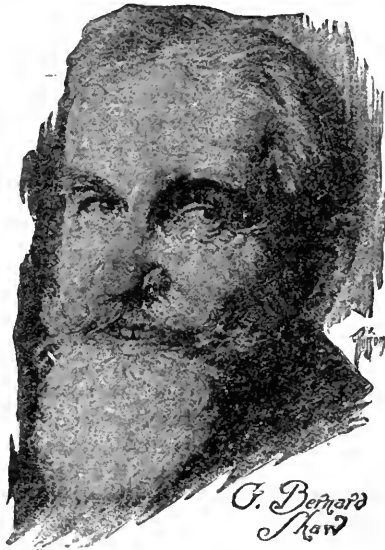
(Copyright, 1916, by George Bernard Shaw)

THERE has come into my hands, from a quarter it was not meant to reach, a certain address "To the Men and Women of the Irish Race in America," which is so typical of the stuff which gives its title to this article that I feel moved, in the interests of my unfortunate countrymen in Ireland, to offer America a piece of my mind concerning it. As an Irishman, I have been familiar with Irish patriotic rhetoric all my life. Personally, I have no use for it, because I always wanted to get things done and not to let myself go for the satisfaction of my temper and the encouragement of my already excessive national self-conceit. I have seen it going out of fashion with the greatest relief.

When something like an Irish national theatre was established in Abbey Street, Dublin, and a genuine Irish drama began to germinate, I enjoyed the new Irish plays because the heroes always brought down the house by declaring that they were sick of Ireland, by expressing an almost savage boredom at the expense of the old patriots who were usually the fools of the piece when they

were not the villains, and, generally, by damning the romantic Old Ireland up hill and down dale in the most exhilarating fashion. And though this might easily have become as tiresome and insincere a

trick as the most obsolete claptrap of the stage Irishmen who, obliged to confess that they have never been in Ireland, call themselves American Gaels, yet it was for the moment a notable step in advance; and it has finally straightened itself out in such admirable essays on modern Ireland as that recently put forward by a genuine Irishman of genius, St. John Ervine, in the guise of a biography of Sir Edward Carson, to whom about half a dozen lines are allotted in the course of the substantial little volume.



The first comment provoked by the appeal "to the men and women of the Irish race in America" is that, though it is dated 1916, there is no internal evidence that it was not written in 1860, (as indeed most of it was,) except the inevitable allusions to the present war. In point of learning nothing and forgetting nothing these fellow-patriots of mine leave the Bourbons nowhere. Their

belief that the Irish race not only takes with it to America the ideas of Athlone, but invincibly maintains in its new home not only its Irish nationality but its Irish ignorance, its Irish parochial narrowness, its Irish sectarianism, and its Irish conviction that the Irish are the salt of the earth and that all other races are comparatively barbarous, degraded, sordid, irreligious, ungenerous, tyrannical, and treacherous, and that this inferiority is essentially and disgustingly marked in the case of "the English race," shines ridiculously through every paragraph in their manifesto.

Ireland is to be freed from the horrible contamination of association with England by complete political separation from her. "Ireland looks forward with hope and confidence to the complete breakdown of British misrule in Ireland as the certain outcome of the present war." "Success for England would mean only additional heavy burdens for Ireland and a renewal of strength to her age-long oppressor and tyrant." Finally, there is an appeal to America to maintain the principles of—among other illustrious Americans—Abraham Lincoln! As Lincoln is the most famous Unionist known to history, the Separatist patriots could hardly have made a more unfortunate selection of a name to conjure with.

Now, as against all this, I venture to ask the Americans of Irish race, and even those Americans who have to blush for less glorious origins, to keep a firm grip of the following facts:

It is now half a century since the most populous and productive States of North America, compared to the least of which Ireland is only a cabbage garden, and a barren one at that, renounced all idea of independence and isolation and fought for compulsory combination with all the other States across the whole continent more desperately than the many Irish soldiers engaged in the conflict had ever fought for separation. During that half century no small nation has been able to maintain its independence single-handed; it has had to depend either on express guarantees from the great powers (that is, the combinations) or on the intense jealousy between those powers.

In the present war the attack of a huge army of men of different races, speaking half a dozen different languages and estranged by memories of fierce feuds and persecutions and tyrannies, but combined under the leadership of the Central Empires, made short work of national pride, of the spirit of independence, and of bitter memories of old hostilities in England, France, and Russia. These three ancient enemies, any of whom could have swallowed Ireland more easily than Ireland could swallow her own Blasket Islands, had to pocket their nationalism and defend themselves by a combination of the British fleet, the French Army, and the Russian steam roller. And even when these immense combinations were in the field one of them was glad to buy the help of moribund Turkey and immature little Bulgaria, and the other to offer Italy, in defiance of all nationalist principles, a lodgment in Dalmatia if she would come to the rescue.

In the face of these towering facts that blot out the heavens with smoke and pile the earth of Europe with dead I invite America to contemplate the spectacle of a few manifesto-writing stalwarts from the decimated population of a tiny green island at the back of Godspeed, claiming its national right to confront the world with its own army, its own fleet, its own tariff, and its own language, which not 5 per cent. of its population could speak or read or write even if they wanted to. Unless the American climate has the power of totally destroying the intelligence of the Irish race its members will see that if Ireland were cut loose from the British fleet and army tomorrow she would have to make a present of herself the day after to the United States, or France, or Germany, or any big power that would condescend to accept her: England for preference.

Now let me not be supposed to have any lack of sympathy for the very natural desire of the Irish, expressed by "the clarion voice of the Bishop of Limerick," to keep out of this war if possible. If I were an Irish Bishop I should certainly tell my flock to till their fields and serve God in peace instead of slaughtering Ger-

mans who also ought to be tilling their fields and serving God in peace. If I were the Pope I should order every combatant in Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa to lay down his arms instantly on pain of excommunication. I should offer the Kaiser his choice between coming to Canossa and going to hell; and I should not hold out the least hope to the President of the French Republic or the Kings of England and Italy that they had any greater claim in the eye of heaven to a verdict of justifiable homicide than the Kaiser.

But does any sane Irishman hope to persuade an American, of Irish or other race, that the French people were any less desirous to keep out of the trenches than the Irish? Is the Catholic of Bavaria any less entangled in the net of war than the Catholic of Connaught? On the contrary, he is entangled much more; for he is not, like the Connaught Catholic, exempt from conscription. The English volunteer is a volunteer no longer: he is a pressed man; and if he has rushed to the colors more eagerly than the Irishman it is because the industrial slavery he endured was so much worse than any that the Irish peasant suffers, and the places he lives in so much uglier and more revolting to human instincts than the poorest Irish cabins that still survive the activities of the Irish Local Government Board, that the billet in St. Albans or on Salisbury Plain, and the trip to Flanders were an adventure as welcome to him as the separation allowance was to his wife, and—sometimes—the separation itself to both of them.

But you cannot knock into the head of the machine-made Irish patriot that either the grievances or the virtues of Ireland are to be found in other countries as well. There have been occasions on which English trade unionists have sent money to help French, Belgian, and other foreign workers in their strife for a living wage. Irish patriots send nothing but demands for unlimited sympathy, unlimited admiration, and unlimited Post Office orders. The money that Ireland has accepted from America without shame, and without perceptible grati-

tude, both in domestic remittances and political subscriptions, is incalculable.

We are the champion mendicants of the world; and when we at last provoke the inevitable hint that Ireland, like other countries, is expected to be at least self-supporting, not to say self-respecting, we shall rise up and denounce our benefactors as the parricidal exterminators of the Irish race. We have never seen the other side of any Irish question; to this day the protective duties by which England ruined our manufactures are denounced as an act of pure malignity, and the old notice "No Irish need apply" as an explosion of racial hatred, although every other working class in the west of Europe is educated enough to know that men willing, as we Irish are, to take the jobs of other men at wages against which a pig would revolt, are the enemies, not merely of the English, but of the human race.

And now we are told—as if it were something to be proud of—that "the heart of Ireland is not changed." It does not occur to the gentlemen who have made this announcement, which is fortunately not true, that in that case the sooner it is changed the better. "Deprived as Ireland is by the Defence of the Realm act of the right to express any national opinion" is the beginning of their depressing declaration. Pray, is England any the less deprived of the rights of her people by this reckless act? Has anything happened in Ireland since the war began, whether in suppressions of papers, arbitrary arrests, excessive sentences without trial, even secret executions, that can be compared for a moment to the abuses of the act that have occurred in England? And can such abuses be restrained in any other way in either country than by the peoples of the two countries making common cause against them instead of, as this silly document does, accusing "the English" of guile, calumny, falsehood, cant, and what not, taunting them with the very defeats the English papers try to minimize by such headlines as "Heroic Stand by the Dublin Fusiliers." The cry that "England's Difficulty Is Ireland's Opportunity" is raised in the old senseless

spiteful way as a recommendation to stab England in the back when she is fighting some one else and to kick her when she is down, instead of in the intelligent and large-minded modern way which sees in England's difficulty the opportunity of showing her what a friendly alliance with Ireland can do for her in return for the indispensable things it can do for Ireland.

In short, the war is a convincing demonstration of the futility of the notion that the Irish and English peoples are natural enemies. They are, on the contrary, natural allies. The whole case for Home Rule stands on that truth, and the case against it, on the contrary falsehood. If we are natural enemies England must either hold us down or be herself held down by us. If we are natural allies there is no more ground for denying self-government to us than to Australia. There is, of course, what the Germans call the Class War always with us; but that is a bond of union between the workers of all nations and not a division. If the two countries were separate, the first care of Irish statesmen would be to fasten as many tentacles as possible on Great Britain by pooling the wider public services of the two countries, especially the military and naval services, which would crush Ireland today if they were a separate establishment. That is why it is part of the Home Rule bargain that the English Army and Fleet shall also be the Irish Army and Fleet. There may come a time when international law may be so well established that a small nation may be as safe by itself as a small man already is in the streets of a civilized capital. But that time can come only through renunciation of all the poisonous international hatreds of which the Irish hatred of England is a relic. There may even come a time when some development of the arts of self-defense, which already enable ten properly equipped and trained men to hold their own against a thousand savages, may enable ten wise men to hold their own against a thousand fools. But that time has not come yet; and if it ever does it will be a bad job for the Irish patriot if he is still

parroting his dreary litany to St. Patrick and Robert Emmet and the Manchester martyrs to be delivered from the wicked English.

As matters now stand this war is just as much Ireland's business as England's or France's. A mere victory for British navalism over Prussian militarism might be as great a misfortune as a victory for Prussian militarism over British navalism. But a victory of Western democracy and republicanism over Hohenzollernism and Hapsburgocracy, or a stalemate with the Prussian and Austrian legions held up hopeless by French and Irish republican soldiers, even shoulder to shoulder with Britons who think that they never, never, never will be slaves because they have never been anything else, would be a triumph for the principles that have made the United States the most important political combination in the world, and, through the United States, made the home rule movement possible in Ireland.

I am under no illusions as to the extent to which modern nominal democracy and republicanism are still leavened by the old tyrannies and the old intolerances. I have declared in season and out that the task before us is not so much the sweeping out of the last monarchs, as the herculean labor of making democracy democratic and republicanism republican. It was by devoting my political life to the solution of that problem that I learned to see mere romantic nationalism in its essential obsolescence and triviality. There is such a thing as Irish freedom, just as there is such a thing as Cork butter. But it was by studying foreign butter and tracing its excellence to its source in foreign co-operation that Sir Horace Plunkett and George Russell, the only two noted Irishmen who have done anything fundamental for Ireland in my time, have kept Cork butter sweet. And it is from England and America that the Irish will have to learn what freedom really means.

Ireland as a nation cannot keep out of the present conflict except on the plea of utter insignificance. It has yet to be seen whether America will succeed in keeping out of it. Be that as it may, the

Irishman who suggests that the right side for any Western democratic nation to take is the Prussian side must find some better argument than that the Prussian side happens to be the anti-English side. I hope in a second article to make it clear to the Germans of America (since I can hardly reach the Germans of Germany) why it is that I do not take their side in this war, though they have taken my side very handsomely in my long conflict with Philistinism and barbarism. But if, as I have shown, the choice of sides does not now depend on national considerations, still less does it depend on personal ones. My present purpose is to show that the Irishmen who can see only Ireland and England, and see even them only as parties to a feud, can give no counsel worth attending to in this business.

Ireland, without the least regard to its squabble with England, must group itself in a combination of which the real centre is Western republicanism and democratic internationalism. The present appeal against this combination to America would be stupid even if Ireland's interest and traditions were those of Frederick the Great. But, as Irish patriotism is by tradition republican, the appeal is

quite beyond patience. The Irish patriot may demand in desperation whether he is to fight shoulder to shoulder with the English Unionists and Russian autocrats against the enemies of his "age-long oppressors"; but the reply is inexorably Yes. Adversity makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows. The Czar, when this war came upon him, must have exclaimed to M. Sazonoff, "Good Heavens! do you mean to tell me that I, an absolute Emperor and a Romanoff, am to fight against my imperial cousins the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, who stand with me as the representatives of the principle of monarchy in Europe, on the side of this rabble of French and Irish republicans, this gang of Serbian regicides, this brace of Kings who are so completely in the hands of Parliaments of middle-class lawyers that their own subjects call them india rubber stamps!" If the Czar has to swallow that, even an Irish patriot must not be surprised at not having it all his own way. He must therefore console himself by considering that, in the words of a deservedly celebrated Irish dramatic poet,

Fate drives us all to find our chiefest good
In what we can, and not in what we would.

The German Case Against Germany

By George Bernard Shaw

(Copyright, 1916, by George Bernard Shaw.)

IT is often rashly assumed that the Germans in America are not only Germans but pro-Germans. Now it would be much safer to assume that if they were pro-Germans they would not be in America but in their Fatherland. It is only the Irishman whose enthusiasm for his birthplace increases as the square of his distance from it. Germany is a very accessible country, and there is nothing to prevent a man who likes it and can speak the language from transferring himself from America to Germany. If, under these circumstances, he chooses to remain in

America it is reasonable to conclude that he prefers American institutions, and will take the republican side against the imperial side when the two come into conflict.

But war has the effect of throwing men back into their primitive phases, and the reasoner who in peace may prefer the President to the Kaiser, may in war time find himself exulting in a victorious charge of the Prussian Guard upon the republican troops of France. Even as a reasoner he may think the Prussian system, though irksome to him personally, a capital thing for other peo-

ple. Or he may think that, good or bad, it is going to win. Or he may think that, bad as it is, it is better than the Russian system. Or he may think that the English do not deserve to win, because they are Philistines and jobbers and muddlers, while the Germans stand for ideas and for order. Or he may think that practically good local government is more important than theoretically good central government, and may therefore support the Germans on the ground that their local government is superior to anything of the kind in England or the United States. Or he may be exasperated by British command of the sea, with its glorious unconsciousness that any right-minded American shipowner or skipper could possibly object to be held up and mulcted in harbor dues when he is going peacefully about his legitimate affairs. There are, in short, dozens of considerations which may induce a German immigrant to overcome his dislike of Germany and become a pro-German.

I therefore venture to state the case against Germany as it might appeal to a German escaped from Germany, and even to a German still in the bondage of the Prussian system. I am fortunate enough to be able to do so without having to disclaim the electioneering and recruiting case put forward by the British Government, having made the Kaiser a handsome present of it before the war was four months old. I was very violently abused for doing so; but those who abused me have since gone to such frantic lengths in denouncing the conduct of the war that my little criticisms and candors now read more like an apology for the British Cabinet and the British General Staff than an attack on them.

We hear no more about the sacredness of treaties; the cathedral of Rheims is not spoken of since we came within an ace of bombarding the Acropolis to force Greece to relax her neutrality; we made it as clear that we would, if necessary, batter our way into Saloniki as the Germans did that they would batter their way to Antwerp; we were glad that the Greeks had learned the lesson of German

frightfulness too well to dare more than a formal protest; we have denounced American neutrality and Bulgarian intervention in the same breath; we have republished with loud boastings and "I told you so" our own propaganda of war against Germany after exhausting every vituperative epithet at my expense because I ventured to say that as far as shaking the mailed fist went it was a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other; we have superseded the commanding officers who were the Caesars and Napoleons of the beginning of the war, and broken up the Government which we were all to support as a united nation until the hour of victory; we have declared and proved that we were prepared to the last rope in the navy and the last button on the tunics of our promised expeditionary force for the fight which we swore had taken us utterly by surprise in a pastoral dream of peace; in short, there is not a rag left of the official case whose collapse I foresaw and whose exposure I anticipated, while the real case against Germany stands exactly as I stated it, and is now the only case that any one dares to plead on the side of the Allies.

It seems, then, that our striking of moral attitudes was a mistake, and that in unceremoniously upsetting the attitudinizers I was performing a public service, easy enough to any one with some foresight, some self-possession, some student's knowledge of war, and some understanding of human nature. I neither expected nor received any gratitude from those I upset; but the outcry of pro-German raised against me at least enables me to address myself to the Germans without being suspected of classing them as genetically inferior to the English, the French, the Italians, and the Bulgarians.

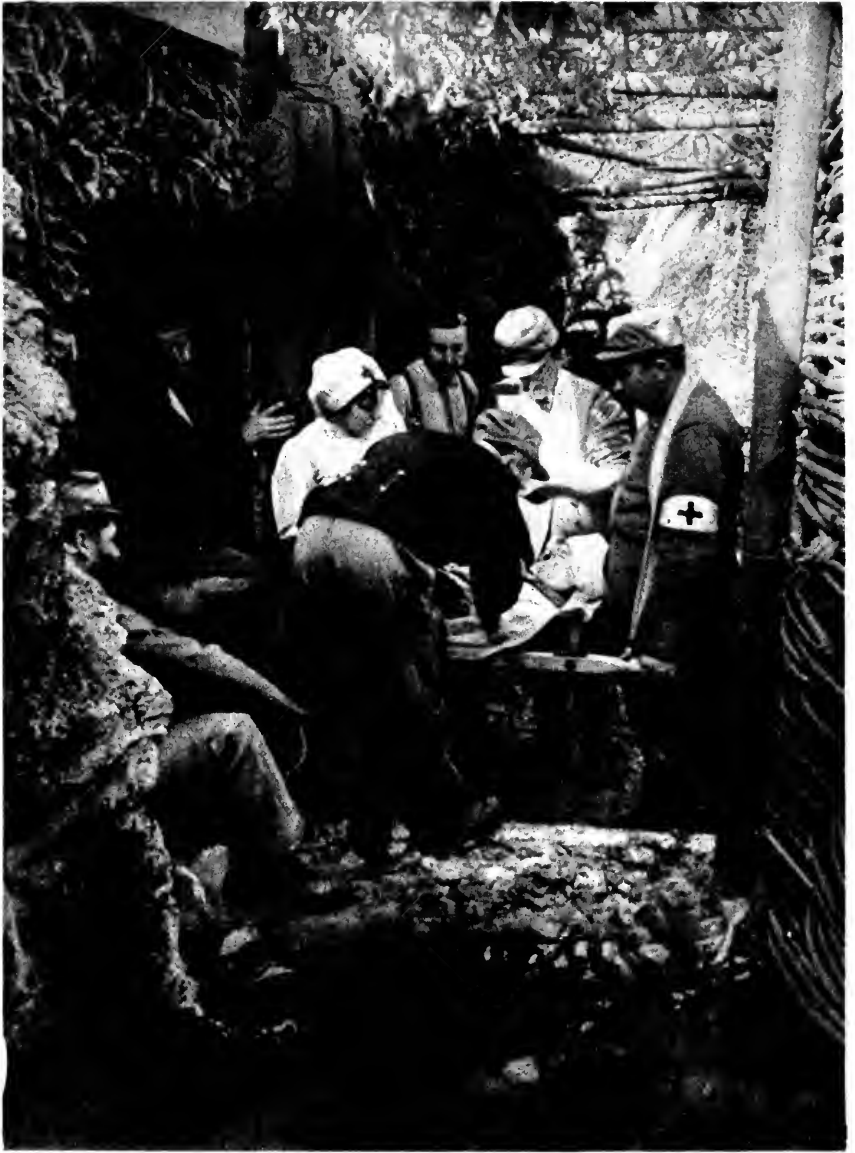
Like all who have seen Germany with their own eyes, who are deeply interested in science and art, and who are constitutionally impatient of anarchy, muddle, and disorder, I rate German civilization far above British civilization at many points; and I quite understand why many Englishmen who know Germany, and whose social opin-



THE PLAIN OF WOEVRE

Scene of Fighting Southeast of Verdun, Where the Hills Rise From
the Beautiful Woevre Countryside

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)



A TYPICAL REGIMENTAL AID POST

The Wounded Man Has Been Carried Through a Long Tunnel From
the Firing Line to This First-Aid Shelter

(From a French Official Photograph)

ions are *echt* Junker opinions, hail this war as a means of forcing England to adopt the Prussian system, which they worship as no German, with his practical experience of it, can worship it. Such enthusiasms are not expressed in the newspapers, and do not prevent those who hold them from taking the most energetic part in the war; but they are quite freely expressed in private discussions of political ideals. Their exponents are under no illusion as to this being a war of Virtue against Villainy; they know it to be a case of diamond cut diamond, and their only fear is that the Prussian diamond may prove the harder. And I do not know a single person, and indeed doubt whether there exists west of the Carpathians a single native person who believes that the overthrow of German civilization by Russian or Turkish Serbian civilization would be a step forward in social evolution.

What, then, is the case against Germany?

It is, briefly, that all its organization, all its education, all its respect for ideas, all its carefully nourished culture, have somehow failed to secure for it either a government fit to be trusted with the tremendous mechanical power its organization has produced, or even a military and naval staff either representative of high German civilization or capable of effectively controlling its own officers.

What is the explanation of this and of other similar German paradoxes? I have admitted that German local government is very superior to English local government. Its organization, its foresight, its public spirit, all due to its skillful combination of educated well-to-do municipal statesmanship with the primitive criticism of the poorer common vestryman, who knows where the shoe pinches, put us to shame. But the infant mortality of Germany is higher than that of England. That is the damning answer to the claims of the German professors for the superiority of German kultur. And it is so in other departments. The German system of training and selecting men seems far more thorough than ours; but the result is not convincing; the men

who secure the commanding posts are not those born to command.

The truth is that a corrupt Government in control of a highly organized system is much more dangerous than a corrupt government muddling along with hardly any system. Now the German Government is frankly and hopelessly corrupt because it puts the power and reputation of a family, and of the class of which that family is the head, before every other consideration. It desires the good of the people provided that the good be wrought by the Hohenzollerns, and includes maintenance of the Hohenzollerns on the throne as the supreme good. It desires the efficiency of the army provided that the army be officered by the Junker class, and is primarily efficient as a servile retinue for that class. But the points reserved defeat the end to be gained. You may have the best organized and equipped, the cheapest, and the most numerous universities in the world; but if a professor of history can be ordered, on pain of dismissal, to write a treatise proving that it was the Kaiser's grandfather and not Bismarck who achieved the unity of Germany and outwitted and defeated Denmark, Austria, and France, the students of that university will not be instructed; they will be infatuated.

If the University of Berlin appoints the ablest mathematician it can find to its chair of mathematics, and the Kaiser drives him out because he is also a Social-Democrat, which means no more in Germany than that he holds opinions which are a matter of course to every American, not only the mathematical school of Berlin University, but every other school in it, will become second rate, owing to the impossibility of finding eminence in the liberal arts combined in the same person with idolatry of crowns and uniforms. If promotion is denied in the army to the officer who at the annual manoeuvres either actually defeats the forces of the Kaiser or Crown Prince, or expresses the professional opinion that their tactics would in real warfare have involved the annihilation of an army corps, then there will be no Napoleons or Lees in high command when real war breaks out. If

officers are not only allowed to strike their men, but when a terrified young soldier attempts to escape by flight on discovering that he has accidentally omitted a salute may actually murder him on the spot without any heavier penalty than a few months quite agreeable confinement in a fortress, with the prospect of receiving complimentary messages and a shortening of the sentence from the Kaiser, it is impossible that even the company officers should not be demoralized. If dueling, not of the harmless French sort, but often of the most murderous, is practically forced on officers and on men of their rank by the court, and by a social boycott in which the women of the family are compelled to take part either as the victims or the executioners, no routine of schooling or endowment of art can possibly produce a real modern culture comparable to that of England or America.

Now, to the American, to the Britisher, to the Irishman, to the French Republican, all this is not merely barbarism; it is paranoiac insanity. It has developed not from the needs of human society, but from the fact that at a certain stage of social integration the institution of standing armies gave monarchs the power to play at soldiers with living men instead of leaden figures, and that a craze for such play was a symptom of the mental unsoundness of Peter the Great and Frederick the Great's father. It is merely the comparatively presentable end of a neurosis which cannot even be mentioned at the un-presentable end. When you reach the point at which an omission to salute an officer is treated as an offense which all but justifies murder, while at the same time practices which in republican and democratic countries are regarded as too evil to discuss are officially tolerated and even encouraged, your culture has evidently taken a wrong turning, and must be headed back into the main human road with such violence as may be necessary.

Now, nobody who is arguing the matter with intellectual conscientiousness and competent knowledge will pretend that these political and moral per-

versities are any more acceptable to a normal German than to a normal Englishman or American. Nor will he deny that they are as rampant in England and France as the more democratic constitutions and consciences of those countries allow them to be. But that is just the difference. Both England and France, like the United States, have paid the price of a revolution to get rid of the *Roi Soleil* system, or at least to bring the artificial sun god so completely under parliamentary control that English Mr. Asquith is unable to conceive how impotent the Reichstag is, and in the House of Commons speaks of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg addressing "his fellow-Deputies," as if the German Chancellor were an elected person. The Germans offered this price in 1848, but did not carry the transaction through; and the constitutional position of the Kaiser is accordingly nearer to that of Louis XIV. and Charles I. (or even Richard III.) than of George V. or President Poincaré.

Why do the Germans stand it? Certainly not out of love for Prussia and the Hohenzollerns; Prussia and its royal family are no more sentimentally popular in the other kingdoms of the German Empire than Dublin Castle is in the County Cork. Yet German unity is unassailable: the English publicists who think that the cohesion of the German kingdoms is as feeble as it was when Thackeray ridiculed the Court of Pumpernickel, and that the revived Holy Roman Empire will fall to pieces at the dictation of the Allies, are mistaken. The German support of Prussia is a recent support based on the practical experience of the individual German that under Prussian leadership the Germans, once the butts of Europe, have become the most feared and respected people in the world; that German commerce has made strides that have left even England gasping; and that wherever the German goes he finds employment more easily than the native because it is assumed that he is a more competent man. Above all, he believes in Prussian military efficiency as the centre and model of all the rest; so that not even the German Social-Democrats have ever opposed com-

pulsory military service, though every year in the Reichstag they have had to expose a sickening list of abuses of military discipline.

Now, I submit to the Germans that this war has proved that the Prussian system and the Hohenzollern idolatry do not make for either military efficiency or the diplomatic efficiency without which the control of a big military machine is as dangerous as a loaded pistol in the hands of a child or a fool. Let me illustrate my position by a few examples:

Take the case of the idiot who sank the Lusitania. His exploit would have paid the Allies very handsomely if they had bribed him with \$20,000,000 to do what he did gratuitously out of sheer folly. Indeed, had the Germans disclaimed the deed and maintained that the torpedo was a British one, launched by Mr. Churchill's order for the sake of prejudicing the cause of Germany with the United States, it would have been hard to discredit so plausible a story. But it is the weakness of class despotism that its credit and its strategy are at the mercy of the most foolish of its recognized members and agents, because it must never admit that it is fallible at any point. Whatever avalanche of oburgation poor Admiral von Tirpitz may have hurled down on the submarine commander in private, to have disowned him in public, or even have withheld from him the rewards of conspicuous service, would not only have implied that the wonderful Prussian machine is not really controllable, but that a Prussian commander can be a blunderer of the first stupidity. It is no use for the Hohenzollern to be infallible if he cannot convey his infallibility, as it were, by laying on of hands to all his delegates. Once admit that a Prussian officer can err and he drops at once to the prosaic level of General Joffre, the son of a cooper, and General Robertson, promoted from the ranks. The bigger his blunder the more necessary to proclaim it a masterstroke. And as the silliest Junker officer has brains enough to discover that, no matter what he does, he will be backed up, provided it is too sensational to be concealed, he does sen-

sational things, which, even if successful, would gain from General Joffre the order of the boot.

Take again the monstrous diplomatic blunder which has put Germany so hopelessly in the wrong and hemmed her in with formidable enemies on every side. In 1870, when the European atmosphere was still overwhelmingly Liberal, and Barbarossa and Frederick the Great and the Holy Roman Empire were romantic dreams of the past even to the King of Prussia, Bismarck not only conquered France, but contrived to do it in so correct a fashion that it was quite impossible for England or any other power to come to the rescue of France without gross indecency. People say now that we should have thrown in our lot with France in 1870, but how could we? France had wantonly broken the peace of Europe by suddenly raising the frantic cry of "à Berlin," and attacking her neighbor without a pretense of having any ends to serve but those of the Bonaparte dynasty. Germany was victorious and had the sympathy of the world as well; and Bismarck said that the German Lieutenant was the wonder of the world. It was on the strength of that victory and sympathy that the present Kaiser, having got rid of Bismarck, substituted for his shrewd realism the idolatrous romance of Hohenzollernism, with the result that the wonderful German Lieutenant began to figure at Zabern and elsewhere as a very common sort of blackguard; and in spite of the warnings of Bernhardt, the Kaiser landed the Central Empires in a ruinous war by repeating, not the success of Bismarck, but the blunder of Napoleon.

He could, as events have since proved, have beaten Russia in a square fight with her if he had waited for her attack; and if France had then struck him in the back—an outrage to which it would have been hard to reconcile French public opinion—at least England, America, and Italy must have remained neutral and sympathetic. At worst he would have had to fight two first-rate powers, yet he contrived not only to bring four into the field against him but played his hand with America, which contained some

trumps which I must not point out to him, in an insane fashion, which not only makes it impossible for the United States to take his part but may yet lead to their joining the Allies, in spite of the ingrained British junkerism of Sir Edward Grey, who should long ago have offered President Wilson guarantees against the danger that is most likely to make America hesitate.

Now all this blundering is not military efficiency, but quite the opposite. The Prussian Junkers, like all stupid people who are not rich, are very industrious, very exact, very determined to do their best; and when they come in conflict with British Junker stupidity, which, being much too rich, has neither industry nor method, they shine as organizers. But what is the use of that without republican common sense behind it? It was perfectly correct to shoot Miss Cavell; she had committed what is by military law a capital offense, and a flagrant instance of it at that; and she seems to have had her case carefully tried and her complicity proved. But would any commandant with the brains of a rabbit have outraged neutral popular sentiment by having her shot, instead of locking her up until the end of the war, after passing a formal sentence of imprisonment for life?

Take the whole case of Belgium. Every one who knows anything of war admits that when a country is invaded, and an army finds itself amid a people to whom the killing of an invader is not only no crime but an act of patriotism, nothing but a reign of terror can protect it. It has always been so: Roberts in Afghanistan and South Africa was no more able to avoid it than the conquerors of Louvain. But would any commanders responsible to democracy, or any General Staff not so intoxicated with idolatry as to imagine that Western public opinion could be imposed on by the rhodomontade of Timour the Tartar, have advertised this horrible necessity as the Prussian officers did? Were the pompous noodles whose proclamations that men who refused to touch their hats to German subalterns must be treated as mad dogs are treated in any sense efficient? Really efficient officers might have burned Brus-

sels and Antwerp to the ground and killed every soul in them with less obloquy than these Junker officers incurred for Germany by burning a few streets in Louvain.

There are places in Flanders of which not one stone has been left on another; but nobody has been made indignant about it. I raise no question of morality; war suspends morality except as a political element that must be considered when the belligerents are surrounded by a precarious neutrality that may at any moment become an active hostility. But efficiency, which is the supreme military consideration, includes a very vigilant and direct regard for the factor of morality, and a careful study of the narrow limits within which reprisals do less harm than good. And it seems to me a mere flying in the face of notorious facts to maintain that Hohenzollernism has produced this vital kind of efficiency in a greater degree than the French republican system.

Prussian efficiency is the efficiency of organized mechanical destructiveness, of big battalions and recklessness of their lives, of high explosives and recklessness of their effects, of blind duty and unreasoning idolatry of King and country, and of the industry that leaves men too tired to think and too confident of having earned gratitude to notice that they may not have deserved it. But you have no lack of this sort of efficiency in the French Army; and you will have no lack of it in the American Army when America has an army without sacrificing the more vital sort to it. In fact, you will have more of it than the Prussians have; for the more democratic your army is the more ruthlessly are officers "turned down" for inefficiency. If the Crown Prince were simply a French or American citizen soldier, he would have incentives to efficiency that do not exist for him at present.

I must not labor the point further. I submit that there is no case for the alleged superlative military efficiency of the Prussian system, and a very strong one against it. I submit that it is necessarily an anti-German system because it is an anti-human system. I submit that,

while the pretensions of German culture and civilization are respectable and to a great extent sound, the pretensions of the Hohenzollern family and of the Junker caste are humbug, and that by putting the humbug before the civilization the civilization has been imperiled and must finally become itself a humbug.

I am perfectly aware that monarchical principles are more completely realized by the Government of Germany than republican principles are by the Governments of France and America, and that the Kaiser might with some justification ask me whether I believe that there is really more humbug about his divine right than about political liberty, equality, and fraternity as they are now practiced. I can reply only that it is possible to make France, America, and even England, into real republics, but that it is eternally impossible to make every male Hohenzollern in the direct line a god, or even to guarantee that he would be

capable of rising above the rank of a private or managing a whelk stall successfully if he were plain Pitou or Jack or Jonathan.

When the republics of the earth rise up and their Presidents take counsel together the Kings will have to go; that much would be plain even if the question were only one of common humanity, for I know nothing, short of Chinese monster-making, so cruel as bringing up a child to be a King. And I conclude that as the Germans of America must agree with me or they would not be in America, they are, by just so much as they are cleverer than a mere benighted American or Britisher, more eager than we are to see the downfall of what we loosely call Prussian militarism, though it is really only a lazy, romantic, and rather sheepish idolatry of a not very strong-headed family who would never dream of being better than their neighbors if they had not been perversely brought up to that sort of somnambulism.

From a Waiting Ambulance

By MAGDA SINDICI

We saw three guns, one day, 'twixt ditch and field—
Do you remember?—
Gray-throated hounds, leashed to the will of man,
Borrowed from hell that they might bark at hell.
Far off,
There was a sly, curved water-line that gleamed
Between dull banks of sodden earth,
As the drawn crescent of a watching eye might gleam
Between dropped lids.
Gray-throated hounds, too strained to pant, that knew
They must not quiver
And must not run and snatch—or miss—their prey,
Each emptied body leaped as each lean flank
In turn
Flung out its loud, bright, heart—straight, terrible
And lightning-swift to burst and kill.
One flame, one roar—and silence! Many miles away,
A little smoke!
Our own breasts, too, held no more hearts, but just
An empty knocking. * * *
“A foe or two the less—more blind, raw souls
Hurled back, face downward, to the God of Truth!”
And then,
Because our thoughts were such as mock at words,
We watched a pen-stroke on the sky—
A man-made bird, tense-winged, above the Templar's Tower
Of Nieuport Ville!

The German Chancellor's Address

Germany's Position Stated

DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG, German Imperial Chancellor, addressed the Reichstag on April 5 in the longest speech that he has delivered since the war began. He began with a review of military events, denied that the strength of the Central Powers was becoming exhausted and declared that the attempt to starve Germany was a failure. Passing to the subject of British interference with neutral trade, he continued:

"The American note of Nov. 5, 1915, gave an exact description of British violations of the nations' laws, but as far as I know it has not been answered up to this day.

"No fair-minded neutral, no matter whether he favors us or not, can doubt our right to defend ourselves against this war of starvation, which is contrary to international law. No one can ask us to permit our arms of defense to be wrested from our hands. We use them, and must use them. We respect legitimate rights of neutral trade and commerce, but we have a right to expect that this will be appreciated, and that our right and our duty be recognized—to use all means against this policy of starvation, which is a jeering insult not only to all laws of nations, but also to the plainest duties of humanity."

Amid profound silence the Chancellor turned to the Polish problem and to that of nationalities in general, saying:

"Neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary intended to touch the Polish question, but the fate of battles brought them in contact with it. Now this problem stands before the world and needs to be solved. Germany and Austria-Hungary must and will solve it. History will not admit that after such earthquakes things will ever become what they were before.

"After the war there must be a new Belgium.

"Formerly Poland was left in the hands of the tchinovnik, [Russian police

agent.] Even members of the Russian Duma have frankly admitted that he ought not to return to the place where Germans, Austrians, and Poles have honestly labored in the interests of this unfortunate land.

"Mr. Asquith also mentions the principle of nationality. If he puts himself in the position of this unconquered and unconquerable adversary, can he really suppose that Germany will ever of her own free will deliver into the hands of reactionary Russia the nations between the Baltic and the Volhynian swamps who have been freed by her and by her allies—no matter whether they are Poles or Lithuanians or Livonians of the Baltic?"

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg protested against the report that Germany now or in the future contemplated aggression against the United States.

"The latest offspring of the calumniating campaign directed against us," he said, "is a report that after the end of this war we shall rush against the American Continent and that we shall attempt to conquer Canada.

"This is the silliest of all the imputations invented against us. Equally silly are the reports that we contemplate the acquisition of any territory on American soil, as in Brazil, or in any American country whatsoever.

"We fight for our existence and for our future. For Germany, and not for space in a foreign country, are Germany's sons bleeding and dying on the battlefield. Every one among us knows this, and it makes our hearts and nerves so strong. This moral force strengthens our will in order not only to weather the storm but also to achieve final victory. * * *

"Let us suppose I suggest to Mr. Asquith to sit down with me at a table and examine the possibilities of peace, and Mr. Asquith begins with a claim of definitive and complete destruction of

Prussia's military power. The conversation would be ended before it began. To these peace conditions only one answer would be left, and this answer our sword must give.

"If our adversaries want to continue the slaughter of human beings and the devastation of Europe, theirs will be the guilt, and we shall have to stand it as men."

The Chancellor introduced a personal touch in the following passage:

"When I was last at headquarters I stood with the Emperor at a place to which I had accompanied him one year previously. The Emperor remembered this, and, deeply moved, pointed out the enormous changes that had taken place since that time. Then the Russians were on the ridge of the Carpathians. At Gorlice we had just begun to break through the enemy's lines, and Hindenburg's powerful offensive had just been started. Now we are deep in Russia.

"The British and French at that time had attacked Gallipoli, and were hoping to arouse the Balkans against us. Now the Bulgarians stand firmly on our side. Then we were engaged in the defensive Champagne battle, and now at the Emperor's word the cannon resound in the Verdun battle. Deep gratitude to God, to the army, and to the nation filled the Emperor's heart.

"Our enemies wish to destroy united, free Germany," the Chancellor went on. "They desire that Germany shall be again as weak as during past centuries, a prey of all lusts of domination of her neighbors and the scapegoat of Europe, beaten back forever in the dominion of economic evolution, even after the war. That is what our enemies mean when they speak of definitive destruction of Prussia's military power.

"And what is our intention? The sense and aim of this war is for us the creation of a Germany so firmly united, so strongly protected that no one ever will feel the temptation to annihilate us; that every one in the world will concede to us the right of free exercise of our peaceful endeavors. This Germany, and not the destruction of other races, is what we wish. Our aim is the lasting

rescue of the European Continent, which is now shaken to its very foundation."

PEACE CONDITIONS

Referring to the conditions which he wished to see prevail at the end of the war, the Chancellor said:

"This new Europe in many respects cannot resemble the past. The blood which has been shed will never be repaid, and the wealth which has been destroyed can only slowly be replaced. But, whatever else this Europe may be, it must be for the nations that inhabit it a land of peaceful labor. The peace which shall end this war shall be a lasting peace. It must not bear the germ of new wars, but must provide for a peaceful arrangement of European questions."

The Chancellor declared that England wished to see military operations ended, but hoped then to continue the commercial war with redoubled violence, adding:

"First the British endeavor to destroy our military and then our economic policy. Everywhere there is a brutal lust of destruction and of annihilation and domination, to cripple a nation of 70,000,000 people."

As to colonial questions, he quoted Bismarck to the effect that the fate of colonies was decided on the Continent. He asserted that Germany's enemies were now actively engaged in inventing new formulas in order to maintain the spell of illusion, hatred, and deception which bound them.

"Of all the nations in the war," he continued, "only Germany has been threatened by her enemies and by their responsible spokesmen with annihilation, with partition of her realm, with destruction of her essential political and economic forces, no matter whether they call them Prussianism, or militarism, or barbarism. The forces which before the war bound together the anti-German coalition were lust of conquest, lust of revenge, and jealousy against German competition in the world's markets. During the war they have remained powerful with the Governments of our enemies in spite of all defeats.

"This is still the object and aim of the

war alike in St. Petersburg, (Petrograd,) Paris, and London.

"To this we oppose that Germany in this war had only one aim, namely, to defend herself, to maintain her existence, to hold her enemies back from the German frontiers, and whenever their lust of destruction had shown itself to drive them back as quickly as possible.

"We did not want this war. We felt no desire to change our frontiers when the war began against our will. We threatened no nation with annihilation of her existence or with destruction of her national life."

The Chancellor pointed out the roots of Germany's present strength, saying:

"And what gives us this force to conquer and overcome the difficulties caused by the interruption of our overseas trade, and, on the front, numerically superior enemies? Who can readily believe that greed of land inspires our columns at Verdun and makes them accomplish every day new deeds of heroism? Or shall a nation which gave to the world so many valued intellectual and useful gifts, which during forty-four years loved peace more than all the others—shall this nation overnight be transformed into barbarians and Huns?

"No, gentlemen, these are the inven-

tions of the evil conscience of those who are guilty of the war and are now fearing for their power and influence in their own countries."

With respect to the intentions of Germany in the case of Belgium the speaker said:

"We must create real guarantees that Belgium never shall be a Franco-British vassal; never shall be used as a military or economic fortification against Germany. Also in this respect things cannot be what they were before. Also here Germany cannot sacrifice the oppressed Flemish race, but must assure them sound evolution which corresponds to their rich natural gifts, which is based on their mother tongue and follows their national character.

"We want neighbors that do not form coalitions against us, but with whom we collaborate and who collaborate with us to our mutual advantage. Remembrance of the war will still echo in the sadly tried Belgian country, but we shall never allow that this will be a new source of wars—shall not allow it in our mutual interests. * * *

"The spirit of union shall lead us, as it shall lead our children and grandchildren, through the struggles of their fathers, toward a future of strength and liberty."

The British Premier's Reply

MR. ASQUITH, the British Premier, made a direct reply to the German Chancellor's address. The occasion was a Government reception given on April 10 to visiting French Senators and Deputies in London, and the Premier's speech was, in part, as follows:

"What the Chancellor means by his readiness to enter negotiations is that the initiation should come from us and the decision rest with him. We must assume the attitude of the defeated to a victorious adversary. But we are not defeated, and we are not going to be defeated, and the Allies are solemnly bound not to seek or accept a separate peace.

"The terms upon which we are pre-

pared to conclude peace are the accomplishment of the purposes for which we took up our arms—namely, to prevent Germany from establishing a military menace and domination over her neighbors, as her invasion of Belgium proves that she intended at whatever cost."

Reiterating that the Allies were prepared for peace only on the terms of his declaration of November, 1914, Mr. Asquith proceeded:

"The Chancellor first misquotes my language, then proceeds to distort its obvious meaning and intention. Great Britain and France entered the war not to strangle Germany or wipe her off the map of Europe, not to destroy or mutilate her national life, certainly not to inter-

fere with—to use the Chancellor's language—the free exercise of her peaceful endeavors.

“As a result of the war, we intend to establish the principle that international problems must be handled by free negotiation on equal terms between free peoples and that this settlement shall no longer be hampered or swayed by the overmastering dictation of a Government controlled by a military caste. That is what I mean by the destruction of the military domination of Prussia—nothing more, but nothing less.

“We are in this struggle the champions not only of treaty rights, but of the independent status and free development of weaker countries. In the circumstances cynicism could hardly go further than in the Chancellor's claim that it is for Germany—of all powers—to insist, when peace comes, upon ‘giving various races a chance of free evolution along the lines of their mother tongue and national individuality.’ This principle is to be applied, I suppose, on approved Prussian lines, both to Poland and Belgium.

“The attempt to Germanize Poland has been for the last twenty years at once the strenuous purpose and colossal failure of Prussian domestic policy. Nobody knows this better than the Chancellor, for he has been one of its principal instruments.

“The wholesale strikes of Polish children against the attempts to force the employment of the German language, the barbarous floggings inflicted upon them, the arrest and imprisonment of their mothers,” continued the Premier, “form a black chapter even in the annals of Prussian Kultur. It is with this record that the Chancellor sheds tears over the fate of what he calls the long-suppressed Flemish race. I wonder what the Flemish race itself thinks of the prospect the Chancellor opens out to it.

“The Chancellor says that after the war there must be a new Belgium, which

must not be a Franco-English vassal, but between whose people and the Germans, who burned their churches, pillaged their towns, trampled their liberties, there is to be in the future ‘the collaboration of neighbors.’

“My answer is a very simple one. The Allies desire and are determined to see once again the old Belgium. She must not be allowed to suffer permanently from the wanton, wicked invasion of her freedom, and that which has been broken down must be repaired and restored.”

Declaring that he would not waste words upon the Imperial Chancellor's “lame and half-hearted attempt to justify the wholesale use of the submarine for the destruction of lives and property,” the Premier said:

“The Allies are prepared to justify the legality of all the measures they have taken as covered by the principles and spirit of international law applied to the developments of modern war. These have been carried out with the strictest regard to humanity, and we are not aware of a single instance of a neutral life having been lost by reason of the Allies' blockade.”

Remarking that the German blockade of Great Britain had developed long before the British Order in Council of March, 1915, as shown by the sinking of the Dutch steamer *Maria* and the American sailing vessel *W. P. Frye*, and Germany's declaration of a submarine blockade of the United Kingdom on Feb. 4, 1915, Mr. Asquith said:

“It was not until March 11 that we announced those measures against German trade which the Chancellor now suggests were the cause of the German submarine policy. I need not dwell upon the flagrant violation which has attended its execution, of the elementary rules and practices of international law, and of the common dictates and obligations of humanity. Up to this moment it is being ruthlessly carried out, as well against neutrals as belligerents.”



Germany's Peace Terms

By Ernst Haeckel

Professor Haeckel of the University of Jena, the noted scientist and author of "The Riddle of the Universe," has written a new book entitled "Eternity: World-War Thoughts," which is shortly to be published in an English translation made by Thomas Seltzer, and from which the following excerpts are taken. After speaking of the efforts of German leaders to establish peace relations with England in recent years, Professor Haeckel continues:

THIS had given rise to the hope, particularly within the last forty years, since the rebirth of the German Empire and the subduing of France, that the alliance of the two Germanistic sister nations would not only accrue to the mutual benefit and well-being of themselves, but would also be a guarantee of world peace, which is desired by all nations. Germany's army as the strongest power on land, England's navy as the strongest power on sea, could, when united, bring the gift of permanent peace and progress to the whole civilized world, especially since the United States of America, in which the English and German elements are to a large extent commingled, would have joined this great Eastern and Western alliance.

This beautiful dream has now vanished, thanks to the deep-rooted, brutal national egoism of the English. And, unfortunately, there is no hope that it will be revived for a long time to come. For the consequences of this war, "the greatest crime in all history," recklessly brought upon the world by England, are so horrible, the wounds it is inflicting upon civilized humanity are so deep that a real reconciliation between Germany, who has been attacked, and her treacherous, murderous English brother is not to be thought of for some time. At least the present generation of Continental Europe will not be able to extend the hand of reconciliation to England, the

present generation that for the past eighteen months has been witnessing daily Great Britain's barbarous and infamous methods of warfare—the unparalleled mass murder she has been practicing, the shameless mendacity and hypocrisy of English politics, her outrageous treatment of prisoners and wounded. Before friendship between the two nations can be restored a new generation must come which shall see the re-establishment of humane conduct and tolerance, the re-establishment of the rights of the individual and the rights of nations now being trampled upon by the Allies. * * *

Few people doubt that at the conclusion of peace the map of Europe will undergo vast changes and that the political boundary lines will be considerably shifted. But how, where, and when peace will be concluded, how the prodigiously complicated political problems of this world-war will be solved no man can at present foretell. This much is certain, however: It is the almost universal desire of the German people, a desire, too, which has been repeatedly expressed in authoritative quarters of the Imperial Government, that, setting aside all false sentimentality, we should, nevertheless, steadfastly persevere until we have achieved an enduring success. The peace we hope for must be enduring and must rest upon such a basis as to take away forever from our jealous neighbors and malicious enemies the disposition to attack us.

We cannot, of course, presume to lay down special terms of peace. But we may, as many have done before, outline in a general way the most important points to be considered when the time comes for making peace. We now hold firmly in our hands as valuable security considerable territory—Belgium and the North of France in the west, Poland and the Baltic Provinces in the east. These rich countries were formerly German possessions. Antwerp must remain our

stronghold on the North Sea and Riga on the Baltic Sea. The alliance we have succeeded in making with the Orient is extremely important for us at the present time, (Berlin, Constantinople, the Bagdad Railway, and so on.) At all events, when the treaty of peace is concluded we must demand a considerable extension of the German Empire.

In making this demand our motive is neither the greed nor the lust for gold that dominates England, who rules the world, nor the vain national pride of France, with its mania for glory; nor the childish megalomania of Rome-crazed Italy; nor the insatiable hankering for territorial expansion of semi-barbarous Russia. It is simply this, that the German Empire, being overpopulated, has urgent need to extend and strengthen its frontiers, which were most unfavorable for it before the war. It needs this, first, in order to secure itself against future attacks of our stronger neighbors; and, second, in order not to lose the large numbers of German citizens who emigrate yearly from the narrow confines of the Fatherland to serve as "cultural manure" for other countries. The new provinces which we are going to annex are energetic and reckless, but with cautious and intelligent treatment they can be Germanized, or at least be made accessible to German culture, education, and civilization. This important task is not new for Germany. In former centuries it succeeded in accomplishing it over a large extent of territory.

This all-embracing world war has taught us many important lessons. One of them, which is of special importance, is the growing conviction that the German Empire as a world power needs extensive colonies. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Great Elector was far-sighted enough to recognize this political necessity, and the great founder of the new German Empire, Prince Bismarck, has translated it into action in our time, in face of persistent opposition from many short-sighted politicians. Of the various proposals recently made for the extension of the colonies which we have already acquired, the one that holds out

the best promise is the foundation of a great German colonial empire in middle Africa. With the possession of Belgium and its excellent port of Antwerp we shall also acquire the Congo State, with its extensive area and wealth of resources.

In adding the Congo to our colonies in the eastern and western part of middle Africa, which as a result of the expenditure of tremendous efforts on our part have already reached a high degree of prosperity, we shall have a vast region, the exploitation of which by the energy, industry, knowledge, and intelligence of German colonists promises a most profitable field for us for centuries to come. England must not be permitted to carry out her magnificent scheme to establish a worldwide empire on land as well as on sea by building direct lines of communication from the Cape to Cairo and from the Niger to Irawadi. Egypt, which England grabbed more than thirty years ago from the Turks, its rightful owners, must be returned to them. So also must the Suez Canal, which is to be placed under international administration. Great Britain must be driven out of Africa altogether. Cape Colony and the glorious island of Ceylon must be given back to Holland, to whom they formerly belonged.

It should be one of the important aims of the rejuvenated and enlarged German Empire to remain always on the best friendly footing with Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, neutral countries well disposed to Germany. There is great hope that by the introduction of German culture and education the Ottoman Empire will enter on an era of modern reform, especially since the former religious fanaticism of the Turks has to a large extent disappeared in the better educated circles. Asia Minor, one of the most glorious countries of the world, which twenty-five hundred years ago enjoyed the highest Greek culture; the adjoining regions of the Euphrates, and Syria and Palestine can rise again to a high state of fruitful prosperity in regenerated Turkey, aided by the cultural work of Germany, and also Greece.

The re-establishment of free naviga-

tion on the ocean and of a secure legal status in the relations between the seafaring nations must be regarded by us as one of the most important conditions of peace, in which all civilized nations of the world are equally interested. But this can be achieved only by destroying, or else rendering harmless, Great Britain's rule of the seas. England's maritime tyranny has indeed existed for centuries. Disregarding the legitimate claims of other nations, England in her selfish greed and desire for domination has sought to weaken or destroy the sea power of all the nations that came in competition with her. She has unscrupulously attacked and destroyed the fleets of France and Spain, of Italy and Greece, Holland and Denmark, of all the nations in whom she discerned dangerous competitors to her trade on the sea coasts of the whole world. In her powerful colonies, surpassing all others in area and wealth, she has for years claimed unconditional rule over their shores and ports, islands and fortifications.

Never has this been so directly and vividly illustrated as in the present world war. From the very beginning, England, through her maritime supremacy and the secure footing she had in all parts of the world, has isolated Germany and cut her off from all other countries by destroying her cable communications. It is only in this way that we can explain the extraordinary effect of the huge campaign of lies, the success our enemies had in calumniating us and making us hated by the neutral nations. And yet Great Britain's maritime tyranny is just as much of a menace to these neutral nations as to us, and to France, Italy, and all the other allies of England as well. Under certain circumstances the British pirate state will deal with them as it has dealt with us. It will prohibit their competition in the world trade and make free navigation at sea impossible for them. But the wide sea area which covers nearly two-thirds of the surface of the earth must be the common possession of all humanity; it must never be allowed to become the private property of the seafaring nation. When the

English Ministers in recent years publicly claimed this monopoly and at the same time proudly and confidently threatened that Great Britain would remain forever the one absolute ruler of the seas, they only presented new evidence of the blindness of British megalomania.

Considering the magnificent strides that the idea of evolution has made in the course of the last half century in all branches of human knowledge, we feel reasonably confident that it will also succeed in leading suffering mankind out of the chaos of the present insane world war up to a higher stage of civilization and happiness.

We may confidently hope that the present world war, a much more stupendous revolution than the French Revolution, for all the violence it has brought to our conceptions of human love and national rights, will nevertheless result in a new era of higher cultural progress. This progress will first manifest itself more in externals, in a grand shifting of international relations, both political and economical. But permanently the inward reforms will be of greater importance. These will spring from an enlarged knowledge of international civilization and an understanding of the various national characters. Justifiable national egoisms combined with international altruism will learn more and more to follow the precepts of the Golden Rule.

While the external readjustment of Europe and the relations of Germany to the other States is still to a large extent hidden in the midst of the future, the most important aims of its inward reforms can already be clearly discerned in the light of the future. Standing on the high watch tower of pure reason and surveying the world in general, I am moved to express the desire that the recognized principles of purified morality which civilized men have for a long time striven to follow in their narrow personal relations to each other should also become the norm within the State, guiding the conduct of the different social classes toward each other, and also the international relations between the different

States. The most important of all these ethical principles is the old, old Golden Rule.

In conclusion, the general question naturally arises, "What results will accrue to the whole civilized world from this unparalleled conflict of the nations? What noble fruits will spring from the ghastly battlefields of Europe fertilized with the blood of millions of human beings? What permanent good will develop out of this titanic struggle for existence, in which the mightiest nations of civilization have been engaged for the last eighteen months in an attempt to annihilate each

other?" Our answer to this great question is neither so pessimistic that we fear the extinction of our hardy acquired civilization, nor is it so optimistic that we look forward to an approaching golden era of sheer happiness and peace. Proceeding from the realistic point of view of our monistic natural philosophy, we recognize in the present world catastrophe rather one of those turning points in the history of mankind at which, under the combined weight of prodigious progress and incisive chance, there will arise out of the ruins of the "good old times" new forms of national life.

Royal Toasts at Schönbrunn

The toasts printed below were given by the rulers of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria on the occasion of their meeting in the Schönbrunn Palace, in the outskirts of Vienna, on Feb. 14.

EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEF

IT is with genuine joy that I heartily welcome your Majesty as a friend and true ally. My peoples join me in greeting in your Majesty the victorious supreme fighting commander of the heroic Bulgarian Army and the illustrious bearer of the friendship sealed with blood spilled in common, which binds our empires all the closer together, because it is based not merely upon a community of interests, but also upon a mutual trust and feeling of sympathy and appreciation. May the blessing of the Almighty continue to rest on our banners and may the beautiful land, which honors your Majesty as its wise ruler, receive a powerful uplift from the mighty struggles of these days and march on toward a happy future, permanent and secure. Filled with this hope, I raise my glass to your Majesty's health. Long live his Majesty, the King of Bulgaria!

KING FERDINAND

Your Majesty, in a most affecting manner, has been pleased to welcome me to dear Vienna, and this fills my heart with genuine joy. My visit today to Schönbrunn is the more pleasing to me as it affords me an opportunity personally to express my thanks to your

Majesty for conferring upon me the rank of an Imperial and Royal Field Marshal. This distinction honors and delights me in the highest degree as Commander in Chief of the army defending Bulgaria, and I shall look upon it as a precious token of fatherly kindness, as an expression of the sentiment of loyal allies, and as a recognition of the superb victories won together on the battlefield. I am proud and happy to be enabled by this new military order of the highest rank to enter into still closer relations with your Majesty's army, which is so dear to me, and with which I have always felt myself most intimately united. May the blessing of the Almighty rest on the Austro-Hungarian flag and on the flags of our allies in these serious times, when we are fighting a hydra-headed enemy for our existence and for the freedom of the world, until the attainment of a lasting and honorable peace, which shall recompense us for our enormous sacrifices and shall lead us all toward a happy and prosperous future. With a thankful heart I raise my glass and drink to the precious health of your Majesty, my illustrious ally and paternal friend. Long live your Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, Emperor Franz Josef I.!

German Submarine Issue

America's Lusitania Problem Complicated by the Sussex and Other Disasters

SINCE the original Lusitania negotiations between the United States and Germany were interrupted in February the issue has gone through several phases, each more acute than its predecessor. The first check to the negotiations came with the announcement of the Teutonic powers that after March 1 they would sink armed merchant ships of enemy nations without warning, no matter who was on board. The United States Government justly regarded this as an invalidation of German pledges already given.

After a pause in the early weeks of March the German submarine campaign against both neutral and enemy merchant ships became more violent than ever. Vessels were sunk without regard to whether they were armed or not, and often without warning. The resignation of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz brought no change in this respect. The policy of sinking all vessels trading with England found strong support in the Reichstag.

This new phase of the war brought our relations with Germany to a critical stage, which suddenly became more grave through the destruction of the French passenger steamer Sussex in the English Channel on March 24, with the loss of nearly fifty lives. The vessel was unarmed and received absolutely no warning. The whole forward end was blown off by a terrible explosion, which killed and injured many passengers and members of the crew; the after part of the vessel continued to float, thus saving hundreds of lives by a chance with which the attacking party had nothing to do. There were twenty-five Americans on board. Professor Mark Baldwin of Baltimore, whose daughter was injured, cabled to President Wilson:

"A woman traveling where her right was, carrying an American passport, stricken on the Sussex, hovering between

life and death, demands that reparation for assault upon American life and liberty be exacted."

Immediately upon learning of the Sussex disaster President Wilson and his Cabinet seriously considered the question as to whether the time had not come to compel an understanding or a break in our diplomatic relations with Germany. It was decided to broaden the issue to include other merchant vessels recently sunk without warning, and to base any action upon the nature of the German Government's answer. Secretary Lansing cabled to Ambassador Gerard to make direct inquiry of the Berlin authorities concerning responsibility for destruction of the Sussex and other designated vessels.

Among neutral nations the Sussex incident caused the most painful impression experienced since the sinking of the Lusitania. To many minds, however, there seemed to be a reasonable doubt as to whether the Channel liner might not have been the victim of a floating mine rather than of a submarine torpedo deliberately aimed at it. For two weeks the inquiries of Ambassador Gerard produced no official results, though he received emphatic verbal assurances that no German submarine was responsible for the act. Meanwhile Ambassadors Page at London and Sharp at Paris obtained affidavits made by American survivors, who stated that they had seen the wake of a torpedo. The testimony of eye-witnesses generally was to the same effect. Fragments of the explosive apparatus which had destroyed the Sussex were identified as parts of a German torpedo rather than of a mine, and some of these, with the affidavits, were forwarded to Washington as evidence.

On March 30 the French General Staff made public an official report on the subject, written by Admiral Grasset after due investigation. **CURRENT HISTORY**

prints this report in full below—also the text of Germany's formal note of April 10, which is in direct conflict with the main body of testimony. The German Government admits having sunk a vessel in the English Channel at almost the exact time and place in question, but submits drawings made by the submarine commander to show that it was not the Sussex. The evidence is weak and the German note itself is generally regarded as the strongest proof that the Sussex

was sunk by a German submarine. In any event, it demonstrates that German submarine warfare has not changed materially since the sinking of the *Lusitania* a year ago.

At the present writing (April 18) the reply of the United States Government has not been made public, but it is understood to be a firm demand for more humane methods of warfare, on pain of severed diplomatic relations between the two countries.

French Official Report on the Sussex

By Rear Admiral A. Grasset

Assistant Chief of the French General Staff

Boulogne, March 30, 1916.

IN conformity with your instructions I proceeded to Boulogne, where I conducted an inquiry relative to the attack on the *Sussex*. On March 24 the *Sussex*, belonging to the State Railway Company, and running the regular service between England and France, left Folkestone at 1:25 P. M. for Dieppe. This boat carried about 325 passengers of all nationalities, a great number of these being women and children, as well as the Indian mails. This approximate figure is given by the Captain; according to the company there were 303 passengers. The officer in control of the tickets was severely wounded and taken to Dover; he is not in a fit state to furnish particulars. She was not possessed of any armament. The crew consisted of fifty-three men.

From the start the speed was set at 16 knots; after having passed at a mile distance from Dungeness, the Captain headed south 3 degrees east; the weather was very fine, the sea almost calm; most of the passengers were on deck. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, the Captain, who was on the bridge, saw before the port beam, some 150 meters away, the track of a torpedo.

It was now 2:50 P. M., the time of the disaster being exactly registered by the stopping of the clocks on board the vessel. The second officer and deck officer,

who were on the bridge, also distinctly saw the torpedo. With great presence of mind the Captain ordered the helm hard aport, and stopped the starboard engine, in order to avoid the torpedo by turning to starboard. These two orders were executed immediately, as is proved by the statements of the engineers.

The ship was beginning to swing off, when, eight seconds after the torpedo had been seen, a terrific explosion took place, throwing up an enormous column of water. (Calculating from the distance at which the torpedo had first been seen and the time which passed before the explosion, the speed of the torpedo must have been thirty-six knots, the normal speed of a torpedo.)

The ship was cut in two opposite the bridge; the after part, thanks to the solidity of the bulkheads, continued to float. On deck several passengers who happened to be on the port side saw the torpedo when quite close to the ship, one of them even telling his neighbor to "look at that great fish swimming toward the ship."

Everybody who happened to be in the bows disappeared with that portion of the ship which was engulfed, among others the passengers on the fore deck and in the first cabin saloon. The men of the crew who were in the forecabin, the lookout in the bows, and the look-

out in the crow'snest on the foremast also disappeared.

The Captain, who had been knocked down by the column of water resulting from the explosion, ordered the crew to go to their emergency stations. The firemen and engineers went to their stations after having stopped the port engine and closed the draught plates of the furnaces. At the same time the wireless operator tried to send out distress signals, but without success, the antennae having fallen with the foremast.

The crew proceeded to their stations to launch the lifeboats and rafts, (there were lifeboats, capable of carrying 184 persons; 22 rafts, capable of carrying 264 persons, and, in addition, 816 lifebelts; it appears from depositions made that these lifebelts were on the spar deck and that a number of them were in bad condition,) but the crowding on deck at the time made it very difficult to move about.

A number of pieces of the torpedo were found on board the *Sussex*. Some of them have been handed over to the American delegation which had proceeded to Boulogne; the others will be forwarded to the Ministry of Marine by the maritime authorities.

The submarine which torpedoed the

Sussex could not be ignorant of the fact that she was attacking the mail packet of the regular cross-Channel service between England and France; not only are the outlines of these boats well known to all sailors, but the course of the *Sussex* and the time of her crossing were clearly indicative of her service. It is, therefore, obviously a premeditated attack on an unarmed merchant ship, carried out without the slightest warning.

One last fact shows up still more clearly the premeditated and implacable character of the submarine's operations. A boat was dispatched at 8 P. M. to the Colbart Lightship to announce the catastrophe. This boat arrived at the lightship at 11:45 P. M.; her crew were picked up by a British torpedo boat destroyer at 3 o'clock in the morning.

During the transshipment a torpedo was fired at the destroyer and passed a few meters astern of her. This fact has been confirmed by the British Admiralty. Judging by the course covered by this boat, the lightship must have been at most six or seven miles from the *Sussex*. It follows that the submarine must have remained in the neighborhood of the *Sussex* in order to torpedo any ship which might come to the rescue of her victim.

GRASSET.

Germany's Note on Submarine Activities

Berlin, April 10, 1916.

THE undersigned has the honor to inform your Excellency, Ambassador Gerard, in response to communications of the 29th and 30th ultimo and the 3d instant regarding the steamers *Sussex*, *Manchester Engineer*, *Englishman*, *Berwindvale*, and *Eagle Point*, that the mentioned cases, in accordance with our notes of the 30th and 31st ultimo and the 4th and 5th instant, have been subjected to careful investigation by the Admiral Staff of the navy, which has led to the following results:

First—The English Steamer Berwindvale.—A steamer, which was possibly the *Berwindvale*, was encountered on the evening of March 16 in sight of Bull Rock

Light, on the Irish coast, by a German submarine. The steamer, as soon as she noticed the submarine, which was running unsubmerged, turned and steamed away. She was ordered to halt by a warning shot. She paid no attention, however, to this warning, but extinguished all lights and attempted to escape. The vessel was then fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered several boats. After the crew entered the boats and received enough time to row away the ship was sunk. The name of this steamer was not established; it cannot be stated with assurance, even with the help of the details which were furnished by the American Embassy, that the above described inci-



NIGHT PATROL IN THE DOLOMITES

Austro-Hungarian Guards on Duty Among the Peaks of the Tyrolean Alps Near the Italian Border

(By arrangement with *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Berlin; © 1916)



GORIZIA UNDER BOMBARDMENT
Austrian Stronghold in the Alps, Into Which Italian Shells Are Hurled
From a Neighboring Peak
(By arrangement with *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Berlin; © 1916)

dent concerns the steamer *Berwindvale*. Since, however, the steamer sunk was a tank steamer like the *Berwindvale*, the identity of the ship may be assumed. In this case, however, the statement made that the *Berwindvale* was torpedoed without warning would conflict with the fact.

Second—The British Steamer Englishman.—This steamer on March 24 was called upon to halt by a German submarine, through two warning shots, about twenty sea miles west of Islay, (Hebrides.) The vessel proceeded, however, without heeding the warning, and was therefore forced by the submarine by artillery fire to halt after an extended chase, whereupon she lowered boats without further orders.

After the German commandant had convinced himself that the crew had taken to the boats and rowed from the ship he sank the steamer.

Third—The British Steamer Manchester Engineer.—It is impossible to establish through the investigation up to the present whether the attack on this steamer, which, according to the given description, occurred on March 27, in the latitude of Waterford, is attributable to a German submarine. The statement regarding the time and place of the incident gives no sufficient basis for investigation. It would therefore be desirable to have more exact statements of the place, time, and attendant circumstances of the attack reported by the American Government, in order that the investigation might thereupon be brought to a conclusion.

Fourth—The British Steamer Eagle Point.—This steamer in the forenoon of March 28 was called upon to halt by a German submarine through signal and shot about 100—not 130—sea miles from the southwest coast of Ireland, but proceeded. She was thereupon fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered two boats, in which the crew took their places. After the commandant convinced himself that the boats, which had hoisted sails, had got clear of the steamer, he sank the steamer.

At the time of the sinking a north-northwest wind of the strength of two,

not "a storm wind," and a light swell, not "a heavy sea," as stated in the given description, prevailed. The boats, therefore, had every prospect of being picked up very quickly because the place of the sinking lay on a much-used steamer path.

If the crew of the steamer used only two small boats for saving themselves the responsibility falls upon themselves, since there were still upon the steamer, as the submarine could establish, at least four big collapsible boats.

Fifth—The French Steamer Sussex.—Ascertainment of the fact whether the Channel steamer *Sussex* was damaged by a German submarine was rendered extremely difficult because no exact details of time, place, and attendant circumstances of the sinking were known, and also because it was impossible to obtain a picture of the ship before April 6. Consequently the investigation had to be extended to all actions undertaken on the day in question—March 24—in the Channel in the general region between Folkestone and Dieppe.

In that region on March 24 a long, black craft without a flag, having a gray funnel, small gray forward works, and two high masts, was encountered about the middle of the English Channel by a German submarine. The German commander reached the definite conclusion that it was a war vessel, and, indeed, a mine layer of the recently built English *Arabis* class. He was led to that conviction by the following facts: First, by the plain, unbroken deck of the ship; second, the form of the stern, sloping downward and backward like a war vessel; third, she was painted like a war vessel; fourth, the high speed developed, about eighteen knots; fifth, the circumstance that the vessel did not keep a course northward of the light buoys between Dungeness and Beachy Head, which, according to the frequent and unvarying observations of German submarines, is about the course of commercial vessels, but kept in the middle of the Channel, on a course about in the direction of Le Havre.

Consequently, he attacked the vessel at 3:55 in the afternoon, Middle European time, one and one-half sea miles south-

east of Bull Rock (Bullock?) Bank, the submarine being submerged. The torpedo struck and caused such a violent explosion in the forward part of the ship that the entire forward part was torn away to the bridge.

The particularly violent explosion warrants the certain conclusion that great amounts of munitions were aboard.

The German commander made a sketch of the vessel attacked by him, two drawings of which are inclosed. The picture of the steamer *Sussex*, two copies of which are also inclosed, is reproduced photographically from the English paper *The Daily Graphic* of the 27th ultimo.

A comparison of the sketch and the picture shows that the craft attacked is not identical with the *Sussex*. The difference in the position of the stack and shape of the stern is particularly striking.

No other attack whatever by German submarines at the time in question for the *Sussex* upon the route between Folkestone and Dieppe occurred. The German Government must therefore assume that the injury to the *Sussex* is attributable to another cause than an attack by a German submarine.

For an explanation of the case the fact may perhaps be serviceable that no less than twenty-six English mines were ex-

ploded by shots by German naval forces in the Channel on the 1st and 2d of April alone. The entire sea in that vicinity is, in fact, endangered by floating mines and by torpedoes that have not sunk. Off the English coast it is further endangered in an increasing degree through German mines which have been laid against enemy naval forces.

Should the American Government have at its disposal further material for a conclusion upon the case of the *Sussex*, the German Government would ask that it be communicated, in order to subject this material also to an investigation.

In the event that differences of opinion should develop hereby between the two Governments, the German Government now declares itself ready to have the facts of the case established through mixed commissions of investigation, in accordance with the third title of The Hague agreement for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, Nov. 18, 1907.

The undersigned, while requesting that you communicate the above to the Government of the United States, takes occasion to renew to the Ambassador the assurance of his distinguished esteem.

JAGOW.

A Thousand Merchant Vessels Sunk Since the War Began

ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE of the British Navy, in a report on merchant shipping losses, has compiled a list of vessels sunk from the beginning of the war to March 23, 1916, approximately twenty months. The list totals 980, all vessels of considerable size except 254 trawlers or fishing boats.

In order to bring the statement still nearer to date, CURRENT HISTORY has compiled the figures of additional merchant ships sunk between March 23 and April 16. In that period 51 steamers of belligerent nations have been sent to the bottom, 25 of neutral nations, and 31

sailing vessels of belligerents—a total of 107. Adding these to the original 980, the grand total to April 16 is 1,087 commercial ships destroyed thus far, 221 of them being neutral.

These figures are in substantial accord with those of Senator Nelson of Minnesota, who submitted to the Senate on March 30 a list of 203 neutral vessels sunk by the Germans. He gave the names of 97 Norwegian, 50 Swedish, 28 Danish, and 28 Dutch vessels sent to the bottom. He added that 136 were sunk by German submarines, 66 by German mines, and one by a German warship.

Admiral Bridge's figures, tabulated by nationality, are as follows:

LOSSES TO BELLIGERENTS.
STEAMERS.

| Nationality. | Number. | Tonnage. |
|----------------|---------|-----------|
| British | 379 | 1,320,000 |
| French | 41 | 140,000 |
| Belgian | 10 | 30,000 |
| Russian | 27 | 42,000 |
| Italian | 21 | 70,000 |
| Japanese | 3 | 19,000 |
| Total | 481 | 1,621,000 |

SAILING VESSELS.

| Nationality. | Number. | Tonnage. |
|---------------|---------|----------|
| British | 31 | 19,000 |
| French | 12 | 18,000 |
| Russian | 8 | 7,000 |
| Italian | 6 | 3,000 |
| Total | 57 | 47,000 |

Trawlers—British, 237; French, 7; Belgian, 2.

LOSSES TO NEUTRALS.

STEAMERS.

| Nationality. | Number. | Tonnage. |
|---------------------|---------|----------|
| Norway | 50 | 96,000 |
| Denmark | 18 | 33,000 |
| Holland | 22 | 74,000 |
| Sweden | 33 | 42,000 |
| United States | 6 | 16,000 |
| Greece | 11 | 22,000 |
| Spain | 4 | 9,000 |
| Persia | 1 | 750 |
| Portugal | 1 | 625 |
| Total | 146 | 293,375 |

SAILING VESSELS.

| Nationality. | Number. | Tonnage. |
|---------------------|---------|----------|
| Norway | 22 | 20,000 |
| Denmark | 10 | 1,600 |
| Sweden | 7 | 2,000 |
| Holland | 2 | 225 |
| United States | 1 | 176 |
| Total | 42 | 24,001 |

Trawlers—Denmark, 1; Holland, 7.

The loss to British steam shipping, says the report, is less than 4 per cent. of the total number of vessels under the British flag and slightly over 6 per cent. of their total tonnage. The French loss in steamers is about 7 per cent. of the total French tonnage, while the Russian loss is 5 per cent., and the Italian 4½ per cent.

In further comment Admiral Bridge details the amount of merchant shipping built in France and Great Britain since the beginning of the war, and shows that the war losses have virtually been made good thereby.

"In 1915," says the report, "after more than a year of the war, the steam shipping of Great Britain increased 88 vessels and 344,000 tons. France at the end of 1915 was only short nine steamers and 12,500 tons of the previous year's total. Italy and Russia both show an increase in tonnage.

"It is, therefore, clear that the present shortage of tonnage is due not to the action of submarines, but to the great requirements of the military and naval forces. The latest published statement of these show that they are demanding 3,100 merchant vessels."

German White Book on Armed Merchantmen

THE German Government has issued a White Book on Armed Merchantmen, containing "facsimiles of the secret orders of the British Admiralty." The main text consists of the "Memorandum of the Imperial German Government on the Treatment of Armed Merchantmen," which was published in the April number of CURRENT HISTORY along with a brief summary of the numerous "annexes" or "exhibits" with which that document was fortified. The full text of these exhibits is now available in the White Book in question.

Four pages are occupied by a "List of Cases in Which Enemy Merchantmen Have Fired on German or Austro-Hungarian Submarines," beginning with one on April 11, 1915, and ending with that of the British steamer Melanie on

Jan. 17, 1916, in the Mediterranean. The items of most general interest, however, are the reprints of confidential British instructions to gunners on armed merchantmen. The fifth exhibit reads as follows:

Confidential. **Exhibit 5.**
Instructions for Guidance in the Use, Care, and Maintenance of Armament in Defensively Armed Merchant Ships.

General.

1. Ratings embarked as gun's crew will sign the ship's articles at the rate of pay communicated.

2. They are to obey the orders of the master and officers of the ship. If they think it necessary to make a complaint against any order they are to obey the order and make their complaint in writing, asking that it may be forwarded to the proper authorities.

3. The ratings are not required for duties

unconnected with the armament except in case of emergency, but they are to assist at all times in the welfare of the ship and look after the cleanliness of their berths.

4. They are to keep watch and watch at sea, and also when the ship is anchored in any place liable to attack by submarines.

5. They will receive their pay through the master of the ship. They will not mess with the crew, but in one of the officers' messes as the master may decide.

6. Uniform is not to be worn in neutral ports.

7. A brief report is to be rendered by the senior rating on the 1st of each month, countersigned by the master, and sent to:—

The Director of Trade Division,
Admiralty, Whitehall, S. W.

After ten other paragraphs devoted to technical instructions on "Drill and Maintenance of Gun," the instructions conclude with these directions for action in presence of a hostile submarine:

ACTION

The master is responsible for handling the ship and for opening and ceasing fire. He has been furnished with instructions which will enable him to do this to the best advantage. The duty of the gun's crew is to fight the gun under the general direction of the master, who will communicate to them so much of the instructions as he may consider necessary to enable them to fight the gun to the best advantage.

In action the following instructions should be carried out:—

(1) When in submarine waters, everything should be in a state of readiness, but the gun should not be kept actually loaded.

(2) When the enemy is engaged:—

(a) The point of aim should be the centre of the water line.

(b) It is to be remembered that "over" shots are useless. A short shot by causing a splash confuses the enemy. It may ricochet into the enemy. If the shell bursts on striking the water—as it usually does—some fragments are likely to hit the enemy. To get the best result, at least half of the shots fired should fall short.

(3) The master will probably keep the submarine astern so that little deflection will be necessary.

(4) It is not advisable to open fire at a range greater than 800 yards, unless the enemy has already opened fire, for the following reasons:—

(a) The ammunition supply is limited.

(b) Accurate shooting under probable existing conditions cannot be expected at greater ranges.

(5) When in action and a miss-fire occurs with a percussion tube, the following procedure is to be adopted:—

(a) The B.M. Lever is to be tapped to insure it is closed.

(b) The striker is to be re-cocked.

If the gun does not then fire:—The striker is to be taken out to insure that the point is not broken. If unbroken the breech is to be opened and the cartridge is to be thrown overboard, it having been ascertained that the percussion tube has been inserted.

The gun is then to be reloaded.

The ninth and tenth exhibits are instructions to British shipmasters whose vessels carry guns for defense. Both are the same, except that the tenth is later and fuller. It reads thus:

Confidential.

No. 291.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 291.

In No Circumstances Is This Paper to be Allowed to Fall Into the Hands of the Enemy.

This paper is for the master's personal information. It is not to be copied, and when not actually in use is to be kept in safety in a place where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice.

Such portions as call for immediate action may be communicated verbally to the officers concerned. April, 1915.

Instructions Regarding Submarines Applicable to Vessels Carrying a Defensive Armament.

1. Defensively armed vessels should follow generally the instructions for ordinary merchant ships.

2. In submarine waters guns should be kept in instant readiness.

3. If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day, and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo.

4. In view of the great difficulty in distinguishing a friend from an enemy at night, fire should not be opened after dark unless it is absolutely certain that the vessel fired at is hostile.

5. Before opening fire, the British colors must be hoisted.

It is essential that fire should not be opened under neutral colors.

6. If a defensively armed vessel is pursued by a submarine the master has two alternatives:—

(a) To open fire at long range immediately it is certain that the submarine is really in pursuit.

(b) To retain fire until the submarine has closed to a range, say 800 yards, at which fire is likely to be effective.

In view of the very great difficulty of distinguishing between friendly and hostile submarines at long range (one British submarine has already been fired at by a merchant

vessel which erroneously supposed herself to be pursued by the submarine) it is strongly recommended that course (b) should be adopted by all defensively armed ships.

7. A submarine's flag is no guide to her nationality, as German submarines frequently fly British colors.

8. Vessels carrying a defensive armament and proceeding to neutral ports must not be painted in neutral colors or wear a neutral flag.

9. It is recommended that in neutral ports,

particularly those of Spain, the armament should be concealed as far as possible. A canvas cover is recommended for this purpose.

The eleventh exhibit is a secret memorandum to masters of transports carrying troops, and the twelfth and last is a brief typewritten memorandum to British merchant vessels in the Mediterranean, (dated June, 1915,) giving directions as to how to avoid attack by submarines.

British Enemy Trading Acts

THE British Government, in reply to an inquiry by the American Government regarding the extension of restrictions to trade with enemies of Great Britain, has stated that the law will be so interpreted as not to affect American commerce. The American inquiry was made through Ambassador Page on Jan. 19, 1916, by Secretary of State Lansing in the following note:

Department has given consideration to Enemy Trading act, approved Dec. 23 last, the apparent object of which is to prevent any person doing business in the United Kingdom from trading with the enemies of Great Britain or persons having enemy association in any other part of the world, and the department has reached the conclusion that this act is pregnant with possibilities of undue interference with American trade, if in fact such interference is not now being practiced.

As it is an opinion generally held in this country, in which this Government shares, that the act has been framed without a proper regard for the right of persons domiciled in the United States, whether they be American citizens or subjects of countries at war with Great Britain, to carry on trade with persons in belligerent countries, and that the exercise of this right may be subject to denial or abridgment in the course of the enforcement of the act, the Government of the United States is constrained to express to his Majesty's Government the grave apprehensions which are entertained on this subject by this Government, by the Congress, and by traders domiciled in the United States. It is therefore necessary to bring these views to the attention of Sir Edward Grey, and to present to him a formal reservation, on the part of this Government, of the right to protest against the application of this act, in so far as it affects the trade of the United States, and to contest the legality or rightfulness of imposing restrictions upon the freedom of American trade in this manner.

On April 15, 1916, the following official reply by Great Britain, addressed to

Ambassador Page and dated Feb. 16, 1916, was made public:

Your Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 26th ultimo relative to the possible effects of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, on United States commerce.

The act was framed with the object of bringing British trade with the enemy regulations into greater harmony with those adopted by the French Government since the commencement of the war by applying in some degree the test of nationality in the determination of enemy character in addition to the old test of domicile, which experience has shown cannot provide a sufficient basis under modern commercial conditions for measures intended to deprive the enemy of all assistance, direct or indirect, from national resources.

His Majesty's Government realized, however, that the application of this principle to its fullest extent, while entirely legitimate and in accordance with the practice of other countries, might, if applied at the present time to commercial activities as widespread as those of British subjects, involve avoidable inconvenience and loss to innocent traders.

They were careful, therefore, in devising the necessary legislation not only to avoid any definition which would impose enemy status upon all persons of enemy nationality and associations, but also to take powers of discrimination which would enable them to apply the purely commercial restrictions contemplated only in regard to those persons from whom it was necessary in British interests to withhold the facilities afforded by British resources.

His Majesty's Government have therefore abstained from a course of action admittedly within their rights as belligerents, which is not only the existing practice of the French Government, but in strict accordance with the doctrine openly avowed by many other States to be the basis upon which their trading with the enemy regulations would be founded in the event of war, and have confined themselves to passing a piece of purely domestic legislation empowering them to re-

strict the activities and trade of persons under British jurisdiction in such a manner and to such an extent as may seem to them to be necessary in the national interest.

His Majesty's Government readily admit the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They cannot admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction.

In claiming this right, which appears to them to be inherent in sovereignty and national independence, his Majesty's Government desires to assure the United States Government that they will exercise it with every possible care to avoid injury to neutral commerce, and they venture to think that the voluntary limitation of their powers by the terms of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, is evidence of their desire and intention to act with the greatest possible consideration for neutral interests.

For the Secretary of State,
L. WORTHINGTON EVANS.

Punitive Expedition Into Mexico

An International Bandit Hunt

WHEN Francisco Villa and his 1,500 followers crossed the border into New Mexico at dawn on March 9 and assassinated eighteen persons in the town of Columbus he accomplished what he had long been attempting to bring about—an invasion of Mexico by American troops, in the hope that a clash with Carranza's forces might follow. Before President Wilson ordered the punitive expedition in pursuit of Villa, however, he came to a diplomatic understanding with General Carranza, the head of the de facto Government of Mexico, to the end that the criminals should be punished through the friendly co-operation of both Governments.

At first General Carranza had issued a proclamation to the effect that he would never consent to see American soldiers on Mexican soil unless Mexican troops should have the reciprocal privilege of crossing into American territory under similar circumstances. On March 13 President Wilson forwarded a formal answer, conceding this point and adding:

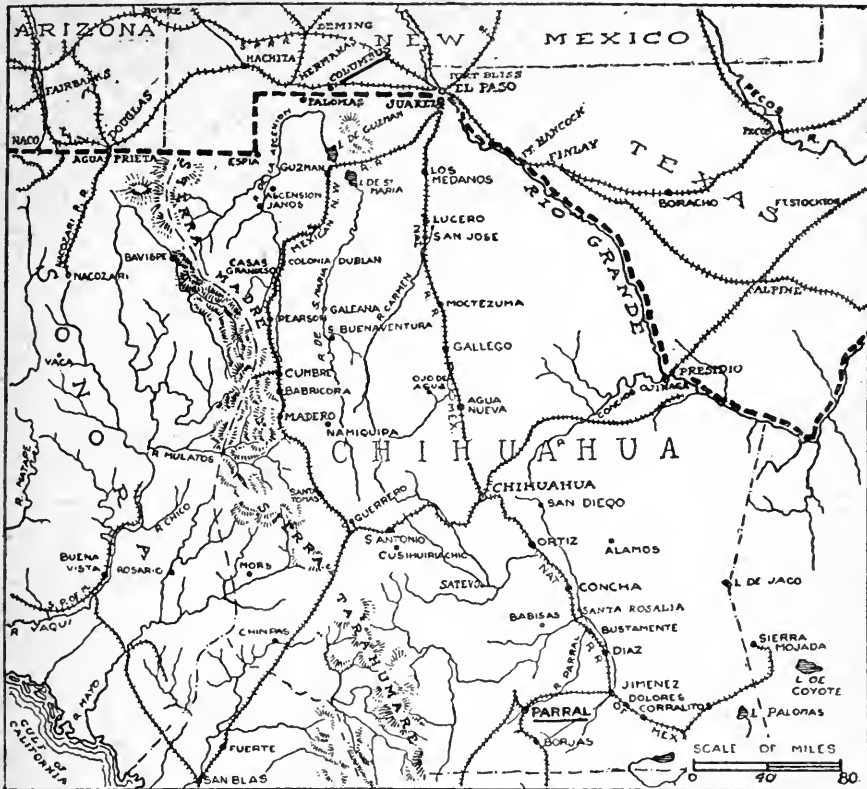
The Government of the United States understands that, in view of its agreement to this reciprocal arrangement proposed by the de facto Government, the arrangement is now complete and in force, and the reciprocal privileges thereunder may accordingly be exercised by either Government without further interchange of views.

The expedition was organized at Columbus under direction of Major General Frederick Funston. It was placed under command of Brigadier General John J. Pershing, and a total force of 5,000 or more, consisting of cavalry, field artillery, and infantry, crossed into Mexico in two columns on March 15.

Congress voted an emergency fund of \$8,611,502 for the expedition and for the 20,000 new troops added to the regular army.

South through the desert wastes of Northern Chihuahua the soldiers followed the trail of the bandits by forced marches that tried their endurance. Aeroplanes and automobiles played a valuable part in the operations. For 500 miles, over deserts and mountains, the outlaws were pursued relentlessly into their own chosen retreats in the Sierra Madre range. General Carranza's forces collaborated to some extent, but the use of the railways was refused, except for the transport of certain supplies, and the American troops were requested not to enter towns for fear of trouble.

In his flight southward Villa attacked the Carranza garrison of 170 men at Guerrero on March 27, killing most of them, but suffering heavy losses himself, and apparently receiving a serious wound in the leg. The remainder of the band, numbering 500, were surprised



SCENE OF AMERICAN EXPEDITION'S PURSUIT OF VILLA IN MEXICO.

by Colonel George A. Dodd and his troopers of the Seventh Cavalry in a neighboring retreat on the 29th, and then followed the most dramatic encounter in the whole expedition. Though the Americans had covered fifty-five miles in a rough and practically roadless country in seventeen hours, and then fought five hours more, they completely routed the outlaws in spite of superior numbers. The bare facts were related by General Pershing in the following dispatch:

San Geronimo Ranch, March 30, 1916.

Dodd struck Villa's command, consisting of 500, 6 o'clock, March 29, at Guerrero. Villa, who is suffering from a broken leg and lame hip, was not present. Number Villa's dead known to be thirty, probably others carried away dead. Dodd captured two machine guns, large number horses, saddles, and arms. Our casualties, four enlisted men wounded, none seriously.

Attack was surprise. The Villa troops being driven in a ten-mile running fight and retreated to mountains northeast of railroad, where they separated into small bands. * * *

Large number Carranzista prisoners, who were being held for execution, were liberated during the fight. In order to reach Guerrero, Dodd marched fifty-five miles in seventeen hours and carried on fight for five hours. * * *

Eliseo Hernandez, who commanded Villa's troops, was killed in fight. With Villa permanently disabled, Lopez wounded, and Hernandez dead, the blow administered is a serious one to Villa's band. PERSHING.

For the next week the bandit's trail became uncertain, until it was picked up again far to the south by an aviator scout. Villa was reported to be carried in a litter, with a guard of 100 picked men, while another force of 400 followers served as a rear guard. He was heading for his old headquarters at Parral. By a swift advance the American cavalry—the Seventh, Tenth, and Thirteenth Regiments—were soon in close pursuit, but not close enough to keep him from disappearing—apparently into Parral. When American troops entered that town the first serious clash

occurred. The soldiers were attacked by a civilian mob and later had to fight a pitched battle with Carranza troops. The official report of the affair, dated April 15, says:

Frank Tompkins's column, Troop K, Thirteenth Cavalry, and Troop M, Thirteenth Cavalry, entered Parral 11 A. M., 12th instant. Proceeding was cordially received by higher civil and military authorities. Military Commander General Lozano accompanied Major Frank Tompkins on way to camp.

In the outskirts of the town groups of native troops and civilians, following, jeered, threw stones, and fired on column. Major Frank Tompkins took defensive position north of railroad, but was soon flanked by native troops and forced to further retire.

About 300 Carranza troops joined in pursuit, and Major Frank Tompkins continued to withdraw to avoid further complications until he reached Santa Cruz, eight miles from Parral. Fighting ceased about fifteen miles from town. Major Frank Tompkins deserves great praise for his forbearance. General Lozano attempted to control his men when fight first began, but failed to.

Colonel Brown, with Major Charles Young, Tenth Cavalry, squadron of Tenth Cavalry, eight miles away when notified, and joined Major Frank Tompkins 7 P. M. Reported privately forty Mexicans killed, all soldiers, including one Major. One civilian wounded. Americans killed, two; wounded, six; missing, one.

Major R. L. Howze, Eleventh Cavalry, arrived Parral yesterday from San Berja and Ballesea, having had several skirmishes with Villa men. One man killed, two wounded.

FUNSTON.

General Carranza, while expressing regret for the occurrence, complained in a long note to the American Government

that the expedition had gone further into Mexico than it should, and was operating without an adequate basis of international agreement. He asked for the recall of the American troops on the ground that Villa's bandits had been scattered. At the present writing (April 18) the Americans are continuing their pursuit. Villa himself is reported, on very doubtful authority, to have died of his wounds. Carranza's note is regarded at Washington as an invitation to discuss withdrawal, and as deserving a reasonable answer. At the same time the military officers in Mexico charge treachery in the attack at Parral, and the situation is admitted to contain possibilities of serious misunderstanding.

In view of General Carranza's new attitude it may be of interest to place on record the original War Department order under which General Funston is acting:

You will promptly organize an adequate force of military troops under the command of Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, and will direct him to proceed promptly across the border in pursuit of the Mexican band which attacked the town of Columbus, N. M., and the troops there on the morning of March 9. These troops will be withdrawn to American territory as soon as the de facto Government of Mexico is able to relieve them of this work. In any event, the work of these troops will be regarded as finished as soon as Villa's band or bands are known to be broken up.

It can fairly be said that Villa's marauding band is "broken up," for the present at least.



What Britain's Navy Has Done

By Arthur J. Balfour
First Lord of the Admiralty

All the more significant portions of Mr. Balfour's naval address in Parliament on March 7, which called forth the historic attack by his predecessor, Winston Churchill, are here published in full.

MY business is to give to the House, as far as it is consistent with the public interest so to do, a general impression of the course which the Admiralty have pursued and are pursuing to enable us to carry effectively the vast responsibility which rests on the British fleet, a responsibility which extends far beyond the need of defending our shores, or even protecting our commerce, and is in no sense of less extent than the needs of the whole great alliance which is now carrying on war against the Central Powers of Europe. Our fleet is now an international fleet. We are carrying out international duties and many nations depend on us.

A CONTINUOUS POLICY

The policy of the Admiralty in its present form is directly continuous with that of our predecessors. I have heard suggestions that when the present board came into office there was a sudden stoppage of naval shipbuilding, that the new board were content to rest upon the labors of their predecessors,

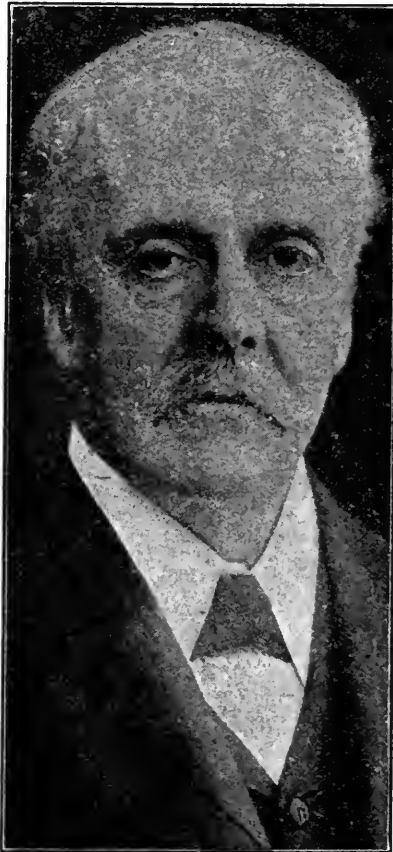
that it was supposed that all that had to be done was done, and that we could reap where they had sown. There never was a more singular misstatement of facts. Who have set themselves to work

to disseminate such fictions — to feed them, to water them, to cultivate them, to spread them—I do not know, but whoever they may be let me here say quite distinctly there is absolutely no truth in that suggestion, and that so far as activities in the direction of adding to our naval force are concerned we have pursued to the utmost of our ability the broad general lines marked out for us by the distinguished board which went before us.

GERMAN CRUISERS

The greatest responsibility thrown on my right honorable friend (Colonel Winston Churchill) was that of dealing with the German cruisers who were preying upon our commerce in various

parts of the world. That was a very difficult, a very anxious, a very laborious task, and it was carried out with complete success. At this moment there is no



ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

German cruiser—I do not speak of a German raider like the *Möwe*—belonging to the German fleet which is in a position to menace British commerce on any of the oceans of the world.

About a year ago, early in 1915, which is about the time when the last navy estimates were presented to the House, a wholly new set of problems began to rise into paramount importance. In the early days of the war the sea had to be kept open for the transport of the expeditionary force to France. The task of carrying 160,000 men and supplying them with stores and ammunition, although it would have seemed a very difficult and laborious task to our forefathers, is absolutely insignificant compared with the task which we have taken upon ourselves in an ever-increasing magnitude since the operations in the Mediterranean began. In addition to the enormously augmented supplies of men we have sent to France we have had to maintain and transport the army in Gallipoli, the large force connected with Egypt, and the large force connected with Saloniki. We had not merely to transport them but to supply them and to feed them.

TRANSPORT OPERATIONS

In addition to that, the blockade of Germany and the blockade of Turkey were tasks which were thrown upon the British fleet. The increasing importance of the northern ports of Russia were day by day being forced upon our notice, and, last but not least, the appearance of the submarine in the Mediterranean as well as in home waters added greatly to our responsibilities and anxieties. If you take the distance between Archangel, in the north, and Alexandria, in the eastern base of the Mediterranean, you will find that distance to be about 5,000 miles, and that 5,000 miles had in a large part to be guarded solely by the British fleets and in another part had to be guarded by British fleets combined with those of our allies, but in a manner which necessarily threw an immense strain upon the British fleet.

I find that about 4,000,000 combatants have been transported under the guardianship of the British fleet, one million horses and other animals for transport,

2,500,000 tons of stores, and in addition 22,000,000 gallons of oil for us and for our allies.

The presence—not of German cruisers but of German submarines threw an enormous task upon the British Navy which could hardly be foreseen, still less provided against, in the first days of the war. If you had laid this before some professor of the theory of warfare or some student of military and naval history, I do not believe he would for a moment have admitted the possibility—in the face of the special difficulties with which we have got to deal—of maintaining these enormous armies in Egypt, the Dardanelles, Saloniki, to say nothing of Mesopotamia or of the colonial operations in East Africa or in the Cameroons—of carrying out such an operation as that without suffering immense losses, even if the operations could be carried out at all, even with the resources of the greatest naval power in the world.

I think we may look back with satisfaction upon the manner in which this vast task has been carried through. It is novel in character and unexampled in magnitude. The dangers to be met with were relatively new dangers, they had never been experienced in practice, and on the whole I think everybody who has been connected with these transactions in the Admiralty and in the navy has reason to be pleased—I do not say to be satisfied—with the result.

ADMIRALTY NOT CONTENT

The Admiralty have never been content with the weapon of which they found themselves possessed, and they have never relaxed their desire to increase the strength of that weapon. They have never been content to rest on the work which they or their predecessors have done to increase the value of that mighty maritime weapon on which the liberties of the world now more than ever depend. We rightly boast of the prodigious efforts which the nation has made to create out of the expeditionary force a vast national army, and certainly it was a most notable performance. But let us not forget that the navy has also enormously expanded since the outbreak of hostilities. It is a

very fair measure of the growth of the navy to say that the personnel required by the navy has, broadly speaking, doubled since the war began. In the navy estimates of 1914 the number of men voted was about 140,000 with reserves. Including the naval division we have now about 300,000 men, and we have taken power to raise the total number to 350,000. That is an enormous growth. As regards the tonnage of the navy, including auxiliary cruisers and all ships under the white ensign actually used as ships of war, the increase is well over a million tons since the war broke out.

NAVAL AIR SERVICE

Let me deal now with the air service of the navy. That service entirely owed its origin to my right honorable and gallant friend (Colonel Churchill). Long before the use of aircraft had been proved by experience, my right honorable and gallant friend foresaw the important part that it was going to play in the naval warfare of the future, and he set himself to work to lay deep the foundations of a Naval Air Service. Since August, 1914, the strength of the Naval Air Service has increased tenfold. That necessarily has involved some alterations of organization. Among other things we found that the means of educating airmen were inadequate. With the sanction of the Treasury the Admiralty purchased some months ago a large tract of land very suitably situated for all the purposes of training in flying. The Admiralty have also secured the services of Commodore Payne, who has done admirable work in connection with the army, and I have no doubt that under his supervision with the facilities that are being placed at his disposal an immense growth in education in air matters will result.

The work of the Naval Air Service is largely different from that of the army, and consequently the training for the two services must be different. For instance, no army airman is ever required to use a seaplane or to distinguish the various types of ships, enemy or friendly, which have to be discriminated if an airman is to be a good scout over the sea.

QUESTION OF ZEPPELINS

There is one branch of the air service which the army have deliberately handed over to the exclusive patronage of the navy—I mean the lighter than air craft. Here also there has been a great development since the war began. It was decided, rightly or wrongly, in years gone by—I think myself wrongly, though I certainly do not blame the people who came to the decision—that it was not worth our while to deal with the complicated and costly question of Zeppelins. I do not believe any prophet now living can say with confidence what the future relation between the Zeppelin and the heavier than air machine is going to be. Both are improving, but perhaps the improvement in the heavier than air machine is more rapid and more certain. It may conceivably be that in ten years people will regard the Zeppelin as an antiquated instrument, and say you ought entirely to rely upon the magnitude of power of your heavier than air machines. On that I make no forecast. All I say is that at this moment it is extremely desirable that we should have lighter than air machines from the naval point of view in order to supplement the efforts of our fleet by machines for scouting, which in many respects and in favorable weather are far more effective than the swiftest destroyer or the most powerful cruiser. Therefore, we have been, and are, doing our best to develop the lighter than air machine. The difficulty we have found—I am not talking of the Zeppelin now, but of the non-rigid type—is not so much in constructing the instrument as in housing it. In the present condition of labor throughout the country the length of time taken to build an adequate shed and shelter for these instruments is what is really checking their use. The kite balloon also has been handed over entirely by the army to the Admiralty. It has undergone great and growing developments, and I am personally persuaded that we shall find more and more use for it at sea.

SHIPBUILDING ACTIVITIES

I come now to the question of ships. At no time in our history has so great an

amount of the shipbuilding capacity of the country been used for the production of ships of war as during the nineteen months which have elapsed since hostilities broke out. You may almost say that during most of these nineteen months very little was built in our shipbuilding yards for the merchant service. The building resources of the shipbuilding yards, both those devoted habitually to ships of war and those devoted habitually to merchant ships, have been used to the utmost of their capacity for what in one sense or another are ships that are absolutely necessary for naval purposes. There never has been a time when so many ships have been turned out or when the speed of turning them out has been equaled. The whole process of making ships of war has been speeded up, and never has it run at such a speed as it is running at the present time. Never has there been a greater desire on the part of the Admiralty to vary the types of ships, not merely according to tradition, habit, or usage, but what appear to be the new and pressing necessities of the moment. The new necessities have to be provided for as rapidly as possible. They have been, and are being, provided for as rapidly as possible. Quite early in the war the necessity of building smaller craft and increasing the number of our destroyers, light cruisers, and so on was foreseen by the Admiralty. They set to work at once, and that policy, begun many months ago, has continued without rest or intermission ever since.

STRONGER THAN EVER

The shipbuilding resources of the country are not only being used to an absolutely unexampled extent in making ships of war, but also in carrying out the necessary repairs for the fleet. The result of all this effort is that, with one exception, the fleet is far stronger than it was when war broke out. That exception is armored cruisers. We have lost some armored cruisers and we have not replaced them. But in armored cruisers our superiority is enormous and uncontested. In every other branch of ships of war, in dreadnought battleships, in dreadnought cruisers, in light cruisers, in flotilla leaders, in destroyers, in sloops,

and in the vast and growing class of patrol boats there has been a most notable augmentation since the beginning of the war, and that augmentation has suffered, and is suffering, no check.

What I said about ships I may say about guns. The number of guns has greatly grown, and the ammunition for these guns has greatly grown both absolutely and relatively to the guns it has to serve. In all warlike stores necessary to the success of naval operations we are much better off now than at the beginning of the war. The House may fairly ask me whether with all this vast growth I or my professional advisers are satisfied. The answer to that is in the negative. The very fact that we are pressing on building shows that we are not content, and that there are still deficiencies in certain kinds of ships which the Board of Admiralty are anxious to fill up, and are filling up as rapidly as possible.

TRIBUTE TO THE FLEET

The Grand Fleet has not as yet had great opportunities, in conformity with the organization of which it forms a part, of showing in the face of the enemy what it really is.

We have had more opportunities of judging of what I may call the independent work of officers and men—the submarine in the Sea of Marmora or in the Baltic—the mine-sweeper—the armed trawler. I am afraid I cannot do justice to all that I feel about the work of these men—necessarily it is little known to the public. They do not work in the presence of great bodies of men, to admire and applaud them for their gallantry. Small crews in stormy seas suddenly face to face with unexpected peril, they never seem to me to fail. No danger, no difficulty, is too great for them. The debt of this country to them is almost incalculable.

[After paying a tribute to the courage of the Captains and crews of ordinary merchant ships, and to the Admirals in command of the British Navy, Mr. Balfour continued:]

“TEUTONIC SWAGGER”

I think I have sketched the general naval position. What conclusion ought

to be drawn? There is a kind of Teutonic swagger which I would not go within a thousand miles of imitating—and I hope nothing I have said or propose to say will approach anything in the nature of overconfidence. I do not quite understand the German point of view. I see by the ordinary sources of information that Berlin has been beflagged for two or three days to celebrate the return of the *Möwe*. The *Möwe* is a tramp steamer, disguised and armed, which eluded our patrol going out. She sank a certain number of unarmed merchant ships and succeeded in getting back. I have no doubt both the Captain and the crew of the *Möwe* showed seamanlike qualities and enterprise, but I am not sure whether we ought not to congratulate ourselves that, if the return of the *Möwe*, after these triumphs, is the subject on which the capital of a great empire is to beflag itself for some days, we may not draw the conclusion that the German standard of achievements at the present moment is not a very high one.

SUB-ACID PESSIMISM

I do not wish to place upon faint indications of this kind any too confident notion as to our superiority, but I do not think that there is the smallest justification for a certain kind of sub-acid pessimism which now and then has reached my ears from various unexpected quarters. I acknowledge, of course, that new methods of warfare make certain naval operations more or less incalculable. I grant, fully grant, that the utmost foresight, the utmost care, the most anxious prevision, will not preclude the occurrence of accidents and disasters now and then. I further grant that the discovery, or let me say the fuller recognition, by our allies of the absolutely essential part which the British fleet is playing in the present military operation, is a recognition that must increase our own anxiety as to the efficiency of that fleet.

No longer, as the world now understands, does the British fleet exist merely to protect British shores, or even British commerce—the world has begun to recognize that it is on the basis of the British fleet that the whole of the alliance de-

pends and all military successes are founded, and the very fact that that prodigious responsibility rests upon the navy, and in the main upon the British Navy, cannot but increase the natural anxiety which anybody connected with that service would be inclined to feel.

But when I reflect that in August, 1914, we rightly felt, in the words of my right honorable friend (Colonel Churchill): "We can count upon a fleet of sufficient superiority for all our needs, with a good margin of safety in vital matters"; when I reflect that that was true in 1914, as it certainly was; when I reflect that in every department of naval strength the growth since then under my right honorable friend, and under the board which succeeded him, has been absolutely prodigious; when I reflect that its organization has been great in the essentials of material strength, and also that every evidence we can get from such actions as have already taken place shows that the men of the fleet, from the highest to the lowest, are competent to carry out their duties—it seems to me, that the sub-acid pessimism has but little justification.

MR. CHURCHILL'S ATTACK

[Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill followed Mr. Balfour with a "sub-acid" speech in which he charged the present Admiralty administration with "a lack of driving force and mental energy which cannot be allowed to continue, and which must be rectified while time remains and before evil results." He closed by urging Mr. Balfour to recall Lord Fisher to the position of First Sea Lord, in place of the present incumbent, Sir Henry Jackson. The next day Mr. Balfour made an indignant reply, in which he took up each charge, made some of his own, and declared with reference to his predecessor's demand for Lord Fisher: "I should regard myself as contemptible beyond the power of expression if I were to yield an inch to a demand of such a kind made in such a way." The general verdict of the British press regarding this sensational episode was that Colonel Churchill's attack had a political motive which miscarried.]

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked, CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American, point of view.

[A GERMAN INTERPRETATION]

After Verdun—Peace!

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE military situation in the great war is still being guided and governed by the happenings before Verdun. The operations in the vicinity of this great fortified camp, the French defensive stronghold, which at the time of its erection was also intended as a powerful base for an offensive movement, are exerting a distinct influence upon the entire gigantic battle front, stretching from the waters of the English Channel to the immediate neighborhood of the Swiss mountains.

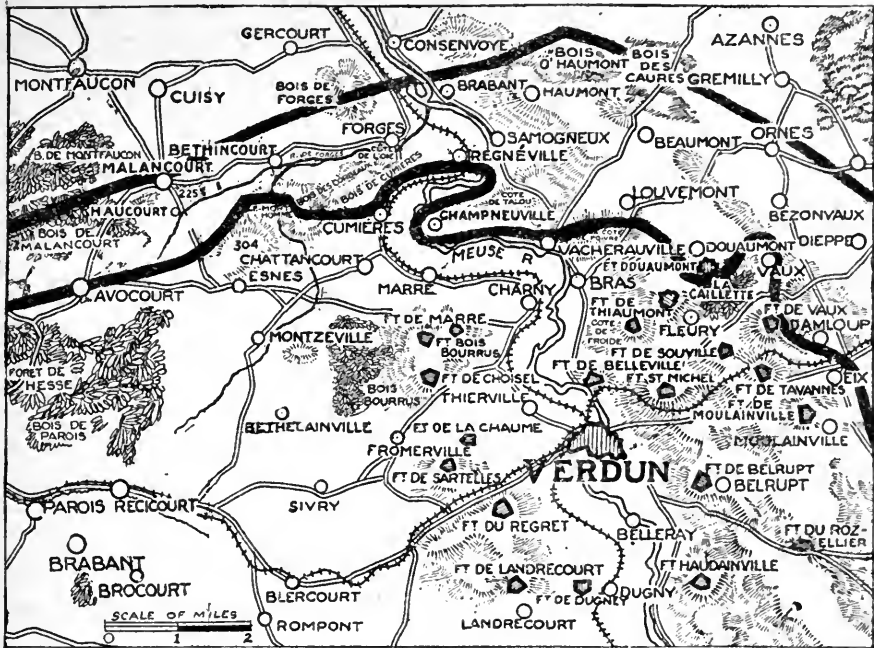
Already whole armies have had to be shifted in various sectors of this front. To enable the French to bring reinforcements to the Verdun district the English have extended their front, which heretofore, reaching from Dixmude to a point north of Arras, had a width of only thirty-one miles, to the district northwest of Soissons. This is the sector where the German battle front reaches the point which is nearest to Paris. Not only the military but also the political situation has been greatly influenced by the happenings around Verdun. The thunder of the guns has found an echo in the deliberations of the Paris "super-conference," in which the Entente was to be welded into a political, economical, and military unity.

The objective of the German attack against Verdun is of a military as well as of a political nature. It is known today that the German operations do not represent merely an attempt to advance, that they are not a local offensive, but

that they represent an entire campaign. True enough, as far as the direct objective, the taking of the great fortress and the crumbling up of the enemy's forces, is concerned, this campaign is complete in itself. But according to the intentions and the plans of the German General Staff this campaign is to be brought into the closest connection with the future development of the military conditions along the entire western front.

Once Verdun has fallen Germany's enemies will be compelled to undertake a regrouping of their fighting forces along the entire battle line. The French will be forced to take back their whole Aisne front. The possession of Verdun is intended to enable the Germans to press forward in France from an easterly direction—with Paris as goal of the movement. Then the part of the German front nearest to Paris this day—west-northwest of Soissons, at the bend of the line near Noyon—will become the pivot point from which this entire section of the German battle front will be pushed forward toward the French capital.

Yet the fall of Verdun shall not only open the way to Paris, but also to the possibility of concluding peace. That is the great political perspective discernible through the powder smoke. Recently a neutral correspondent has furnished a graphic description of the fighting before Verdun. "The background for these gigantic operations," he said in concluding his report, "is formed by the burning Verdun." Over all the horrible



THE BATTLE OF VERDUN: THE TWO LINES SHOW GERMANY'S GAINS IN TWO MONTHS' FIGHTING.

frightfulness of these gigantic operations and over the burning Verdun will reappear the bow which is stretched above the clouds as a sign of the covenant, that "neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there be any more flood to destroy the earth." * * *

The tactics employed in the battle against Verdun may well serve as an explanation for the slow and systematic advance of the German forces. The speed of the German forward movement is governed, first of all, by the resistance encountered on nearing the fortress, and, secondly, by the careful preservation of the human fighting material. The entire battling ground is one enormous fortress. Only step by step can this ground be taken. The French, after including a number of extremely strong works into the belt of outer fortifications, had considered this girdle impregnable. But the experience gathered at Liège, Namur, Maubeuge, Antwerp, and many other places, which heretofore had also been considered unconquerable, has put the defense of Verdun upon an entirely dif-

ferent basis. A modern fortress must now be defended from the outer field, as is the case at Verdun. That is what is putting such enormous obstacles in the way of the German advance.

Favored by topographical conditions, augmented by the introduction of the most modern achievements in the art of fortifying, and further supplemented by the experiences gathered in the early stages of this war, the entire district of Verdun is comparable to one defensive stronghold of gigantic size. Furthermore, the French have also developed into magnificent "stickers." Formerly the writers of French military history were praising the élan of the French troops when attacking, while their failures were attributed to lack of endurance. But the resisting power, even of the single man, has reached a remarkably high degree in the course of this war. By their valor and bravery, shown when attacking as well as defending, the French troops have added a new page of honor to the history of the French Army. This is readily conceded by their adversary.

The strategy directing the forward

movement in the face of such obstacles always remains the same. To begin with, the enemy's defensive positions are destroyed by artillery; then comes the onslaught by infantry, followed by an intermission. These tactical precautions explain the comparative lightness of the German losses, which have also been commented upon by neutrals. Neither do we hear any more from the enemy's quarters that the intermissions between storming attacks and the lulls in the artillery fire are signs of "exhaustion" or of "lessening of the attacking power." The military expert of a German newspaper has likened the German storming attacks, executed at intervals, with a chain of tidal waves. Still more characteristic is the comparison drawn by an American observer at the front. "Like a glacier," he says, "the German forward movement is creeping toward Verdun."

Since on Monday, Feb. 21, the Germans delivered their first blow against Consenvoye Woods, three distinct stages of the Verdun campaign have developed. The first of these came to a close when the Germans took Fort Douaumont. The second stage was taken up with the forward movement from an easterly direction, from the Woevre toward Vaux. Then it became necessary to protect the German positions east of the Meuse against flanking fire. This necessity led to the operations west of the river. As soon as the right flank of the German centre was protected, the operations in the district west of the Meuse were further extended. The actions for the possession of the Verdun-Paris Railroad commenced. These operations are still under way. All supplies for Verdun must be transported over this railroad, which is also the only line of retreat.

After the Germans had taken the "Le Mort Homme" position, consisting of Hill 265 and Hill 295, and after they had taken possession of Haucourt as well as of the Bois de Malancourt and the Bois d'Avocourt, a French wedge, with Bethincourt at its point, was protruding into the German position west of the Meuse. As long as this salient remained in

French hands, it was impossible to continue the operations against the railroad. The salient had to be crushed in. This was done when, under the pressure of the German onslaught, the French evacuated Bethincourt, and the Germans occupied "Termit Hill," north-northwest of Avocourt, as well as the outer ridge of Hill 304. At the time of this writing this height is the keystone of the entire French position west of the Meuse. It controls all the surrounding territory as far south as the Verdun-Paris Railroad. Therefore this position is even more important than "Le Mort Homme."

The Germans must now concentrate their efforts upon the erection of their front against the railroad along the line Avocourt-Esnes-Chattancourt. Only five miles separate this railroad from Avocourt. Hill 304 is situated so far north from the line Avocourt-Esnes that the heavy German guns can be mounted there without exposing them to any danger whatsoever from surprise attacks. That means, in other words, the control over the railroad itself. Nevertheless, we shall have to expect bitter fighting before Hill 304 will be in German hands. The French will do all in their power to defend this height, knowing that its possession would give the Germans an enormous advantage. Then only will the western bank of the Meuse be cleared of its defenders. The German battle line west of the Meuse will then be extended to the eastern fighting area as far as the high plateau of Douaumont. The third stage of the Verdun campaign will have come to its close, and the fourth stage will commence, namely, the concentric attack from the north, the west, and the east against the girdle of forts and the great fortress itself.

The following events of consequence have occurred before Verdun since March 15:

March 21.—Avocourt Woods taken.

March 31.—Malancourt captured.

April 1.—The Germans gain a footing in a part of the village Vaux

April 8.—Two strong French supporting points south of Haucourt and "Termit Hill" taken by the Germans.

ACCOUTREMENT OF A TWENTIETH CENTURY SOLDIER



French Bomb Throwers Now Use Shields



To Protect the Eyes From the Sun and the User From Shell Fragments

(Photos © Underwood & Underwood)



Using the Crapouillot, a Home-made Bomb-thrower



Grenadiers Whose Grenades Are Shaped Like Incandescent Lights

(Medem Photo Service)

ACCOUTREMENT OF A TWENTIETH CENTURY SOLDIER



Artillerymen With Masks and Goggles to Protect Them Against Poisonous Gases



British Soldier in Trench Outfit, With Gas Helmet; the Sheepskin Is for Warmth



Infantryman and His Dog
Equipment, With Dog From
Red Cross Corps



"Cleaner of the Trenches," Who
Cares for Enemy Wounded in
Captured Positions

(Medem Photo Service)

April 9.—The French evacuate the salient of their front with Bethincourt at the northern point.

* * * * *

The roaring of the guns before Verdun is stirring up the recollections of many centuries. All conquerors that have invaded France have chosen this route, and all those that had met with defeat have limped home the same way. The cathedral of the city is a relic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Verdun at that time was still a free city of the German Empire. Not until the ignominious Westphalian peace of the year 1648, that great blot on German history, did it become, together with Toul and Metz, for a long time a part of France. Strassburg followed thirty-seven years later, taken by base robbery under Louis XIV.

The ignominy of the Westphalian peace is wiped out. The "Metze" of the empire is girded with the maidenly steel belt of German cannon. From Master Erwin's Strassburg minster is waving the symbol of the new German Empire. The German Nation in arms is fighting before Verdun against the traditions of the politics of Louis XIV.

In the other sectors of the western front no great changes in the military situation have occurred within the last thirty days. The mine and crater fighting on the British front near St. Eloi, Hulluch, and Souchez is of purely local character. We hear nothing any more of the predicted great offensive of the Allies. The question has been raised why the British did not try to benefit by the tying up of great German forces before Verdun through an attempt against the German lines in Flanders and in Northern France. The answer has already been given by stating the fact that the English were compelled to lengthen their line in order to free French fighting forces for the defense of their eastern stronghold.

Also, the expected long-distance effect of the Russian offensive, intended as a countermove against the pressure exerted by the Germans before Verdun, has not materialized. In the Bukovina and on the Bessarabian front quiet reigns again. Czernowitz, which was to fall

"within the next few days," is still firm in the hands of the Austrians, while on the extreme northern part of the eastern battle front the Russian offensive has been drowned in blood before von Hindenburg's "machine-gun front."

The melting of the snow has turned the entire region of the Dvina into an impassable swamp. Now we are able to understand why von Hindenburg, instead of pushing forward to the lowlands on the right bank of the Dvina, has erected his strong positions on higher ground. The unmerciful sacrificing of fresh troops by the Russians and the spasmodic attacks by the Italians were absolutely barren of results. Neither did the intended counterpressure against the forward movement of the German troops toward the key of the entire French defensive line by an onslaught en masse in other theatres of war materialize. The Italians are aware of the fact that they themselves would be buried under the ruins of the conquered fortress of Verdun. In Rome already fear is felt that Germany, should Verdun fall, would declare war on Italy. Then the hosts of the Austro-Hungarian troops would descend upon the plains, and the Germans would press forward through the Riviera. Cadorna would be compelled to withdraw his entire fighting forces to the line of the River Po, the old border between Italy and the Dual Monarchy. Therefore the last, desperate attempt.

In this struggle of nations it has been tried time and again to exert long-distance pressure, but only in one single instance was such an effort crowned with success, and at a very important moment at that. That was when, at the very beginning of the war, the Russian invasion of Eastern Prussia brought to a halt the entire German forward movement toward Paris. But neither Russia nor Italy has felt such an effect to its own advantage. The fate of the Russians has decreed that they must bleed to death. And Italy's tragedy is that she must stand and fall alone.

Entirely independent of the military developments on the various European battlegrounds, the Russian campaign in the Caucasus and the British campaign

in Mesopotamia have shaped themselves within the last four weeks. After the fall of Erzerum the roads to Bagdad were supposed to be open to the Russians. Like an avalanche they were supposed to roll forward from Armenia and, at the same time, through Persia. They felt sure of Trebizond, and even saw themselves already before the gates of Bagdad. And yet we know today that their advance had come to a halt long ago.

Petrograd even reports that south of Urumiah Lake, i. e., not far from the Russo-Persian border, the Russians are fighting against strong Kurdish forces, supported by regular Turkish infantry. The Russians were to succor the British forces surrounded at Kut-el-Amara. Yet their aim is not Mesopotamia, but the Persian Gulf. They are anxious to gain an approach to the open sea. This approach is at the same time the gate to India—a gate which had heretofore been so carefully shut and guarded by the British. The position of the latter in Mesopotamia is becoming more and more critical, and already the feeling of

alarm is spreading over the whole of England. * * *

This is the military situation as it has developed within the past four weeks on all the theatres of war. The heavy guns are still becoming before Verdun and on many other fields of battle. The war goes on. But war is always the continuation of certain politics by other means. Never is war a purpose in itself. The peaceful means of overcoming the differences which have led to the effort of solution by force will finally also bring the struggle to a close. Already voices are heard and opinions expressed which are emphasizing the possibility of a settlement. Through the clouds of hate and through the smoke of the burning ruins of Verdun will appear the bow of revelation which stretches over all humanity.

The military facts are pointing toward the fall of the stronghold. But whatever further development the military situation on this field of battle, crossed by many conquerors and reddened by the blood of the conquered, may bring: After Verdun—peace!

[AN AMERICAN INTERPRETATION]

The Month's Military Developments

From March 15 to April 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THROUGHOUT the last month the battle of Verdun has occupied public attention, to the exclusion of all other military operations. As a matter of fact, in none of the other fields has there been any operation of importance. The belligerents in other fields stand as if stupefied before the wonder of the Verdun fighting, apparently to wait until that battle is over before launching anything of their own. There have been other isolated actions in the month—the Russian offensive that started along the Dvina from Riga to Lake Noroc, the minor engagements between

the British and the Turks along the Tigris. These merit passing notice in an account of the month's happenings, but the one great feature of the month's operations must remain the battle in France.

East of the Meuse, in the vicinity of Douaumont and Vaux, attacks have been of almost daily occurrence. Sometimes only the artillery was used, at others the infantry was sent in after the artillery preparation was considered complete. The most determined attack on this side of the river, and, in fact, the only attack which the Germans really

tried to drive home, was begun on April 1, and was directed primarily at the village of Vaux.

Vaux is a town of a single street, which lies wholly within a deep ravine, the ravine being flanked on the north by the plateau of Douaumont and on the south by Hill 325, on which is situated the old works known as Fort Vaux. The value of the town lies only in the ridges which inclose it on the north and south. If these two edges of the ravine were taken, the Germans would obtain a foothold on the heights of the Meuse from which they could fight their way up to a position that would completely flank the line of the eastern defenses of Verdun. They succeeded in taking the village on April 1 and in pushing part way up the slopes of the southern edge of the ravine, but on the following day the French began one of the few extensive counterattacks they have so far indulged in, and, with the exception of a small strip of woods to the northwest, retook all that they had lost. The battle in this section ended, therefore, practically on the ground where it had begun. This unimportant strip of woods represents the total German gain east of the river in the month's fighting.

At this stage it may be well to analyze the conditions that made such a successful resistance on the part of the French possible, after the rather rapid retirement they were forced to make in the earlier days of the battle. It is almost entirely a matter of terrain. I might interpolate here, in order to explain what might seem an inexcusable lack of continuity, that the battle on the east of the Meuse and that on the west must be regarded as in reality two battles entirely apart, though with the same objective. The reason is that, owing to the peculiar course of the river and the nature of the terrain, real co-operation between the forces on the two sides of the river is not possible.

The line originally held by the French on the east bank was not suited to, nor was it ever intended to be, a real line of defense. The country is irregular, broken up by a number of disconnected hills of varying height. All these crests were

held by the French as advanced posts, but the connecting links extending across the intermediate valleys were tactically weak. It was recognized at the outset that this line of advanced posts could serve only to delay the advance and to inflict punishment. They were admirably suited to this latter function. To attack any one of them, it was necessary for the Germans to advance not only from the north, but from the east and the west as well, in order to get up the slope. The eastern and western slopes were almost without exception exposed to the fire of batteries of light artillery located on other heights in the rear, so that, in addition to the frontal fire that the advancing troops had to face as a matter of course, they were also subjected to a cross-fire from the artillery located at other points.

The first step of the Germans was naturally to strike the line where it was weakest, that is, between the hillcrests, and bend it back, thus creating salients in the French line, which they attacked in turn. It was in these attacks against the points in the French line which jutted out to the north that the German casualty list received its greatest additions. It was in these also that the French lost the greater proportion of their prisoners, for the troops in these points held on as long as they could inflict loss on the Germans, and in many instances were cut off from the main line by the crashing in of the sides of the angle.

The French fell back as the pressure became too severe, until they reached the present line, which is really the main French line of defense in this part of the field. It consists of a continuous chain or line of hills, practically unbroken, from Vacherauville, just north of Pepper Hill, through the plateau of Douaumont, across Hill 325 at the fortress of Vaux to Eix. This is the line they have held, in spite of all that the German artillery and the masses of German infantry could do to drive them out. The line is, as far as we can judge, just as solid and as unshaken as it was when it was first reached by the French in their retirement.

On the western side of the river the

Germans have been more successful. The offensive began on March 23, with concentrated attacks at two points—in the woods of Malancourt against the heights of Haucourt, and south of Bethincourt toward Le Mort Homme. At both places they succeeded in driving ahead a little over a mile, making deep indentations in the French line, although the centre between the points of attack, which was along the highway between Malancourt and Bethincourt, held fast. The "U" thus created in the French line gave the Germans an advantage they were not slow in taking up. Striking at the base, just east of Malancourt they soon had the town practically surrounded and forced its evacuation, taking at the same time the heights of Haucourt, somewhat to the south. This brought them to the southern edge of the woods of Avocourt, from which, however, they were unable to debouch.

This success marked the first break in the line west of the river, which the French had held for over a year. The object was of course to dominate and cut the Paris-Verdun Railroad, the principal road on which the French depend for supplies and ammunition. Should this road be cut, or even put under concentrated and continuous artillery fire, making its operation impossible, the burden thus thrown on the line feeding Verdun from the south would be so great that the entire transportation system—upon which every large battle is dependent—would break down. The French line would have to fall back just as surely as if its main position were occupied by the opposing forces.

The French line between Malancourt and Bethincourt being thus threatened and its position being strategically unsound in that the brook of Forges was in its immediate rear, a retirement was made to the southern side of the brook, so that the German attack would have to come to the French across it. This sharpened the angle in the line at Bethincourt and made the German attack against the eastern side of the angle, which attack came a few days later, an inevitable success, the French falling back to the foot of Le Mort Homme.

Some few days later the Germans began the heaviest attack that they have attempted since the early days of the battle. The French estimate of the number of troops used was three army corps, about 120,000 men. The attack was directed first against the line from Haucourt to Bethincourt and gradually spread to the east bank of the river—to Douaumont and Vaux. It registered a complete failure. Everywhere the French lines held fast.

I have gone thus into detail because no effort of the Germans since the first days of the war has been pushed against such resistance as at Verdun, and the German persistence in spite of small unimportant gains and enormous losses tells plainly as if in words what I have claimed since the beginning of the battle—that, regardless of cost, irrespective of comparative values, Verdun must be taken or the entire German cause experience a serious setback. As was stated last month, any fortified place can be taken if the attacking commander is willing to pay the price. Verdun is no exception to this statement. The question that many are asking today is, Has Germany the price?

On the west bank of the Meuse the Germans still have about four miles to go before reaching the main French line of resistance, the Ridge of Charny. Their gain in a month of terrific fighting and heavy losses has been but about a mile. On the east bank they reached the main defensive line a month ago, and during the last month have gained nothing. What their losses have been is not known, but they have been exceedingly heavy, reaching probably 200,000 men. This is not an exorbitant estimate when it is realized that the French offensive in the Champagne last September, while only of three days' duration, fully equaled that number. How many more men must be sacrificed to achieve the German object no one can say.

It begins to look as if the Germans are in a trap of their own making. They have practically advertised to the world that they propose to take Verdun. They have massed for this purpose the most powerful engines of war the world has

seen, and more of them than have ever been concentrated at one place. The most supreme effort that an army has ever made has been and is being made. The combination of the German heavy artillery and the masses of infantry, admittedly the best infantry in the world, has been considered by Germany's allies and by neutrals to be irresistible if driven against one position. Without a loss in prestige that will echo from the Persian Gulf to the western battle front Germany cannot acknowledge defeat. It is as if she held a heavily charged electric wire. It burns through to the bone, but she cannot let go.

The tragedy of it all is that Germany has not the stake that she had when the battle began. Whatever she might have gained had the issue of battle gone her way in the first two or three weeks has largely been dissipated by the additional length of time that has been spent and that must still be spent before Verdun can be taken. The world has seen the strength of the French defensive. It has seen the time and the expenditure of men and of shell necessary to force the defensive line. From this the world will judge of the impossibility of Germany's winning the war on the western front. She may have the price to pay for a single fortified position or area such as Verdun; but Verdun is only one of many, and before any of these have really fallen the entire district between the French line and Paris can be and will be converted into a fortified area. Germany has not the price to pay for a succession of these districts. This is no longer conjecture, but is proved conclusively.

Germany's only chance on the western front is, therefore, to adopt a wearing-down process. This is possible, however, only when you have much greater resources than your opponent in men, money, and shell. In this case the shoe is on the other foot. Germany's enemies have these things, and theirs has been the war of attrition. On this front, therefore, German victory is impossible.

Germany can look forward only to deadlock or defeat. This is the inescapable deduction from the Verdun fighting.

There has been little other fighting during the month. The heavy snows in the mountain districts of Mesopotamia have been melting and turning small mountain streams into rivers. This condition has kept the Russians who defeated the Turks at Erzerum from following up their success. There have been no reports, therefore, of any fighting in this district. Further south on the Tigris, where the Turks and the British have been facing each other for a long time, both sides have initiated minor offensives and both sides claim victories. There has, however, been nothing to change the general situation.

The offensive in European Russia began as if the Russians intended a very extensive and determined movement. It soon lapsed, however, and that front settled down into the inactivity that has marked it since late last Fall. It is highly improbable, in any event, that any great effort will be made in this section. The Russian offense in Armenia, if it can be carried through successfully, is fraught with consequences much more important to the Allies than anything that could be done in Russia.

There has been one event, however, that may be considered a distinct victory for the Teutons. That is the commercial treaty which has been consummated between Rumania and Germany, under the terms of which all surplus food materials that Rumania produces are to be sold to Germany. This is a defeat for allied diplomacy, and to some extent a defeat for the allied arms. Whatever intentions Rumania may have had with respect to participation in the war, it is certain now that it will at least be a long time before she goes in on the side of the Entente. She will not go with the Teutons. To attempt it would surely cause the downfall of any Ministry and a probable revolution. But with this new treaty in public view Rumania at war will not be seen for some time, if ever.

Verdun: The World's Greatest Battle

Described by Eyewitnesses

[Map of Verdun on Page 253]

AT the end of two months' titanic battling for Verdun the Germans hold a few more outlying positions, but the main hills and central fortress remain firmly in the hands of their French defenders. The German gains have been chiefly in the northwest sector, west of the Meuse, where three or four square miles of a French salient, including the fortified villages of Malancourt, Bethincourt, and Haucourt, have been taken at great cost. But the major position on Hill 304 and its northeastern spur, Dead Man's Hill, remains with the French; and when it is remembered that all the advances were merely preliminary to an attack on Hill 304, the second month's fighting is seen to be as indecisive as the first. The same is true of the fierce encounters east of Verdun, on the Douaumont-Vaux line, where many thousands of German and French lives have again been sacrificed. The great German offensive, so far as adequate results are concerned, continues to be a failure.

In French official circles it is estimated that 150,000 Germans have fallen in infantry attacks alone, and that 50,000 more went down under shell fire. This is undoubtedly an overestimate, as are the similar figures of French losses as seen through German eyes; but both are near enough to the truth to make Verdun the greatest battle in history.

It is still too early to attempt even a general historical sketch of the conflict. It will be more useful at this juncture to place on record some of the most vivid and stirring descriptions by eyewitnesses. And first it may be well to get a panoramic view of the whole battleground as seen by a British correspondent with the French Army on March 26.

AN INVISIBLE ARMY

"Throughout the vast amphitheatre," he writes, "twenty miles wide and ten miles deep, not a single human being was visible aside from the little group of

officers around me. Over there to the northwest lies the broad dark bank of Malancourt woods, which we know to be a busy hive of Bavarian and Württemberg grenadiers, sharpshooters, flame-squirters, and gunners. Beyond them on the horizon the queer cone of Montfaucon, long the Crown Prince's headquarters, is plainly visible. Passing eastward, the two French bulwarks of Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill block the view northward. Then across the wide and still flooded valley of the Meuse we scan a higher and more deeply indented plateau directly north of Verdun.

"Through fieldglasses we can follow every rise and fall of these forever famous slopes—the long shoulder of Talou in the bend of the river and behind in the Caures woods, where the first avalanche fell, the Poivre-Louvemont block, which runs back northeastward, and then to our right the Haudromont woods, Douaumont Plateau, and Vaux woods of bloody memories, and in the whole panorama there is not visible a single human being. In the hollow behind us lies the ancient City of Verdun under a cloud of purple smoke that tells the old tale of Teutonic vengeance.

"Overhead several aeroplanes are soaring, and westward I can count five of the anchored observation balloons called sausages. Before us a network of communication trenches climbs up the open slopes, and, although invisible, we know it continues through coppices and forest patches toward the summits where geyser-like eruptions of earth mark the main stress of the artillery duel. The crest of Douaumont, in particular, is continually shattered into a crown of cloud and around it the succession of gun flashes might be mistaken for heliograph signals were it not for the accompanying muffled roar of explosions.

"It is what they call a calm day on the front, but the sunshine deceives us when it gilds this scene into a semblance of

peace. Before and around and behind us, hidden away underground and in less elaborate cover, half a million men armed with every deadly device modern science can suggest lie in wait, each host watching for any sign of weakness on the part of the other. The preparations for a tomorrow, wrapped in mystery save to a few chiefs themselves, never for a moment cease.

"Under its empty and smiling surface the bastion of Verdun is a vast human anthill seething with multifarious labor. The war has gone underground again in this sector, and that is the mark that the French victory is definitive."

A BATTLE SYMPHONY

A glimpse from the German front is given by an American, who wrote under date of March 29:

"The important village of Esnes, lying south of Hill 304, is already suffering under the hail of German shells. There is something awe-inspiring, even stupefying, about this battle, raging from Fort de Belleville to Hill 304, particularly when one remembers that this is only one of three sectors of the battle for Verdun.

"The unequivocal emptiness and loneliness of vast battlefields give you a creepy sensation as of phantom armies fighting. Their presence, as I gazed today, was betrayed only by frequent fitful flashes of flame like fireflies on a Summer night. One could see miles of these fireflies, despite the bright sunlight, each marking the mouth of a gun. They made one realize more vividly than figures possibly could how thickly the iron girdle tightening about Verdun is studded with German batteries. Not a man, horse, wagon, or motor could be seen moving about that fire-swept zone bounded by the rival artilleries.

"The only human touch was a giant yellow Cyclop's eye, blinking at us—a German heliograph in action. Turning about, we saw its mate winking back, but the theme of its luminous dialogue was not for publication.

"Even more fascinating than the unique birdseye view of the Verdun panorama was the grandeur of the battle symphony, surpassing anything ever

heard before on any front. A deep, low, and unchanging basic leitmotif was played by the distant guns from as far away as the Argonne at the right and from Douaumont and the east and south fronts of Verdun to the left. Varying melodies, rising and falling in pitch, intensity, and volume, were played by the nearby guns."

FIGHT AT AVOCOURT

That same night a writer on the French side witnessed the silent gathering of forces to defend Avocourt Wood, and between dawn and noon of the 30th the fierce engagement in which the German attack was defeated. Mark how his words bring the stirring picture before the mind's eye:

"At midnight the concentration is completed and the reserves are in their appointed places. Is the cannonade fiercer or less fierce? I cannot say. The noise is so deafening that I have lost the power of judging its intensity. I cannot even distinguish the explosion of the shells that fall near the listening post where we are sheltered. Only when they burst, the post and the earth around it shudder like a ship at full speed. Their explosion is but a minor note in the hurricane of sound. The French artillery is 'preparing' Avocourt Wood, where the German infantry is massed in force.

"The searchlights throw patch after patch of trees into bright relief, like the swiftly changing scenes of a cinematograph. Through binoculars one has a frightful vision. Not a yard of ground fails to receive the shock of a projectile. The solid earth bubbles before my eyes. Trees split and spring into the air. It is a surface earthquake with nothing spared, nothing stable. The Germans have abandoned the outlying brushwood and are huddled in the inmost recesses of the woods, but the French artillery pursues them pitilessly.

"Nearly 300 yards from the rim of brushwood the defenders—Prussians and Bavarians—have constructed a kind of redoubt which they expect to be the rock on which all attacks will break. The searchlights reveal their fortress; it is a wall of earth and tree trunks and

seems half buried in the ground. Now and again in the patches of brightness one sees tiny shadows running, falling, rolling over or flitting from trunk to trunk, like frightened night creatures surprised by sudden daylight. It is the soldiers of the Kaiser trying vainly to escape from the rain of death.

"Dawn breaks, and the searchlight beams vanish as the first grayness of morning rolls away night's curtain from the battlefield. We shiver in our block-house; is it cold, or nervousness? The officers around me say the moment has come. It is an agony of expectation; the attack is about to break.

"A shrill ringing startles every one. The Captain springs to the telephone, listens for an instant, and then cries: 'All goes well!' in a firm voice. He hangs up the 'receiver, murmuring, 'They're off.'

"Our guns still thunder, but they have lengthened their range, and the line of smoke blobs opposite leaps forward toward the horizon. Suddenly the mitrailleuses set up a rattle right in front of us. They are firing from our front line trenches in a concave around the eastern corner of Avocourt Wood.

"Some one grabs my arms and points northward. Down the slopes of Hill 304 a multitude of nimble figures are rushing westward. Their numbers increase; armed warriors spring from the ground, as in the old Greek legend. 'Our men,' says the officer beside me. It is the soldiers of France at the charge.

"For a while they are sheltered from the German fire by a swelling billow of ground. They mount its crest and pour headlong downward. Now the pace is slower; they advance singly or in scattered groups—crawling, leaping, running, each man taking advantage of every atom of cover. The leaders have reached the first trench that lies across the path; but, see! they pass it without hesitating, as though it were a tiny brook.

"I learned afterward that a hundred tree trunks had been arranged like bridges all along the trench.

"Now the whole mass is across, and we can see what cunning brain has

planned the attack. For the charging men go straight forward like runners between strings, leaving open lanes along which their comrades can still fire upon the defenders.

"At last the edge of the woods is reached, and the rattle of the mitrailleuses ceases. It is hand-to-hand now in that chaos of storm-tossed earth and tortured trees. Rifles are useless there; it is work for bayonet or revolver, for butt and club, or even for fists and teeth. Corpses are everywhere; the men fall over them at each step—some to rise no more—until the bodies form vertitable heaps, among which the living fight and wrestle."

MOUNTAINS OF SHELLS

Turning again to the German front, we have Cyril Brown's description of the "relay race from the munition factories of Germany to Verdun," and the enormous piles of shells that he saw on March 30:

"On the way to the front," he writes, "I passed a continuous procession of ammunition trains, some rolling through Germany, others crawling over the border into France. I saw some of them later unloading their deadly freight at little shot-to-pieces way stations on strategic branch lines, well within the range of the French guns, apparently in the faith that the superior German artillery would keep down the fire of the French batteries.

"Hundreds and hundreds of field laborers are straining every nerve and muscle to unload the dangerous merchandise quickly and pile it up into vast mounds, in comparison with which the great quantities of Russian ammunition found by the Germans in Kovno and Novo-Georgievsk seemed like ant hills. Other gangs, stimulated by officers, are reloading ammunition into toy cars, pulled by toy engines. There are a dozen diverging branches of mobile narrow-gauge field railways, coiling snake-like among the batteries. Some of these toy trains puff deep into the fire zone and leave their loads of ammunition at advanced points where there will be battery positions next week, perhaps.

"Hitched to the miniature ammunition

trains are half a dozen little cars, loaded with sections of tracks, all bolted to tiny crossties which simply need to be laid and fastened together. Thus with an eye to the future the Germans are unremittingly pushing their narrow-gauge tracks ever closer toward Verdun, forming a close meshed network of ammunition railways.

"Soldiers are engaged in the occupation of road building, for next to the millions and millions of shells good roads are the most vital prerequisite to a successful attack on Verdun, and the fact that miles of good roads with beds of crushed stone must be built before the heavy guns can be brought up any closer, accounts in part for the slow rate of German progress."

CAPTURE OF MALANCOURT

On March 31 the French troops retired from the heaps of blood-stained ruins that had once been the pretty village of Malancourt. The Germans had taken the position after three days' fighting, and they had paid the price in full. Attack after attack broke down under the pitiless fire of the French 75s. One such attempt, just after dawn, is described by a special correspondent on the French side in this stirring narrative:

"At dawn we reached a poste de commandement, dug deep in a hillside for shelter. It faces westward, and before us in a fiery semicircle is the battle front from Bethincourt to Avocourt, with Malancourt as its half-way storm centre. The bombardment is at its height, and the whole scene is shrouded in scores of gray and black smoke clouds, slowly drifting aside in the cold morning breeze to disclose the details of the French and German positions.

"Due north of our shelter looms the dark mass of Hill 304, the trench-scarred flank of which vomits a deluge of lead across at the woods of Malancourt and Montfaucon, where the Germans lie hidden.

"These woods cover all the western landscape, but they are only woods in name. Through glasses one sees a chaos of storm-tossed ground rent into hills and hummocks like a frozen jumble of waves,

with shattered tree stumps rising here and there like jagged teeth.

"So furious is the French cannonade that the ground seems fluid, the continually changing form melting into new craters and hummocks. * * *

"The advancing Germans roll down the hill in gray-green patches, no longer in dense blocks—even their iron discipline cannot face that suicide. Now a scarce 300 yards separate them from the smoking ruins of their goal. But, see! the groups are diminishing, melting like snowballs under the French fire, and the hillside behind them is strewn with green dots like corn grains strewn upon a carpet. It is hard to realize that these grains are men like ourselves, killed in their country's service.

"The French troops are invisible, but their resistance is magnificent, despite the storm of shells that beats upon them. For the German snowballs have stopped rolling and have melted into hundreds of single spots, some crawling painfully backward.

"'Failed again,' says my Captain, and as if his words were a signal, a ripple of cheering runs along the French trenches, from the edges of which the mitrailleuses, buried to their muzzles, still continue to spit death against all that is left of the German regiments."

HERO DEEDS AT CAILLETTE

The fiercest struggle on the sector between Douaumont and Vaux was that which raged around Caillette Wood in the early days of April. Eyewitnesses describe it as one of the most thrilling episodes in the whole great series of battles. The importance of the position lay in the fact that if the Germans could keep it they could force the French to abandon the entire ridge. The heroic deeds on both sides in the French recapture of this ground are narrated by a staff correspondent in the following remarkable story, under date of April 4:

"The Germans had taken Caillette on Sunday morning, April 2, after twelve hours' bombardment, which seemed even to beat the Verdun record for intensity. The French curtain fire had checked their further advance, and a savage

countercharge in the early afternoon had gained for the defenders a corpse-strewn welter of splintered trees and shell-shattered ground that had been the southern corner of the wood. Further charges had broken against a massive barricade, the value of which as a defense paid good interest on the expenditure of German lives which its construction demanded.

"A wonderful work had been accomplished that Sunday forenoon in the livid, Londonlike fog and twilight produced by the lowering clouds and battle smoke. While the German assault columns in the van fought the French hand to hand, picked corps of workers behind them formed an amazing human chain from the woods to the east over the shoulder of the centre of the Douaumont slope to the crossroads of a network of communication trenches, 600 yards in the rear.

"Four deep was this chain, and along its line of nearly 3,000 men passed an unending stream of wooden billets, sand-bags, chevaux-de-frise, steel shelters, and light mitrailleuses, in a word, all the material for defensive fortifications, like buckets at a country fire.

"Despite the hurricane of French artillery fire, the German commander had adopted the only possible means of rapid transport over the shell-torn ground, covered with débris, over which neither horse nor cart could go. Every moment counted. Unless barriers rose swiftly the French counterattacks, already massing, would sweep the assailants back into the wood.

"Cover was disdained. The workers stood at full height, and the chain stretched openly across the hollows and hillocks, a fair target for the French gunners. The latter missed no chance. Again and again great rents were torn in the line by the bursting melinite, but as coolly as at manoeuvres the iron-disciplined soldiers of Germany sprang forward from shelters to take the places of the fallen, and the work went apace.

"Gradually another line doubled the chain of the workers, as the upheaved corpses formed a continuous embankment, each additional dead man giving greater protection to his comrades, until

the barrier began to form shape along the diameter of the wood. There others were digging and burying logs deep into the earth, installing shelters and mitrailleuses, or feverishly building fortifications.

"At last the work was ended at fearful cost, but as the vanguard sullenly withdrew behind it, from the whole length burst a havoc of flame upon the advancing Frenchmen. Vainly the latter dashed forward. They could not pass, and as the evening fell the barrier still held, covering the German working parties, burrowing like moles in the maze of trenches and boyaux.

"So solid was the barricade, padded with sand bags and earthworks, that the artillery fire fell practically unavailing, and the French General realized that the barrier must be breached by explosives as in Napoleon's battles.

BREAKING THE BARRIER

"It was 8 o'clock and already pitch dark in that blighted atmosphere as a special blasting corps, as devoted as the German chain workers, crept forward toward the German position. The rest of the French waited, sheltered in the ravine east of Douaumont, until an explosion should signal the assault.

"In Indian file, to give the least possible sign of their presence to the hostile sentinels, the blasting corps advanced in a long line, at first with comparative rapidity, only stiffening into the grotesque rigidity of simulated death when the searchlights played upon them, and resuming progress when the beam shifted; then as they approached the barrier they moved slowly and more slowly.

"When they arrived within fifty yards the movement of the crawling men became imperceptible; the German starshells and sentinels surpassed the searchlights in vigilance.

"The blasting corps lay at full length, just like hundreds of other motionless forms about them, but all were working busily. With a short trowel each file leader scuffled the earth from under the body, taking care not to raise his arms, and gradually making a shallow

trench deep enough to hide him. The others followed his example until the whole line had sunk below the surface. Then the leader began scooping gently forward while his followers deepened the furrow already made.

"Thus literally, inch by inch, the files stole forward, sheltered in a narrow ditch from the gusts of German mitrailleuse fire that constantly swept the terrain. Here and there the sentinels' eye caught a suspicious movement and an incautiously raised head sank down, pierced by a bullet. But the stealthily mole-like advance continued.

"Hours passed. It was nearly dawn when the remnant of the blasting corps reached the barricade at last, and hurriedly put their explosives in position. Back they wriggled breathlessly. An over-hasty movement meant death, yet they must needs hurry lest the imminent explosions overwhelm them.

"Suddenly there comes a roar that dwarfs the cannonade, and along the barrier fountains of fire rise skyward, hurling a rain of fragments upon what was left of the blasting party.

"The barricade was breached, but 75 per cent. of the devoted corps had given their lives to do it.

"As the survivors lay exhausted, the attackers charged over them, cheering. In the mêlée that followed there was no room to shoot or wield the rifle.

"Some of the French fought with unfixed bayonets like the stabbing swords of the Roman legions. Others had knives or clubs. All were battle-frenzied, as only Frenchmen can be.

"The Germans broke, and as the first rays of dawn streaked the sky, only a small northern section of the wood was still in their hands. There a similar barrier stopped progress, and it was evident that the night's work must be repeated. But the hearts of the French soldiers were leaping with victory as they dug furiously to consolidate the ground they

had gained, strewn with German bodies as thick as leaves.

"Over 6,000 Germans were counted in a section a quarter of a mile square, and the conquerors saw why their cannonade had been so ineffective. The enemy had piled a second barrier of corpses close behind the first, so that the soft human flesh would act as a buffer to neutralize the force of the shells."

CLIMAX OF THIS PHASE

After the withdrawal of the French from Bethincourt on April 10 the Germans made a powerful but vain attempt to break the new line and get possession of Dead Man's Hill. It was the climax of that phase of the struggle, and has been followed by a lull.

Speaking of this attack, a French officer estimates that nearly 100,000 German soldiers were flung in solid columns at the west-of-the-Meuse salient. He continues:

"We figure that the attempt to rush this important position (their object was to capture Le Mort Homme, in order to render untenable the key sector of Pepper Hill and Douaumont) cost the Germans fully 30,000 men, of whom an unusually high proportion were killed, owing to their inability to succor any save the slightly wounded—you know the fate of an injured man abandoned between trenches.

"Perhaps now the enemy will realize that he has reached a stalemate, for the abrupt breakdown of yesterday's attempt against Vaux and Douaumont proves once more it is impossible to advance there while we hold Le Mort Homme, and the latter must seem to be impregnable.

"Unless our estimates are mistaken, yesterday marked the final great shock of the Verdun battle. The Germans may try again, (we hope they will,) but I, for one, will be surprised. Surely even German discipline must soon revolt against such useless slaughter."

British and German War Finances

Views of Experts

EDGAR CRAMMOND, Secretary of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, recently told the London Chamber of Commerce why he considered England's financial situation infinitely stronger than Germany's. Germany had begun the war with a gold reserve of \$465,000,000, the whole amount required to finance her army and navy during mobilization, while the coined gold actually in the country at the outbreak of the war was estimated at \$1,000,000,000. Yet at the beginning of March, 1916, said Mr. Crammond, the total amount of gold held by the Reichsbank amounted to less than \$625,000,000, and there were in circulation about \$4,625,000,000 notes, all based ultimately upon this gold. Germany had found it impossible, he said, to finance twenty months' war without increasing the circulation of paper money over \$3,500,000,000, while Great Britain, though she had entered the war without the slightest financial preparation, had only found it necessary to increase her paper circulation by \$500,000,000.

The National City Bank of New York stated the German financial situation in different terms, however, in its circular of April 1. "The gold reserve of the Reichsbank," it said, "is about 39 per cent. of its note circulation and 30 per cent. against notes and deposits. The note circulation is about \$400,000,000 above a year ago, and loans about the same." The same authority also said:

"The German Government has closed the books on its fourth loan, and subscriptions are officially stated to be in excess of 10,600,000,000 marks, or about \$2,600,000,000. The third loan, brought out last Fall, realized about \$3,000,000,000, and the Secretary of the Treasury announces that the total subscriptions for all the war loans aggregate 36,300,000,000 marks, or about \$9,000,000,000. In presenting his annual budget, with certain proposals for new taxes, to the Reichstag, a few days ago, he stated that the war

expenditures in December exceeded 2,000,000,000 marks, about \$500,000,000, but had since been running lower, and now were scarcely greater than a year ago. He estimated that the new taxes would bring in 10,000,000 marks monthly."

Mr. Crammond regarded the financial outlook of Germany as desperate. At the outbreak of the war the German mercantile marine consisted of 5,459,296 tons. Of this, at the beginning of this year, 1,276,590 was either detained in the United Kingdom or allied ports, or had been captured or sunk, and the rest (with the exception of an insignificant number of steamers running in the Baltic) had been rusting for eighteen months in German and neutral harbors. And the position of Germany's investments abroad was nearly as deplorable as that of her shipping. Out of a total of \$5,850,000,000 more than half, namely, \$3,350,000,000, was unrealizable, and would probably be worthless for many years after the conclusion of peace. About \$1,250,000,000 had been sold, while the investments in the German colonies, \$700,000,000, were worthless, owing to the loss of her colonies. The \$500,000,000 owned in the United Kingdom would be applied toward payment of the moneys (\$350,000,000) owing by German subjects to British subjects. Germany's colonies had gone, her shipping industry was ruined, the best of her foreign investments had been sold and the remainder might prove worthless, the good-will of her foreign trade in allied countries was valueless, and the decline in the exchange value of the mark and the failures which were taking place among the banks pointed to the approach of the greatest financial débâcle that the world had seen. Such is one British expert's view of the enemy's finances.

The British financial situation is stated thus by the American bank already quoted from:

"There has been no large British

internal loans since last June and the proceeds of that were exhausted some months ago. Since then the Treasury has been supplying its needs by the sale of five-year Exchequer bonds and Treasury bills running three, six, nine, and twelve months, the bills being the main resource. The amount of these outstanding March 1 was a little above \$2,000,000,000. The British fiscal year ends March 31, and the total Government expenditures for the year just closed, including the civil establishment and loans to allies, is nearly if not quite \$8,000,000,000, but of this approximately \$2,000,000,000 was advanced to the country's colonies and allies.

"The revenues of the British Government under the war taxes are very large. The peace revenues were about \$1,000,000,000 per year, but for the year just closed the total income from taxation has been about \$1,700,000,000, and for the coming year it is expected to reach \$2,200,000,000, not counting new taxes which may be levied. The excess profits tax has scarcely begun to show

results, and the proceeds of this may carry the income above all estimates.

"The cessation of gold exports to the United States has enabled the Bank of England to gain about \$20,000,000 of gold since Jan. 1, and at approximately \$275,000,000 the stock is only about \$6,000,000 below what it was a year ago, notwithstanding the large exports to the United States and elsewhere during that time. The great production of gold within the British Empire serves it well at this time. The closing of the diamond mines in Africa has given a larger supply of labor to the gold mines, and the African production is now at the rate of about \$200,000,000 per year. The Canadian production rose last year to \$18,000,000 and the total output in the British possessions is close to \$300,000,000. The Bank of England reserve is now about 28 per cent., and the reserve against the Exchequer notes about the same. Its public and private loans are considerably less than a year ago, owing to the large payments upon premortgage paper."

Germany's Fourth War Loan

An Extraordinary Appeal

Following is a translation of the appeal in which the German Government implores and commands the German public to subscribe for the new war bonds. The words printed in capitals are in large type in the original text:

**THE FOURTH WAR LOAN SHOULD
BE SUBSCRIBED TO**

**EVERYBODY CAN AND ALL SHOULD AND
MUST PAY!**

THE incomparable self-sacrifice and heroism of our fathers and brothers have long ago stemmed the tide of the enemy, who invaded our Fatherland and threatened to destroy it; and in their wonderful series of victories in west and east and south they have thrown them back into enemy country, and an iron dam—a living wall of bodies, unconquerable, not to be beaten—

protects our lives and possessions. The enemy's delusion as to our numbers has faded away, their counting on their overwhelming numbers, their designs, so secretly, so finely woven—all have most pitably melted away! They are now weighed down by fears for the security of their own possessions! In vain their evil and devilish plan to starve us to death with wife and child! In vain, frustrated by Providence's gracious bounty, and by the German people's united, firm, and self-sacrificing will to conquer. Long ago the wall (ring) of famine was pierced.

And yet the enemy will not acknowledge their lost cause as doomed. They are now counting on the ultimate failure of our financial resources, they count on our bankruptcy; that our purses will at last have to show empty pockets; that

is the thought to which they hang on in spite of their failures and defeats on all the various fronts, still deceiving the world with the high-sounding phrases of their confidence in victory. They have had to throw billions into the pockets of neutrals in return for munitions, have had to secure accomplices to their crimes with untold sums. We have, through the victory of our arms, secured allies and at the same time have retained our money within our country. Unshaken, with full strength, our economic machine works on! Whatever our people have loaned to the State flows back in constant circulation into the pockets of all classes of society. We have not become impoverished through the war.

Now is the time to subscribe to the fourth war loan!

What is its purpose? It is meant to provide those dear to us, who are out in the field, with all they may require, to steel their heart, their mind, their forces! To provide the leaders of our armies with the necessary war material, that nothing should be found wanting which may insure victory.

But greater is its purpose—far greater! Do you wish a poor response to revive the enemy's hopes, to stiffen their backs, and at the same time to retard the victory of our men in gray—to increase and prolong their efforts, dangers, and sacrifices? No!

ITS OBJECT IS TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY!

To cause his last pillars of hope to fall! To show him that the longer the war lasts the more milliards we shall produce. To prove to the enemy and all the world with colossal figures that German money-power based on German industry, German organization, and joyous self-sacrifice will always be forthcoming, and can never fail. It is now for us, who have remained at home, to wage a gigantic money battle, and gain a gigantic victory, whose crushing blow shall break down the enemy's last stand, shall tear to shreds his web of lies, and shall force him to at last understand and admit the hard truth—an unconquerable Germany.

Think of all the money that is still being frittered away! Is it our wish to live well, is it possible for us to enjoy while thousands and thousands out there are wanting, fighting, dying—for us?

Out with the silver bullets, out with all the money which is being devoted not to "life," but to living! The Fatherland claims it in this its most fateful hour!

And we are not even asked to sacrifice it—merely to withdraw it for the time being and to loan it to the country for our own good, and at the same time for personal and considerable profit.

ALL MUST PAY, EVEN THE SMALLEST. ALL CAN PAY!

One hundred-mark bonds are the smallest denomination. But even for those who may not be able to raise such a sum, in many places special facilities have been provided. Where such arrangements have not yet been made the good example set elsewhere should be followed. Schools, specially appointed receiving offices and representative individuals, co-operative organizations and savings banks—they all should arrange to receive payments of smaller amounts, collect them, and invest the totals in war loan. By such means the individual subscriber will still enjoy the benefits of the high interest return. In the same way thrift clubs, of which a good number exist already, can do their share. Associations of all kinds can form thrift clubs from among their membership; card clubs and mothers' meetings—and there are many in most places—which are in the habit of collecting a few hundred marks for some common object, such as excursions, holiday trips, &c., from small subscriptions, card winnings, or similar sources, can now invest them in war loan. It will always be possible to find some universally acceptable method of insuring that each participant shall at the proper moment regain his share of interest and capital. People should not argue that these are trifling matters. At the time of the third war loan throughout the whole empire 246,000 pupils of the high schools raised 31,000,000 marks. In certain districts,

where the efforts have been particularly active, surprising results have been obtained. In a small district of Silesia 140,000 and nearly 179,000 marks, respectively, were subscribed through schools toward the second and third war loans. The same high proportion throughout all Germany would result in a truly amazing amount.

Many "littles" have always and everywhere resulted in "much." And now they will result in one stupendous "Much" if one and all will do their full duty. Let every one be alive to his responsibility. No one should pay merely for the sake of being able to say he has done so. Let all voluntarily and joyfully impose upon themselves some sacrifice. The hardships which we have to bear are mere trifles compared to the sacrifices our heroes in the field are making for our sakes each day and every hour; but they are nothing—absolutely nothing—in comparison with the misery from which we have been spared only through the intelligence and energy of our leaders and the courage and blood of our brothers.

The magnitude of the goal does not permit of almsgiving, of easy-going games, sport for charitable purposes; it

demands, on the contrary, a conscious, active renunciation, the fullest straining of our utmost power to give.

Through hunger and want the German people have become great. Once more they will be ready to deny themselves what is needed for the country's victory and greatness.

In these days every German has been ordained a witness to, and at the same time a potent factor in, a great era. What we are enduring and fighting for today will be a blessing for hundreds of future generations—what we leave undone their doom. Hundredfold is the responsibility which rests on each of us.

Throughout the German Empire, from the Alps to the sea, in town and country, the whole German Nation is now preparing throughout all classes and all ages for this giant's battle, is silently gathering all its forces, ready to strike the colossal blow. That it may fall with Teuton precision and Teuton force, dealing destruction and annihilation like a thunderbolt—such is the call to all.

This, the fourth war loan, may become our loan of victory.

He who pays all he can afford helps toward victory and peace. Whoever does not give all that he can prolongs the war.

Lord Bryce on War and Progress

These typical sentences are from Lord Bryce's Huxley lecture at Birmingham, delivered on March 10:

On a review of the whole matter war will not be found to have quickened, but to have greatly retarded, the upward march of man. What then have been the causes to which progress has been due? Partly, no doubt, to competition, but chiefly to thought. Thought is not helped by war. It is the races that know how to think rather than the far more numerous races that know only how to fight, that have led the world. Invention and scientific inquiry have given us improvements in the arts of life and that knowledge of nature which has brought wealth and comfort.

A study of history will enable us to dismiss with an easy conscience the theory of Treitschke that war is a medicine which Providence must be expected constantly to offer to the human race for its own good. And we may properly address ourselves at the end of a war undertaken to vindicate the eternal principles of right against the spirit of militarism and aggression, to the task of trying to help forward the progress of mankind, not through the strifes and hatreds of the peoples, but rather by their friendly co-operation in the healing and enlightening works of peace.

The Full Meaning of Our Position in the Lusitania Case

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Paul van Dyke

Professor in Princeton University

TWO questions in regard to the present war have been much debated. The first is why the opposed ambitions, interests, and jealousies of eleven European nations and their extra European allies resulted at this time in war, when similar crises of these passions had previously been passed through peacefully. The second is, has Germany's conduct of the war been in accord with the law of war and the spirit of it which is the growing sentiment of humanity?

In regard to both of these questions there is quite a considerable body of evidence in regard to facts. But the evidence bearing on the first question differs in a general way from the evidence bearing upon the second question. Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Serbia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy have printed over 800 diplomatic documents relating to the outbreak of the war. The evidence furnished by this mass of material is, of course, not complete. Probably no one of the Governments concerned has printed all the documents in its possession relating to the

question. Practically the entire correspondence between Austria and Germany is still unpublished. Perhaps within twenty or thirty years the publication of memoirs may throw additional light upon

the occasion of this war just as the writings and speeches of Bismarck before his death threw additional light upon the occasion of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. On some points these documents are more or less opposed to each other. But they agree in enough points to furnish a reasonable mass of data to serve as a basis of discussion.

When we come to the second question, however, the case is different. Documents have been published by the French, Belgian, English, and German Governments which are in irrecon-

cilable contradiction to each other. For instance, the Bryce report concludes on the basis of the evidence which it has collected "that there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate massacres of the civil population; * * * that in the conduct of the war generally, innocent civilians—both men and women—were murdered in large numbers," &c. The



PAUL VAN DYKE

NOTE.—Professor van Dyke in this thesis seeks to present the conception by German military authorities of the relations of Humanitarian Considerations to War as deduced from their own regulations and documents. Professor van Dyke has held the Chair of Modern European History in Princeton University since 1898. He is the author of "Renaissance Portraits" and other volumes.

German report on the conduct of the war in Belgium concludes on the basis of evidence collected by their commission that "the stories of refugees strung together by the Belgian Commission bear in themselves the marks of untrustworthiness, if not of malignant distortion"; that "these complaints against the German Army are, therefore, nothing else than the basest slanders, which, without further discussion, are deprived of all force by the first-hand evidence laid before the reader in the accompanying documents"; that "the Imperial German Government believes that by the publication of this original material it has made evident in the most convincing manner that the behavior of the German troops with regard to the Belgian civil population was imperatively called for by the guerrilla warfare which they waged against all international law, and forced by the necessity of war."

This contradiction exists not only in the conclusions of these reports but also in parts of the detailed evidence on which these conclusions are based. For instance, the Bryce report calls what took place on Aug. 20 in the little city of Andenne "a massacre of the inhabitants" who were "slaughtered for over two hours in the afternoon and intermittently during the night by the German Army."

The German report calls the affair of Andenne on Aug. 20 a "street fight" provoked by the "inhumanities" of the inhabitants, who treacherously poured out "from all sides a hail of fire upon the unprotected troops in an incomparably devilish piece of business."

The Bryce report supports its conclusion in regard to what happened at Andenne on the 20th of August by the depositions of three Belgians who were present. The German Commission supports its conclusion by the report of the General in command of the troops, confirmed by the affidavits of one of his Majors and a non-commissioned officer and the report of a Lieutenant sent to investigate the occurrence by the Military Governor of the province some four months later. He examined eleven burghers of the town, who all denied that they were able to give

any good information about the facts of the case. Most of them said they had been hidden in their cellars during the whole affair.

Now here we have a sharp contradiction of facts which, according to the existing evidence, can hardly be authoritatively resolved. If it were possible to call into a neutral court a score of the surviving leading citizens of Andenne and a score of the soldiers and officers of the troops concerned, with full liberty to cross-examine them, we should probably be able to decide how the case of Andenne bears upon the statement of the German Government that the action of the German troops in Belgium was forced upon them by the guerrilla warfare waged by the Belgian civil population and compelled by the necessities of war.

The case of Andenne has of course been deliberately chosen, because it is a prerogative instance, a marked example of contradiction. But it is an exaggerated instance which plainly suggests the difficulties that affect this discussion. The facts to be discussed are not agreed upon by both sides and therefore the discussion has constantly tended to resolve itself into mutual recriminations of slander and falsehood.

The writer of this article, being desirous of discussing the second of the questions suggested by this war, wishes to exclude from the discussion all questions of disputed facts. He proposes, therefore, to use no facts except those set forth in documents written by Germans. He hopes in this way to make the issue so plain that every reader may decide without the smallest room for doubt what the doctrine of the German military authorities is and decide for himself whether that doctrine and the practice arising from it does or does not coincide with his ideas.

The question is not, as is sometimes asserted, a vague and unreal one concerning matters of no interest except to theorists who conduct abstract discussions in regard to things as they might be, or as they ought to be. It concerns things which the military authorities of the United States, and, indeed, the military authorities of the civilized world, have

officially accepted as realities. The existence of the laws of war and the spirit of humanity underlying them is officially asserted by the United States in the Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field:

Military necessity as understood by modern civilized nations consists in the necessity of those measures which are indispensable for securing the ends of the war and which are lawful according to the modern law and usages of war. * * * As martial law is executed by military force, it is incumbent upon those who administer it to be strictly guided by the principles of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed.

This position of the United States has been explicitly indorsed by every one of the belligerents in the present war by their signatures in 1907 to "The Hague Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land."

The discussion here proposed is not only about realities, but it is one about which every intelligent American citizen is in duty bound to make up his mind. Because, unless he understands the doctrine of the German military authorities concerning the relation of military necessity to the laws of war and to the spirit of humanity, he does not really understand the position taken by his own Government, which has brought us to the verge of breaking off relations with Germany.

That doctrine is set forth in "The Usages of War on Land," issued by the Great General Staff of the German Army:

"A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State and the positions they occupy. But it will and must in like manner seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter. Humanitarian claims, such as the protection of men and their goods, can only be taken into consideration in so far as the nature and objects of the war permit.

"Consequently 'the argument of war' permits every belligerent State to have recourse to all means which enable it to attain the object of the war; still,

practice has taught the advisability of allowing in one's own interest the introduction of a limitation in the use of certain methods of war and the total renunciation of the use of others. Chivalrous feelings, Christian thought, higher civilization, and by no means least of all the recognition of one's own advantage have led to a voluntary and self-imposed limitation the necessity of which is today tacitly recognized by all States and their armies. * * *

"In the modern usages of war one can no longer regard merely the traditional inheritance of the ancient etiquette of the profession of arms and the professional outlook accompanying it, but there is also the deposit of the currents of thought which agitate our time. But since the tendency of thought of the last century was dominated chiefly by humanitarian considerations which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion, there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its objects. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future; the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva Convention and the Brussels and Hague Conferences.

"Moreover, the officer is a child of his time; he is subject to the intellectual tendencies which influence his own nation; the more educated he is, the more this will be the case. The danger that, in this way, he will arrive at false views about the essential character of war must not be lost sight of. The danger can only be met by a thorough study of war itself. By steeping himself in military history an officer will be able to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions; it will teach him that certain severities are indispensable to war, nay, more, that the only true humanity very often lies in a ruthless application of them. It will also teach him how the rules of belligerent intercourse in war have developed, how in the course of time they have solidified into general usages of war, and, finally, it will teach

him whether the governing usages of war are justified or not, whether they are to be modified, whether they are to be observed."

Of such modifications of the usages of war the German War-book suggests an example in the following citation of its statement in regard to hostages:

"Their provision has been less usual in recent wars, as a result of which some professors of the law of nations have wrongly decided that the taking of hostages has disappeared from the practice of civilized nations. * * *

"A new application of hostage right was practiced by the German Staff in the war of 1870 when it compelled leading citizens from French towns and villages to accompany trains and locomotives in order to protect the railway communications which were threatened by the people. Since the lives of peaceable inhabitants were, without any fault on their part, thereby exposed to grave danger, every writer outside Germany has stigmatized this measure as contrary to the law of nations and as unjustified toward the inhabitants of the country."

The book then proceeds to give reasons for justifying this procedure, "which was also recognized on the German side as harsh and cruel," and concludes: "To protect one's self against attacks and injuries from the inhabitants and to employ ruthlessly the necessary means of defense and intimidation, is obviously not only a right, but indeed a duty of the staff of the army."

The way in which this general doctrine of the relation of the necessities of war to the spirit of humanity in its special application to the case of hostages, was actually used by German commanders in Belgium, is sufficiently indicated by the following citations from the report of the German Commission which has already been quoted:

Staff Physician Dr. Petrenz deposes under oath that at 10 o'clock in the evening of Aug. 23 he approached Les Rivages, a suburb of Dinant. On the banks of the Maas between the water and a garden wall he saw on the left of the pontoon bridge a heap of executed civilians. "I don't know who shot them,

but I was told that they were executed by the 101st Regiment." There were some dead women among them. "I also found in the heap a 10-year-old girl wounded" and buried under the heap "a little girl of about 5, unwounded."

The report to which this and eighty-six other depositions were attached explains how that heap of dead men, women, and children came to be there.

When the 101st Grenadier Regiment reached Les Rivages in the late afternoon of Aug. 23 they found everything quiet, ("the village seemed dead,") and it remained so. ("Meantime in Les Rivages all was quiet.") "The commander of the 101st Grenadiers took out of the nearest houses a good number of persons to serve as hostages in case of hostile action on the part of the population." "It was made clear to them that they must answer with their lives for the safety of the troops." The men were placed against a garden wall to the left of the place of crossing the river. The women and children who had come out of the houses with them were put away somewhat down-stream. The building of the pontoon bridge went on. "When it was built out into the stream some forty meters, fire was suddenly opened on the pioneers from the houses of Les Rivages and the rocky cliffs beyond." In consequence of this, "the male hostages assembled along the garden wall were shot." That was where the heap of dead men, women, and children that Dr. Petrenz saw came from.

The comment of the Governmental report on this recital of facts is as follows: "The tactical object of the Twelfth Corps was the rapid crossing of the Maas and the clearing of the enemy from its left bank. The rapid overcoming of the opposition to attaining this end was a necessity of war and to be reached by every possible means. * * * Therefore, the shooting of hostages carried out in several places was in accord with right."

That this was no isolated case but the fixed and deliberate policy of the German Army appears from the following extract from a proclamation posted in the City of Rheims on the 12th of September, 1914. I quote and translate pas-

sages from a photographic facsimile: "In order to secure sufficiently the safety of the troops and the calm of the population of Rheims the persons named below have been seized as hostages by the Commander of the German Army. These hostages will be hanged at the least attempt at disorder. On the other hand, if the city keeps itself absolutely calm and tranquil, the hostages and inhabitants will be taken under the protection of the German Army." There followed a list of names such as the Mayor of the city, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, President of the Co-operative Society, and about eighty others.

The policy adopted by the German Army authorities of executing hostages who could not have been guilty of hostile acts, appears again in the following extracts from a proclamation of Baron von der Goltz which was posted at Brussels on the 5th of October, 1914. "In future the localities nearest to the place where destruction of railroads and of telegraphic lines has taken place (it makes no difference whether they were guilty of the acts or not) will be punished without pity. For that purpose hostages have been taken from all the localities near the railroads which are threatened by such attacks, and at the first attempt to destroy the lines of the railroad, telegraph lines, or the lines of the telephones, they will be immediately shot."

That this and similar threats were no empty words is shown by the following extract from the pamphlet in which Professor Bedier has reprinted facsimiles of leaves from the diaries taken from a number of dead or captured German soldiers. In the diary of a soldier of the Thirty-second Infantry of Reserves appears this paragraph:

"Third of September. Creil. Somebody has blown up the iron bridge. For this reason the streets were burned by us and some civilians shot."

When these acts in violation of the rules of The Hague Convention, (signed by Germany,) which forbids the inflicting of collective punishment, whether of money or other sort, upon communities for the deeds of individuals, began to

rouse violent protests, the Commanding General of the Seventh Army Corps issued in the beginning of September the following proclamation:

"I learn that a newspaper has declared that the severe measures of our military commanders against reprehensible franc-tireur operations in Belgium were dictated by a feeling of revenge and desire for retaliation. This article, against which I have taken the measures demanded by my duty, gives me occasion to address an explanatory word to the inhabitants in the district occupied by the Seventh Army Corps. The secret, treacherous attacks which have been made by a hostile population in many places against our brave troops and which still persist in places, make it the absolute duty of our commanders to proceed against such atrocious crimes with ruthless and iron severity. To show weakness here would be to betray our own army. Not a hair of the peaceful inhabitants of the country will be touched. The discipline of our troops, known to the whole world, is a guarantee for this. They fight as soldiers against soldiers in honorable battle. If, however, the brave sons of our people who go out to the field to meet hardship and death for the Fatherland, if wounded surgeons and others who care for the wounded are miserably murdered by a misled, mad populace; if the safety of the army is threatened by the attacks of guerrillas from the rear, it becomes a law of self-preservation and a sacred duty of the military commanders to proceed against these crimes immediately with the most extreme measures. The innocent must then suffer with the guilty. The commanders of our army have in repeated proclamations made it plain that human lives cannot be regarded in suppressing such shameful crimes. That some houses, even villages and whole cities have to be destroyed in this process, is certainly to be regretted, but it must not give occasion for unjustifiable mental perturbation. These houses, villages, and cities cannot be worth so much to us as the life of a single soldier. This is self-evident and hardly needs to be said. To show compassion here would

be a sinful weakness; the blood of the innocent is upon the heads of the inciters of these shameful attacks. There can be no talk of revenge and retaliation such as was contained in the newspaper article of which I have spoken—an article which I fail to understand. Our commanders, to repeat it once more, are simply doing their duty and they will continue to do this duty until the glorious end of the war. They will protect our soldiers from murderers in the most ruthless manner and at any cost. Whoever talks here of barbarism speaks wantonly. The iron performance of one's duty is a proof of the highest culture, and the population of the hostile countries cannot but learn this from our army."

What this meant in actual practice is illustrated again by a leaf from another diary of a German soldier:

"In the same way we destroyed eight houses with their inhabitants. In one of them two men with their wives and an eighteen-year-old girl were run through with bayonets. The young girl made me feel sorry because she looked at me with such an innocent look."

Doubtless the men who have issued these proclamations, though I like to think not all the men who have been obliged to obey them, would indorse the words of Major Gen. Von Dittfurth in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*:

"It is incompatible with the dignity of the German Empire and with the proud traditions of the Prussian Army to defend our courageous soldiers from the accusations hurled against them in foreign and neutral countries. We owe no explanation to any one. There is nothing for us to justify and nothing to explain away. Every act, of whatever nature, committed by our troops for the purpose of discouraging, defeating, and destroying our enemies is a brave act and a good deed and is fully justified.

"There is no reason whatever why we should trouble ourselves about the notions concerning us in other countries. Certainly we should not worry about the opinions and feelings held in neutral countries. Germany stands as the supreme arbiter of her own methods, which,

in the time of war, must be dictated to the world."

This position has since been officially indorsed by the German Government in its Baralong note. Great Britain proposed to refer to a court composed of American naval officers the charge that the British gunboat *Baralong* had shot the crew of a German submarine swimming from their sunken boat, together with the similar charge that the officers of a German destroyer had shot the crew of an English submarine swimming from their boat on fire and aground on the Danish coast. Rejecting this proposal, the German note said: "The German Government * * * takes the standpoint that charges against members of the German forces must be investigated by its own competent authorities and that the persons accused be given every surety of an unprejudiced verdict with just punishment if necessary."

Let us add to the report on *Dinant* two other instances of investigation by German military authorities of charges against their officers. Noncommissioned Officer Kleint of the First Company of the 154th Regiment of Infantry wrote to the *Tageblatt* of the little town of Javer, in Silesia, a letter describing a recent battle in which he shows that he and his comrades acted with the approval of the "company leader" and with a perfect good conscience about the righteousness of their action. I translate some extracts from it, taken from a facsimile of the newspaper. It tells how at the beginning of an attack the German soldiers suffered severely without knowing where the balls came from. Finally they discovered that a number of French sharpshooters had climbed up into trees. It goes on:

"We shot them down from the trees like squirrels, and we received them warmly with blows of musket butts and of bayonets. They had no more need of doctors. We weren't fighting any more loyal enemies, but perfidious brigands. We passed through the thickets in leaps. We arrived at a little hollow in the ground. The red pantaloons lay there, dead or wounded, in crowds. We smashed

or stabbed the wounded because we know that those scoundrels when we have passed fire at us in the back. There lies, stretched out his full length, a Frenchman, his face against the earth, but he is only pretending to be dead. A kick of the foot of a stout rifleman shows him that we are there. Turning, he demands quarter (using a brutal phrase better left out) * * * but we pin him to the ground with a bayonet. Beside me I hear some singular sounds—they are the blows of the butt of his gun which a soldier of the 154th brings down vigorously upon the bald head of a Frenchman. Very wisely he employs for this work a French gun for fear of breaking his own. The men of sensitive feelings do the kindness to the French wounded to end them with a ball, but the others hit and stick as best they can. Our adversaries fought bravely; they were choice troops which we had had before us. They had let us approach up to thirty, and even up to ten yards—too close. Knapsacks and arms thrown away in heaps proved that they wanted to run, but at the sight of the gray phantoms fear paralyzed their feet, and on the narrow paths which they took the German balls brought to them the order to halt. At the door of their shelters of branches there they were lying groaning and whimpering for quarter. But whether they are lightly or seriously wounded the brave fusileers save their country the expensive care which she would have been compelled to give to many enemies."

In order to assure his friends at home that he was telling the truth the writer of this tale of battle had gotten his officer to put at the end of his communication these words: "The above statements are confirmed. De Niem, Lieutenant and Company Leader." And over the signatures of a noncommissioned officer and a commissioned officer of the German Army this account was published by a German newspaper under this headline: "A Day of Honor for Our Regiment."

The reply to the publication of this facsimile of a copy of the *Javer Tageblatt* makes it evident that there was an official investigation of this case. The

writer says "the investigation brought out the fact that our troops in that action stood in a particularly difficult position, and the sworn utterance of the writer of this article shrinks to the following statement: "Wounded Frenchmen fired on us from behind. They were then made harmless. Aside from this I did not see firing by our people on Frenchmen no longer able to fight. I did see a turned over Frenchman that pretended to be dead who held his gun in his hand under him."

Three things are noticeable about this result of a German military investigation as reported by a German writer and put forward to the world as satisfactory:

(1) Under-officer Kleint confesses that he falsely bragged that his regiment had killed all the enemies wounded; (2) his sworn deposition is ambiguous in its correction of his first newspaper account so far as concerns most of the wounded he said at first were massacred. He swears he "did not see firing by our people" (*geschossen worden ist*) on helpless Frenchmen. He had written in his newspaper article that only men with sensitive souls shot the French wounded. He said the bulk of them were killed by butts and bayonets. Was he cross-examined on this point? (3) a commissioned officer of the German Army certified the correctness of this account of the actions of his men and authorized its publication in a newspaper. Were the writer, the indorser, and the publisher of this article under the title "A Day of Honor for Our Regiment" put on trial for an offense against the honor of the German Army? The official reply gives no sign of any indignation in the matter.

Let us take still another case of investigation by the German military authorities of the relation to the exigencies of warfare of the principle that the "only true humanity very often lies in the ruthless application of certain severities incident to war." Professor Bedier in the work already quoted cites the deposition of a French Captain of the 288th Regiment of Infantry. The reader is asked not to jump to the conclusion that I am abandoning my purpose to use none but

German testimony about German principles and deeds because I quote this French deposition: I quote it only in order to show the German comment upon it which follows. The deposition of the French officer reads:

"The evening of the 22d I learned of the presence in the woods—at 150 meters to the north of the square formed by the meeting of the great trench of Calonne with the road of Vaux-les-Palameix to Saint Remy—of the corpses of French soldiers shot by the Germans. I went there and I saw about thirty soldiers jammed together in a little space, for the most part lying flat, some of them, however, on their knees, and all having the same wound—that is, a shot from a rifle in the ear. A single one, very severely wounded in the lower part of his body, was able to speak and told me that the Germans, before leaving, had ordered them to lie down and then had killed them by a ball in the head, that he himself, wounded, had obtained quarter by saying that he was the father of three little children. The skulls of all these unfortunates had been smashed to pieces and scattered around. Rifles with their stocks broken off were scattered around here and there and the blood had spouted over the thicket to such an extent that in leaving the wood the forward part of my coat was all spotted with it. It was really a slaughter house."

The facts given by the French Captain demanded an investigation by the German military authorities, for their manual says: "That prisoners should be killed only in the event of extreme necessity * * * is today universally admitted." Here is the result of the investigation given in the official reply to Mr. Bedier:

"You print the report of a French Captain. According to that report German soldiers ordered about thirty Frenchmen to lie down and then put them to death by a shot behind the ear. That is indeed a horrible story!

"Therefore, this case was examined by our military authorities. What was the result of the examination? A German regiment advanced in a charge along the

road Saint Remy-Mouilly. It had opposed to it an entire division of the enemy. It could not hold its position on the place of assembly which was heavily shelled by the enemy's artillery. Therefore, retreat was ordered. A Lieutenant was, after the completion of a reconnoissance, in danger of being cut off with his section from the already retiring regiment. The thirty or forty Frenchmen were prisoners. They had lain down on the ground, as our own men had done, to protect themselves from the heavy fire, and as some of them stood up again they were ordered to stay flat because their red trousers, visible at a great distance, offered a good mark, so that our men were put in danger even from German fire. In order not to delay rejoining the regiment our soldiers were obliged to run one by one across the forks of the road which was swept by the enemy's artillery. When the French prisoners were ordered to stand up and follow, they refused to do it. To leave them behind would have been questionable because they could have secured for themselves weapons from the fallen men who were lying around, and, as has often happened, could shoot upon our retreating men from behind, and besides could betray to the advancing and powerful enemy what weak forces we had on our side. In this position of military necessity the Lieutenant determined to order a defensive fire upon the recalcitrant prisoners, and he succeeded in spite of the dangerous circumstances in bringing his section back to the regiment with only the loss of a single man. *If all the prisoners had the same death wound close behind the ear, that was only chance.*"

Of course the men who formed this conclusion and the men who publish it as satisfactory overlook three things: (1) The fact that the sworn testimony which it was supposed to investigate asserted that the guns near the dead men were found broken off at the stocks and therefore unusable; (2) that the chances of such a defensive fire as is here described killing all of these men stone dead except one who had been severely wounded and who was untouched by the defensive fire are about

a thousand to one; (3) that the chances of all these men killed by this defensive fire, being killed by precisely the same wound close behind the ear, are about a million to one, unless this "defensive fire" means the blowing out of each man's brains one by one.

Further examples of action toward prisoners and wounded are recorded in the following leaves published in facsimile from the diaries of German soldiers. Under-officer Göttsche of the Eighty-fifth Regiment of Infantry of the Ninth Army Corps wrote as follows:

"Oct. 6, 1914. We would have liked to capture the fort at once, but we had to take up quarters in the village of Kessel. The Captain called us to him and said, 'In the fort that is to be taken, there are probably Englishmen. I don't want to see, however, a single English prisoner in my company.' A general bravo of agreement was the answer."

A leaf from the journal of the soldier Fahlenstein of the Thirty-fourth Fusiliers of the Second Army Corps records:

"Aug. 28. The Frenchmen lay in heaps of eight or ten wounded or dead, one on top of the other. Those who were still able to walk were made prisoners and taken away with us. Those who were severely wounded, with a wound in the head or in the lungs, and couldn't stand on their feet, received another ball which put an end to their life. We were given orders to do this."

I do not know whether there has been any investigation of the conduct of these last two officers or not, but the results put forward in the Dinant report and the investigations of the affairs of the Remy-Mouilly Road and the Javer Tageblatt letter suggest with great plainness that German officers inspired by a proclamation like that quoted near the beginning of this article would not feel that their superiors would be too rigid in defining the limit set by what our Instructions call the "principles of justice, honor, and humanity," and what the German War Book calls "certain severities indispensable to war in whose ruthless application very often lies the only true humanity."

One other illustration of the practical application by German officers of the theory of the German General Staff about the relation of the only true humanity to the nature of war and its objects. An Over-lieutenant of Bavarian infantry wrote a letter signed by his name which was published in the *Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten* on Oct. 7, 1914. This letter describes the occupation of the town of Saint Dié by the German Army in the end of August. I condense and then quote entire from a facsimile reproduction. He entered Saint Dié at the head of some fifty men. Marching through the empty streets he suddenly came around a corner to find the red trousers behind the barricades, and nine of his men went down at the first volley. Some forty survivors took refuge in the corner house, the *Café de l'Univers*, which was at once invested by Alpine chasseurs and French infantry. Let him describe what follows:

"In this situation, entirely cut off from our brigade, we were holding out for what might have been two hours, when there burst suddenly through an open window—the window sill is very low—two elegantly dressed women waving white cloths in their hands and throwing themselves at my feet. The situation seemed to me—I hope I shall be forgiven the expression—exceedingly dramatic. One of the ladies speaks German—that is, she stammers out some scattered words that I manage to put together. Her mother and sister are taken prisoner by the Germans. She herself must find the Mayor of Saint Dié and bring him back. If she doesn't, both will be shot as hostages. The General had given them a half hour. While they are on this search they get under our artillery and infantry fire and have fled to our house over the corpses of our men. I had them taken down into the bomb-proof wine cellar—quieting assurances—I will speak later myself with the General, &c. Besides this, I knew some time ago that the Mayor with all his other officials had skipped out.

"But we have arrested three civilians, and suddenly a good idea comes to me.

They are placed on chairs, and a spot in the middle of the street, where they must sit on these chairs, is pointed out to them. Wringing of hands and supplications on one side, some blows of rifle butts on the other side. One becomes gradually awfully severe. Then they take their places sitting outside in the street. How many prayers they sobbed out I do not know, but their hands were the entire time folded together in a convulsive way.

"I feel sorry for them, but the expedient is of immediate use.

"The fire from the houses dies down at once. We are able now to seize the house that lay opposite, becoming in consequence the masters of the chief street. Anything that shows itself after this on the street is shot down. The artillery also has meantime worked very effectively, and as in the neighborhood of 7 o'clock the brigade rushes forward in the charge in order to set us free, I can make the announcement 'Saint Dié is free from opponents.'

"As I later found out, the flank reserve regiment which broke into Saint Dié from the north had very similar experiences to those which we had. Their four civilians whom they also put in the same way in the street were, however, shot by the Frenchmen. I saw them myself lying near the hospital in the middle of the street.

"Let me give another episode from this day which proves what a spirit rules among our soldiers even in such a critical situation. The very moment in which no one of us would have given a rush for his life, our trumpeter stepped forward—he is the very type of a Bavarian reserve soldier—in his hand a glass of beer. 'Will you have some beer, Herr Lieutenant?' He had in perfect calmness and quiet climbed behind the buffet, tapped a little cask of beer, and was offering everybody a glass, also to many for whom this would be the last drink. Yes, yes, life moves in contraries, especially in war."

Now, the doctrine in regard to the relation of the usages and necessities of war to the spirit of humanity thus defined and illustrated is opposed both to the theory

and the practice of the army of the United States.

The writer repudiates at the outset the idea that he is making this remark in any Pharisaic spirit. It does not enter into his mind to claim that cruel things have never been done by men wearing the uniform of the United States. He is discussing at the present moment an intellectual proposition and trying to make plain to every one of his readers the unquestionable fact that there does exist in the minds of the German General Staff a doctrine and that there has been deduced from it by some German officers a practice which differs radically from the doctrine and the practice of the officers of the army of the United States. He is not pleading any brief for his own nation, and if the reader will have patience to follow this article to the end he will see that he is not transgressing the maxim of Burke and drawing any indictment against the German Nation. He is simply endeavoring to point out the fact that this difference in doctrine and practice does exist.

As a matter of fact no American officer would dare to print in any American newspaper letters of the character which have been cited. As a matter of fact, an American officer giving such orders as have been recorded in the cited diaries of German soldiers or permitting such actions as those whose recital in the *Javer Tageblatt* was indorsed for newspaper publication by a German Lieutenant would be confronted by Article 71 of our Instructions for Armies in the Field:

"Whoever intentionally inflicts additional wounds on an enemy wholly disabled or kills such an enemy or orders or encourages soldiers to do so, shall suffer death if duly convicted whether he belongs to the army of the United States or is an enemy captured after having committed this misdeed."

As a matter of fact, the report of a military commission recording and approving things similar to those recorded and approved in the report of the military commission on the occurrences at Dinant would, if any one dared to publish it, be overwhelmingly repudiated by

American public opinion, and the men who were responsible for the shooting of hostages it approves would undoubtedly be court-martialed.

In order to see how true this is let us look, in the light of the foregoing German recitals of the theory and practices of the German military authorities, at some more items of the theory in regard to the nature and objects of war put forward by our military authorities in the Instructions for Armies in the Field:

28. Retaliation (reprisals) will therefore never be resorted to as a measure of mere revenge, but only as a means of protective retribution, and, moreover, cautiously and unavoidably; that is to say, retaliation shall only be resorted to after careful inquiry into the real occurrence and the character of the misdeeds which may demand retribution.

54. A hostage is a person accepted as a pledge for the fulfillment of an agreement concluded between belligerents during the war or in consequence of the war. Hostages are rare in the present age.

55. If a hostage is accepted he is treated like a prisoner of war according to rank and condition, as circumstances may admit.

56. A prisoner of war is subject to no punishment for being a public enemy, nor is any revenge wreaked upon him by the intentional inflicting of any suffering or disgrace, by cruel imprisonment, want of food, by mutilation, death, or any other barbarity. [This is all that is said about hostages.]

Now let us look at the practice of the officers of the United States. On April 22, 1914, the following proclamation was posted in the City of Vera Cruz, Mexico:

It has become necessary for the naval forces of the United States of America now at Vera Cruz to land and to assume military control of the customs wharves of Vera Cruz. Your co-operation is requested to preserve order and to prevent loss of life. * * * It is enjoined upon all inhabitants and property owners to prevent firing by individuals from the shelter of the houses upon United States forces or upon any one else. Such firing by irregulars, not members of an organized military force, is contrary to the laws of war. If it persists again it will call for severe measures.

R. S. FLETCHER,

Rear Admiral of the United States.

The occupation of Vera Cruz cost our forces, according to the report of the Admiral, seventeen killed, three fatally wounded, two seriously wounded, and a large number of less seriously wounded. The sniping by nonuniformed citizens of which this proclamation speaks had already been going on for twenty-four

hours. It continued for twenty-four hours later, and our chief casualties were due to this kind of irregular warfare. Our naval guns shelled the houses from which the firing took place, and our forces proceeded in each individual case to kill or capture those who were in them. But the idea of a general destruction and burning of the City of Vera Cruz, or the idea of arresting as was done at Rheims the Mayor and eighty leading citizens to be hung or shot if this irregular warfare did not stop was never for one moment entertained by any of the American officers. Nor did it occur to any American officer at Vera Cruz to seat four civilians on chairs in the street to protect his men from crossfire in street fighting.

So far as this last idea is concerned, it must be noted in this connection that the article in answer to Professor Bedier's pamphlet (an article which, according to its own statement, had the co-operation of the German military authorities) said that it was a pity Professor Bedier had not reproduced in facsimile more than a single column of the newspaper letter of the Bavarian Over-lieutenant because "so long as the context is lacking it is not possible to know whether the affair was a matter of regular or irregular warfare. In a war of francs-tireurs it might be useful and perfectly legitimate to place in the street some civilians upon whom their friends and neighbors would not dare to fire, while in regular warfare it would be a crime." So that, under the circumstances at Vera Cruz, any American officer who in order to protect his own men had seated the Mayor or any Mexican civilians in the streets to be shot by their own countrymen would have the indorsement of the German military authorities. (Two things may be added: First, Mr. Bedier, thus challenged, reproduced in facsimile all of the article in question, from which it appeared that the German writer described himself as fighting French infantry and Alpine Chasseurs; and, secondly, if the officer who wrote this account of his actions and the actions of his superior and brother officers has been court-martialed for an affair which has become a matter of the widest international discussion, I

have failed to see any announcement of it.)

This being the official doctrine of the United States and the practice of its officers in regard to hostages and retaliation (reprisal) it is to be expected that the doctrine of the German General Staff in regard to "the only true humanity" illustrated by the above-cited practices of some German officers should, when it met the American Government face to face, be repudiated by it. It did meet us face to face. It is more exact to say that it was fairly flung into our teeth by the deliberate application of it to our own citizens after our most solemn warnings not to apply it to our citizens.

The way that came about is as follows: On Feb. 4 Germany announced to the nations of the world that she intended to sink, without scruple for the lives of their crew and passengers, every enemy merchant ship which was found in the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland; and she further warned all neutral ships to steer clear of those waters, because it might be impossible to distinguish them from enemy ships. She said she was forced to do this as a retaliation for England's violations of international law upon the water, by abolishing the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband, by seizing German property and German subjects of military age on neutral ships, and by declaring the waters of the North Sea to be the seat of war, thus rendering all navigation on the waters between Scotland and Norway exceedingly dangerous, "so that they have in a way established a blockade of neutral coasts and ports, which is contrary to the elementary principles of international law": measures "to reduce the German people by famine." We replied by warning the German Government in the most explicit terms not to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States and not to cause the death of American citizens.

On the 7th of May, under direct orders, deliberately given by the military authorities, a German submarine sank the *Lusitania* with over a thousand passengers on board, drowning a large number of men,

women, and children, among them more than a hundred Americans. We immediately contended that this act was "unlawful, inhumane, and a violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity." We refused to accept the palliations put forward by Germany for the deed and we based our protest on very distinct grounds. We said we were "contending for something much greater than any rights of property or privileges of commerce. The Government of the United States is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity. * * * It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon the principle that the United States must stand."

In taking our stand upon this principle of humanity the United States was also standing by two things: First, her own position, expressed originally more than fifty years ago in the following articles of the "Instructions to Armies in the Field":

Article IV. It is incumbent upon those who administer martial law to be strictly guided by the principles of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men.

Article XXVIII. Unjust or inconsiderate retaliation (reprisal) removes the belligerents further and further from the mitigating rules of regular war and by rapid steps leads them nearer to the internecine wars of savages.

Second, the United States was standing upon a principle approved also by Germany, through her signature to The Hague Convention in 1907, and also by all the belligerents in this war through their signatures to that convention:

The high contracting parties clearly do not intend that an unforeseen case should in the absence of a written undertaking be left to the arbitrary judgment of military commanders.

Until a more complete code of the laws of war has been issued the high contracting parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not included in the regulations adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilized people from the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience.

The question as to whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* was or was not a violation of the principle that "unjust or

inconsiderate retaliation leads the belligerents by rapid steps nearer to the internecine wars of savages," (American "Instructions,") the question whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* was or was not "against the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience," is a question every man must decide for himself. The facts of the case are not in dispute.

But in doing his duty as a citizen by forming his own opinion as to whether the stand taken last July by the Government of the Republic on "the high and sacred rights of humanity" was right or wrong, it is proper for every American to take into account what lies behind the *Lusitania* case.

For it is evident that, in the *Lusitania* case, this nation was confronted, to reverse the famous saying of President Cleveland, "not with a situation alone, but with a theory"—a theory of the German military authorities which the writer has placed plainly before the reader in their own words and their own practices described by themselves.

That this is the theory of the German military authorities is unavoidably plain both from what they have said and what they have done. But the writer does not believe that this theory is the theory of the German people. In holding this opinion he takes into account certain things which ought to be assumed by any intelligent and sympathetic observer. It is just as true today as it was in the days of Lincoln that "you cannot swap horses when you are crossing a stream." The German people, fighting as they are with heroic courage for their Fatherland, are not in the mood to listen to any criticism of their military authorities who are commanding that tremendous struggle. They will naturally regard all such criticisms as deliberate and malignant slanders by their enemies based on perjured testimony or exaggerated facts. They do not scrutinize the reports of their military authorities nor the utterances of highly placed professors of international law who assure them that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was legal and humane.

But it is possible to get the judgment of a large portion of the German people

upon this same theory and its application, not in time of war but in time of peace, when they were able to look at it, to understand it and to criticise it themselves, because it was not then part of their national defense in a great crisis, nor the object of the unlimited attacks of those whom they had good reason to regard as their very bitter enemies.

Precisely the same attitude which underlies the utterances and acts in time of war on the part of the German military authorities which this article has described in German words, underlies the famous Zabern incident which occurred shortly before the outbreak of the war. Both proceed from a certain abnormal caste consciousness, a certain exaltation of all military persons above all civil persons, a certain deification of armed forces as the incarnation of the greatest human qualities and the highest potential of patriotism, which makes the gains of war seem like the smile of God.

In December, 1913, there was great difficulty between the garrison of the Alsatian town of Zabern and the inhabitants. In the course of this difficulty a certain Lieutenant of the regiment in garrison wounded severely with his sabre a lame schoolmaster who had made to him what he considered an insulting remark. The Lieutenant and his two superior officers—for he claimed to have acted in the spirit of orders given to them in regard to their attitude toward the civil population—were court-martialed, but ultimately acquitted by the military authorities.

The affair created an extraordinary excitement in Germany. The leading papers, with few exceptions, condemned the action of the Government, which supported the military authority.

The Berliner Tageblatt reported on Dec. 4, 1913: "The Bavarian press of all party tendencies is full of indignation over the attitude of the Chancellor."

The Kölnische Zeitung of Dec. 4, said: "We come to the attitude of the Chancellor and we see with great regret that the military view has found support in him. * * * All Germany listened today to hear from Berlin, out of the mouth of the Government, a reassuring reply to the fundamental question wheth-

er there was in the State or the empire a power outside the realm of law which can break down the rights and liberties of citizens and can daringly assume to treat the laws which are the common foundations of our political joint life as if they had no existence for it."

The Vorwaerts said: "This decisive utterance of Colonel von Reuter (it would be a good thing if some civilian blood flowed in Alsace) is typical of his mediaeval ideas of justice. * * * In his opinion neither law nor order, but only military force, exists. The commands of a military autocrat outweigh in his esteem the dictates of conscience and law."

One of the well-known German comic journals published a cartoon representing a boy and his father looking at some toy soldiers with the background of a Christmas tree:

Boy—Civil is the opposite of military, is it not, father?

Father—Yes, my son, and civilization is the opposite of militarism.

But the action of the representative assembly of Germany was even more significant. When General von Falkenhayn, defending the army before the Reichstag, said "the incident had been maliciously exaggerated by a press given to agitation," "a great roar of dissent and indignation arose from the house. General von Falkenhayn stood as still as a statue for five minutes while the President tried to quiet the pandemonium by ringing the bell."

After his speech and that of von Bethmann Hollweg, the present Chancellor, the Reichstag passed 293 to 54, with forty-nine absent and one blank ballot, a vote of lack of confidence, which would have brought about the fall of a responsible Ministry.

This attitude of the German people at the close of 1913 in repudiating the spirit shown by her military authorities in the affair of Zabern causes the writer to cling to the pious hope that some day Germany will be able to see that her military authorities are using her armies now in the spirit of the Zabern affair, with all the terrible enlargements and exaggerations resulting

from the change from a state of peace to a state of war. When Germany has rejected in war, as she did in peace, this theory and its resulting practice, which is in itself entirely alien to the true genius and character of the ancient German people, and has returned "to her old good sense and her old good humor," she will again take her place among the sisterhood of nations—a sisterhood all of whose members will be purified by terrible suffering borne with heroic self-sacrifice—and continue those great contributions she has made in the past to the spiritual treasures of mankind.

Awaiting that time, the American Republic owes it to herself, to the world, and to the German people to stand by her own principles and the principles of humanity, and to assert them without compromise against any attempt in the past or the future, on the part of the German military authorities, to apply to our citizens their principle that "excessive humanitarian notions should not limit the only true humanity, which very often lies in a ruthless application of certain severities indispensable to war." For this Republic to do anything else would be to eat her own words, stain her own honor, and turn her back on the "high and sacred principles of humanity" as whose champion she rode forward last July into the lists of the world.

The passage of the resolution proposed in Congress ordering Americans off belligerent ships would have been as shocking a repudiation of duty as can be found in any nation's history. As the President wrote to Senator Stone: "To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violations of the rights of man everywhere. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even among the turmoil of war, for the law and the right."

In these words the President drew the line on a vital question. Every citizen who understands the facts and approves of the principles here suggested, even though he may have been inclined in the

past to criticise the action of the State Department in the Lusitania case as lacking in energy, ought to rally to that line against an opposition which appeals to the motley support of pseudo-

Americans, of honestly mistaken pacifists, of a vast mass of people who can be misled about the situation or remain indifferent to it, only because they do not understand the facts in the case.

My England

By WILLIAM WINTER

MY England! Not my native land,
But dear to me as if she were,—
How often have I longed to stand
With those brave hearts who fight for her!

Bereft by Fortune, worn with Age,
My life is all I have to give,
But freely would that life engage
For those who die that she may live.

Mother of Freedom! Pledged to Right!
From Honor's path she would not stray,
But, sternly faithful, used her might
To lead mankind the nobler way.

Her task was hard, her burden great,
But 'round the world her edict ran
That reared and ruled a Sovereign State,
Securely, on the Rights of Man.

No vandal foot should tread her land,
No despot hold her realm in awe;
The humblest peasant should command
The shelter of her righteous law.

In vain her lion port was braved!
Her pennant streamed o'er ev'ry sea,
And wheresoe'er her ensign waved
All fetters fell and Man was free.

Today be all her faults forgot,—
The errors of her nascent prime,
Or wily politician's plot,
Or blunder that was almost crime.

Today, when desperate tyrants strain,—
By Greed, and Fear, and Hate combined,—
To blast her power and rend her reign,
She fights the fight of all mankind:

She fights for us,—for this fair clime,
Our home below'd, where freemen dwell,
Columbia, grandest born of Time,
That Teuton malice burns to quell.

My England! should the hope be crost
In which she taught the world to strive,
Then all of Virtue would be lost
And naught of Manhood left alive.

But 'tis not in the Book of Doom
That Justice, Honor, Truth, should fail,
That earth be made a living tomb,
And only brutal Wrong prevail.

It cannot be the human race,
Long struggling up to Freedom's sun,
Is destined to the abject place
Of vassal to the murd'rous Hun!

In ev'ry land that knows the ills
Of Bondage, and has borne its aches,
The deathless pulse of Freedom thrills
And Reason's noble rage awakes.

See splendid Italy advance,
And grimly issuing from his lair,
To grasp the hand of glorious France,
Stalk forth th' intrepid Russian bear!

My England!—patient, valiant, true!—
Nor foes without, nor frauds within
Will shake her purpose to subdue
The cohorts of embattled sin;

The swinish horde, the gilded beasts,
In whom no touch of ruth survives,
Who ravish women, murder priests,
And strew the sea with infant lives;

The Lords of War, who kill and maim,
Exultant, while their people groan,
Steeping themselves in crime and shame,
To keep a despot on his throne;

That pigmy, to whose 'wildered brain
Himself an Attila appears,
Who takes the name of God in vain,
And drowns the earth in blood and tears!

My England, strike! Droop not, nor pause,
Till triumph on your banners shine!
Then take a grateful world's applause,—
Millions of hearts that beat like mine.



The Status of a Merchant Ship

Its Relation to War, and Its Right to Arm for Defense

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Charlemagne Tower

Former American Ambassador to Germany

THE conflict which is now absorbing the attention of the whole world has not only involved the physical strength and the energies of the great powers of Europe who are actually facing each other in the field, but the bitterness of hostility toward each other leads them into disagreements as to their conception of abstract right and wrong in human intercourse and the application of the principles of law, which, in times of peace, most people had believed to be substantially fixed and determined.

So, claims of legal right which had been long lost sight of or forgotten have been revived and are discussed at present with such acrimonious differences of opinion, as well as with great controversial ingenuity, that it is difficult at times for a neutral international lawyer to reach a conclusion which is just in principle and fair to everybody concerned.

Changed conditions and new methods of warfare alter the circumstances of the

cases that present themselves now. We have trouble in applying the accepted rules of the past, based upon conditions which formerly controlled human action, to a set of modern circumstances in-

fluenced or directly affected by the presence of elements that in former times did not exist. The warfare of aeroplanes and Zeppelin balloons and the use of asphyxiating gases raise many new questions on land; while the invention and wide employment of submarine boats have introduced entirely new problems at sea, and have renewed everywhere the discussion of older ones, as to the relations of merchant ships to the state of war—how they are affected by it and what part, if any, they may take in actual war, either as



CHARLEMAGNE TOWER

auxiliary cruisers or simply as armed merchantmen pursuing their usual course in the carrying trade of the countries to which they belong.

There are rules of international law, however, which govern these cases, and

NOTE.—Hon. Charlemagne Tower, who discusses the Armed Liner Question, has authority and wide experience to give his views weight. He is a native of Philadelphia and his record as diplomat and publicist has given him a commanding position in the intellectual circles of that city. He entered the Diplomatic Service in 1897, when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria-Hungary, where he remained two years; in 1899 he became Ambassador to Russia, and in 1902 was appointed Ambassador to Germany, where he remained until 1908. While in Germany, Mr. Tower was more than an official at Court; he had warm personal relations with the Kaiser, and is perhaps as familiar with the point of view of the Emperor as any one outside his official entourage.

it is to them that we must turn if we seek to determine the rights and duties of vessels of all countries engaged in the carrying on of commerce and trade at the outbreak of war; and principally—for the purposes of the present discussion—as to the conversion of a merchant ship into a cruiser, the right of search, and the right of merchant ships to bear arms. The legal decisions upon these questions, running through a long series of years, and the agreements in regard to them, accepted by all the great maritime nations, render our understanding of the main principles tolerably clear.

The armed forces of a belligerent are, of course, his regular army and navy; that is to say, his combatants. It makes no difference in this discussion that certain persons with an army in the field are in effect noncombatants, such as doctors, nurses, chaplains, &c., who, under the regulations of The Hague, are to be treated as prisoners of war. We regard the enemy's force as his *combatant force*, whether it consists of his regular land and naval armed bodies or his militia, or such volunteer bodies as he may incorporate into his armed defense, under the rules of war as these were formulated at the Conferences at The Hague.

A merchant ship, therefore, if for any reason it ceases to be merely a commercial carrier and is armed for active hostilities during a war in which its country is engaged, must be incorporated into the regular armed force of that country and must in consequence be so recognized; and it is this which marks the very important distinction between the auxiliary cruiser of a belligerent and one of his merchantmen armed merely for defense. For, as the right of privateering by vessels carrying on hostilities under letters of marque was abandoned by the Declaration of Paris in 1856, it is not reasonable to admit at this advanced period of civilization that privateers will ever be sent out again, even by those nations which, like the United States, were not parties to, and are to that extent not legally bound by, that declaration.

But certain Governments have taken steps which have been generally accepted as legal by the writers on international

law, for the formation of some sort of additional force to be made available in case of war, like the volunteer fleet of Russia, or for preparations against possible hostilities, like those of France in her arrangement with certain of her steamship companies, under which their boats must be constructed upon plans approved by the Government, must be commanded by officers of the French Navy, and be incorporated into the navy itself at the outbreak of war. So, also, Great Britain has had similar arrangements during the last thirty years with some of the great British ocean lines.

Such vessels, upon being transformed into auxiliary cruisers in accordance with the purposes for which they were constructed, are no longer to be looked upon as merchantmen, which they are not then, in fact—but they become at once a part of the armed force of the nation to which they belong, and are to be so treated by enemy ships. The subject has been deemed of such importance that it was presented to the powers for consideration at The Hague, and, in order that there might be no doubt as to the status of merchant ships of this class, a convention was adopted which prescribes the rules to be followed by the contracting powers who are parties to it.*

1. They must be placed under the direct authority, immediate control, and responsibility of the powers whose flag they fly.

2. They must bear the external marks which distinguish the warships of their nationality.

3. The commander must be in the service of the State and duly commissioned. His name must appear in the list of officers of the fighting fleet.

4. The crew must be subject to military discipline.

5. Such ships must observe the laws and customs of war.

6. A belligerent who converts a merchant ship into a warship must announce such conversion as soon as possible in the list of warships.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the parties to this convention of The Hague were unable to agree upon, and did not determine, the question as to where the conversion of a merchant ship in this manner should take place, whether

*Convention relating to the conversion of merchant ships into warships. Hague Conference, 1907. VII.

RUSSIAN COMMANDER ENTERING ERZERUM



Grand Duke Nicholas Inspecting the Captured Fortress



The Grand Duke Leaving His Headquarters in Erzerum
(Photographs by a Russian Officer)



GENERAL KUROPATKIN

Veteran of the Russo-Japanese War, Again in Command of Russian
Armies

(Photo by Press Illustrating Service)

upon the high seas, as had been the case with certain Russian ships which had come out through the Dardanelles, had passed the Suez Canal as merchant vessels, and afterward, having hoisted the Russian flag of war, began to visit and search neutral ships, in 1904, during the war between Russia and Japan; or whether the conversion must take place in some port. They declared formally, therefore, as part of the Convention VII., that, as the contracting powers had not been able to come to an agreement upon the question whether the conversion of a merchantship into a warship may take place upon the high seas, it is understood that the question of the place where such conversion is effected remains outside the scope of their agreement. So far, therefore, it is not settled.

The convention was signed and ratified by the belligerents of the present war, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, and Great Britain, who are in consequence bound by its provisions in so far as any question arising out of it may affect them. But we in America did not agree with them, nor did the United States either sign or adhere to the convention. Though we recognized our own responsibilities and we were no strangers to the subject in any sense, for armed cruisers were familiar to us in our civil war, and we had accepted in our claims against Great Britain, as the result of the activities of the Alabama, the obligation of the famous "Three Rules" of the Treaty of Washington of 1871. There was no fear that we should now overlook the duties which we ourselves had impressed upon the representatives of another power in the proceedings which took place before the Geneva Tribunal: To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out or equipping within our jurisdiction of any vessel which we have reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war against a power with which we are at peace; to prevent the departure for such purposes of any vessel having been adapted in whole or in part to warlike use within our jurisdiction; neither to permit either belligerent to make use of our ports or waters as the base of operations against the other; nor to fail

in due diligence to prevent within our own jurisdiction any violation of those rules.

But Great Britain appears to have been solicitous upon this point and sensitive as to her national rights, even beyond what she might under the circumstances have felt it necessary to be in our case; for, almost upon the declaration of war, the Chargé d'Affaires of the British Embassy in Washington addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States, with some haste perhaps, a communication in which he said, after reciting the "Three Rules," that these rules may be said to have acquired the force of generally recognized rules of international law, and the first of them is reproduced almost textually in Article VIII. of the Hague Convention, Nov. 13, 1907, concerning the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in case of Maritime Warfare, the principles of which have been agreed to by practically every maritime State. He declared that it was known, however, that Germany, with whom Great Britain was at war, favors the policy of converting her merchant vessels into armed ships on the high seas, and that it was probable, therefore, that attempts would be made to equip and dispatch merchantmen for such conversion from the ports of the United States.

"It is probable," he said, "that, even if the final completion of the measures to fit out merchantmen to act as cruisers may have to be effected on the high seas, most of the preliminary arrangements will have been made before the vessels leave port, so that the warlike purpose to which they are to be put after leaving neutral waters must be more or less manifest before their departure.

"In calling your attention to the above-mentioned 'Rules of the Treaty of Washington' and The Hague Convention, I have the honor to state that his Majesty's Government will accordingly hold the United States responsible for any damages to British trade or shipping, or injury to British interests generally, which may be caused by such vessels having been equipped at, or departing from, United States ports."

To this official statement the Secretary

of State replied on the 19th of August, 1914, with becoming dignity. After giving proper consideration to the meaning of the words, "due diligence," as they were interpreted both in the Geneva Award of 1872 and at the Second Hague Conference, he made the following declaration of American policy in the case before him:

"As your communication apparently lays great stress upon the expression 'due diligence,' contained in the Treaty of Washington, it is believed material to the present occasion to quote the following definition of it, contained in the Geneva Award of 1872:

"The 'due diligence' referred to in the first and third of the said rules ought to be exercised by neutral Governments in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed, from a failure to fulfill the obligations of neutrality on their part.

"The expression 'due diligence' was contained in the draft submitted by the British delegation to the Second Hague Conference, upon which Article VII. was based. Article VIII., as finally adopted, is as follows:

"A neutral Government is bound to employ the means at its disposal to prevent the fitting out or arming of any vessel within its jurisdiction which it has reason to believe is intended to cruise, or engage in hostile operations, against a power with which that Government is at peace. It is also bound to display the same vigilance to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise, or engage in hostile operations, which had been adapted entirely or partly within the said jurisdiction for use in war.

"It seems obvious that by neither the terms nor the interpretation of the provisions of the treaties on this point is the United States bound to assume the attitude of an insurer. Consequently the United States disclaims as a correct statement of its responsibility the assertion in your note that: 'His Majesty's Government will accordingly hold the United States responsible for any damages to British trade or shipping, or injury to British interests generally, which may be caused by such vessels having been equipped at, or departing from, United States ports.'

"The United States has always looked

upon the Three Rules of Washington as declaratory of international law, and as a necessary and natural consequence of the doctrine of neutrality, proclaimed and enforced by the United States since the wars of the French Revolution, to which Great Britain was a party. The Three Rules can, in the opinion of this Government, only be considered as a starting point of the doctrine of that degree of diligence which a neutral should observe in the sense that its recognition by Great Britain in an important international controversy called marked attention to an existing doctrine, and furnished an incentive to its incorporation and definition in The Hague Convention concerning the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Case of Maritime Warfare.

"The United States, since the earliest days of its existence, has been as solicitous of its neutral duties as of its neutral rights, and without further consideration of your communication at this time I request you to state to your Government that there is no reason to anticipate that the United States will be less mindful of its duties or its rights as a neutral in the present case than it has been in the past."

The status of a converted merchant ship is clearly enough defined, therefore, and settled. But with the merchantman armed in time of war merely for defense, there are difficulties not easy to overcome; because, even if all nations agreed in giving such a vessel the right to arm for defense, the introduction of submarine warfare appears to have made very uncertain what we are to call "defense," while the chief maritime belligerents in the present war disagree fundamentally with each other. Germany declares outright that merchant ships have no right under the rules of international law to arm themselves at all, but that in all cases an armed ship is a warship; and there is apparently no way at present to compose this difference of opinion, for the hostility between them in regard to this point is as bitter as that of the war itself.

The subject is further complicated by the right of visitation and search which no one denies as applicable in time of

war. If a merchantman resists visitation and search he becomes a belligerent; if he is armed for the purpose he takes the part of a warship; as, indeed, he may do, for there is no law to prevent him from defending himself against the enemy's cruisers if he decides to do so and is able to do it. Though, of course, he is to be treated in that case as an armed ship of war.

It is at this point that the sharpest line of difference appears in the present contest, for, while the allied belligerents hold fast to their right of arming for defense against the enemy's attack, the British regard the mere approach of a submarine boat as "an attack"; while the German naval authorities declare that British merchant ships are armed for the express purpose of destroying enemy submarines.

We have, as an instance of this, two specific cases reported by the naval correspondent of *The London Times*, who writes (*The Times*, Feb. 10, 1916): "The P. & O. steamer *Kashgar*, when off Malta on her way to India, saw a submarine's periscope and fired at it, obliging the boat to dive. It reappeared on the opposite side of the liner, and was again fired at, if not hit, when the submarine dived and was seen no more. A French ship, the *Plata*, owned by the *Transports Maritimes*, sighted, on Jan. 27, a submarine half a mile away. Fire was opened from the stern of the steamer, and the hostile craft, believed to be struck in a vital part, soon dived and made off."

From the purely legal point of view the question presents itself as to whether this is the use of arms merely for defense; it illustrates as clearly as possible one of the new difficulties and contentions that have been introduced into naval warfare by the invention of the submarine boat. The approach of a submarine is undoubtedly a *menace*; is it in effect an "attack"?

Merchant ships have had authority from time immemorial in England and America to arm themselves for defense,* which in the old days of priva-

teers and pirates was unquestionably not only a wise precaution but in fact a measure that every careful and prudent shipowner had the right to take, was bound to take, for the protection of his property. Chief Justice Marshall said in regard to it in 1815:†

"A belligerent has a perfect right to arm in his own defense. And a neutral has a perfect right to transport his goods in a belligerent vessel."

And we have a note of the Department of State, written in 1877, showing that the United States Government has always continued to support the right of a merchant ship to arm for defense.‡ Mr. Fish set forth the views of this Government as follows, in communicating with Mr. Morrill: "In answer to your request for an expression of opinion in regard to Mr. Ogden's question, whether a vessel which he is said to be fitting out for a trading voyage to the South Sea Islands can carry two guns and other arms for protection and defense against the natives, I am not aware of any treaty provision which would prevent a vessel trading amid the groups of islands of the South Sea from carrying a couple of guns and arms for the purpose of necessary protection of the vessel against violence on the part of lawless, partially civilized communities, or of the piratical crews which are represented occasionally to frequent those waters, providing always that the vessel carrying such guns and arms itself be on a lawful voyage and be engaged in none other than peaceful commerce, and that such guns and arms be intended, and be used, solely for the purpose of defense and of self-protection."

The American view of the subject, as indeed that of Great Britain also, has remained consistently the same—that merchant ships may arm themselves for *defense*, but for defense only—and the importance of it had almost slipped from men's minds in the course of the peaceful sailing of the seas during recent years, when it was presented anew with a demand for a restatement of the principles

*The *London Times* editorially quotes "Robinson Crusoe" on this point, Feb. 12, 1916.

†The *Nereide*, Cranch's Reports, Vol. IX.

‡Moore, *Digest of International Law*, Vol. II., par. 326.

that govern it at the outbreak of the present war.

A memorandum from the British Embassy in Washington, dated Sept. 9, 1914, reached the Department of State, containing the statement that the German Government had openly entered upon the policy of arming merchant ships as commerce destroyers and that they claimed the right even to carry out the process of arming and equipping such merchant ships in neutral harbors or on the high seas. In consequence of which the British Admiralty had been compelled, in accordance with the practice followed in the great wars of history, to arm a certain number of British merchant ships for self-defense only. The statement declared further that the practice of arming ships in self-defense is very old and has been ordered by royal proclamation in England from early in the seventeenth century, calling attention also to the right of a merchant ship of a belligerent to carry arms and resist capture as clearly and definitely laid down in modern times, the right of resistance of merchant vessels being recognized by the United States Naval War Code, by the Italian Code for Mercantile Marine, and by the Russian Prize Regulations.

The British Ambassador added also in the course of his communication: "A merchant vessel armed purely for self-defense is therefore entitled under international law to enjoy the status of a peaceful trading ship in neutral ports, and his Majesty's Government do not ask for better treatment for British merchant ships in this respect than might be accorded to those of other powers. They consider that only those merchant ships which are intended for use as cruisers should be treated as ships of war and that the question whether a particular ship carrying armament is intended for offensive or defensive action must be decided by the simple criterion whether she is engaged in *ordinary commerce and embarking cargo and passengers in the ordinary way*. These facts being so, there is no rule in international law that would justify such vessel, even if armed, being treated otherwise than as a peaceful trader."

This is substantially the view of our own Government. It was called upon to decide whether a merchant ship arriving in our ports and bearing arms should be held as an armed ship in the legal sense and treated as a ship of war, or whether it should be allowed to sail again and proceed upon its ordinary errand as in time of peace. Mr. Lansing stated the rule of the United States unequivocally in the identical note which he addressed to the British, French, German, and Japanese Ambassadors, on Sept. 19, 1914. He declared in it, at the outset: "A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a ship of war."

In regard to the proof of the character of such a ship, the Secretary went further, and laid down in detail the regulations by which the ship's character and status are to be determined and under which she may come into and sail out of the territorial waters of the United States. These regulations have an importance of their own, especially at this juncture, and are worth setting out in full. They are as follows:

The presence of an armament and ammunition on board a merchant vessel creates a presumption that the armament is for offensive purposes, but the owners or agents may overcome this presumption by evidence showing that the vessel carries armament solely for defense.

Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively, whether the armament be mounted or stowed below, must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation. The result of the investigation must show conclusively that the armament is not intended for, and will not be used in, offensive operations.

Indications that the armament will not be used offensively are:

1. That the calibre of the guns carried does not exceed six inches.
2. That the guns and small arms carried are few in number.
3. That no guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.
4. That the quantity of ammunition carried is small.
5. That the vessel is manned by its usual crew, and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.
6. That the vessel intends to, and actually does, clear for a port lying in its usual trade route, or a port indicating its purpose to

continue in the same trade in which it was engaged when war was declared.

7. That the vessel takes on board fuel and supplies sufficient only to carry it to its port of destination, or the same quantity substantially which it has been accustomed to take for a voyage before war was declared.

8. That the cargo of the vessel consists of articles of commerce unsuited for the use of a ship of war in operation against an enemy.

9. That the vessel carries passengers who are, as a whole, unfitted to enter the military or naval service of the belligerent whose flag the vessel flies, or of any of its allies, and particularly if the passenger list includes women and children.

10. That the speed of the ship is slow.

Our point of view in this matter is definitely fixed, therefore, and we still maintain in America our traditional interpretation of the law of nations, in accord with the British Admiralty decisions in the same connection—that a merchant ship may arm itself for defense in the pursuit of its usual course of commercial navigation on the high seas.

But, in the conflict of opinion that exists at present between the belligerents in Europe, especially between Great Britain and Germany, which causes not only such widespread destruction of property at sea but carries with it frightful loss of human life, we have nothing left beyond the important rule that a merchantman can only defend himself; he must not attack even his enemy.

If we look to the most recent authorities in Great Britain we find this point insisted upon. Professor Oppenheim says, for instance, in his "Treatise on International Law," that: "Any merchantman of a belligerent attacking a public or private vessel of the enemy would be considered and treated as a pirate, and the members of its crew would be liable to be treated as war criminals." And while he adds that, if attacked by an enemy vessel, a merchantman is competent to deliver a counterattack and may pursue and even seize the enemy ship, he continues: "As a rule, attacks on merchantmen will be made by cannonade only, as the attacking vessel aims at seizing her on account of her value. But in case the attacked vessel not only takes to flight, but defends herself by a counterattack, all modes of attack are lawful against her, just as she herself is

justified in applying all modes of attack by way of defense."*

If the parties concerned could agree in principle at least, the situation would be a sufficiently bad one in their attitude of today; but as it is, they differ more widely than ever before. The German Government replied to the memoranda of the Department of State in Washington on the 15th of October, 1914, that the equipment of British merchant vessels with artillery is for the purpose of making armed resistance to German cruisers. Resistance of this sort, it declares, is contrary to international law, because in a military sense a merchant vessel is not permitted to defend itself against a warship.

A year and a half of war have served but to enlarge the differences between these two nations and to increase, if possible, the hostile spirit with which each looks upon the actions of the other as the successive encounters take place on the high seas between their respective ships, under circumstances unprecedented until the arrival of the submarine boat in the present war, and, in fact, unforeseen and unprovided for by the precepts of international law in former times.

The German Government issued an official statement on the 10th of February, 1916, (published in the North German Gazette,) announcing that German naval officers have reported many cases where British merchant vessels have attacked German war vessels without waiting to be attacked by them, and even, upon several occasions, under the use of false colors. And it repeated the assertion heretofore made that the German naval authorities consider that any warlike activity on the part of enemy merchant vessels is contrary to international law.

The same statement made public a copy of the secret orders of the British Admiralty, captured with a British merchant ship, (the steamer Woodfield,) containing instructions that "it is not advisable to open fire at a greater distance than 800 yards, unless the enemy has opened fire previously," and that, "when a submarine is observed by day"

*Oppenheim, Int. Law: London, 1912. Vol. II. Sections 85, 181, 254.

following a ship, and it appears that its intentions are hostile, the ship shall open fire for defense, even if the submarine has not committed any decisively hostile act, as, for instance, by firing a gun or a torpedo. Therefore, the mere appearance of a submarine in the wake of a merchant vessel is sufficient motive for an armed attack."

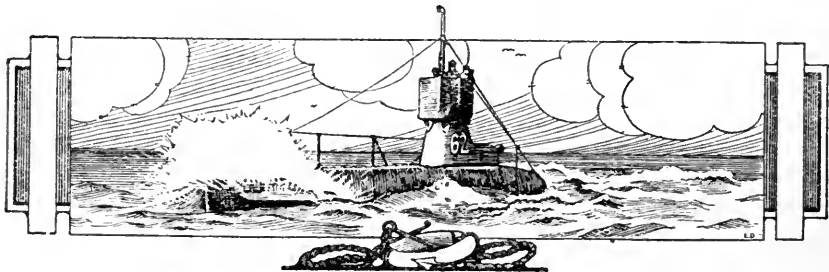
On the other hand, and in reply, the German Government, taking this declaration as a challenge, concluded its statement by announcing that "in view of the foregoing, enemy merchantmen carrying guns are not entitled to be regarded as peaceful merchantmen. The German naval forces will, in the interest of neutrals, receive orders to treat such vessels as belligerents."

And Great Britain has in the meantime left no cause for doubt or uncertainty as to its intentions in this regard; for the Admiralty has now made public its orders to armed merchantmen, in an official statement issued within the last few weeks, (March 2, 1916,) in which it is specifically declared that, as experience has shown that hostile submarines and aircraft have frequently attacked merchant vessels without warning, "it is important that craft of this description should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. British and allied submarines and aircraft have orders not to approach merchant vessels. Consequently, it may be presumed that any submarine or aircraft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent the hostile

craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden attack with bomb or torpedo would be impossible." That is the situation as we find it today.

It would be idle to speculate as to what the outcome will be, or to pass one's time in making efforts to fit the length and breadth of international law into dimensions that are completely out of our measurement. International law is law, in any event, only so far as its precepts are recognized and accepted by the powers which acknowledge its mandate and submit to its authority; and a great deal will have to be done, after the close of this war, in order to bring the nations of the world together again in accord upon new principles of agreement that must be enacted and adopted then. The whole question of submarine warfare will have most likely to be adjusted, as no doubt it will be, upon the evident necessities of the case and in view of the experience of the present time. But we can hardly expect it to be possible to reach such a determination now in the heat of the conflict which it foment and sustains.

The approach of an enemy's armed craft near enough to be effective is now determined to be an "attack," and it is to be feared that neither side will study very carefully to ascertain and apply the old rules of international law about defense and attack in the intense moment that marks the sudden coming together of an armed merchantman and a submarine boat. Our rules have apparently broken down, and with them has gone the sense of security that we may have had heretofore in regard to the merchant ships of a belligerent armed for defense on the high seas.



The Attitude of the American Government Toward the Belligerents

[WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY]

By Edmund von Mach, Ph. D.

THE European policy of President Wilson's Administration seems to have been this: "The interests of the United States of America demand that we do not enter the war, and the sympathies of our people, as read by President Wilson, demand that we give help to the Allies to the limit of a liberal interpretation of the law, which beyond that we are bound to uphold."

Every diplomatic action taken by the President during the European war squares with this and with no other hypothesis, except that advanced by his enemies, who claim that he has had no policy at all. That his enemies are wrong is proved by even a slight acquaintance with the President.

Mr. Wilson's motives have little to do with the discussion of his policy, and may be assumed to have been as sincere and patriotic as those of his opponents. Nor should it be forgotten that President Wilson has had a more difficult position to fill than any President, not excluding Washington and Lincoln.

If the above is a fair statement of Mr. Wilson's policy, it must be acknowledged that this policy is based on principles of statecraft similar to those which all the great nations of the world have followed in the past; for they have almost invariably shaped their courses by self-interest and personal sympathy. Few of them, however, have had the same freedom of action in following these principles as the United States has had, because it has never before been a question of maintaining terms of amity with the only remaining first-class neutral power. Generally speaking, however, President Wilson's policy has fallen no whit below the moral standard set by the European nations.

Mr. Wilson's policy has, on the other hand, not risen above this standard. All

the nobler principles to which the American people had prided themselves to have risen during the past generations, and to which American statesmen, preachers, teachers, and writers had given voice, and which had in part been accepted in international legislative halls, have been swept aside.

High-sounding phrases, such as humanity, the rights of neutrals, the freedom of the seas, and justice, have not deceived the American people, who have interpreted every act of the Wilson Administration as dictated by the two principles—self-interest and personal sympathy. Instead of uniting the American people on a platform of progress and "America for mankind," the President has divided the American people, and completely satisfied neither the sympathizers of the Allies nor those of the Central Powers.

The "law" which Mr. Wilson declares himself eager to uphold is no law at all in the proper sense of the word, for it has to do with nothing but the variously interpreted principles that in the past have guided the intercourse of nations.

The President forgets that what was deemed just centuries ago may today, under altered conditions, no longer serve the cause of justice. It is ridiculous to have our ancestors of five, ten, or more generations ago prescribe for us what is just, when we have long discarded their advice in most other realms, especially in those of religion and medicine.

To guard against the arbitrary interpretation of what constitutes "just principles," and to make allowances for the growing sense of justice, the various nations of the world used to make treaties, the one with the others, to define these principles. At last, in 1856, they gathered at a congress in Paris and adopted the so-called Declaration of Paris,

in which neutral property except contraband was declared sacrosanct, and the rights of neutral commerce in times of war were guaranteed. The Conventions of the First and Second Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907 marked another step in advance, and the Declaration of London of 1909 codified international law in so far as it had to do with naval warfare, and represented the principles of international relationship which the peoples of the twentieth century deemed just. When the war began President Wilson asked both belligerents whether they would abide by the Declaration of London. Both had signed it, but neither had ratified it. Germany declared her willingness to abide by the Declaration of London if England did. England declined.

Before the war Sir Edward Grey had declared in Parliament that he considered Great Britain bound by the Declaration because the duly accredited plenipotentiaries of the Government had signed it. His opponents thereupon demanded that not only the Declaration of London, but also that of Paris, be "openly denounced and repudiated; for until it (the Declaration of Paris) is repudiated it must be held as binding. Its falsity and the want of previous authority and subsequent sanction are not sufficient to be simply disregarded in time of war. They are more than sufficient to invite its denunciation and repudiation in time of peace." (T. Gibson Bowles, M. P., *The Declaration of Paris*, p. 210.)

Neither the Declaration of Paris nor the Declaration of London was "openly denounced and repudiated" by Great Britain in time of peace. On the contrary, the Government in Parliament declared itself bound by them. When the war began, however, Great Britain "simply disregarded them," and President Wilson granted her the moral right to do so, although her own statesmen had said this could not be done honorably.

The Hague Conventions were likewise permitted to be swept aside on technicalities, which brought "international law" back to what it was before the Declaration of Paris in 1856. President Wilson might have said: "By the common con-

sent of nations certain principles of international relationship have been accepted as comporting to the advanced conception among them of what is just. The United States in its dealings with the belligerents will follow these principles, for the American people stand for justice and progress." Instead he said: "If Great Britain refuses to accept these principles, we cannot force her, and if she desires to revert to a lower standard, which she believes is more advantageous for her, we shall do the same."

Without consulting Congress, without taking broad advice, guided by the principles of national self-interest and sympathy, as he saw them, President Wilson turned back the hands of time, swept aside the advance made since 1856, and committed America, the land of freedom and progress, to a standard which more than fifty years ago had appeared antiquated, unjust, illiberal, and uncertain.

In 1856, before the Declaration of Paris, two incompatible doctrines had fought for recognition in "international law." One, the "American idea," as it was subsequently called in The Hague Conferences, claimed that in case of war the rights of neutrals are paramount. The other, the European, or since it had been gradually forced on the nations by the strongest, Great Britain, the "British idea," claimed that in war the necessities of the belligerents take precedence over all other "rights."

According to temperament and training, the legal writers of the several countries had taken now this, now that, point of view. The result was dangerous confusion, which was chiefly instrumental in inducing the great nations to draw up the Declaration of Paris. For, they said, "maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes," and "the uncertainty of the law and of the duties in such a matter gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts."

It is this maritime law, so uncertain of interpretation that it was acknowledged to be apt to lead to "deplorable disputes," which President Wilson has been willing to accept as his guide. When one

reads his references to the "well established principles of international law" or similar phrases, showing that he believes in the existence of a definite law subject to only one interpretation, one cannot help but doubt the sincerity of his legal advisers, for no man in his position would deliberately utter such falsehoods.

The same is true of the President's decision concerning the exportation of munitions of war. He claims that the exportation is permitted by international law and that an embargo would be an unneutral act, nor does he admit the possibility of a contrary interpretation of "international law."

One of the chief arguments, however, which the British opponents of the Declaration of London advanced was this—that it permitted the exportation of munitions of war from neutral countries. Their leader, T. Gibson Bowles, M. P., in his book, "Sea Law and Sea Power," says:

Great Britain has always denied that neutrals have or could have any right to supply either one or both belligerents that assistance in war which is provided by furnishing either with such means of resistance or offense as are called "contraband." She has always declared the law of nations to be—as, in fact, it is—that for a friend of both belligerents to place in the hands of one of them arms against the other is an abandonment of the neutrality which forbids such an assistance to either.

And to make his point still clearer he asks whether the advocates of the principles that neutrals may export arms "would apply to individuals the same principle as to nations—whether, seeing two men locked in a deadly struggle, they would sympathetically consider and actively support a friend of both who should furtively hand a knife to one of them."

How is it possible for President Wilson, in the face of such statements by British authorities, to claim that his reading of international law as permitting the exportation of arms is the only correct one, unless again his legal advisers have kept from him the knowledge of all interpretations contrary to his own?

All these errors the President would have avoided if he had left to Congress

the shaping of the principles which our foreign policy should follow. He is charged with conducting the diplomatic negotiations with foreign countries. But since Congress alone has the right to declare war, Congress alone should determine the policies which should guide our relations with foreign countries.

In the circle of his friends in Washington Mr. Wilson is spoken of as the ruler of America, and in his Manhattan Club speech in New York he actually claimed for himself and his Government the allegiance of all true Americans, forgetful of the fact that the Americans are a sovereign people owing allegiance to no man. They are free citizens and subjects of no one, their only allegiance being to the Constitution and the principles on which the nation was founded—humanity, freedom, justice, and good-will toward all.

Poorly instructed by his legal advisers, unwilling to consult Congress, and erroneously deeming himself the ruler of America, President Wilson has not even been able to follow with invariable honor the policy of national self-interest and sympathy on which he himself determined as his guide in his dealings with the European belligerents.

Much as this is to be regretted, the fact that he determined on this policy at all is the tragedy of the time. Possibly those are right who believe that the victory of the Allies means the triumph of freedom. Possibly the others are right who, like Jefferson, consider "the Government of England as totally without morality, insolent beyond bearing, inflated with vanity and ambition, aiming at the exclusive domination of the seas, lost in corruption and deep-rooted hatred toward us, hostile to liberty, wherever it endeavors to show its head, and the eternal disturber of the peace of the world." And according to their views the ones or the others may have desired, or still wish, that the material weight of the United States bring victory to one side or the other, and may have been satisfied, or still be satisfied, with any policy calculated to do this.

The time of passion, however, will

pass, and then a sense of mortification will possess all true Americans. In the past, in every crisis of history, the United States of America has stood for the highest ideals in morality and justice. It was left for President Wilson, with the tacit consent of Congress and the thoughtless approval of partisans, to disregard these highest ideals and willingly to descend to the lower and uncertain standards of generations ago. Instead of having regard for the advance of mankind, into which service America had been dedicated for well-nigh a century and a half, President Wilson has had regard for the special interests of the country as he saw them and for what he believed were the sympathies of the majority of the people.

The result has been material prosperity and the desire to fall in step with the nations of Europe and to emulate their ideals. The one precious thing which used to distinguish the United States of America from all other nations

and which attracted people from everywhere has been lost, or at least been temporarily overshadowed. Good-will toward all peoples has been succeeded by suspicion of and ill-will toward most of them. The conviction that the moral force of right must triumph in the world has given way to the belief that the country must arm to fight other nations.

Nations are like individuals, and no man can shape his course and excuse his actions by lower standards than those he knows are highest without slipping from the level his previous efforts had enabled him to attain.

The American Nation, with its face set toward the sun of progress, had proudly advanced since the days of Washington. When the storms of passion broke and a prophet was needed to remind the people of their destiny, President Wilson turned back for them the hands of time, and for the potage of national self-interest and personal sympathy sold their birthright of good-will toward all.

Predicts the Triumph of Militarism

General von Reichenau of the German Army believes that the war will impose the yoke of militarism on every nation—that the very wealth which renders vast armaments possible also creates the necessity for them. In a recent address he said:

We may therefore look forward to an increase of armaments such as has never been seen before. Already in the course of the war every one of the warring parties has increased its armaments to the utmost, permanently, it may be assumed, and not alone for a gradual increase of military strength during the war. In any event, the lessons of this war are too drastic and terribly earnest ever to be forgotten, and not to make the wish imperative that they should be justified in the future. Therefore, everything that can add to our military strength has the highest possible value in the national sense. And for that reason will the system of militarism that is best suited to national defense stride triumphantly over the civilized lands of the earth in fulfillment of its world mission. * * * The nation that allows itself to be guided by the strong hand of a military organization that is equal to its needs chooses the right path, and woe to it if it throws away this staff.



America Up Against the Wall

By Gabriel Hanotaux

Member of the French Academy and Former Prime Minister

At the time of President Wilson's recent victory in Congress on the armed liner issue, M. Hanotaux wrote for the Paris Figaro the noteworthy article herewith translated. It shows the deep interest with which every move of the United States is watched abroad, and is an illuminating example of how our situation is regarded by French publicists.

IN the cataclysm which German ambition has let loose upon the earth the nations most exposed to danger are not those which are fighting. They at least are going forth to the struggle; they are giving the enemy of the human race terrible blows, which sometimes make him measure his length on the ground. Even as conqueror, he would respect them; vanquished, he will submit to their law.

No, those who run the greatest risk, whichever way destiny may decide the struggle, are the countries which think themselves safe, and which desire to enjoy in peace the misfortunes of others; and in the first rank of these are the American republics. They are enriching themselves, it is said, upon the universal ruin. In appearance, yes; but they are impoverishing themselves in reality. They may add up their great dividends—the final total will be liquidation. For nations, like individuals, must set down in the first line of their ledgers the honor and respect which they inspire in others.

All the leaders of North American opinion now understand this. A well-turned phrase of one of them sums up the whole crisis: "It's a matter of finding out whether the capital of the United States is Washington or Berlin." President Wilson, seizing with authority upon the opening just presented, has lunged at the German-American party and forced it to answer this clearly posed question: "Can an American citizen go to Europe in safety, or can he not? If a steamer has on board a few guns for defense, is this sufficient to rob the American flag of its protective power?"

President Wilson is still clearer. He adds: "Are we to be governed hence-

forth by German money, by an industrious use of foreign capital?" For here is the double peril which the energetic action of the President has unveiled: Inside the country, if the victory should be gained by the party whose aggressions the President, supported by both Republicans and Democrats, is resolved to check, the United States would no longer be anything but a German colony; it would have surrendered without fighting.

There are then, henceforth, two parties in North America—a party of subservience to Germany and a party of American independence. President Wilson, though a Democrat, is frankly with the old Americans, as is Roosevelt, the protagonist of the Republican Party. Inside its borders, at least, America will know how to guard jealously her independence and her liberty.

But mark how, outside, another peril, no less grave, approaches and grows. America is just coming to understand that if the split in public sentiment were to grow, the resulting weakness would condemn the nation almost infallibly to war—to that war which the pacifists are doing everything to avoid.

For this becomes more and more evident: North America is regarded by Germany as an enemy. The fact is a natural consequence of the international situation. All that is needed to unchain the murderous anger of imperialism is that the conduct of the American Government should be worthy and just. Imperialism will no longer tolerate obstacles of any kind in the universe.

Travelers returning from Germany agree in stating that Americans in that country are no less under suspicion than Englishmen. Our committees know that

American citizens connected with charitable bodies have been driven incontinently out of Serbia and Montenegro, because it was not desired that any impartial or pitying eye should be present at the systematic and methodical strangulation of a race. Let us not speak of the attempts against American industries, against notable persons such as Mr. Morgan, against travelers sailing on Entente or neutral steamships. Everywhere this underhand hostility shows itself.

And what would happen if the rampart of Entente armies and fleets did not protect the great republic beyond the sea? The Germans boast of having built submarines capable of crossing "the great width of the ocean" over and back, without landing. Is this for the purpose of molesting navigation in European waters, in the Channel, or in the Mediterranean? Certainly not; it has to do with quite a different enterprise. Its object is to make the United States tremble and to humble American pride, while American competition can still be carried on against the nations which are fighting for universal freedom. President Wilson seems to have let it be understood that the only way to bring about an early peace was to throw the weight of America's will into the balance. This is what the German Government is trying by every means to hinder. It has not forgotten the decisive intervention of President Roosevelt in the Russo-Japanese conflict.

Yes, America can do much, but she can do it only in her own spirit, the spirit of liberty. Can we imagine her becoming an instrument of militarist tyranny? The conclusion presses, and the decision must be made; President Wilson has caught the wind, he knows henceforth whither he is sailing. But it may be added, too, that this first gesture still engrosses him.

Since the beginning of the war I have

insisted upon the fact of "impossible neutralities." Events are unrolling in such a way that they carry with them like an avalanche all that seeks to escape them. Germany has put America up against the wall, has forced her to declare herself: whosoever is not with me is against me. We are in the epoch of threats, of the refrain, "Look out for our submarines!" If America does not submit, the other consequences will follow. The die is cast! Germany, gasping under the attacks of the Allies, dares to use intimidation. Victorious, she will hurl herself upon the only remaining power still standing in her way. No sooner shall the waves of the ocean be under her control than a formidable armada will set sail for the defenseless coasts of the Western Continent.

Does American opinion still have any doubts as to this inevitable continuation of the world war? Will America voluntarily close her eyes again after having opened them? Does she, or does she not, admit a fact that is as clear as the light of day, namely, that she cannot henceforth reconcile her own principle of liberty with the principle of German imperialism? Will she not dare to take one more step and declare that, since Germany is daily showing herself to be an enemy, it is necessary to treat her as such and to act when the time comes?

Only the victory of the Allies can assure to America the security to which all free peoples aspire. President Wilson certainly understands this. It remains to be seen whether he will face the consequences, be they what they may, of the decision which he has made in his own mind. The Senate approves and encourages him. Public opinion follows and sustains him. It belongs to him now to conjure away the double peril which threatens the United States from without and from within. He has himself said: "Our interests are now confused with our honor."



A Crisis in History

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Noted Italian Historian

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY by arrangement with Le Figaro, Paris.]

IF one compares the European war with the wars that preceded it, it seems an incomprehensible drama, and almost absurd in its immensity. Its origins and its development fail to correspond in any vital respect with the idea which men had formulated regarding an armed conflict among the great States of Europe.

How this gigantic war could break out is in itself an obscure and disturbing enigma. It is evident that the nation which took the initiative in this fabulous adventure was the one that had the greatest interest in conserving the peace of the world. Why then did it wish to gamble its whole fortune on one hazardous turn of the dice? For eighteen months the world has stood perplexed before this question, asking whether we must not believe in some access of collective madness, which has seized upon a whole people—a singular ending of a century's successful labors to make reason the sovereign power in history!

The development of the war has brought no fewer surprises than its origin. The most serious and expert forecasts have been brutally contradicted by facts. Men expected a violent war, but short; it was said that the resources of Europe would be used up swiftly, that industrial countries could not hold out more than three months; prophets foretold all sorts of political difficulties. * * *

In the last eighteen months the belligerent States have already gained and lost more battles than would have been needed in other days to conclude ten peace treaties; and yet the war keeps on, burning and terrible. One might say that victories and defeats no longer have the effect on the spirits of the belligerents that they had in preceding wars. The economic resistance shown has been

no less astonishing than the moral resistance. One might be tempted to conclude that the state of things which seemed most abnormal to us two years ago has become almost normal in eighteen months.

But the most singular surprise of the war is the change it wrought, within the space of a few weeks, in the ideas and sentiments of nations and individuals. If the war has not yet revolutionized the map of Europe, it has completely changed Europe's state of soul. Each one of us has only to recall how he looked upon his native land, upon Europe, upon the world, life and its duties in the first half of 1914, and to compare what he thought then with what he thinks now. What a difference! And how distant seem the times that preceded the war! There is no person even slightly accustomed to reflection who has not had the feeling of having lived the first part of his life in illusion and error regarding a great many questions of capital importance, and of having been awakened brusquely to the truth by a violent shock.

How explain all these singular phenomena? Have the mysterious laws which govern the world of ideas and passions suddenly changed in Europe, overthrowing strategy and politics, manners and human made? It is hardly probable. There is a simpler way to explain all these surprises: it is to realize that the European war is not only a war in the exact sense of the word, that is to say, a simple armed conflict of several States determined by a clash of well defined political or economic interests. The European war is indeed an armed conflict of States, and, unfortunately, the bloodiest that the world has ever known. But it is, besides, something greater, more profound, and more complex: one of those grand crises in his-

tory which from time to time devastate a part of the world and modify the march of civilization; one of those crises which cut with one violent blow the Gordian knot of difficulties that have been accumulating little by little for generations, and that have become otherwise insoluble by their complexity.

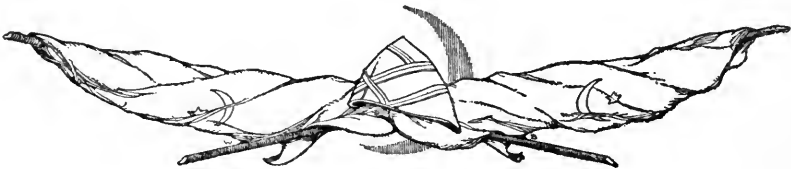
The crisis has for the moment taken the form of the most immense and bloody of all wars, but its causes are much deeper and more complex, just as its consequences will be much greater and more unexpected than those of preceding wars.

These reflections may appear a little theoretical in the present circumstances, but they are less so than they seem. This crisis exacts from everybody a great spirit of sacrifice and a great patience. Anything that serves to sustain the moral force of nations, therefore, is not without its value. Now, a certain number of spirits at least can draw from reflections of this kind new energy, perseverance, serenity, and these are necessary in the terrible epoch in which we live. The European war no doubt is very long if one compares it with the great wars of the nineteenth century; but who can repine over its length or over the cruel sacrifices it imposes if he thinks of it as a great crisis of history, produced, like all great crises, by the intellectual and moral imperfections of an epoch; if he sees that Europe is expiating at this moment the errors and faults of a whole age; that we are struggling and suffering not only to re-establish peace among the great nations, but also to solve a certain number of essential problems upon which depends the destiny of our civilization?

Likewise, the future surprises of the

war will find those persons better prepared who shall have comprehended the true grandeur of the events we are witnessing. The European war has been from its beginning an uninterrupted series of surprises—sometimes agreeable, sometimes disagreeable—for all the belligerents. It is very probable that the series is not ended, and that peace alone will be the last—and most agreeable—of the surprises which this crisis has in store for us. If this war has been so different from its predecessors in its development, it may resemble them quite as little in its ending. It is already evident that the word "peace," when it shall be pronounced, will have a more august significance than in the past. In wars which are simple conflicts of two or several nations for definite interests, peace signifies chiefly the end of hostilities and the solution, provisional or final, of one or several given questions. In the present case it must signify also the possibility and the commencement of an enormous labor of reorganization and reconstruction.

The Europe in which we were born has in great part crumbled away since Aug. 1, 1914. Treaties of alliance, commercial treaties, political and legal principles, the organization of industry and banking, historical traditions, social conventions, relations between States, peoples, classes—everything has been upheaved, suspended, overturned, destroyed. Peace will bring formidable problems, whose solution will relate partly to the upheavals of the war, partly to the profound causes which let loose the cataclysm. We must study these profound causes, therefore, if we wish to be prepared to cope with the tasks which the future holds in store for us.



Is Morality Disappearing in War?

By Havelock Ellis

THERE are some idealistic persons who believe that morality and war are incompatible. War is bestial, they hold, war is devilish; in its presence it is absurd, almost farcical, to talk about morality. That would be so if morality meant the code, forever unattained, of the Sermon on the Mount. But there is not only the morality of Jesus, there is the morality of Mumbo Jumbo. In other words, and limiting ourselves to the narrower range of the civilized world, there is the morality of Machiavelli and Bismarck, and the morality of St. Francis and Tolstoy.

The fact is, as we so often forget, and sometimes we do not even know, morality is fundamentally custom, the mores, as it has been called, of a people. It is a body of conduct which is in constant motion, with an exalted advance guard which few can keep up with, and a debased rear guard, once called the black-guard, a name that has since acquired an appropriate significance. But in the substantial and central sense morality means the conduct of the main body of the community. Thus understood, it is clear that in our time war still comes into contact with morality. The pioneers may be ahead; the main body is in the thick of it.

That there really is a morality of war, and that the majority of civilized people have more or less in common a certain conventional code concerning the things which may or may not be done in war, has been very clearly seen during the present conflict. This moral code is often said to be based on international regulations and understandings. It certainly on the whole coincides with them. But it is the popular moral code which is fundamental, and international law is merely an attempt to enforce that morality.

The use of expanding bullets and poison gases, the poisoning of wells, the

abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag, the destruction of churches and works of art, the infliction of cruel penalties on civilians who have not taken up arms—all such methods of warfare as these shock popular morality. They are on each side usually attributed to the enemy; they are seldom avowed, and only adopted in imitation of the enemy, with hesitation and some offense to the popular conscience, as we see in the case of poison gas, which was only used by the English after long delay and which the French still deny using. The general feeling about such methods, even when involving scientific skill, is that they are "barbarous."

As a matter of fact this charge of "barbarism" against those methods of warfare which shock our moral sense must not be taken too literally. The methods of real barbarians in war are not especially "barbarous." They have sometimes committed acts of cruelty which are revolting to us today, but for the most part the excesses of barbarous warfare have been looting and burning, together with more or less raping of women, and these excesses have been so frequent within the last century, and are still today, that they may as well be called "civilized" as "barbarous."

The sack of Rome by the Goths at the beginning of the fifth century made an immense impression on the ancient world as an unparalleled outrage. St. Augustine in his "City of God," written shortly afterward, eloquently described the horrors of that time. Yet today, in the new light of our own knowledge of what war may involve, the ways of the ancient Goths seem very innocent. We are expressly told that they spared the sacred Christian places, and the chief offenses brought against them seem to be looting and burning; yet the treasure they left untouched was vast and incalculable, and we should be thankful indeed if any beligerent in the war of today inflicted as

little injury on a conquered city as the Goths did on Rome.

The vague rhetoric which this invasion inspired scarcely seems to be supported by definitely recorded facts, and there can be very little doubt that the devastation wrought in many old wars exists chiefly in the writings of rhetorical chroniclers whose imaginations were excited, as we may so often see among the journalists of today, by the rumor of atrocities which have never been committed. This is not to say that no devastation and cruelty have been perpetrated in ancient wars. It seems to be generally agreed that in the famous Thirty Years' War, which the Germans fought against each other, atrocities were the order of the day. We are constantly being told, in respect of some episode or other of the war of today, that "nothing like it has been seen since the Thirty Years' War." But the writers who make this statement, with an off-hand air of familiar scholarship, never by any chance bring forward the evidence for this greater atrociousness of the Thirty Years' War, and while it is not possible for any one who has never studied that war to speak positively, one is inclined to suspect that this oft-repeated allusion to the Thirty Years' War as the acme of military atrocity is merely a rhetorical flourish.

In any case we know that not so many years after the Thirty Years' War Frederick the Great, who combined supreme military gifts with freedom from scruple in policy, and was at the same time a great representative German, declared that the ordinary citizen ought never to be aware that his country is at war. Nothing could show more clearly the military ideal, however imperfectly it may sometimes have been attained, of the old European world. Atrocities, whether regarded as permissible or as inevitable, certainly occurred. But for the most part wars were the concern of the privileged upper class; they were rendered necessary by the dynastic quarrels of monarchs and were carried out by a professional class with aristocratic traditions and a more or less scrupulous regard to ancient military etiquette.

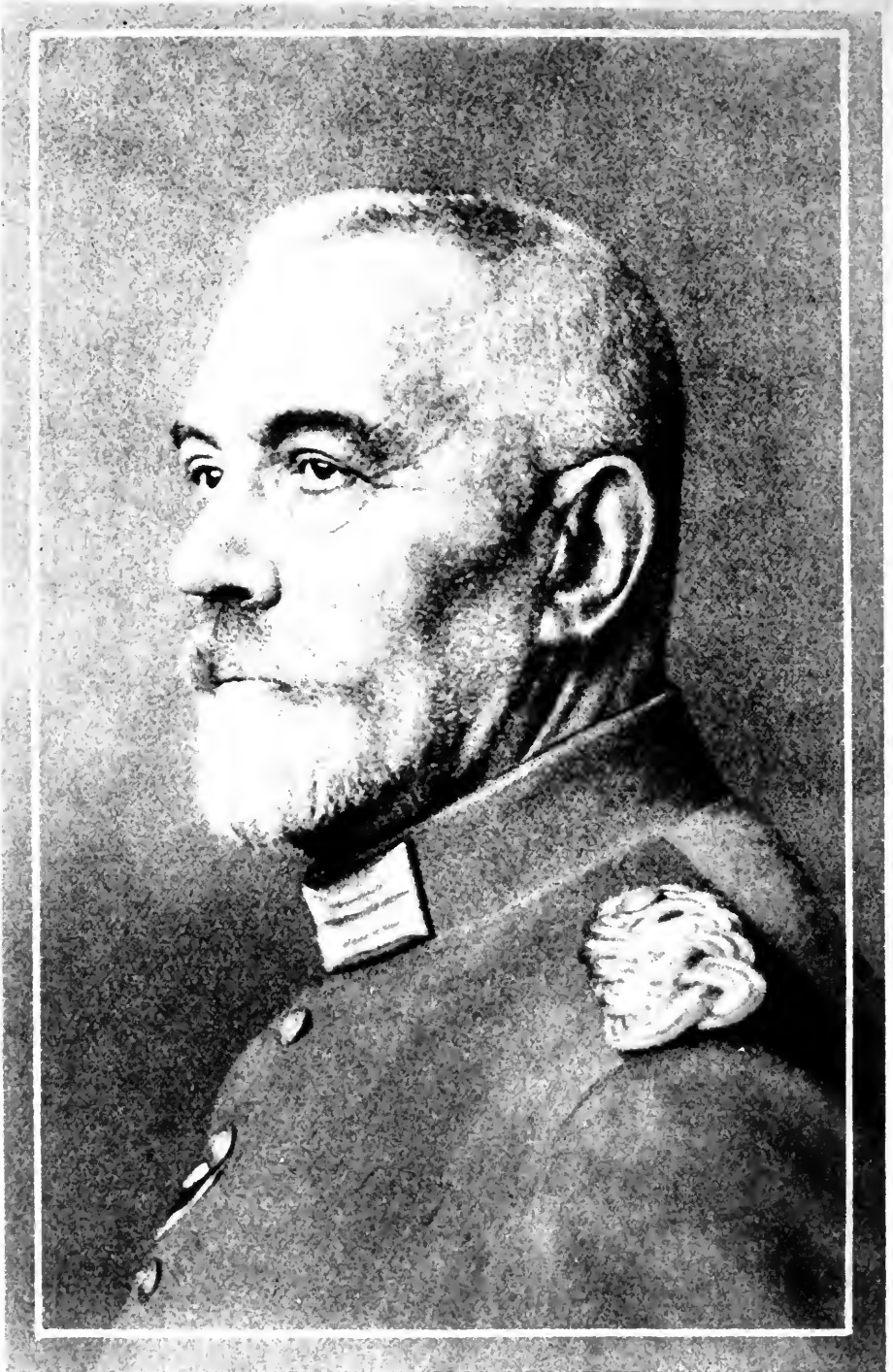
There are many stories of the sufferings of the soldiery in old times, in the midst of abundance, on account of military respect for civilian property. The legend, if legend it is, of the French officer who politely requested the English officer opposite him to "fire first" shows how something of the ancient spirit of chivalry was still regarded as the accompaniment of warfare. It was an occupation which only incidentally concerned the ordinary citizen. The English, especially, protected by the sea and always living in open undefended cities, have usually been able to preserve this indifference to the Continental wars in which their Kings have constantly been engaged, and, as we see, even in the most unprotected European countries and the most profoundly warlike, the great Frederick set forth precisely the same ideal of war.

The fact seems to be that while war is nowadays less chronic than of old, less prolonged, and less easily provoked, it is a serious fallacy to suppose that it is also less barbarous. We imagine that it must be so simply because we believe, on more or less plausible grounds, that our life generally is growing less barbarous and more civilized. But war by its very nature always means a relapse from civilization into barbarism, if not savagery. We may sympathize with the endeavor of the European soldiers of old to civilize warfare, and we may admire the remarkable extent to which they succeeded in doing so. But we cannot help feeling that their romantic and chivalrous notions of warfare were absurdly incongruous.

The world in general might have been content with that incongruity. But Germany, or more precisely Prussia, with its ancient genius for warfare, has in the present war taken the decisive step in initiating the abolition of that incongruity by placing warfare definitely on the basis of scientific barbarism. To do this is, in a sense, we must remember, not a step backward, but a step forward. It involved the recognition of the fact that war is not a game to be played for its own sake by a professional caste, in accordance with fixed rules which it



BARON VON DER GOLTZ
Field Marshal of the German Armies in Turkey



DR. THEOBALD VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG
Imperial German Chancellor, Who Stated Germany's Peace Conditions
in a Recent Speech in the Reichstag

would be dishonorable to break, but a method, carried out by the whole organized manhood of the nation, of effectively attaining an end desired by the State.

If by the chivalrous method of old, which was indeed in large part still their own method in the previous Franco-German war, the Germans had resisted the temptation to violate the neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium in order to rush behind the French defenses, and had battered instead at the gap of Belfort, they would have won the sympathy of the world, but they certainly would not have won the possession of the greater part of Belgium and a third part of France.

It has not alone been military instinct which has impelled Germany on the new course thus inaugurated. We see here the final outcome of a reaction against ancient Teutonic sentimentality which the insight of Goldwin Smith clearly discerned forty years ago. Humane sentiments and civilized traditions, under the molding hand of Prussian leaders of Kultur, have been slowly but firmly subordinated to a political realism which, in the military sphere, means a masterly efficiency in the aim of crushing the foe by overwhelming force combined with panic-striking "frightfulness." In this conception that only is moral which served these ends. The horror which this "frightfulness" may be expected to arouse, even among neutral nations, is, from the German point of view, a tribute of homage.

The military reputation of Germany is so great in the world, and likely to remain so, whatever the issue of the present war, that we are here faced by a grave critical issue which concerns the future of the whole world. The conduct of wars has been transformed before our very eyes. In any future war the example of Germany will be held to consecrate the new methods, and the beligerents who are not inclined to accept the supreme authority of Germany may yet be forced in their own interests to act in accordance with it.

The mitigating influence of religion over warfare has long ceased to be exercised, for the international Catholic

Church no longer possesses the power to exert such influence, while the national Protestant churches are just as bellicose as their flocks. Now we see the influence of morality over warfare similarly tending to disappear. Henceforth, it seems, we have to reckon with a conception of war which accounts it a function of the supreme State, standing above morality and therefore able to wage war independently of morality. Necessity—the necessity of scientific effectiveness—becomes the sole criterion of right and wrong.

When we look back from the standpoint of knowledge which we have reached in the present war to the notions which prevailed in the past they seem to us hollow and even childish. Seventy years ago Buckle in his "History of Civilization" stated complacently that only ignorant and unintellectual nations any longer cherished ideals of war. His statement was part of the truth. It is true, for instance, that France is now the most anti-military of nations, though once the most military of all. But, we see, it is only part of the truth. The very fact, which Buckle himself pointed out, that efficiency has in modern times taken the place of morality in the conduct of affairs, offers a new foundation for war when war is urged on scientific principles for the purpose of rendering effective the claims of States policy. Today we see that it is not sufficient for a nation to cultivate knowledge and become intellectual, in the expectation that war will automatically go out of fashion. It is quite possible to become very scientific, most relentlessly intellectual, and on that foundation to build up ideals of warfare much more barbarous than those of Assyria.

The conclusion seems to be that we are today entering on an era in which war will not only flourish as vigorously as in the past, although not in so chronic a form, but with an altogether new ferocity and ruthlessness, with a vastly increased power of destruction, and on a scale of extent and intensity involving an injury to civilization and humanity which no wars of the past ever pepe-

trated. Moreover, this state of things imposes on the nations which have hitherto, by their temper, their position, or their small size, regarded themselves as nationally neutral, a new burden of armament in order to insure that neutrality. It has been proclaimed on both sides that this war is a war to destroy militarism. But the disappearance of a militarism that is only destroyed by a greater militarism offers no guarantee at all for any triumph of civilization or humanity.

What, then, are we to do? It seems clear that we have to recognize that our intellectual leaders of old, who declared that to insure the disappearance of war

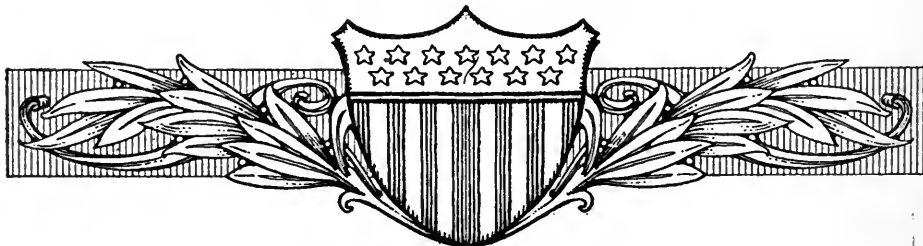
we have but to sit still and fold our hands while we watch the beneficent growth of science and intellect, were grievously mistaken. War is still one of the active factors of modern life, though by no means the only factor which it is in our power to grasp and direct. By our energetic effort the world can be molded. It is the concern of all of us, and especially of those nations which are strong enough and enlightened enough to take a leading part in human affairs, to work toward the initiation and the organization of this immense effort. In so far as the great war of today acts as a spur to such effort it will not have been an unmixed calamity.

America Gives \$1,200,000 to Red Cross Work

A Red Cross bulletin states that more than 1,000,000 wounded men had been cared for by the French Red Cross and allied organizations in that country up to the middle of March. According to a French report, there are now 500,000 beds in the French war hospitals, and the cost of the maintenance of these hospitals is estimated at about \$200,000 daily.

It is estimated that American contributions to French Red Cross expenses have reached a total of more than \$1,200,000 and that altogether since the outbreak of the war approximately \$16,000,000 has been spent in France in relief work by the three branches of the National Red Cross of France. The expense of the French organization is now estimated at about \$1,000,000 a month, the organization having in its charge more than 1,500 hospitals with a total bed capacity of about 118,000 patients.

"A great deal has been done," another bulletin states, "by American agencies, under the guidance of the Red Cross, in behalf of the Serbians since the beginning of the great war. First, with American hospital units they were aided in caring for their wounded; next, by means of a large force of sanitarians and much paraphernalia a raging typhus epidemic, which killed upward of 150,000 persons, was checked and finally suppressed; and now, with their country entirely in the possession of a foe and the citizenry scattered to the four winds, the Red Cross finds itself actively engaged in ameliorating, to the extent its resources will permit, their manifold tribulations. A number of experts are devoting themselves to this task, and in it are joining hands with the American Ambassador to Italy, who is a member of the Board of Incorporators of the American Red Cross. There have been greater sacrifices by American Red Cross surgeons and nurses in the Balkans than anywhere else in the ever-extending area of the European war zone, and this because the odds that had to be overcome were almost insuperable."



The Kaiser's Harvest of Death

By Marie Corelli

THE NOTED NOVELIST'S FIRST CONTRIBUTION ON THE WAR, BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE SUNDAY TIMES OF LONDON.

IN every great national crisis, when war or revolution brings havoc on existing civilization and works sudden and violent change in all social, political, and diplomatic relations, we are invariably able to discover one man—or at the most perhaps two or three men—primarily responsible for the general upheaval.

History is impressively explicit concerning these personages. She never fails to show us how, by some strange lack of the most ordinary foresight and common sense, they stumble when apparently on the height of success, and commit irreparable blunders which hasten their careers to a disastrous close. Such was the case with Napoleon and many other would-be Alexanders of ambition; but of all the tragic blunderers of time surely none can equal or surpass the "War Lord" of Germany. Here is a man who had the splendid chance of securing for his country and people the largest share of the commerce of Europe; it lay easily within his grasp. Yet he has let it go, like a handful of sand and shells dropped by a child at play on the seashore. To satisfy the personal cravings of a vaunting, blustering egoism for blood-and-thunder "effects" he has lost the peaceful conquest of a world!

Amazing, deplorable, and incredible folly!—when such conquest could have been gained without a blow, without the boom of a single gun, without the explosion of a single shell! It could have been attained in the only way by which any truly "civilized" nation should ever seek supremacy—through the development of industry and commerce, and the quiet assumption of the power that industry and commerce give. All that we call "progress" should fortify the stand of human resolution on this basis. It is not necessary, it is not even sane or decent that any peoples should tolerate what Carlyle describes as "the specta-

cle of men with clenched teeth and hell-fire eyes hacking one another's flesh, converting precious living bodies and priceless living souls into nameless masses of putrescence, useful only for turnip manure"—which is a rough but accurate picture of war deprived of all its devilish excitement and glamour.

To Kaiser Wilhelm more than to any other monarch of his line was given the glorious choice of becoming the greatest benefactor of Germany which that realm had ever known. He could have created for his people such conditions of peace, happiness, and prosperity as were almost incalculable. He stood in the broad sunshine of ripening trade—the markets of the world were open to him—fields of wealth were spreading around him on all sides, and his cheerfully working millions had but to reap the grain their industries had sown and gather in a rich and plentiful harvest. Why, then, in the name of all that is great, noble, and pitiful, has he chosen to make a harvest of death instead of life?

During the grim and ghastly struggle at Verdun we are told the Kaiser, standing "at safe distance," watched through his field glasses the fiery mowing down of his countrymen to the number of 45,000! Does any one, reading this, take the trouble to pause and consider what it means? Forty-five thousand strong, brave men in the flower of manhood, (for let us hope we are none of us so unjust as to deny our enemies their strength or their courage,) 45,000 capable human beings fit for every sort of industrial labor—the blood and bone of future generations—slaughtered like vermin; and their Emperor, their sworn defender and protector, within sight-range, looking on!

What a "Harvest Home"! Are we able to conceive the nature and temperament of a monarch who could so look

on at this massacre of his subjects and not rush among them to stop the advance of their serried ranks and "massed formations," resulting in such a wanton and wicked waste of life! The crazy antics of Nero were mere child's play compared with this callous attitude of William of Hohenzollern, an attitude which even his French foes cannot maintain. For, fired with vengeance for old wrongs as they are, and bent on victorious justice, they have declared themselves "sick with slaughter."

"Such hecatombs," writes Colonel Rousset, "cannot last. Our adversary, while carrying his disregard of human life to the point of madness, cannot go on throwing his soldiers into the charnel house without thinking of tomorrow."

The losses of the Germans at Verdun have been estimated at 10,000 per day! "I dream at night," writes one French artillery officer, "of those ghastly crumpled heaps of shattered gray-green bodies! Germany's wives and mothers must curse the Kaiser in their prayers!"

Voltaire is accredited with the saying that "the only crime is stupidity." According to this dictum, one must come to consider the "All-Highest War Lord" the greatest criminal of an epoch, his stupidity being almost without parallel in history. What man, not entirely mad, seeing a world of prosperity within reach of his hand, would clench his fist and knock the whole splendid sphere away from him at one blow! The proposition seems absurd and untenable, yet it has been and continues to be the Kaiser's policy, or the policy of his Ministers and advisers; clear to all save those who remain perversely and willfully blind.

For it is not too much to say that before the war Germany was pushing quietly but surely through every branch of commerce. From triumph to triumph she moved easily onward; everywhere her ramifications were spreading like the vigorous roots of a fast-growing tree. In Great Britain she had possessed herself of many of our trades; her goods were everywhere; her cutlery, her glass, her woollens, her linens, her dyes, her silver and copper ware, her chemicals—why, even our very window frames were

"Made in Germany"! She was at work in our mines and coal fields; she was ahead of us in science, in invention, in industry, and general "thoroughness."

And let us not forget that we were, or appeared to be, supinely indifferent to her inroads on all that we used to claim as our "special line" and particular property. We were, like Hamlet, "growing fat and scant of breath." We were disposed to indolence and self-indulgence, and when we saw Germans working for us, and by us, and through us, taking the very tools out of our listless hands, we were agreeably convinced that they saved us a deal of trouble. They worked so cheaply, too!—and cheapness in necessary goods appealed to us, because it gave us more to spend on racing and football. The "space for special news" in our press was not reserved (as intelligent foreigners conceived it ought to be) for serious information on world's business, but for "Football Results" or cricket, in the respective seasons of these gamesome athletics—and the very word "patriotism" was laughed out of court as "jingoism." We gave the honors of heroes to our tennis champions, and played about while the Germans worked. They worked—as many of the British refuse to work; they saved—as many of the British decline to save; they gained their ends, because by our very inertia we gave them every opportunity to do so.

Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, said in a recent speech that Germany "had abused our foolishly generous hospitality." This is not quite accurate, since we were neither so generous nor hospitable as careless and lazy. We allowed our trades to slip through our fingers—the State did nothing for native work, science, or invention—and ambitious men of hope and endeavor left the country in shoals to make fortunes in other lands, many firms establishing themselves in Germany in order to win the rewards denied them in their native home!

Germany held a more tenacious grip on every corner of the earth than we in our latter "go-as-you-please" way ever realized. All over the United States,

Canada, and Australia her people have spread; you find them in India, in Persia, in Egypt, in Africa; as a matter of fact, there is no country where German influence has not been actively at work while other nations looked on. Antwerp itself was well-nigh possessed by German commerce before its military bombardment; it was already a centre of German trade and German shipping, and in many of its business houses more German was spoken than either French or Flemish. Great Britain was lagging behind in the race; and had peace been maintained for another twenty-five years Germany might easily have mastered the world; and we might have lost all leading hold on commerce.

For let us not delude ourselves on the subject of our own inertia! It is owing to the magnificent stand made for justice and right by the hero King of Belgium that we have been awakened from long apathy; had it not been for his resolute example, both France and England would have suffered far more than they are suffering now! Friend and defender of both nations, he stands out as the noblest figure in the struggle—the one who, when victory sits upon our helm, must be the first to receive that which is due to him—the restoration of his country and his throne.

And now the rivers of gold that were flowing into Germany through her trade are replaced by mountains of British, French, and German dead! The latest estimate of German losses at Verdun is 200,000! Does the Kaiser, at safe distance, still "look on"? What blessing has this monarch of a great and productive realm brought upon his people? Mourning, desolation, and irremediable misery! No triumph, no

victory can atone for such a deluge of blood and tears! That capricious Personage "somewhere in Heaven," whom Wilhelm calls "Unser Gott," may possibly resent the deliberate casting away of golden opportunities on the part of his crowned earthly "familiar," to whom a peaceful world was offered, only to be kicked aside for a battered helmet and broken sword!

"Trust in thy sickle and reap!" O Emperor of a brief and bitter day! The harvest of death, not life!—the harvest of curses, not blessings! The thousands of dead men—dead in the very strength of manhood—sacrificed in a holocaust on the flaming altar of the wickedest war the world has ever seen, may have their own story to tell to "Unser Gott"; so may the bereaved and wretched women whose husbands and sons have been torn from their arms forever. May the true God help them all!—for in the unspeakable hell of iniquity around us man is well-nigh powerless; though, like every evil thing, war has its good side. It shows us with each day heroism of the finest, courage of the strongest, self-sacrifice of the noblest, existing among us all; and it has reawakened the higher spirit of England. For this we have cause to be devoutly thankful! In a certain sense it has saved us from ourselves and from the enervating love of pleasure and personal avarice which was slowly undermining our better qualities.

And even the Kaiser, "looking on" at the legions of his own subjects falling like withered leaves in a whirlwind of fire, may one day shake off his frenzied nightmare of battle, and repent—exclaiming with Judas: "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood!"



On a French Cruiser in War Time

By René Milan

Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the admirably written papers published under the title "Les Vagabonds de la Guerre" in La Revue de Paris. Especially interesting is M. Milan's account of the part played by wireless telegraphy in the war.

I.

AT last, on the curve of the waves, is marked the outline of the enemy! Alas! They are only torpedo-boat destroyers! Swift and powerful destroyers, I admit, but Austria might very well have offered us an adversary of our own class. But let us be satisfied with the windfall. Too many days have been thrown away against invisible adversaries. These at least are real, living and full of ardor. They gallop toward us, torpedoes pointed; we point toward them our big guns, which cannot yet reach them; the game is equal. Like us, they have run up the battle-flag, and the Waldeck-Rousseau, driving over the waters like a thoroughbred, drags with her her cruisers and her two squadrons of torpedo boats to the adventure in which some one must die.

A few minutes pass, packed with anxious silence. The men shut up in the hidden vitals of the ship strain their ears to catch the muffled sound of the first salvo; they may be killed in a moment, if some well-pointed torpedo should touch the cruiser, but they give their whole souls of bronze to their apparatus and their machines, so that nothing may go wrong in this marvelous crisis. Through their range-finders, the gunpointers watch the distance vanishing by a kind of miracle. Twenty thousand yards—eighteen thousand yards—fifteen thousand—fourteen thousand. Two thousand yards more, and the storm of our artillery will break over our adversary. In three parallel lines the Austrian destroyers pour forth torrents of smoke; they are in solid formation; each line glides over the blue water like a gleaming boa constrictor. Alongside of us our torpedo-boat destroyers have drawn together and are plowing up clouds of foam that sparkle like silver in the sun.

But what do we see over there? The Austrian lines open out, bend upon themselves, and their heads describe a wide curve. Is it possible? They are going away! They refuse to fight! With a raging anguish we all try to persuade ourselves that our eyes are deceiving us. It is a trick of the sunshine, a puff of wind that bends their smoke. * * * Not at all. They have completed their turning movement and show us their heels, looking like three railroad trains speeding away on rails of foam.

Oh! to have our eyes on our revenge for so many useless weeks, and to see it escape just at the limit beyond the reach of our guns! To feel that under our feet our gigantic machines, which, nevertheless, are not weakening, can no longer catch up with the prey whose legs are too long for us! To measure the distance, and to feel it growing greater, a little more each second, like an elastic that is being stretched! Fourteen thousand yards!

Fourteen thousand one hundred. Fourteen thousand two hundred. * * * Ah! we would fain command the waves, hurl a sudden hurricane into the air, churn the sea into foam and billows. Our potent keels would not slow down, but the destroyers would crash against each billow, would go slower, would exhaust their force, and our triumphant dash would overmatch their cowardice.

They flee toward the labyrinth of the Dalmatian Islands, which grow larger before us like a family of ocean monsters rising from the sea. We continue to pursue. Sixteen thousand—seventeen thousand yards. Perhaps the poltroons will be seized with remorse or indecision. But it is not so; their flight is a premeditated ruse. High up in the sky, slipping and gliding among the

transparent clouds, a war plane swoops over the French warships, passes along them, and drops bombs that only our skillful dodging makes harmless; they burst opposite our ships. On the surface of the water one of the cruisers perceives the furrow of a periscope! Some lurking submarine has launched its torpedoes, perhaps; our speed has deceived it; no one is touched; we take a flying shot at the streak of foam, which instantly disappears. The submarine plunges into the depths, the aeroplane is already out of sight, and the destroyers are close to the channel of the archipelago. Eighteen thousand yards—nineteen thousand.

II.

After a few hours of unquiet dozing I arose, made a summary toilet, ate I know not what food, swallowed hastily, before going on watch. In the middle of the day I found myself on the bridge again. A bright sun was silvering the distance. The three cruisers, deployed in loose order, continued their course toward the south of the Adriatic; behind, almost invisible, the smoke of the naval forces formed a black mane on the horizon. On board, every one who was not on duty was enjoying a siesta. Every one was finding consolation in dreams for the disappointments of the day before, but a few scores of eyes were watching the very calm sea. The Ernest-Renan, a few thousand yards away, was following a parallel course.

Something very white suddenly appeared in the furrows of foam. My binocular immediately followed this wrinkle on the water; you would have said a jet of steam, slipping along just under the surface. For a few seconds I hesitated. Perhaps the fin of a porpoise swimming close to the top deceived me. The remembrance of training in peace times brought back to my memory the track of a periscope, and I hesitated no longer.

“Quick! All on the left! Raise to eight hundred meters! Declination, forty! All engines at full speed ahead! Close the bulkheads! Begin firing!”

The cruiser bounds. In the hold the men of the watch close the bulkheads.

The artillery fires. The shells fall around the white, moving streak. They burst like balls of dry snow on a blue wall. All the men, awakened from their siesta, all the officers come up on deck. A few meters from our hull passes the fleecy track of a torpedo launched against us. It has missed us, but a big 194 shell, (7¼ inch,) fired from one of our turrets bursts immediately above the periscope. It plows the water and splashes it up in the air; the stem of the periscope rises, falls, rises again, falls again, as a wounded animal tries to stand and falls again. Then nothing more is seen. The blue waves show only their habitual indolence. Across the void a storm of cheers comes to us from the Ernest-Renan; they have seen the shell tearing up the water, and they are certain that the explosions have crushed in the submarine.

We are going fast, so fast that in a few seconds the cruiser is far from the place of death. The guns turn and follow it, ready to fire again, but nothing shows any more.

“Cease firing! As you were! Open the bulkheads! Resume your course! Engines at sixty revolutions!”

III.

Every Sunday, divine service is celebrated on board—a serious, simple ceremony. Around the movable altar, flags stretched make stained-glass windows of bunting; the vault of the church is formed by the low whitewashed ceiling of the space between decks; to right and left, the partitions of the cabins, the white stems of the smokestacks, form the metal walls of the shrine; the parti-colored tubes, steam pipes, well-polished cocks, cast red and yellow reflections; chairs for the officers, benches for the crew, are grouped to a depth of eight or ten yards. He comes who so desires. A bugle call announces services, and whoever is not on duty, either comes or stays away. While the priest is accomplishing the holy rites, you hear in the hold the breathing of the engines, the snoring of the ventilators; above your head, on deck, patter the sailors of the watch; the big Adriatic rollers slap against the

hull and the quivering of the rapidly moving cruiser makes the altar tremble.

IV.

Above the horizon appear the masts, smokestacks, and hull of a ship. Whether her conscience be troubled or at rest, she knows she cannot escape our speed, and does not try to fly. At 5,000 yards her flag informs us of her nationality. English or French, she may go ahead. If she is neutral, we show her the international signal:

"Stop immediately!"

And stop she must. If she looks like going on, a blank cannon shot warns her not to play with fire. If she pretends not to understand the invitation, a shell falls just ahead of her, and lets her know we are not joking. If her screw continues to revolve a rap or two on the hull lets her know that the affair is serious. They always stop in time.

The cruiser comes to, within gun range of the suspect. In an instant one of our boats is lowered into the water, the crew seize the oars; the officer on duty, armed with a sword and a revolver, and with a big register under his arm, jumps into the boat, which pushes off.

"Captain, kindly range on deck all persons on board! Let each have his identification papers in his hand. I shall inspect them in five minutes!"

Stewardesses, stewards scatter through the cabins, which are filled with a sudden stir. In the midst of a concert of exclamations, murmurs, and laughter, feverish fingers dive into portfolios and bags. Travelers whose souls are white immediately find what is wanted; the ladies fix their hair, hastily dab a little powder on a suspicion of sunburn, and give themselves a finishing touch. The whole thing is tremendously amusing to them. Just as if it were on the stage! It would not take much to make them put on their prettiest dresses. But the officer is getting impatient, and the Captain is apologizing; one passenger cannot find his passport, which he thinks he has left in his trunk. Exactly! the story is an old one! But let this German quarry climb up, just as he is!

Finally, every one is drawn up in

two or several lines—like a row of blind men holding out their trays, each one holds his passport. The men are extremely serious, almost indignant, and, behind their foreheads, you can divine silent tempests; they are on the watch for an imprudent word, in order to invoke their Consuls, their Ambassadors, and the inviolable rights of neutrals. A vain hope. The officer sharply scans them, and turns over their papers with a careful finger. Stamps and paragraphs are in order, and also the description; the passports, the certificate of nationality, do not smell of trickery. But there is no touchstone like language; a few words, a few phrases, tell many secrets to expert ears, and hesitation shows guilt where the papers show innocence.

"Be so good as to tell me where you come from. Be so good as to tell me your name and your birthday. Have you been long abroad? Be so good as to answer in your own language. What is your profession?"

You must question pointblank, in different ways, and be careful not to carry on the conversation. No discussion, an instantaneous judgment, and you pass on.

The true prizes, the genuine booty, you recognize by sure symptoms—Germanic faces, Teutonic accents, harsh or honey-eyed answers, stammered explanations. In vain do they disguise their names and hand us forged writings, their Germanic race leaks through all their pores. They are hurrying to foment rebellion in Egypt or Tripoli; they are on their way to the Balkans to do their work; to burrow underground in India or China. Invariably they have Swiss or Dutch passports, but their certificate of nationality, brand new, is fresh from the printing press, and reminds you of false coins, too new and shiny. Suspects! The officer goes down to their cabins. Under the mattress, behind the washstand, in the folds of a counterpane, lie the incriminating papers. Enemies!

From this point, one must go on decisively, gracefully, in the French fashion. The officer halts in front of

the German, addresses him by name, lays a light finger on his sleeve or shoulder, and says, without raising his voice:

"I arrest you. Follow my sailor, who will take your baggage and put you into the boat."

Cries, explosions of anger, insults must not disturb him. He must add nothing. What has been said has been said.

We have on board an ear that never sleeps; it is the wireless telegraph. The apparatus is buried in the depths of the hold; a padded cabin isolates the operators from the noise of the machinery and the cross-currents of discord. From watch to watch the telegraphers pass over the receiver to each other, and the finest murmurs never escape their vigilance.

The air vibrates in an uninterrupted concert. Coming from stations near or far, from ships wandering on the Atlantic or close at hand, calls, conversations seek out their way; the ether transmits them instantaneously. The powerful antennae of the Eiffel Tower, of Ireland, of Germany, of Italy, or of Constantinople dominate with their noisy throats the feeble whispers. With their full force, to any distance, they launch the official news of the great ordeal. If some one talks too loudly, 500 or 1,000 kilometers away, (300 to 600 miles,) they raise their tones, throw more strength into their voices, until the inter-rupters become silent.

A tacit agreement alternates their messages. The German does not obstruct the Frenchman, the Turk waits until Malta has finished. Madrid, talking to Berlin, rests while London speaks. For these great stations, controlled by their Governments, send out only announcements of the first importance, such as the whole world should know, and they wish neither to confuse nor to be confused. Reports from the front, happenings at sea, diplomatic or financial transactions, plans or insults, circulate in all languages, and you can be certain that the newspapers will not publish them. If by chance the reader of newspapers finds them in his daily sheet, it will

be a week or a fortnight later, in a garbled, unrecognizable form.

Sailors hear every bell and every sound; while the rest of the world must be content with the meagre, delayed communications authorized by the censorship, the sailor already knows. His griefs and joys precede the griefs and joys of the anxiously waiting millions. Ireland announces a simple movement of Russian strategy, but Norddeich—the German post—clamors to all the echoes of a German victory, an advance, the capture of thousands of prisoners. Norddeich laconically explains some event at sea, but Eiffel sets his biggest sparks crackling, announcing to Moscow, to Newfoundland, to the Sudan and the Red Sea the disaster at sea that has befallen some Teutonic force. In how many days, with how many changes, will the public read these bits of news? At every hour of the day and night we receive them brutal and imperious.

No illusions are permitted to us. Our enemies do not lie too grossly in these proclamations destined for their Ambassadors, their Consuls, the innumerable agents who uphold the prestige of Germany throughout the world; it is vital for Germany that these men should receive authentic information, which they will make the most of in their bargainings. There is nothing in common between the rhapsodies of her newspapers or of the Wolff Agency and her wireless announcements. At the most, in the case of defeats, she sends out statements made carefully vague. But this very vagueness makes us prick up our ears, and within a few hours London or Paris confirms the English or French victory.

Outside the Chancelleries and Governments, there are no day-to-day records of the war except on warships. We discuss squarely over flags placed exactly where they ought to be; our forecasts, our hopes are rarely deceived. And if the obligation of secrecy did not impose silence upon us we could tell our friends many a bit of news.

But underneath the great tenors of wireless telegraphy whisper the myriads of baritones, basses, members of the chorus. Thus in the tropical forest the

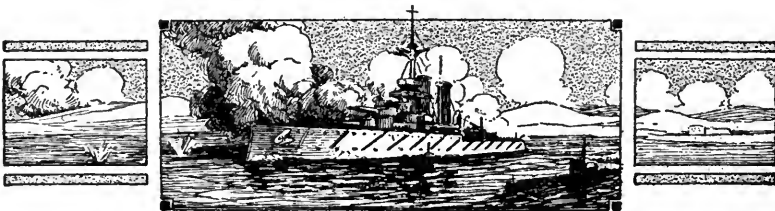
roaring of lions by no means hinders the dialogues of insects and rodents; this network of lower voices gives the jungle its deep life. The slender tones of talking ships fill the atmosphere of the sea with a mysterious animation. A big liner, come from tropical seas, announces her passage of such and such a frequented cape. A torpedo-boat patrolling toward Gibraltar tells Port Said about the ships which it has sighted. This torpedo-boat has not got strong enough lungs to shout to the other end of the Mediterranean; it calls Bizerta or Toulon, who answers, takes its message, and relays it forward, like a rebounding ball, to the antennae of Malta, to the masts of a French cruiser in the Ionian Sea, to the wires of a Russian ship in the Aegean, and finally it reaches Port Said. A mailboat announces its position, a squadron asks for orders, a naval attaché or an ambassador sends out information gained by spies; the Resident General of Morocco is sending wheat to Montenegro; the main guards give warning that a submarine is in sight; colliers ask to be told exactly where they are to meet certain cruisers; the whole Mediterranean taps the antennae of the Commander in Chief as a swarm of subalterns tap at the door of military headquarters.

No disorder, no discord in these gusts of whisperings. Like the musicians in a well-drilled orchestra, all these talkers speak at the minute, at the second previously fixed for their turn; chronometer in hand, the telegraph operators watch for the instant allotted to them, and immediately send forth trills of short, brief notes; whether they have finished or not at the end of their period,

they stop and wait, for immediately a distant voice begins its part, and would protest violently if any one prevented its speaking. The whole extent of the Mediterranean is divided into sectors, the time is cut up into fragments, and no one is allowed to break the silence if the pre-established table bids him keep still.

Besides, the guilty parties are quickly found out. Just as the fingers of a blind man acquire surprising sensitiveness, so the operators' ears distinguish the timbre, the tone, the musical value of the chatterers whom they have never seen. For the initiated the electric radiations have a personality like human speech. Two posts, two ships have distinct voices, pronunciations. This one talks with a sputter, the other speaks with solemn slowness; the voice of one suggests a match scratched on sandpaper, another buzzes like a fly, another sings small, like the flight of mosquitos. It is a concert almost magical. In his padded cabin the operator hears and distinguishes the whirr of the cricket, the squeak of the violin, the rasped wing-cover of the beetle, the hiss of frying, which the fantastic electricity is sending forth, hundreds of leagues away. It flickers, ceases, begins again; you would say a goblin symphony in some wide wilderness, and yet the least of these vibrations is a message of war, of life and of death.

And indeed they are careful not to talk without saying anything. They all use only secret languages. This perpetual chatter contains no word, no phrase which any one can understand unless he possesses the key on which rests the safety of ships. Cipher, cipher, cipher, nothing else circulates in space.



Paris Owes \$400,000,000 for Rents

ONE of the thorniest problems of the war in France is the rent question, and in the last two months it has become so acute that the Chamber of Deputies has devoted many hours of serious debate to its solution. Tenants have paid no rent since the beginning of the war, and as the months have accumulated into years the situation has become impossible. The magnitude of the question may be gauged by the fact that the rents unpaid in Paris alone since the war amount to \$400,000,000.

When complete mobilization was ordered, causing a profound disturbance in the commercial, industrial, and social life of the nation, the Government issued, among other moratoria, one applying to house rents. It was intended primarily for the relief of small rent payers, especially those whose breadwinners had been called to the front. Its scope, however, proved to be much wider, and although landlords were authorized to take legal proceedings for the recovery of rent where they could prove the ability of the tenants to pay, they found in actual practice that they were helpless in any serious attempt to enforce their rights.

So long as the war seemed likely to end in three months the moratorium caused no great hardship, but as it has been prolonged from quarter to quarter the situation has grown so acute that an early solution is essential. All France was settling down to the comfortable practice of not paying rent. A good many people who were quite able to pay had taken advantage of the moratorium. Gradually there had grown up a popular conviction that at the end of the war the Government would pass some sort of law excusing tenants from the payment of at least a portion of the total rent bills. It was a dangerous belief.

First of all, M. Briand, the Premier, shattered the fond hopes of those who could, but would not, pay, by declaring publicly that all tenants in a position to do so must be made to fulfill their liabilities.

Then, for the January quarter, the moratorium was timidly modified so as to compel Government and other public officials, as well as the Bank of France employes drawing regular salaries, to pay their rent.

The question is complicated by the number of different categories of tenants and landlords, and by the hopelessness of expecting the small ratepayers to be able ever to settle the arrears which the law has allowed them to accumulate. It is obvious that a soldier who has fought for his country for eighteen months or two years, during which time he and his family have been deprived of their ordinary resources and obliged to subsist on the modest separation allowance granted by the State, cannot decently be asked to pay two years' back rent, even in installments. It is highly probable, moreover, that if such men were worried by landlords there would be serious trouble in the country.

But who is going to bear the loss? It is calculated that there are more than 700,000 families in the Department of the Seine alone (Paris and environs) whose rent is under \$120 a year. This, naturally, is the principal category of tenants concerned in the proposed legislation. The Government says: "We will bear a portion of the debt if the departments and the landlords will bear their share." In other words, the landlords (of property, flats, &c., the tenants of which pay less than \$120) must not expect to get the total amount of arrears due to them, but would be paid a substantial part by the State.

This arrangement seems to satisfy no one. The landlords clamor for payment in full. Their argument is that, as the State made the law which caused the loss, the State must be held responsible, and ought to indemnify completely the landlords. The tenants, vigorously supported by the Socialist Party, are opposed to all idea of the State reimbursing the landlords because, they claim, the money would have to come from the taxpayers'

pockets, and thus the burden would still be borne by the tenants. Why should the fact of a man putting his money into property confer special privileges on him? No, say the Socialists, those who can pay must pay; and let the corporation of landlords make good among themselves the losses sustained by their poorer colleagues whose tenants happen to be unable to pay their rent.

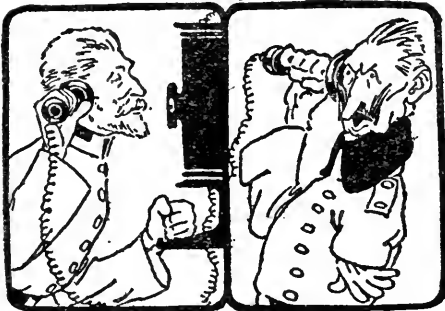
The Government proposes to deal with the problem by authorizing the canceling of leases in cases of the tenant being killed or sustaining permanent injury,

while the question of according rebates, exonerations, or time for the settlement of arrears would be left till after the war for decision by the proper tribunals. Tenants called to the colors, widows and heirs of victims of the war would be entitled to a reduction of the amount of rent due. Others to benefit by the measure would be small tenants killed or incapacitated by the war, tenants paying less than \$200 in the Department of the Seine, or \$120 in towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants, or \$60 in towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants.

French Humor in War Time

A war-time feature of the Paris Matin each morning is a small humorous vignette with a bit of fictitious conversation below it.

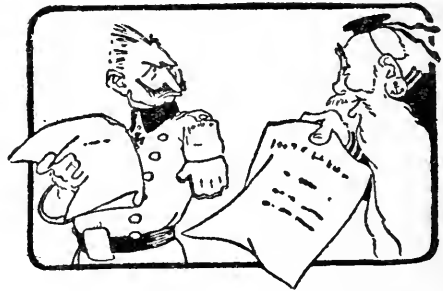
WILHELM TALKS WITH RUMANIA



THE KAISER: "Remember that between the Danube and Bucharest there are only sixty kilometers."

FERDINAND OF RUMANIA: "And six hundred thousand bayonets, with a few guns—don't forget that!"

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION



VON TIRPITZ: "A fine day! Three sailing ships sunk!"

WILHELM: "A bad day! Twenty-four German steamers seized in Portugal!"

German Woman's Work in War Time

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Jean Toeplitz

ONE of the most widely circulated prints in Germany during the last year is the work of the well-known painter, C. A. Brendel. "Stilles Heldentum," ("Quiet Heroism,") as it is called, depicts a strong and vigorous woman taking up the plow where it was left by the man gone to battle. That picture is a symbol of the change which has taken place in German life; the women of the empire are today supplanting the men in the country and in town, in factory and shop, while the men are offering their lives in defense of home and hearth. In farming, of course, women began to take the place of men from the early days of the war, but in all other fields of economic life the change from male to female workers did not take place nearly so soon, nor so completely. On the contrary, in the first months of the war, female workers in manual as well as intellectual avocations were particularly hard hit by the lack of employment.

Even when, with the recovery of economic activity and the increased enlistment, unemployment as far as the males were concerned was greatly reduced, the female labor market was still slow to improve. Only during the last half year have women actually taken the place of men in a great variety of lines of activity.

In agriculture the adaptation to war conditions came easily, because in times of peace German agriculture rested to a very large extent on the shoulders of the women. The census of 1907 showed that in Germany 4,500,000 farm hands, almost one-half of the total, were women. Cattle raising, the cultivation of potatoes, cabbage, turnips, sugar beets and other vegetables requiring hoe work, have for a long time been almost exclusively in the hands of women.

How important the existence of so large a number of female workers ac-

customed to arduous farm work was to be for Germany few people had imagined before the war. This importance, however, was manifested in the very first days of the war, when the strongest and most capable men were taken from their harvest tasks. If the first war harvest was gathered to the last grain, if nothing of this precious possession was lost, Germany owes this to the active work of her women. And then when the time came to till the ground again, when it was necessary to get as much from the soil as it would yield, then it was again the women who doubled and tripled their energies in order to replace the missing men. At present the women, old men, and children have practically a monopoly of agricultural pursuits.

The change from male to female labor did not take place so quickly and in such a matter-of-fact way in any of the other branches of economic life. It was not until January, 1915, that a steady increase became noticeable in female industrial labor. In the beginning the men withdrawn from the labor market could be replaced by men; there was even a lack of employment until the economic life adjusted itself. But soon the demand for labor was greatly increased and the women were called upon. In the course of the first six months of the year 1915 the number of female industrial workers grew by about half a million. Yet the supply of workers in the female labor market has by no means been exhausted. Here Germany possessed a source that will not be exhausted for a long time to come.

Female labor has increased, especially in those industries which may be designated as war industries, viz., in the metal and machine industry, in electrical and in chemical industry. That the women have proved their usefulness and ability is shown by the fact that in 1915 a large ammunition factory alone employed

50,000 women, and that the manufacture of shells is today almost exclusively in the hands of women. With the exception of the finer work, which requires extreme precision, and which is attended to by skilled male workers, there is no part of the work not done by women; the making of the core of the shell, the cleaning of the cast shells, work at the lathe, at the boring and cutting machines, the filling of shells, the making of shell baskets—all is the work of women.

In addition to ammunition, almost all war supplies pass through women's hands. For example, the horseshoe industry is largely carried on by women. In the rifle factories women manufacture certain parts. Drinking cups, kitchen utensils, and bottles for use in the field are made by their busy hands. Many lines of business working normally with a preponderantly female staff—such as the textile industry, tailoring, and dress-making—to a great extent have been converted into cog-wheels of the great war machinery, and are, where the demand for their normal products has fallen off, bending their energies to supply the army with articles akin to those which they manufacture in peace time. Here the changes are not very marked either in the employment or in the nature of the work of women.

It is noteworthy that even in the beginning of the war, when all industrial branches still showed a decrease of female labor, the metal industry, the machine industry, and the foodstuff industry experienced an increase. After a quarter of a year the mining and textile industries were added to this list, while in the electrical and chemical industry the same phenomenon could be observed only during 1915. These are, of course, all more or less directly related to the war, and the increased demand is not exclusively due to a decrease in the male workers, but also to an intensified activity of these branches in supplying the ever-growing needs of the armies.

The heavy iron industry was one of the first that was forced to engage female labor and is still their biggest employer. This is not only the case in the lighter work, but in work that would

never have been assigned to women under normal conditions. The law which was issued at the beginning of the war, relaxing the restrictions in the occupation of female workers, came to the aid of this industry. The Upper Silesian foundries have made extensive use of this legislative alleviation. In many cases in these foundries women only do the work hitherto performed by juvenile male workers, who have passed on to take care of the heavy work of the men; but in others the heavy work is also done by women. One smelting concern reports the employment of fifty women in the smelting works, of twenty-five in the coke works, and of sixty in the steel and rolling plants. Another concern even reports one woman engaged as a stoker at the big engine furnaces. All this work is, of course, normally done by men, and is really so heavy as to be injurious to women if done for any great length of time.

Next in the proportional increase of female workers come the electrical, chemical, textile, and foodstuffs industries in which, though in most cases entirely new, the tasks the women have to perform are much lighter.

The manufacture of gas meters cannot be considered as actual war work. The scarcity of petroleum brought about the increased utilization of illuminating gas. That resulted in a greater demand for gas meters, for the manufacture of which there were no longer enough male workers, so women are now used in the manufacture of meters. They only make some of the parts, however; the more complicated work is still done by experienced tinsmiths.

In the wire factories female workers are now occupied in winding the wire, at the plaiting machines, and at the wire-drawing bench. In the manufacture of cast iron kitchenware women work at the molding machines. In machine factories they do the painting work and are used for transportation, formerly the work of men exclusively. They are also employed in tinning spoons and other eating utensils, in making parts of umbrellas, &c.

Outside of the large and organized fac-

tory business the investigations of the Central Employment Bureau in Berlin show that in the small trades and vocations women have also found positions.

Thus, female tinsmiths and joiners are employed; and women are working in the place of men in the saddlery and shoemaking factories, in the dressmaking business as ironers and stitchers, and in the printing business as typesetters.

The daily press reports many other cases. For example, women have taken the place of "ashmen," street sweepers, window cleaners, "cabmen," chauffeurs, "elevator men," "messenger boys," "motormen" and conductors of street cars. At the railroad stations they are in charge of the book stalls. The railroad authorities employ a large number of female workers in the workshops to clean the cars and the lamps; they work as ticket punchers, door lockers, train announcers, even as trackworkers. Tonsorial parlors present the curious spectacle of female barbers and hair cutters, and the Tyrolian Spa, Meran, even has a female chimney sweep. The position of waitress in better-class restaurants is regarded as an entirely worthy one for women. The gas companies are employing women not only in office work, but also to inspect and fill the meters. From one village in Bavaria comes the report of female blacksmiths, three sisters taking the place of their men folk who have gone to the front. That no toil, however hard, is shunned by the women can be seen in Berlin, where, with joy in their hearts and on their faces, great numbers of them are working at the building of the new rapid transit railway.

The replacing of men by women seems to have taken place more slowly in the positions of higher business life, but here also the steady drafting of the men into the army has brought about considerable changes. Even branches of business in which there was a prejudice against the employment of women pay high salaries nowadays for efficient women. Women are being employed in banks, in the insurance business, real estate, as traveling saleswomen, as show-window decorators, &c. A new vocation created by the war is that of female secretaries of agri-

cultural estates. The Chamber of Agriculture for the Province of Brandenburg has arranged courses for agricultural bookkeeping which are intended for employes who wish to devote themselves to agriculture, either permanently or temporarily.

In Government offices may be seen the first beginnings of replacing men with women. For instance, there are cases of female letter carriers, and at the money order and registered letter windows there are now women. In the Berlin courts female clerks are employed, and a woman has received the post of acting registrar.

In the so-called higher vocations the employment of women is also increasing. In the educational departments a much larger number of teachers had to be used, since a great percentage of the German teachers are serving in the army. One new feature which deserves special mention is that women teachers are being used in a large number of the higher boys' schools, as, for instance, at a real gymnasium in Berlin and at a gymnasium in Marienburg.

A point not appearing in any routine reports should be mentioned here, because it is so easily overlooked—the work of the women doctors. A vast number of their confrères of the male sex have either been called to the field or are active in the hospitals in the home country. That they should be replaced by female physicians in the ordinary way of business would be a natural thing. A tribute is due to the female practitioners of Berlin and other places for the reason that they offered of their own accord to take the place of their confrères gratuitously, thus saving many a father at least a part of his worry about the support of his family.

While it is impossible to obtain any exact figures on the labor movement during these exceptional times, still an approximate idea may be gained of the degree in which the women have taken the place of the men by referring to the figures published on sick insurance.

Statistics are available only for the year 1915, but any figures of the first months of the war, when all industrial

pursuits were in a state of turmoil would, in the nature of things, be misleading. Only after things had settled down and economic life, though working along quite different lines, had regained a certain amount of steadiness, may figures be considered as sufficiently reliable to form something like an approximate idea of the displacement which the labor forces of the empire have undergone.

If we take the average of the figures published at different times in the year 1915 we gain the following picture of proportional monthly changes of male and female labor in the chief branches of industry:

| Industries. | Men, Per Cent. | Women, Per Cent. |
|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Metal and machinery... | + 1.31 | + 5.72 |
| Electrical | - 4.96 | + 9.18 |
| Chemical | + 4.65 | + 9.25 |
| Textile | - 2.40 | + 0.42 |
| Foodstuff | - 7.53 | + 3.85 |
| Clothing | - 3.32 | - 4.22 |
| Average | - 2.04 | + 3.59 |

Keeping in mind that, of course, a multitude of various factors is constantly influencing the fluctuating movement of labor in these times, nevertheless, if we apply the above figures to the whole year, we arrive at the probably not very inaccurate result that in the course of 1915 male labor in the chief branches of industry decreased about 25 per cent. and that female labor increased by 43 per cent. The disparity between increase and decrease would indicate that the individual activities had been intensified by 18 per cent. through the immediate needs of war. But in this connection it must not be forgotten that experience shows that female labor is not a full equivalent of male labor and that an increase in hands does not signify a corresponding increase in production.

If we analyze the figures given above a little more closely to see how the various branches were influenced by the war, we find that as regards the degree of the decrease of male labor they rank as follows: Foodstuffs with the heaviest decrease, then electrical goods, clothing and textile products; the metal and chemical industries experienced an increase in male workers despite the war. On the other hand, as regards the increase of women workers, the order is the following: Electrical industry, chemical ind-

ustry, metal and machine works, food factories; a decrease of female hands took place in the weaving and clothing industries. The order in which these branches rank as regards employment of labor gives an interesting indication of the present needs of the German Empire.

Another table is of interest because it comprises all of those insured against sickness, not confining itself to the above-mentioned branches of economic life. It is a comparison of the changes in male and female labor employment in the months of 1914 preceding the war and the corresponding months of the year 1915:

| | 1914. | | 1915. | |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Men. | Women. | Men. | Women. |
| January | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| February ... | 102 | 115 | 99 | 100.8 |
| March | 105 | 119 | 98.8 | 103.4 |
| April | 108 | 122 | 97.8 | 105.5 |
| May | 112 | 126 | 99.1 | 109.4 |
| June | 113 | 128 | 97.1 | 110.3 |
| July | 113 | 128 | 95.7 | 110.6 |

Taking the active labor forces on Jan. 1 of the two years as represented by the index figure 100 we see that while in 1914 there was a steady increase of male and female workers, in 1915 the male workers dropped to 95.7 while the female workers increased to 110.6.

A problem which is causing a good deal of speculation among German exponents of women's rights is the one of the pay which the female worker is to receive in places where she is expected to fill the man's post. The question as to how this problem has been handled in Germany is difficult to answer in a few words, because in many cases the woman has not taken the man's place to perform an identical task. In most cases, as a matter of fact, the work the woman is called upon to do is one newly created by the war, and it therefore does not admit of an exact comparison with the work of the man and the wages he received for it. Most of the factories in times of peace did not think of making supplies for the army. There were special factories for this purpose, but these are now unable to satisfy the demand. The abundance of female workers, especially at the outbreak of the war, caused the ammunition industry to employ large numbers of these workers and this at first cut down the wages. This condition was, however,

alleviated gradually. Propagandists for women's rights point out with some justice that it should not be forgotten that the female labor in the factories working for the defense of the country is now of great value, because there are not enough male workers and because the demand must be met in the country itself.

Though a general comparison between the wages of men and women for the same work is difficult to make for the above-mentioned reasons, it has been ascertained by the investigations of the trade union of the German machine-construction and metal workers that only in very few cases are the wages of the women as high as those of the men.

In the Upper Silesian foundries the wages of the women are in a ratio of 1 to 3 to those of the men, more rarely in that of 1 to 2, and they are never the same. The wages of women vary considerably even in the same place and also for the same work, ranging from 21 pfennigs (5 cents) to 35 pfennigs (9 cents) an hour.

Weekly wages vary considerably in different parts of the country. There are wages of 9 marks a week in the East. They rise in the West to 27-30 marks. They differ, of course, according to the age and ability of the worker.

In piece-work the difference in the wages of men and women is even more evident. The rates per piece of work are throughout lower for women than for men. A foundry in Mannheim pays women 2.50 marks (62 cents) per 100 bullet cores, while men receive 3.50 marks, (87 cents.) A Dresden firm pays women 65 pfennigs for 100 pieces of a certain article, whereas men receive 95 pfennigs. In a Berlin firm the rates for piece-work are from 25 to 40 per cent. lower than for the men, and in another firm in Berlin the difference is as much as 50 per cent. In short, in most cases female labor receives much lower pay than male labor.

Into the problem of pay enters one that was already touched upon above, that of the comparative efficiency of men and women as industrial workers. The question is, in other words, has woman, replacing man as a factory

worker, been a success as far as her present employment in Germany is concerned?

While the problem is one of immediate interest in its relation to and effect on the question of present wages, it is not only one of passing importance, but one which touches questions of fundamental and permanent bearing on the economic structure of the empire; and it has consequently at once been taken up by those branches which have been most seriously influenced by the invasion of female labor. The metal industry has circulated its members on the question into which the problem in the first instance resolves itself, the question, namely, whether the female workers in the metal industry are able to carry out the work now intrusted to them as well as the men in regard to quantity as well as quality of the product. Of 119 answers to the question of quantity 58 were in the affirmative and 48 in the negative. In 4 cases the women are said to do more work than the men, and in 9 cases to accomplish the same amount only in part. The reasons for this are not difficult to find. In most cases the female workers perform purely mechanical work at machines which are set ready for them by men. They have, therefore, chiefly to watch the machine; here and there the women may show greater dexterity in this than the men.

In regard to the quality of the work, 83 out of 130 answers indicate that the women's work is on a par with that of the men. Thirty-six answers deny this, while 10 indicate only a partial equality, and in one case the work is said to be superior.

Answers to the circular indicate that although in the majority of cases the increase in female labor in the metal industry is due to the scarcity of male workers, the lower wages of female hands also come in as a factor. In 85 cases the lack of male workers is given as the reason for the increase in female labor, in 19 cases the lower wages, and in 15 cases both reasons. In the answers received it is frequently pointed out that unemployed able men were rejected and women employed on account of the lower

wages. A large metal factory in Westphalia employs men for daily wages, whereas the women have been given the more lucrative piece-work.

In most places where there is a scarcity of male workers, and where female workers must be employed, the wives and daughters of the former employes are given first consideration. There cannot be any difference of opinion on the desirability of such an arrangement.

The only question is, what will happen after the war? This question is already being discussed from the point of view that with the return to the normal conditions there must be no bitter rivalry between male and female workers. But apart from that, will the women who entered into vocations previously the exclusive domain of man have to give up the positions they have conquered during the war when normal conditions prevail again? Many of them will, of course, desire, when the tasks enforced upon them by dire necessity are done, to revert with renewed zeal to the duties which from time immemorial have been considered as the natural province of woman. Others may wish to and may have to retain their new activity, since so many positions will not be filled again by those who held them before the war, and so many men will be required along other lines of reconstructive work that the call for female help will probably remain great for a long while to come.

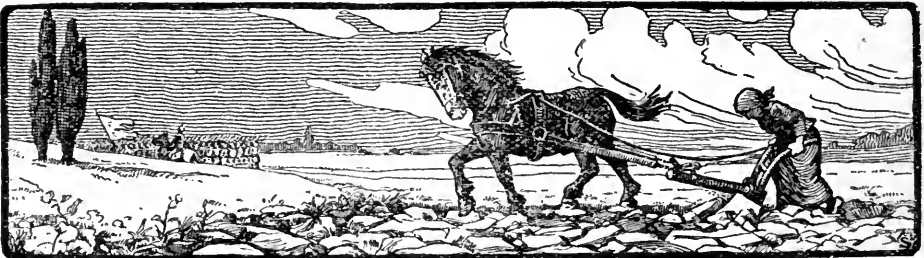
Still, there are vocations which are essentially male, and will ever be so, since they are too exacting, and the continued activity of the female population in them would eventually prove hurtful to the nation. This is true of work in iron factories—the so-called heavy iron

industry—and in mines. Women are not allowed to work in the latter in peace, and even in war they have only by special legislation been admitted to the over-ground work. The Reichstag has already discussed this matter, and the Government is in accord with the representatives that in such branches as are particularly apt to be deleterious to a woman's health the previously existing protective legislation is to be reinstated as soon as peace returns.

In the meantime the German women proceed quietly along their arduous path of "quiet heroism" and are not behind the men in their determination to bring the war to a victorious conclusion.

Helene Lange, one of Germany's standard bearers for women's rights, says:

"No German woman wants peace if by gaining it the life of her Fatherland is to be hemmed in and restricted. Not one wishes a peace which will not bring us what we must have—security for the active development of German ability, room for the flowing stream of German kultur, firm ground for all the peaceful conquest of the world which is possible for the German spirit of science, the technical arts, or social and economic organization. If the question is 'War, or a permanent check to German development—death or a German life in chains,' the answer of the German women is, without a moment's reflection, 'War and death.' Small everyday cares and everyday happiness vanish when measured by great suffering and great exaltation. All of those who have gone through our experiences feel that there is also a victory over death, that there are possessions for which life is not too high a price, and that greatness is more than happiness."



French Women as Munition Makers

A Story of Patriotism

A BRITISH commission sent to France by Lord Murray and Mr. Lloyd George to study the methods of manufacturing war munitions in that country has recently made a noteworthy report, which throws a white light upon the self-sacrificing patriotism with which the women of France are wearing out their lives in that work. "The country needs me" is the keynote of the factories as it is of the trenches, and the bulk of the work in these factories is now done by women of all classes.

One section of the British report contains a table showing the present and former occupations of France's munition makers. In one factory the forty-one women now engaged in boring are composed of fifteen housewives, one corsetière, twenty factory girls, four mechanics, and one florist. Fuses are being made in the same factory by 848 women, of whom 470 were formerly makers of breeches, seamstresses and milliners, 125 clerks, 125 housewives, and 75 factory girls, while 53 had no profession previous to their present arduous labors.

Women who were formerly dress-makers, children's nurses, weavers, tulle makers, cashiers, hairdressers, and typists also are among the thousands upon thousands of those who are now turning out the food for the weapons of France.

The average pay per day is: For laborers, 6.01 francs, (a little more than \$1.20;) for machine men, 10.42 francs, (a little more than \$2;) for skilled workers, 12.23 francs, (about \$2.50;) for females a minimum of 3.53 francs, (a little more than 60 cents;) mean wage, 5.95, (about \$1.20.)

The purpose of the commission was to study the underlying causes of the greatly increased output of munitions in France. Their main answer to the "why" of this remarkable increase is summed up in their tribute to the patriot-

ism of the women. Technically, however, they cite three main causes—increasing intensity of production, erection of new factories and extension of existing plants; adaptation of other kinds of factories to the manufacture of munitions.

"As the war proceeded," says the mission's report in explaining these factors, "the French Nation has settled down with a determination and feeling of set purpose to the fulfillment of the task allotted to it. There is no question that the nation is at war and the dominant sentiment, not only of the men but also of the women, is to carry the war to a successful termination. Everything else is subordinated to this determination.

"Women, of whom many thousands are employed in munitions factories, work with a good-will which is most impressive; this spirit is also evident in the case of male workers."

There is no jealousy on the part of the Frenchmen, no ill-will over woman's encroachment on what once was man's own realm. On the contrary, the investigators found that the men have welcomed the assistance of the fair sex and are aiding them in every way possible. The report points out the significance of this fact, inasmuch as the introduction of women in the munitions work was aimed not only at increasing the output but also at freeing the men for military service.

Whether through well-calculated intention or not, the British mission's report conveys between the lines some striking contrasts between the never-tiring willingness on the part of all France to lighten the heavy burden of the country, no matter what the cost, and the apathetic attitude of certain classes in Great Britain in the face of the nation's call, especially during the earlier phases of war. The commission says:

"Although prior to the war the usual labor troubles were experienced, no strike

has taken place since the commencement of hostilities.

"No applications for general advances in wages have been made by the work people since the commencement of the war."

To those who last Fall, before the Damocles sword of the military service bill was hung out over the heads of the masses of unwilling, witnessed the troubles and riots in the coal mines of South Wales, these statements, made under the names of a commission of highly respected and responsible British investigators, sound like rebukes whose keynote seems to be "Look at France."

French capitalists have not lagged behind the working classes in the demonstration of real, practical patriotism. "It is remarkable," says the report, "that the erection and equipment of new factories resorted to in great measure are due to private enterprise. No factories have been subsidized by the Government, nor have loans of any kind been made to the owners."

There are in the Paris district alone 1,800 small producers for machine operations. The vast majority of these are now working day and night for the Government, under sub-contract, the main contractor making no profit out of the work sub-contracted. Many small shops are manned by various members of a family and work day and night shifts.

Thus the British visitors found the day shift superintended by the father and daughter and the night shift by the mother and son. The meagre proportions and the poor equipment of this, as of thousands of other shops, the report says, were overcome "no doubt by the spirit which dominated every one employed in it."

In another case, a very small shop, the work had been superintended by the

wife of the owner, who was serving in the army. The woman worked herself to death, and the husband was ordered back from the army to continue the work she had been doing.

As to the standard number of hours, it can hardly be said that there is such a thing in France today. There is a break of about two hours at noon, which enables the women to look after the meals and comfort their children at home.

In most cases the shifts change over every fortnight, and on the change the work people get twenty-four hours off. No difference is made on Saturdays, the same hours being worked as on other week days. In some cases no work is done on Sundays after noon. In most cases women work the same hours as men, allowance being made, however, for the time spent on tramway journeys, to avoid congestion.

While thus far women have worked mostly only at day time, they will, to a large extent, soon be engaged on night shifts as well. The report continues:

"The opinion in the French factories is that the output of females on small work equals and in some cases exceeds that of men, and in the case of heavier work, within certain limits, women are of practically the same value as men.

"It has to be kept in mind that physical considerations limit the range of work which may be done by women. It was noticed, however, that part of the work done by women involved greater strain than might be thought reasonable in this country."

Of the "general conclusions" cited by the commission, the following stands out as bearing out every word of the report:

"It appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause, and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there."



The French Woman's New Ideal

By Marie Bourgain

Professor in the University of France

Summary of an article contributed to *Le Figaro* by a widely known French writer on feminist questions.

WHAT is going to be the intellectual and moral influence of women in our country, whose young manhood has been so cruelly decimated? Whether we wish it or not, the women are becoming an economic and social factor with which the leaders and the nation will have to reckon. Silently they are in evidence in all kinds of work, in all classes of society, and in the most diverse surroundings. They do not talk; they act. What a revolution in our ways, what an economic upheaval! How will it be possible to take from women on the morrow of victory what they have gained by disinterested labor, maintained not without a kind of heroism, too? Equal pay, equal civil rights, perhaps equal political rights—how many hints already of future demands!

The publicists are excited and question one another, but the women, gripped by tragic realities, seem to have forgotten the feverish discussions of yesterday. Hence this multitude of charitable undertakings which have risen up on every side, and in which each woman generously pours forth her affection, zeal, and energy. However great the daily burden, there are few women for whom it is enough. With their eyes on the trenches and their minds fixed on the magnificent self-sacrifice of our soldiers, the desire to emulate them becomes an inspiration to still further effort. Nor are these endeavors of the kind which, being scattered and ambitious, fail through aiming too high. The women play their part gathering together, caring for, and nourishing children, comforting mothers, and devoting themselves in the nurseries and shelters to purely feminine among other tasks. Charity? Assuredly, but much more it is the urgency of preparing against the

menace of depopulation as great as the losses in the war itself.

Family anxieties about the precarious days to come will no doubt raise a new crop of girl graduates, and there will probably be more lawyers and more doctors among women. But I know from the confidences of numbers of middle-class girls that it is to the family that they are thinking of applying this ardent renewal of energy. They are already looking forward to a modest and serious existence, a return to French traditions. Life outside the cities, far from frightening them, appears to many desirable, propitious to intimacy and family comfort. They know that frivolity and luxury are not essential to happiness. They declare frankly that they have thought it out, and that they feel sure in their choice. They will have little money, but they will live in the country and bring up strong and happy children.

Hence the schools which are being opened in response to this need, schools of agriculture founded by women for women, where they can acquire the knowledge and training to become farmers and managers of estates. Whether this experiment is or is not crowned with immediate success does not matter. The idea is bold and practical, and will certainly be fruitful. It is a sign of the times. According to the initiators, the school now open is only a beginning, and they foresee quite a swarm of them spreading out through our provinces, each school adapted to the needs and resources of our diverse regions. In this way social life will be, if not transformed, at least all the better materially and morally.

It means the reappearance of one of the most beneficent figures in the life of other days—the lady who, living on her estate, exercised around her a force for

enlightenment, leading a useful and regular life and contributing to the enrichment of her family and the prosperity of the country. Is it not to the honor of present-day education that our college girls, armed with degrees and eager for learning, are no more afraid of the farm than the daughters of the Duchess of Montausier, for whom Fénelon wrote his treatise on the hardships of country life?

In this ideal of health and simplicity there is a type both modern and classic, the capable woman of whom we have always dreamed, presiding over the household, neither servant nor mistress, but companion and associate, courageous in the performance and serene in the accomplishment of the day's duty, guardian of the dignity and honor of the home and the dispenser of all its benefits.

War and the Duty of Motherhood

By Lily Braun

Noted German Feminist Leader

THE German Nation proved itself to be like one of the sturdy oaks of our own forests; the whirlwind lashed to the earth much that was decadent and superfluous, leaving revealed the noble outlines which bespoke strength and endurance.

With one powerful blow the war leveled all party barriers; the men who marched out to meet the enemy were men inspired by the one primitive feeling of defending their homes and their Fatherland.

And with the same blow, the war destroyed everything that was mannish in the women—destroyed their ideas of sentimental pacifism and their (futile dreams of the sisterhood of woman throughout the world. The hidden force which drew 70,000 Berlin women to the Reichstag during those August days—not to indulge in a demonstration for universal suffrage but to offer their services as nurses and helpers—was only the powerful eruption of the long-smoldering womanly instinct, best expressed in the one word, Motherliness! Every woman was absorbed by the one idea of helping—but how and where?

The women of Germany had one wide-spreading organization, the Vaterländischer Frauenverein, but it was not until the war came and put this organization to the test that we realized its scope and efficiency. Called into existence during another dark period in the nation's history—the Wars of Liberation—it now

comprises a half million members, has a capital of 30,000,000 marks, and is the mother, so to speak, of endless public welfare institutions.

Under the auspices of this organization, and that of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Red Cross Society, 25,000 women in Berlin alone were enabled to take the course of training prescribed for the so-called Helferinnen, or assistants in all phases of the relief work.

After the mobilization of the troops had been effected and we had been released from our duties at the railway stations, the question of the unemployed women was the first work to claim our attention.

Many industries in which women had been employed were suspended at first but soon recovered and adapted themselves to the exigencies of the situation. That they were able to do so with such astonishing rapidity was due to what our enemies anathematize as "Prussian Militarism." The capacity for subjecting one's self to discipline which is another name for organization, is one of the fruits of this so-called "Militarism." Two other factors were of incalculable value in assisting us to meet the new conditions, and these were the education of the masses and the Workingmen's Insurance—one creating a willingness to co-operate intelligently, and the other providing support until those thrown out of work could again be reinstated.

The outside world has been astonished

at the rapidity and smoothness with which our economic machinery got under way, and this was undeniably due in large measure to the ability of the women to take the places vacated by the men. The farmer's wife in East Prussia, who, clad in men's overalls and high boots, superintended the harvesting, is only one of thousands of similar instances where women took up the labor suddenly abandoned by the men. The war has already released hitherto undreamed-of forces among the women of the land, and tomorrow, and day after tomorrow will demand still greater sacrifices and heroism on their part. The war is not yet at an end, and the claims upon our strength and endurance are by no means exhausted. And even when the time comes when we shall be able to add the palm of peace to the flags of victory that now flutter from our windows, there will still be an infinite work for us to do, in rebuilding and reconstructing all that the war has destroyed.

Far more appalling than the destruction of material values, which years of patient endeavor and courageous effort can ultimately restore, are the irreparable losses in human life. There will be no more vital problem to be solved by the women of the world in the future than this of so readjusting the economic conditions as to make it possible for every woman to fulfill her natural duties of motherhood.

This is not a mere question of woman's personal happiness and her moral and intellectual development, but a question of the "to be" or "not to be" of a nation. The Russian General who, in the beginning of the war, based his belief in the invincibility of his country upon the

fertility of the Russian woman, was fundamentally right, and had not the Russians been enfeebled by long years of moral and intellectual starvation they might have been able to ravage our land in far greater measure by the sheer force of their military masses.

Should France be defeated in this war—and France is the only country which, like Germany, is fighting for her national existence—her defeat would not only be the result of our superior military prowess, but in great measure the fault of the French women who no longer wish to bear children. For years this most striking symptom of national decadence—the retrogression of the birthrate—has manifested itself in France. This is best proved by statistics which show that in 1870 both France and Germany had a population of forty millions. In 1914 France still had only forty millions, whereas Germany's population had increased to sixty-five millions.

From the blood-soaked fields of Flanders and Poland comes the insistent cry to the women of Germany: Fulfill your duties of Motherhood!

There are women who advocate "a strike" among the mothers of the land—who declare they will bring no more children into the world to be food for powder. But such women are lacking in true citizenship, and it is as mothers and citizens that the State will claim our co-operation after the war. Let us so fulfill this two-fold duty as to prove ourselves worthy helpmates of the heroes in the fighting lines, and we shall then be able to look back upon this critical period in the nation's history, not as the "time of our great calamity," but rather as "the great time of our calamity!"



Why Rumania Is Neutral

By Dr. C. Racowsky

Intellectual Leader of Rumanian Socialists

Dr. Racowsky of Bucharest here gives his reasons for believing that Rumania will remain neutral. The Rumanian Socialists, with the exception of a small pro-Teuton faction, stand firm for nonintervention in the war. This article originally appeared in the New York Volkszeitung, the daily organ of the German-speaking Socialists in this country.

AT present the press is discussing Rumania's position regarding the war. Will Rumania remain neutral, or will it enter the lists? And if it does enter the struggle, at whose disposition will it place its arms? With the reservations entailed by a lack of knowledge of diplomatic secrets, I, as a man acquainted with the situation in his own country, believe I am able to state that we shall remain neutral until the end.

Of course, our Government does not lack the desire to pursue a policy of territorial expansion. It has this desire just the same as the other Balkan Governments and displayed it during the second Balkan war in 1913. It is shown today through constant military preparations since the war began. Those who are following the news from Rumania know that the Rumanian Chambers recently voted the Government new credits to the amount of \$40,000,000, which, with the former credits, exclusive of the regular budget, signifies an extraordinary expenditure of \$120,000,000. That Rumania, despite all this, has not entered the war up to the present is not due to the fact that the Government did not desire intervention, but to circumstances over which it has no control.

The reasons for Rumania's neutrality are political as well as military. Since the war of 1913 our foreign policy has been decidedly favorable to the Entente. Rumania's entrance into the second Balkan war, as well as the annexation of 7,000 square kilometers of a territory so rich and productive that its loss meant a reduction by one-third of Bulgaria's productive powers, could not have taken place without an express agreement with Russia. The Rumanian Army could never have crossed the frontier without

the previous assurance that the northern neighbor had repudiated the military treaty with Bulgaria in 1902 in which Russia had pledged itself to stand by Bulgaria in case of a Rumanian invasion.

The Bucharest Treaty, which was the pride of our diplomacy and of our statesmen, was the result of close co-operation between the second Balkan coalition, that is, Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro on the one side, and Russia and France on the other.

At that time the leader of the present nationalistic movement in Rumania, Filipescu, declared in an interview that Russia could freely dispose of its two army corps on the Bessarabian frontier. This statement meant that the treaty of alliance between Rumania and the Central Powers was morally ended. This shows that already on the eve of the European war the policy of Rumania was pro-Entente.

Despite the opposition of King Charles, who remained personally attached to the policy of the Central Powers, Rumania would have entered the lists on the side of Russia at the outbreak of the war if it had not been for the general belief in a decided German victory prevalent at that time.

Following the battle of the Marne and after the fall of Lemberg, when the Russian Army was in the Carpathians, the pro-intervention agitation reached its height. Both the Government and the pro-Russian opposition wanted war. Relying upon this opposition, a noisy and systematic campaign, resisted by the Socialists alone, was begun to influence public opinion and was assisted by the yellow press. The Government began negotiations and endeavored to supply itself with the necessary hospital supplies and munitions that it lacked.

Nevertheless, Rumania did not enter the war. In the first place it was unable to obtain necessary munitions. The Entente Powers had too little for themselves and consequently could not supply Rumania with any. The Central Powers, suspicious of Rumania's attitude, also failed to furnish any.

A second reason for Rumania's failure to enter the war was Russia's refusal to satisfy Rumania's territorial aspirations at that time. Our Government demanded the entire Hungarian region between the Carpathians and the Theiss, the greater part of Bukowina, including Czernowitz, and the major portion of the Banat, altogether a territory of 127,000 square kilometers. But Russia would not agree to this. It demanded for itself that part of Northern Transylvania populated by Hungarians, and moreover had the intention of giving the Banat to the Serbs, who claimed it for themselves. Russia evidently wished to control the Southern Carpathians and to come closer and closer to the border of Greater Serbia. I believe, however, that the main reason for the failure of the negotiations to result in a formal agreement regarding Rumanian intervention is to be found in the fact that Russia only attached a secondary importance to Rumania's military assistance, because it thought it could induce Bulgaria to line up on its side, and because at that time the question of persuading Italy to enter the war was the principal object of the policy of the Entente Powers.

The entrance of Italy was regarded as a decisive factor that would automatically entail the intervention of Rumania. It would seem as if the Italian diplomats knew how to strengthen this illusion of the Entente.

"Grant my demands," said Italy to its present allies, "and I promise as your reward the entrance of Rumania into the war as a natural result."

At any rate, one thing is certain. The conditions under which Italy entered the war caused a great disillusionment on our part. The official press adopted an ironical tone, but the statesmen were wild. There were cries of treason. Italy was said to have used the credit due to

its close relations with Rumania merely for its own advantage without paying any attention to Rumania's desires. This is the situation that explains why Rumania did not enter the war simultaneously with Italy. After the Russian front had been broken through at Gorlice and on the Dunajec, Russia was ready to grant all the demands of the Rumanian Government, but at that time even the most outspoken pro-Russian Rumanian could not approve participation in the war, as the danger was too great and too apparent. Since that time the action of the Rumanian interventionists has seemed more like a bluff than an effort with a serious object. But people have asked why Rumania has not entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria.

Such an intervention is not impossible in itself. The fact that in Rumania cooperation with the Germans and the Hungarians would not please the people is of little importance. We may safely say that the idea of war is in general unpopular throughout the entire country, not only with the workers, but also with the bourgeois, and that only the bureaucracy, the officers and the intellectuals want war. Indeed, this does not prevent the pro-Russian Rumanians from representing the Rumanian people as ready for war and in favor of the Entente. The King and the Government would not have any great difficulty in forcing the country into the war on the side of Germany, just as the Bulgarian Government did, despite the fact that the latter had to contend with a strong opposition on the part of the political parties and the people, and was not held back even by the provocation of revolts.

Other reasons prevented a war with Russia. First was the fear of Russian revenge. Once upon a time, after the Crimean War, Rumania held Bessarabia and Russia took it back by force twenty years later. And besides, the principal argument of the Russophile party in Rumania that wants to enter the war on the side of Russia against Austria-Hungary does not consist in the fact that the Rumanians living in Russia are perhaps better treated than those who have

settled in the Hapsburg monarchy, as just the opposite is true. It is a question of another motive that has nothing to do with the alleged sympathy of the Rumanian Boyars with French democracy, and that is that in the case of the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary Rumania would not be menaced by a war of revenge after it succeeded in annexing Transylvania. A Rumania that tried to conquer Bessarabia through a war would resemble a child who while walking with his governess one day was rude to an adult and consequently did not dare to go upon the street alone afterward.

In order to defend itself from Russia, Rumania would simply have to join hands with Germany and Austria, because a treaty guaranteeing its independence would not be sufficient nowadays. Such treaties have lost all their value through this war. There is another reason that explains the neutrality of Rumania: Germany no longer contemplates an offensive in Russia, espe-

cially not in Bessarabia, and thus Rumania has as little military importance for Germany today as she had for Russia when the latter was winning victories. I do not believe in the probability of Rumania acting with Russia this Spring, as that would only be possible in the case of a complete change of the strategic situation in Macedonia. And such a change really has only a hypothetical value. For this reason I believe that in the course of further developments, which may be decisive for our Government, Rumania will remain neutral. Naturally, it would be going too far if we laid down this proposition as an absolute certainty. The logic that generally rules in the conduct of individuals is very frequently lacking in the decisions of Governments. But there is one thing I dare assert, and that is that the Socialist workers will do their duty in every case and will maintain their policy of neutrality under all circumstances.

The Passing of the Clan MacTavish

By K. D. M. S., Jr.

She passed as the ships of England passed
 In days of long ago!
 'Twas a listing deck and leaning mast
 That settled slow from the cannon's blast,
 When the raider boarded her at last
 To strike his final blow!

She sank as the ships of England sank
 While yet the world was young!
 For her slaughtered seamen, rank on rank,
 Had died on the boat-deck's bloody plank,
 And the shattered strakes beneath her drank
 The sea with thirsty tongue!

She went as the ships of England will
 When unborn worlds are old!
 For her little guns, perforce, were still,
 And the fireroom began to fill,
 'Till the damaged engines felt the chill
 Of death within her hold!

She played the game as the English play,
 Regardless of the cost!
 When the Nations answer Yea or Nay,
 At the bar where Fair and Foul must weigh,
 To a God of Wrath on Judgment Day,
 What man will say she lost?

International Status of the Pope

By Karl von Stengel

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AS long as the Pope was the sovereign of the Papal States there could be no question that, as the head of an independent Commonwealth, he was fully qualified to exercise all the rights and privileges of his position among the family of nations. Nevertheless, the international status of the Pontificate in reality depended less on the fact that the Pope was sovereign over a rather unimportant section of Italy than that he was ruler over a religious organization stretching throughout the whole world. In many quarters this fact stamped the Papal Office as decidedly of an international character. Since the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages developed from a purely religious body into a powerful factor in world politics, this fact lent weight to the claim for international prerogatives.

Many things marked the acceptance of the Pope's international status in the past. For instance, the Papal Nunciatures and Legations were always accorded the utmost consideration, although frequently the representatives of the head of the Church were concerned in matters dissociated from their actual missions. In the diplomatic corps they occupied foremost positions.

But a change came when the Pope lost his worldly rulership through the Italian Government's taking possession of the last of the Papal territories in September of 1870. To be sure, it was not intended to divest the Pope entirely of his international position. The international character of the Catholic Church itself was against any such procedure. Furthermore, in all countries with considerable numbers of people devoted to the Church there was a manifest desire that the Pope should become the subject of neither the Italian Nation nor any other Commonwealth, but should discharge his exalted office with the dignity of complete independence.

Shortly after Sardina in 1860 took possession of the greater part of the Papal States, and later, when in March, 1861, Cavour proclaimed Rome the capital of a united Italy, the question arose as to how the international status of the Pope was to be regulated under the changed conditions. The Italian Government, which hoped to effect an agreement with the head of the Church, worked out a plan which contained the fundamental points later incorporated in the law of guarantees. According to this draft the Pope was to be looked upon as a sovereign, even though without domain, and his person in consequence of this was to be inviolate and beyond any jurisdiction whatever. It was also the purpose to assign to the Pope such property and other means as by general agreement should be considered consonant with the dignity of the Holy Chair. These possessions were to be free of all taxation and exempt from all political influence of the Government.

In addition, ambassadorial privileges were assured the Pope, and among other clauses was the guarantee of inviolability of person, which likewise covered the representatives so long as they did not overstep their ecclesiastical missions. In all matters pertaining to his calling as head of the Church the Pope was to be free to consult with whomsoever he desired should come to him for that purpose. Legislation was contemplated with a view to obtaining the Pope's renunciation of any claim to worldly rulership. Diversity of opinion made it desirable that the plan should be placed before the Catholic powers for their mediation.

It was the task of Cardinal Santucci to lay the proposition before Pope Pius IX., who by no means placed himself in entire opposition to the matter. The tentative arrangement, however, went to pieces through the determined opposition of Cardinal Antonelli.

When the Italian Government saw

itself compelled to take possession of the rest of the Papal territory and the City of Rome, in 1870, one more effort was made to come to some agreement with the curia, or, at any rate, to obtain its silent consent to the occupation. But here again the effort met with failure, as the Papal Court declared that if it agreed to the plan proposed the authority of the Pope would be nil. The dignitaries of the Church were especially wrought up over the fact that not only had Rome been joined to the Italian States, but it had, furthermore, been chosen as the capital of the kingdom and the seat of Government. It is very doubtful, however, if, leaving Rome out of the question, this would have sufficed to bring about a reconciliation between the curia and the Italian Government, since the absorption of the Papal States without Rome already was considered a painful encroachment and a serious attack upon the status of the Pope.

Just as it was impossible for the curia and the Italian Government to come into an agreement, so also there was no chance to attain this result through the mediation of interested states that were to find a way to define the position of the Pope. Under these circumstances nothing was left for the Italian Government but to designate the independence of the Pope, as was subsequently done with the law of guaranty of May 13, 1871.

In those early days the idea of Italian nationalization centred in a political understanding, but, as shown by Machiavelli in his own time, Papal authority and secular rulership did not harmonize with the national aspirations of the Italian people.

That the Catholic Church in Italy is influenced by the currents affecting the Italian people has been shown in the most striking manner by the fact that at the outbreak of the present war with Austria the clergy in overwhelming numbers took the side of those favoring hostilities. And Pope Benedict XV. himself, while to all outward appearance maintaining the strictest neutrality, gave permission for the Roman clerical no-

bility of the Papal Guard to enter the Italian Army.

In view of the historical development in Italy there is slight reason to believe that the ecclesiastical power stands any chance of being restored to anything resembling its former status, no matter what may be the changes in store for the Italian people as a result of the present war. As a matter of fact, any attempt to revive the temporal authority of the Pontiff would be fraught with such serious consequences as to injure his position as it is today. Neither is it to be considered practical to assign to the head of the Church a territory outside Italy where the Papal rule would hold entire sway. The problem would remain unsolved in view of the fact that Rome for once and all is identified absolutely with the development and position of the Catholic Church. Its central importance in the affairs of the church following is such that to transplant the seat of the curia to another country would merely complicate the situation further.

Granted that this world war has brought up again the so-called Roman question, it is, nevertheless, entirely proper to look for its solution apart from what the one-time temporal rule of the Pope may have to do with the situation. Whatever inquiry is to be made regarding an independent, secure position of the Pontiff in the future must be conditioned on something like what obtains today.

It is correct to say that nations alone can exercise international prerogatives, and for that reason it seems a matter of course that since the Catholic Church is not a secular state it would be difficult to accord to the Pope an international status in the society of nations. In his capacity as head of the Church the Pontiff does not occupy a position analogous with what falls to the ruler of a nation. Nor is there any reason to claim such a position for the Pontiff. The most to be expected is that he be accorded such rights as will establish beyond peradventure his independence, liberty, and inviolability. The identical international status given to nuncios and Papal representatives in general natu-

rally would be accorded the head of the Church himself.

It is to be understood, in view of the development that has taken place during the past century anent the relationship between Church and State, that the Catholic Church cannot be indifferent as regards the present and future status of the Pope. In some respects it is for the Church to bring about conditions that will make for Papal independence and freedom of action.

Then, again, every Commonwealth containing any considerable number of Catholics must reckon with the Papal influence on its subjects. This concerns equally those countries where the separation of State and Church is most in evidence. An example is afforded in the important rôle played by the Catholic Church in the United States of North America. It is to the interest of all States with many Catholic subjects to make certain the independence of the head of the Church. It is also to be remembered how the stay of the Popes at Avignon affected both the Church and Germany.

Since the Church, then, is unable to regulate the international status of the Pope, and since the curia does not consider the Italian law of guaranty sufficient in itself to secure the full liberty and independence of the Pontiff, there appears to be an opportunity for perfecting an international agreement that will assure the Holy See that the legal conditions will be adhered to. Of course, it will not be possible to proceed except with the sanction of the Pope, as no new rule could possibly be forced upon him.

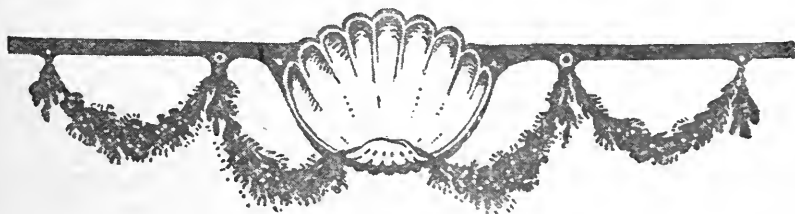
It is, of course, a fact that up to the present time the curia has held resolutely to its position of "Restitutio in integrum," and it may be extremely

doubtful if for this reason the Papal Court would consent to any international regulations that would nullify the erstwhile claims.

Apart from what the Pope and his advisers might desire, it is a question what States should participate in any such move as outlined, and especially what States should become the initiating factors. Granted that the curia would lend its consent, Austria-Hungary and Germany would, at the conclusion of a victorious war, undoubtedly be prepared to aid the Catholic Church to the best of their ability. Beyond question such a move would materially strengthen the influence of the Teutonic element with the followers of Catholicism and the Church itself.

On the other hand, it is to be doubted if the Entente powers are willing or prepared to take up the question of new international regulations for the Holy See. Italy may at once be considered beyond the range of participation, judged from past happenings. Russia, always antagonistic to the Roman Catholic Church, would hardly care to exert itself in anything affecting regulations making for the international security of the Pope. France, "eldest daughter of the Church," would scarcely go further than to show a friendly interest in the proceedings. And that England would make much of an effort in behalf of the Pontificate there are few who will believe.

Looking at the problem from whatever direction, it becomes more and more apparent that there are insurmountable obstacles in the way, and the situation as it is will most likely continue for a good while to come. The best that can be done now is to await the end of the war and observe what effect the changed conditions among the nations will have on the Church and the Papal question.



Why Italy Went Into the War

By G. F. Guerrazzi

This illuminating explanation of Italy's part in the great conflict, now first published, was written by Signor Guerrazzi, an influential Italian scholar and publicist, in the form of an open letter to the American people through his friend David Lubin, founder of and delegate from the United States to the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. *CURRENT HISTORY* presents practically the whole of this brilliant and timely monograph to the American public in two installments.

I.

EVER since the first shots were fired I have been an ardent partisan of Italian intervention, and have worked with all my powers toward that end. I felt sure that you would not have understood my point of view, and consequently would not have approved it; and it is painful to find one's self in disaccord with those one loves and esteems as I love and esteem you. I now write not only to comply with your wish for information, but also because I wish to place before you the reasons which have guided me in this matter.

The opinion which I came to from the very first moment when Austria and Germany, confident in their strength and moved by greed of power and wealth, defied the world, is the opinion now held by the vast majority of Italians. Therefore I feel that in writing to you I am speaking on behalf of my country to that large section of your compatriots who, under the influence of humanitarian ideals, may be inclined to blame Italy for entering the field against two nations which for thirty-three years had been her political allies.

A BRIEF RETROSPECT

The reasons which justify this action, and which I wish to summarize, go a long way back, and it will therefore not be possible for me to be as brief as I should wish.

Although I presume that the main outlines of recent Italian history are fairly well known in America, I must, nevertheless, give a rapid glance backward.

Italy, in the eighteenth century, had bold and original thinkers and illuminated rulers, and was well prepared to receive

the new ideas brought forth by the French Revolution which the sword of Napoleon had triumphantly asserted throughout Europe. The history of modern Italy dates from Napoleon; it was then that a new spirit ran through the peninsula. An active and high-minded middle class arose in the different sections of the country. The Italians who, during long years of servitude to foreign masters, had grown unaccustomed to arms, fought under Napoleon and fought with valor. A national conscience was thus formed which, nourished by the traditions of a twice glorious past, spread so rapidly that not even the fall of the Empire and the restoration of the old régime could stifle it. Independence from foreign rule, political unity, civil and religious liberty, and a system which would conserve these blessings by abolishing once and for all the obsolete privileges of the nobility and the clergy—these were the ardent aspirations of the Italians. Our revolution was, therefore, national, liberal, anti-clerical, and democratic. Now Austria always was and still is the absolute negation of nationality, of freedom in all its aspects, and of democratic institutions.

AUSTRIAN DOMINATION

Austria had domineered in Italy prior to the French Revolution, and on the fall of Napoleon resumed its authority there. It exercised direct sovereignty over our most wealthy provinces (Lombardy, Venetia, Trent, Istria, and Dalmatia) and over all the other States, both small and large, into which Italy, for her misfortune, was then divided, Austria exercised a preponderating influence, inter-

fering directly in their domestic policy. As a result, all attempts of Italian liberals to introduce even the mildest political innovations were ruthlessly punished by Austria and by her Italian satellites, including the Church of Rome. From 1815 to 1859 the history of Italy is one long story of oppression, of exploitation, of merciless persecution, of martyrdom, and of tears. None of the Italian Princes dared to rebel against the will of Austria, whose Government, by means of an elaborate network of spies, was informed minutely of the most secret aspirations of the Italian Courts.

ITALY LIBERATED

The House of Savoy, which ruled over Piedmont and Sardinia, at last stepped forward and, conspiring with Italy's liberators, from Mazzini to Garibaldi, secured the unity and independence of the country. As a result of the will of the people, freely expressed by means of plébiscites, Italy constituted herself a nation under a liberal and democratic régime.

This result, the aspiration and the torment of so many generations of Italians, was attained not only by a series of internal wars and revolutions, but also by three wars against Austria. The first war, waged in 1848-49 by little Piedmont, assisted by the armed forces of almost all the Italian States, ended in defeat. The second war, waged in 1859 in alliance with France, was victorious, but had to be brought to a sudden close owing to the threatening attitude assumed by Prussia toward France. As a result of this war Piedmont acquired possession of Lombardy, while with bloodless revolutions the peoples of Tuscany, Emilia, and other Italian States spontaneously placed themselves under the sceptre of the House of Savoy. The third war against Austria was fought by Italy in alliance with Prussia, to deliver from Austrian rule Trent and the Adriatic provinces.

PRUSSIA BREAKS FAITH

Italy could then have acquired those territories without striking a blow, for Austria, alarmed at the attack made on her by Prussia, offered to surrender them,

through the mediation of France, as the price of Italian neutrality. But Italy refused the bargain and remained faithful to the treaty which bound her to Prussia. She entered the field without hesitation. Prussia, however, under the leadership of Bismarck, after inflicting two crushing defeats on Austria, broke faith, and, regardless of the interests of her ally, made a separate peace with the common enemy before Italy had been able to attain her ends. We were thus left in the lurch to face the whole strength of the powerful Austrian Army. It was Prussian faithlessness which stopped Garibaldi's triumphant progress when only a few miles from Trent, and which checked the advance on Trieste of General Cadorna, the father of the soldier now in command of the armed forces of Italy.

Thus Italy, despite the brave fight she had put up, found herself betrayed and abandoned, and had to submit to the humiliation of receiving from France, to whom they had been ceded by Austria, only a part of the Italian territories then under Austrian rule, i. e., Venetia and a part of Friuli. Austria remained in possession of the whole of the province of Trent, of Eastern Friuli, of Istria, and Dalmatia.

AN UNSAFE FRONTIER

The new boundaries thus fixed for Italy were neither those marked out by nature nor by ethnic conditions, and were entirely unsatisfactory from a strategic standpoint. The gates of Italy remained in Austrian hands and the Italian coast of the Adriatic was left exposed to attacks from Austria, whose position on that sea is made exceedingly strong by the innumerable harbors and natural defenses of the Dalmatian, Croatian, and Istrian coasts, which face the Italian shores. Had she not been betrayed by Prussia, Italy could have secured a safe frontier, either by continuing the war or by negotiating for peace jointly with her ally. The wretched frontier which we were forced to accept in 1866 has ever since weighed as a curse on the whole course of our foreign policy, reacting adversely on our home politics and restricting our freedom and independence.

Despite the obstacles which France

had placed in the way of the Italian occupation of Rome, Italy remained until 1870 under the political and economic influence of that country which, for a century, had set us standards in political and intellectual matters. Nor did this influence cease with the occupation of Rome. After Sedan, when France proclaimed the republic, Garibaldi, at the head of hundreds of Italians, had rushed to her defense, and in spite of the intrigues of the Clerical Party French influence never died out in the peninsula, deep-rooted as it is in sentiment and tradition.

The French defeat of 1870 and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine so deeply wounded the spirit of that noble nation that Bismarck soon had to count with the ardent and inextinguishable longing for "revanche." Alarmed at the surprising rapidity with which France revived from so crushing a blow, he began to cast around for a means to protect from this danger the empire he had created. He hesitated whether to fall on France once more before she had fully recovered, or whether to induce her to devote her energies to new enterprises, while at the same time compassing her political isolation. The Iron Chancellor at last decided in favor of the latter plan. He saw that Italy was the natural ally of France, and he began straight away to sow discord between the two nations. For this purpose he made use of Tunis, which the preponderating economic interests of Italy, the large number of Italian immigrants, and the proximity to the coasts of Sicily and Sardinia marked out as a legitimate object of the aspirations of the Italian Government and people. Bismarck urged France to occupy Tunis, while at the same time encouraging Italy to resent such occupation.

The French Government eagerly seized an opportunity to salve, by colonial expansion, the pride, so cruelly wounded by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. Regardless of Italian claims, the republic occupied Tunis, proclaiming it a French protectorate in 1881.

The outburst of indignation in Italy was intense, for Tunis had long been looked upon almost as an Italian prov-

ince. It seemed as though Bismarck had succeeded in his plan of dividing forever the two great Latin nations. But this was not to be.

IRREDENTIST MOVEMENT

A liberal internal policy had made it possible for the more ardent patriots to start a movement for the recovery of the "unredeemed" provinces, a movement which the Conservative Party had always checked. This agitation, and the tolerant attitude of the Italian Government toward it, gave rise to lively remonstrances and threats on the part of Austria. The result was that hatred of Austria and sympathy with the sufferings of the subject Italian populations took precedence over resentment at the French occupation of Tunis. Moreover, the policy of France tended to appease Italy and secretly favored her designs on Austria. The renewal of the commercial treaties, which occurred about this time, afforded an opportunity for strengthening Franco-Italian friendship, which was regarded with favor by the Governments.

Bismarck clearly saw danger ahead, and set to work to avert it. Acting in concert with Austria, he set going a diplomatic and press campaign, alternating flattery with undisguised threats, and by clever intrigues, of which he was a consummate master, he succeeded in obtaining, as a first result of his policy, that the King and Queen of Italy should signify their disapproval of the anti-Austrian agitation by paying an official visit to Vienna, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. There King Humbert, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of the Austrian Court, even went so far as to appear in the white uniform of an Austrian Colonel.

AUSTRIA'S RECORD

Thirty-three years have passed since those sad days, yet I cannot remember them without indignation. To understand the grief and anger which took possession of us you must bear in mind what Austria stood for to the Italians. She was our age-long oppressor, who for so many generations suffocated in Italian blood all our national aspirations.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Latest Portrait of British Minister of Munitions, From a Painting by
Augustus John for the Red Cross



GENERAL CHARLES ROQUES

New War Minister of France, Successor to General Gallieni

And this was still recent history for those who, like myself, had grown up amid the men who still bore on their bodies the marks of Austrian ferocity. Moreover, Austria still held under her cruel yoke a large Italian population which longed to join the mother country. Austria was the implacable enemy of those principles of nationality, of liberty, of democracy in the name of which Italy had rearisen. I was a very young man at that time, but I shall never forget the bitter, angry tears which we then shed at what seemed to us, and what was in effect an effort to extinguish the sacred flame of poetry, of pure idealism, which had led our fathers along the steep and rugged paths they had trod through long years of imprisonment, often leading to the scaffold, through poverty, the sufferings of exile, and the hardships of the battlefield, in order to give us a country independent of foreign rule, to secure for us liberty of conscience and freedom of action. The King of Italy seemed to have forgotten all this, and we saw in his act the profanation of all we held most sacred.

The rising generation of young Italy grew up under the shadow of these events.

ALL IDEALISM REPRESSED

Perhaps the most serious of all the evils inflicted on Italy by German policy has been this moral depression, for it banished all idealism from Italian politics just at a time when we had to face the gravest political and social questions. Now that all public expression of the sentiments and ideals to which Italy owed her revival was severely repressed the more daring spirits among our youth sought relief by taking part in sterile conspiracies. Another martyr was added to the Italian cause when the young student of Trieste, Guglielmo Oberdan, was hanged in December, 1882. During the ensuing ten years we young men more than once dreamed of making an armed raid on the unredeemed provinces, raising them against Austria, inducing Italy to liberate them, or at least making impossible the renewal of what seemed to us a monstrous and sacrilegious alliance.

But the spell had been broken! Years

passed; our ranks were constantly thinning, and even the best of us were compelled to judge things from a more positive standpoint. Skepticism became prevalent, and the young generation grew up in a dull and disintegrating atmosphere of materialism. The ground was prepared to receive on the one hand the evil seed of socialism, on the other the yet more noxious weed of corrupt and parasitic business.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

The direction thus given to our foreign policy was injurious to Italy not only politically but also economically. Its first result was a blow to Italian prestige. The Clerical Party in Austria would never allow the Emperor to come to Rome to return the visit paid him by our King. In the second place, our super-cautious diplomacy was so upset by the French occupation of Tunis and by the complex German intrigues which forced Italy into the Triple Alliance that it failed to seize the opportunity offered by England for collaborating with her in the occupation of Egypt. And this was no small loss.

When the Triple Alliance was ratified in May, 1882, the economic policy of Italy had for many years been one of friendship with France. French capital had financed our revolutionary wars and had largely contributed to build our railways and develop our infant industries. French markets were the natural outlet for Italian exports. A clause in the treaty expressly stipulated that the Triple Alliance was to be kept secret, and this had probably been inserted by Italy so as to safeguard her friendly economic relations with France. But such secrecy did not fall in with the views of Bismarck, whose main purpose in favoring the alliance was to bring about a Franco-Italian rupture. Therefore, with that supreme contempt which he always cynically professed for fidelity to treaties, he made no scruple of referring to the alliance in the Reichstag, only twenty-two days after the treaty had been ratified. His example was soon followed by the Austrian Minister.

Great was the irritation caused in France by this announcement, not only

among the public, but also in Government circles, more especially as the republic had clearly shown her sincere desire to be on friendly terms with Italy. The French always suspected that the alliance concealed aggressive intentions, and they determined to show their displeasure by all the means in their power.

AN ECONOMIC CRISIS

French banks closed their doors against Italian paper, and when Crispi, on becoming Prime Minister, tried to parry these blows by a visit to Bismarck, designed to accentuate the German alliance, France broke off the negotiations then in progress for renewing the commercial treaties with Italy. Indeed, it is said that only the intervention of the English fleet prevented the French from making an attack on our military port of Spezia. Burning with indignation, France renewed with redoubled energy her attack on our still feeble economic life. High protective tariffs caused our exports to that country to fall by 50 per cent., while the rate of exchange rose against us by leaps and bounds, and the artificial depreciation of Italian Government stock on the Paris Bourse was fatal to our credit, both public and private. This led to a truly terrible economic crisis, during which hundreds of thousands of Italians were driven by hunger to emigrate.

A shameful moral crisis supervened to aggravate the situation. Frauds in the issue of paper money were brought to light (1891-92) and the scandal involved many parliamentarians who had availed themselves of their political position to exploit the banks. Giolitti, then for the first time President of the Council, criminally attempted to save the parties involved and to avail himself of the knowledge he possessed to strengthen his own political position. He was swept away by a storm of popular indignation, and it seemed that his political career had closed. Both King and Parliament lost prestige with the country.

ABYSSINIAN ADVENTURE

The Giolitti Ministry had wisely labored to renew friendly relations with France. On its fall, Crispi was called to

the Government, and hostilities recommenced more embittered than ever. His imprudent policy gave France many opportunities to injure us. Inflamed by patriotic pride, Crispi often failed to measure his policy by the moral and economic potentiality of the country. He allowed himself to be carried away by dreams of a colonial policy in the Red Sea when a much more modest program was alone suited to a country still involved in grave economic difficulties and unprepared for colonial expansion.

Egged on by French agents, the Negus of Abyssinia raised difficulties as to the interpretation of a treaty. The impetuous attitude of Crispi envenomed the dispute, and the country found itself involved in a war which it had neither desired nor foreseen, and which was conducted to suit the personal interests of prominent parliamentarians. The result was that in spite of heroic fighting on the part of our troops, the Italians were defeated at Adua, (March, 1896.) Crispi fell, and neither the country nor the Government had the energy to repair defeat by subsequent victory.

The loss of military prestige aggravated our profound moral and economic depression. Nations are intolerant of hunger when accompanied by humiliation, and in 1898 the people rose in open revolt from one end of the peninsula to the other. Severe repressive measures followed, and short-sighted reactionary coercion laws were enacted. This intolerable state of things gave rise to the moral environment which led to the assassination of King Humbert in 1900.

AN UNNATURAL ALLIANCE

You may be inclined to think that I have an exaggerated tendency to attribute all the ills which have befallen Italy since 1881 to the German alliance. Well, I admit that political and social phenomena are complex, and that we cannot account for the distressing events which have hampered Italian development during the past thirty years by merely pointing to Germany. Nevertheless, it is my deliberate opinion that we should have avoided many evils and been better prepared both morally and economically to

face those which could not be avoided had we not entered the Triple Alliance. By veering round toward Austria and Germany we avoided the paths familiar to our thinkers, our men of science, our merchants, our bankers. We abandoned markets accustomed to our products, and, what was much more serious, we were false to our traditions, to our history. The roads leading to Austria and Germany were not those trodden by Mazzini, by Victor Emmanuel, by Garibaldi, by Cavour. We had experienced the fruits of German friendship in 1866, and had come out worsted; yet we allowed ourselves to be again inveigled within the circle of German ambitions and intrigues.

WHERE DID ITALY COME IN?

As you know, Germany and Austria have not hesitated to use the most insulting language toward Italy. Of the equity and propriety of such vulgar abuse you Americans, accustomed to the dignity befitting a great nation, may be allowed to judge. But among other statements they have ascribed the recent prosperity of Italy to the friendship of the Central Empires. I will therefore try to show the kind of benefits we have received from these allies during the past thirty years.

In the first place, the Triple Alliance was not freely entered into by Italy to promote and protect her interests. The alliance was forced on us when German intrigues had alienated us from France and consequently somewhat cooled our cordial relations with England. It was forced on a country which as a result of Bismarck's action in 1866 (described by our eminent statesman, Ruggero Bonghi, as "the most disgraceful one could imagine") had been left with open frontiers and an unprotected sea coast, completely at the mercy of her age-long oppressor, Austria. The means to which Bismarck then had recourse to bend our Government to his will were the same which have again recently been tried with us, i. e., threats, intimidation, a venal press campaign, an intricate network of spies, the acquisition of interested support in Government circles.

AN EFFECTIVE THREAT

On the whole, our governing classes (to their honor be it said) were highly reluctant to enter into an alliance the moral monstrosity of which was obvious, and which they foresaw would be disastrous to our relations with France. The threat which finally overcame all hesitation was that of reopening the Roman Question, which Italy had reason to consider definitely settled by the enactment on her part of the Law of Guarantees. Nevertheless, the threat seemed serious and the danger imminent, and Lutheran Germany went so far as to offer a safe asylum to the Pope and his Court at Fulda during the conference of the powers which was to have reconsidered the position of the Roman Pontiff.

The Italian Government was thus virtually coerced into the alliance, which we had to accept in the form proposed by the Central Empires. Indeed, it was as much as our Foreign Minister, Mancini, could do to safeguard our internal independence from a clause formulated at Vienna which aimed at binding our Government down to a conservative policy. He failed to secure a mutual guarantee of the respective territories of the allies and of the equilibrium in the Mediterranean; in fact, the treaty was drawn up to favor solely the interests of the two predominant partners. Germany succeeded in detaching us definitely from France and from an anti-German policy, and Austria, having thus settled the Adriatic question, was free to carry out her policy in the Balkans.

ITALIAN HOPES DECEIVED

The immediate results of the alliance, as far as Italy was concerned, were moral and economic depression, military defeat, humiliation, hunger, and revolt. Nothing could compensate us for the sacrifice of our traditions on the altar of the alliance, but it was only natural that we looked for some compensation at least in the political and economic arena.

Those Italians who had honestly supported the alliance believed that our country would obtain some substantial advantages therefrom. They believed that by renouncing our claims to integrate our national frontiers we should at

least be able to live in peace with Austria on the Adriatic, and that she would abandon the policy of persecution by which she tried to denationalize the Italian provinces still subject to her rule. They hoped that Austrian intrigues in the Balkans would cease, and that those countries and the Adriatic would be open to the peaceable and loyal competition of both peoples. They thought that by eliminating a possible enemy the cost of armaments would be reduced, and that, in case of difficulties with Austria, Italy would have the support of the third powerful ally.

It was reasonable to suppose that our allies would assist us in our efforts to maintain our position in the Mediterranean, more especially as regards France. Some also cherished the hope that our peninsula, flung out like a huge jetty into the Mediterranean, would become a great centre for trade between Central Europe and the East and Africa to the advantage of all concerned. Moreover, it was thought that our allies would be likely to consider our strength and our prosperity as advantageous to themselves, and it therefore seemed reasonable to suppose that Germany more especially would be willing to give financial and economic support to Italy in the grave difficulties which the alliance had created for us.

All these hopes were destined, however, to bitter disappointment.

AUSTRIA AS AN ALLY

Prince von Bülow, in his book, "Imperial Germany," attributes to our Ambassador, Costantino Nigra, the opinion that "Italy and Austria can only be allies or enemies." The fact is that Austria was never so dangerous an enemy to Italy as when she was her ally. We vainly hoped that the alliance would insure tranquillity on our Austrian frontier, and Austria never ceased to persecute and oppress her Italian subjects, despite the fact that, in their anxiety not to embarrass the Italian Government, they had with great abnegation restricted their nationalist agitation within the limits allowed by Austrian law. Indeed, this had greatly weakened the agitation

on their behalf in Italy itself. Thus, Austria had attained the object she sought by the alliance; the nationalist movement for reclaiming the unredeemed provinces had died down. Yet she persisted in her odious system of stirring up race hatred between the various peoples subject to her rule, egging them on, the one against the other, favoring by any unjust and tyrannical means those ethnic elements which were anti-Italian.

Space will not allow me to make more than a brief reference to the truly heroic struggle of the Italians of Trent, the Upper Adige, Julian Venetia, and Dalmatia to maintain the civilization and traditions of their race against Germans, Slovaks, Magyars, and Serbo-Croatians. Nor will I dwell on the fact that most of our periodicals and other publications were prohibited in Austria, that a fierce economic war was waged against us in the Adriatic, and that only with enormous difficulty was it possible for us to maintain our relations with our ally on an even tolerable footing.

AN UNJUST DECREE

The persecution of Italians settled in Austria, who were not Austrian subjects, culminated two years ago, just after Italy had made important concessions to settle difficulties which had arisen in the Balkans, and when no other clouds were to be seen on the political horizon, by the so-called "decrees" of Prince Hohenlohe, Governor of Trieste. By a stroke of the pen, and without any warning, he dismissed some hundreds of Italians employed for long years past in the municipal, provincial, and Governmental administrations as workmen, clerks, business men, sea Captains, engineers, doctors, &c. Thus, people who had been settled in Trieste for years and years suddenly found themselves deprived of their means of subsistence and of the results of years of labor merely because they were the citizens of a friendly and allied country.

For years hardly a day has gone by but the papers have recorded some attack or provocation by the civil or military authorities of Austria against Italian citizens, territories, or interests. All this is amply proved by the works of

Virginio Gayda, Alessandro Dudan, and H. W. Stead, which show how odious and incorrigible has been the policy of the Hapsburgs toward Italy and the Italians.

You will doubtless remember that we had evidence of this inveterate antipathy of Austria for all things Italian when we were together at the International Agricultural Congress at Vienna in May, 1907. You will not have forgotten that when the initiative taken by our King for the foundation of the International Institute of Agriculture was discussed the profound aversion of the Austrians for Italy and her sovereign found clear expression in the remarks made by the President of the Austrian Agriculturists, Count Hohenblum. The fact is that loyalty, good faith, a sense of honor have always been absent in the dealings of Austria with her Italian ally.

ITALY THE ENEMY

Having by the alliance crippled Italy as an independent agent in Europe, Austria, strong in Germany's support, never renounced her designs of conquest in the Aegean Sea. The realization of this dream encountered two main obstacles in the opposition of Russia and Italy, the natural protectors of the young Balkan nations. As Russia was too formidable an adversary, Austria was always longing to pick a quarrel with Italy, who could count on no valid supporters, and whom Germany would willingly have deserted for a share in the booty.

For all these reasons Austria looked upon Italy as her natural enemy, and the clerical fanaticism which prevails in governing circles in Vienna envenomed the hatred originating in political rivalry. In Austrian military circles references to "the enemy" were understood to refer to Italy. Indeed, our country was openly referred to in these terms in certain military charts which were hung up in all Austrian barracks until a few years ago, when, as the result of a question asked in our Parliament, the name of Italy was covered by pasting over it a paper label. In short, during the thirty-three years of the alliance, the only quarter from which Italy really had to fear an attack was from Austria.

PLANS FOR INVASION

Thrice during the past few years the danger of such an aggression became acute. In 1905 the most authoritative organs of the Austrian press and eminent Austrian officials openly spoke of their intention of marching on Milan the following Spring. That this was no vain threat was made evident to me when I was in Vienna in 1907 by an authoritative and very well-informed person who added that the project was only abandoned because Austria had not yet completed one of her strategic railways leading to our frontier, and more especially because the Austrian General Staff had been unable to procure reliable information as to the efficacy of our heavy artillery.

Yet more threatening preparations for an attack on Italy were made toward the close of 1908. Austria had then mobilized her army for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Italy had resigned herself to this open violation of the status quo in the Balkans, which the Triple Alliance guaranteed, and had not even claimed those compensations in the Trentino which had been promised in such an event when the treaty was renewed in 1886. Despite this, when at the end of 1908 we were afflicted by the most terrible earthquake which history records, the occasion seemed favorable to our ally for assaulting us while her armies were still mobilized. The head of the Austrian General Staff, General Conrad, was determined on this course, which, however, the Chancellor, Count Aerenenthal, thought would be a political mistake. Count Aerenenthal was then in high favor owing to the success of his policy of annexation in the Balkans, and his views prevailed with the Emperor. The danger blew over for the time being.

Again, the Green Book, recently published by our Minister of Foreign Affairs, shows that we ran a grave danger of being attacked by Austria in the midst of our Lybian war, and when it will be possible to publish in full the history of that campaign it will be seen that most of the enormous expense we then had to meet was due not to the war itself but to the threats and restrictions placed by

Austria on our action against Turkey and to the danger of an attack which the military party at Vienna loudly advocated.

FORTIFYING AGAINST AN ALLY

Despite the alliance Austria spent much larger sums on strategic railways and other warlike preparations along our short frontier, on which she held magnificent natural positions, than she expended on the far longer and less naturally strong Russian frontier; and we on our side were compelled to spend far more in preparations against our ally, Austria, than against France.

Although Italy's attitude was constantly remissive, Austria's policy toward her never ceased to be insincere and hostile. At the Conference of London after the Balkan wars Italy was forced by Austria, against her wishes and her interests, to refuse a seaport to Serbia and to deprive Montenegro of Scutari, which she had won at the cost of so much bloodshed. We had to participate in the creation of that ridiculous Kingdom of Albania under the ineffable Prince de Wied; nor did this suffice, for we had to parry a whole series of Austrian intrigues to avoid being bottled up in the Adriatic at the mouth of the canal of Otranto.

THE RULING PARTNER

Such has been the Austrian alliance with Italy! Had the predominating partner, Germany, wished, she could easily have induced Austria to modify her attitude toward us, but she refrained from interfering when, indeed, she did not openly side with Vienna, as in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The fact is that the German alliance was even more disappointing in its results. Although, by Bismarck's wish, the equilibrium in the Mediterranean was not specifically guaranteed by the treaty, Italy nevertheless had a right to suppose that her alliance with the two powerful empires would strengthen her position and assist her expansion in that direction. Instead of this, the political and economic status of our country in the Eastern Mediterranean steadily declined. Before the alliance Italian commerce,

faithful to the glorious traditions set by the Italian republics, was active at Saloniki, Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, and throughout Asia Minor. The commercial language of those ports was Italian, a large proportion of the functionaries and contractors in Turkey and Egypt were Italians, as were also the physicians and chemists in the service of the pascias. Numbers of Italian families, grouped round the Franciscan missionaries, had been settled for generations in those countries, preserving intact their national traditions.

After the conclusion of the alliance Italy lost the valuable assistance of French finance, which instead helped the Greek merchant marine and Greek commerce. But our worst enemy in the Mediterranean was Germany herself, for while French, English, and Greek expansion was conducted on the basis of free and loyal competition, with the natural and normal diplomatic support of their respective Governments, our ally, Germany, fought our commercial development by very different means.

ECONOMIC PENETRATION

The hopes of German financial support were also destined to disappointment. When Crispi hinted at Berlin at Italian requirements, a German financial magnate hastened to Rome and proposed to Sonnino, who, luckily for us, was then Minister of the Treasury, to arrange for a loan to be guaranteed by handing over the administration of the customs of our leading seaports to Germany. True, a consortium of German bankers was formed to maintain the value of Italian Government bonds on the international exchanges, but again the advantage we derived therefrom is dubious, as it soon became an instrument for promoting German economic predominance in Italy.

The audacious and arrogant designs of Germany to establish her supremacy throughout the world have been too clearly illustrated by recent events to call for any words of mine. As a perspicacious business man and an enlightened student of economics you certainly have not failed to note the persistency with which Germany has availed herself

of every means within her power, even of the most unusual and artificial, to penetrate into the economic life of every country. But had this turbulent activity been confined to purely economic ends, had it been carried on within the limits of free competition, it would not have been so dangerous and intolerable to other nations even though assisted by such devices as bounties on exports, shipping subsidies, &c., which Germany has freely used as a means of undermining the most carefully planned protective tariffs. All these devices are undoubtedly injurious to the countries against whom they are devised; still they can be parried by other treaties, alliances, coalitions, and by internal protective measures. But the economic activity of Germany aimed at political as well as economic supremacy.

The tragic events of this war have shown that German agricultural and industrial enterprises in Belgium and France, German engineers, business men, and merchants, were but the forerunners of military invasion. Much is already known, and we shall learn yet more when the history of the German preparations

for this infamous war shall be written in full.

Italy had to learn that German friendship is yet more dangerous to national independence than German enmity. The multifarious activities of Germans in our country did not aim at honest co-operation in a common task, but took the form of economic exploitation; nor were they used to strengthen political ties on a basis of reciprocity and mutual independence, but to force us into a position of effective political subjection.

The means by which Germany worked to bring about the economic and political subjection of her ally have been carefully studied by two of our friends who were pioneers in the work for the International Institute of Agriculture, Maffeo Pantaleoni and Antonio de Viti de Marco. Other valuable works on this subject have been published by Ezio M. Gray, Dr. Giovanni Preziosi, and the Duke Colonna di Cesaro, a nephew of Sonnino's. Americans by consulting these works will find documentary evidence of the terrible power which Germany had acquired by various and devious means in Italy.

[To be concluded in June Issue]

Italian Humor of the War

[From L'Asino, Rome]

"But tell me, my Bulgarian friend, why did you go into the war?"

"For honor."

"Ah, I understand. Every one fights to obtain that which he does not possess."



Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of the current thought of all the warring countries, as represented by many of their leading writers and most influential periodicals.

The Reshaping of Mid-Europe

By H. N. Brailsford

An English article under the foregoing title in The Contemporary Review is devoted to a noteworthy German book, "Mitteleuropa," whose author, Dr. Friedrich Naumann, has voiced the new-born German ambition for a political and economic union of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria under Prussian leadership. Some of the more significant passages follow:

DR. NAUMANN'S argument for the creation of Mid-Europe is based on three considerations—power, security, and prosperity. The argument on power is the simplest of all:

All the combatants in this war feel instinctively that neither now nor in the future can powers of a small or moderate size hope to conduct high policy, (*grosse Politik machen.*) Our notions of magnitude have undergone a tremendous change since this war. Only very large States have now any significance of their own; the smaller survive by using the struggles of the larger for their own ends, or else they must ask permission, whenever they want to make any unusual movement. Sovereignty, in the sense of freedom of decision in the world's history, is now concentrated on a very few spots of the earth's surface. The spirit of wholesale trade and super-national organization has gripped politics.

Repugnant as this diagnosis may seem to liberal minds, it is, I think, a fair rendering of realities. With all our sympathy for little nationalities, we have taken great care not to be a little nationality ourselves. Independence is clearly a relative term, and only an omnipotent State could be absolutely sovereign. "Only in three places," says Dr. Naumann, elsewhere, "is sovereignty really exercised," (*wird es regiert,*) and these three capitals are London, New York, and Petrograd. The British Em-

pire, the United States, and Russia are all of them composite, supernational structures. They alone, in his definition, are, in the full sense of the word, world powers, which conduct their policy on the Continental scale and enjoy a real freedom of decision. There is, he thinks, no alternative between the world power and the planetary or satellite State, which must adjust its every movement to fit the revolutions of greater systems.

Besides these three world powers, Mid-Europe must be the fourth. Dr. Naumann leaves its limits carefully vague. He insists that its kernel must be a closer union of Germany with Austria-Hungary. To the elaboration of this union his book is wholly devoted, and it is only in stray passages that he hints at the subsequent adhesion of Bulgaria and Turkey, and in one place at the gradual crystallization around Mid-Europe of some of the smaller neutrals.

Dr. Naumann draws another argument, sinister, indeed, but terribly plausible, from the strategical conditions of this war. Trench warfare involves trench politics. Frontiers can no longer be an ideal line upon the map; they will be actual trenches which must follow the course of every boundary on which war is a possibility. It is a return to the Roman or Chinese wall, made this time of earth and barbed wire. There is probably no exaggeration here, and certainly the French are convinced that if they had drawn trenches before the war along the frontier, their border regions could never have been overrun. The lesson will not be lost on other peoples.

Dr. Naumann declares frankly that

the real meaning of the war lies in the struggle between two phases of capitalism, the obsolete but still powerful British phase of individualism in industry and commerce, and the more modern German phase of collective work and regulated commerce. Generalizations of this type seem to me, I confess, the merest impressionism. What he means, boldly put, is, of course, that we entered the war in the hope of destroying German trade. The play of conscious motive is never so crude as this among civilized peoples. But great industrial peoples cannot conduct war without reference to trade, and once war is declared considerations of trade will inevitably help to shape their policy.

The working of this factor on the German side is brilliantly illuminated by Dr. Naumann's argument. The new capitalism, of which he writes, is based upon the partial amalgamation of private businesses. It is organized in cartels, trusts, or syndicates, which conduct researches in common, purchase raw material in common, sell in the export market through common agencies, and allot to each business in the home market its own radius for sales. The larger the trust and the greater the home market which it can monopolize the greater is the economy from large production, and the greater, consequently, is its advantage in competing with the trade of other nations abroad. It follows (I am here supplying my own gloss on Dr. Naumann's argument) that there is a double advantage in linking up two national commercial systems, like the German and the Austrian. In the first place, you increase the horse power, so to speak, of the unified producing industry, and in the second place endow it with a wider internal market. In so far, then, as the war was *ism*. That German capitalism lay behind necessary for the foundation of Mid-Europe, it is possible to regard it as an expression of this new German capital-

the war, because it was bent on the economic exploitation of Turkey, was already a familiar idea to most of us. This new light on the economic conquest of Austria reveals a subtler thought, which is, one suspects, at the same time an afterthought.

At this critical point in his argument Dr. Naumann adroitly wraps his meaning in poetry. He writes with real eloquence on the German ideal of "common work" and collective industry, its "disciplined soul," its readiness to sink the individual self in the collective self, its belief in conscious and constructive reason as opposed to the blind struggle for existence of British competitive individualism. The plain prose of the argument is, however, that Austria is invited to enter, of her own will, the German industrial system. * * *

What reaction does the idea of Mid-Europe demand from the Entente? We certainly shall not watch the creation of Mid-Europe as our fathers watched the creation of the German Empire, with satisfaction and congratulation. But we shall make a grave mistake if we assume that it is inspired by an aggressive and hostile purpose. Its aim is not world dominion, but the conquest for Germany by combination of a place in the world side by side with the three existing super-national organizations—the British, the Russian, and the American. Its purpose is not the destruction of British wealth and empire, but rather the cultivation of a great German estate by elaborate intensive methods. It is a risky and disturbing project, because in the present mood of the world it is only too likely to invite reprisals and tariff wars, and to dig broader and deeper the trenches which divide us. Dr. Naumann himself anticipates this result, and predicts that we shall return to Mr. Chamberlain's schemes. How far this tendency shall go depends as much on us as upon the Germans.



The Spirit of Russia and the War

By Prince G. Lvoff

President of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union

As a publicist and social worker Prince Lvoff is highly regarded in Russian intellectual circles. The article here presented is translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the *Russkija Vedomosti* of Moscow.

THE war conflagration is not yet abating. The blaze of frightfulness is expanding, lighting up ever higher and wider the skies of the world, shooting its sparks ever further and further. New fires are bursting forth on every side. And when one asks how soon the victorious conclusion will come, there is no answer, for the end is not yet in sight.

Millions of strong and noble lives have been swept away; energy has been wasted and forces have been destroyed which would have lasted for decades, perhaps for centuries, of peaceful, industrious life. Colossal natural resources have been consumed, precious treasures accumulated by human genius have been demolished, which would have subsisted many generations of humanity. And still there is no end. This merciless destruction has naturally furnished some foundation for calling this callous and monstrous war a "war of exhaustion," and for regarding the measure of full exhaustion of its participants as the measure for the duration of the war.

But is it so? Has the war really become a merely physical contest, a war for the sake of war, destruction, victory, to end in the prostration of one's powers? This unimaginable exertion of Europe's civilized forces, these numberless sacrifices—are they nothing but mankind's self-slaughter? Is there not some higher creative force in control of this tremendous effort?

The reason why the end of the war has not yet come in sight is that only now does its real meaning commence to become clear through the black clouds of smoke. Only now it begins to grow apparent that it may last as long as it had already; that it may stop and blaze up again, but cannot end either in brutal conquest or in mutual exhaustion. It

can end only in the triumph of the world's creative spirits, which alone are capable of solving the fundamental problems in the lives of the nations. For this war is not waged for territorial aggression, it has not been started by one of the nations for the domination of the world. All these are but outward pretexts and outward forms for expressing the spiritual substance of the war. Its very intensity has shown that it originated and will terminate not in the realm of physical power, not in the fields of slaughter, not in general battles, but in higher, spiritual planes, in the victory of the highest moral forces.

It is not for machine guns and mortars to decide the issues of this struggle, for they are but themselves tools of the higher spiritual forces. The war will come to an end only when a way to transform the old order of life into a new one shall have been found, when humanity's spiritual efforts shall have been spent on the creation of a new life.

This war has separated the past from the present by a heavy curtain. Whenever and however it may come to an end, it is clear that we are through with the old order of things, and a new one will have to take its place. Even now, in the heat of bloody death, one can see the signs of the germinating new life. Along with the destructive energy there moves a creative energy, as there teems a new life along with death. It abates not, it subsides not, even at the front. On the contrary, that is the very place where it is coming into existence. The hands are in blood, the face is obscured in powder smoke, but there blazes in the soul a glowing love of country capable of bearing fruit. In the armies, as in a storage battery, there is being accumulated energy for a new life. And in this tempest of war, as in a tropical cyclone,

the air is saturated with the ozone of spiritual forces. When the armies return home there will be wings at their shoulders. Behind them they will leave not the years of war but the thousands of years of the old life, and before them there will rise the sun of the loftiest spiritual knowledge.

Cowardly, base souls tremble at the spectre of approaching shocks, in which they see the ruin of their personal prosperity. But the bankruptcy of their sordid materialism is nothing in comparison with the revolution that will take place in the human soul. Before it all previous revolutions will pale into insignificance. It will radically change the conditions of man's life, raising it to unprecedented altitudes. It will create a new earth and a new heaven.

A metamorphosis in the form of human life seems imminent after the war, but it will come, not as a result of conquests and military activities, but as a result of internal changes in the human intellect, as a result of an enhanced consciousness. Its beginning is already becoming evident. Does not the universal rise in the spirit of the nations

show it? To be sure, we are sometimes disturbed by dark spots on the screen of current events. But after looking into the substance of all of it one will perceive that these spots really belong to the cinematic film. On a rich soil, under a parching sun, there grows up along with the magnificent useful vegetation one of thorns and weeds. Thus in civilization the highest and lowest species grow side by side in human life, but under the influence of civilization the latter degenerates and makes room for the former.

The most tremendous straining of the world's spiritual and moral powers, that is what will terminate the horrors of war, that is the only way to a truly victorious end. And if the end of the great war is outside of the war, if it rests in the depths of the human consciousness, the responsibility for it should not be put on the shoulders of some exterior force, but where it properly belongs—in the consciences of all and every one of us.

We must all strain our spiritual powers and use them for the erection of a new consciousness, a new conscience, and a new life.

The Future of German Trade

By Dr. I. Jastrow

Professor of Political Economy in the University of Berlin

Writing in Zur Guten Stunde of Germany's future trade policy, Dr. Jastrow says:

NO incident in the present war has impressed the world more than the failure of the English plan of starvation. England took it for granted that her fleet and her influence would suffice to cut off all imports into the enemy's country. That is, what little would get past would be a negligible quantity. And now England sees that Germany can exist within herself. Nothing has proved more conclusive than this economic independence.

As one of the results of this many voices have been raised in support of the proposition that what has been ac-

complished as a matter of necessity during the war should be made a permanent thing when peace is brought about. At least, it is argued, we should keep on a permanent basis of exchange with our present allies. Those who speak thus, however, underestimate what we have been obtaining from other countries, and what we have been producing for the others. Germany's imports and exports in peace times amount to no less than 10,000,000,000 marks. To take such a huge sum from our economic life without feeling the effect would be impossible, nor would it be possible to find a way of substitution.

With the beginning of the war the Government wisely enough withheld the

monthly commercial statistics, but when the time comes for restoring the figures it will be found that during the passing months the foreign trade of Germany has been by no means so inconsequential as some would have us believe. Even with the enemy countries we have done a considerable business. When it came to supplying the important English textile industry with dyestuffs, conceded to be pre-eminently a German chemical product, by way of the neutral trade routes, it was quickly forgotten that there were severe laws prohibiting any trading whatever with the enemy, directly or indirectly.

The war has demonstrated beyond any fear of contradiction that of all the nations on earth Germany is the one to be injured the least of all through interference with foreign commerce. But it would certainly be the height of folly to assume on that account that with its present allies Germany could dispense with the rest of the world. Apart from the fact that no country and no group of countries can by any possibility live for themselves, such an isolation, even though economically possible, would reach far beyond the mere economic and commercial field of action and would result in situations little considered by those who speak so loudly of self-sufficiency.

At the same time there is a good deal to say for closer ties of trade between Germany and Austria-Hungary. And in view of the fact that the countries of Islam in their direst hour of need found support only in Germany and Austria-Hungary, it is certain that there will be some economic understanding between the Turkish Nation and the Central Powers. Here arises the question as to what special political form any trade rapprochement shall assume. The commercial policies of almost all countries are based on what is termed the favored-nation clause. The underlying thought is that when two countries whose frontiers join come to an agreement regarding customs duties and the like it shall be understood that no better terms than these are to be accorded to any other competing nation. Thus all countries up-

holding this system are on equal terms. This system, which originated with France and England in the sixties, was found so serviceable that when Germany and France settled their dispute in 1870 it was agreed that the Germans in France as well as the French in Germany were to be treated as considerately as the people of any other nation. That is the foundation of the much-quoted Article II. of the Frankfurt Peace Agreement, which says that either nation must treat the other according to the most-favored-nation clause.

The idea of a closer customs union between the Central European nations does not owe its origin to the present war. For about a decade the matter has been under consideration, but its practical application has been prevented by the fact that whenever Germany and the Dual Monarchy agreed on customs changes these identical changes would be claimed by other countries on the basis of the favored-nation clause. The question now is whether present trade policies make it possible for neighbors to show each other preferences.

The world war has established, for one thing, that it puts an end to international treaties. Even while this fact is of negative importance for the present, yet it has the advantage that new regulations may be established. The favored-nation agreement between France and Germany has come to a timely end. So also the treaties with the other warring nations become automatically suspended.

In the coming peace treaties it is very likely that the favored-nation clause will once more be recognized as current, but the form must be different from what it has been. When the great quarrel that now occupies the world is over it will not do to make peace with a view to oppressing any one in the domain of foreign trade. In each of the many peace treaties to be signed it must be stipulated that no nation, whatever the differences before, shall be treated otherwise than friendly nations are being treated. This, and nothing else, underlies the favored-nation clause, and this principle must be maintained.

In view of what the future will de-

cide, it is time for the allied nations of Central Europe to initiate a move for a commercial understanding that shall place Germany and Austria-Hungary in the clear light of what these countries need. Islam must be taken care of at the same time, so that she will not find her trade paths obstructed. All signs point toward even closer relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary. They will be economic competitors, but competitors that will aid rather than hinder mutual progress. As regards Turkey, they will be of one mind; due consideration will be given to climatic and cultural phases relating to the development of Islam. Germany and Austria-Hungary have no intention of taking the stand against Turkey which Russia, England, and France have taken. The "policy of partition," as it may be termed, will be done away with. Aside from some ports and coaling stations, a point not difficult to be agreed on,

where the countries of Islam now are free they must remain so. And wherever Islam's liberty has been wrongfully taken away an effort must be made for restoration.

Without excluding other nations we shall endeavor to encourage the closest sympathy with our present allies. The idea of mutual exchange shall be dominant. Each exchange will centre around a policy of give and take. It is not only that the cultural productions of the West confront the natural treasures of the East. From north to south there now stretches a wonderful trade belt. From the border of North Schleswig to the mouths of the united Euphrates and Tigris, even to the southernmost point of Yemen, the territory includes every kind of vegetation. To promote mutual trade along this great route is the purpose crystallized in the magic phrase, "From Hamburg to Bagdad."

Germany's Mental Isolation

By Patrik Haglund

Professor of Medicine, Stockholm

"What impressed you most deeply in Germany?" was the question put by the *Dagens Nyheter* to prominent Swedes who had recently visited that country. Professor Haglund wrote in reply: "The amazing ignorance of facts among the country people," adding:

THIS mental isolation is naturally caused by the censorship, which evidently is very clever in keeping all in ignorance of everything that might give rise to inconvenient reflections. That the intellectual means of communication between people can really be stopped like that is certainly imposing from the point of view of organizing capacity. One would hardly think it possible nowadays.

Anything more meagre than the German press I cannot imagine. Besides the official war news there was hardly anything but propaganda articles and, just at that time, numbers of paragraphs about the administration of law in Bel-

gium, which perhaps were read with satisfaction by the Germans, but which gave anybody with an ordinary sense of justice little more than a feeling of discomfort. And what kind of propaganda articles! At a railway station I bought the *Frankfurter Neueste Nachrichten*, to judge from its size and extensive sale by no means a small local newspaper. The whole of the first page was occupied by an article with the heading, in giant letters, "Assassination in War." In this article was put before an astonished world circumstantial evidence that ten or more Englishmen, prominent for their pro-German sympathies, who had died lately, had been done away with by the British Government.

This is only one instance. With such a press the ignorance of the people must, of course, be appalling. Thus a doctor expressed the greatest amazement when I told him that we only paid so and so

much for the German mark in Sweden, and he was quite dumfounded when, in reply to his question why we did anything so mad, I answered that we considered the mark not worth more. Even officers and doctors who had been to the fronts were absolutely ignorant of everything that had not happened in their immediate circle of action.

Berlin gives one an indescribable impression of war weariness. It is not only among the civilian population that this is evident; the soldiers, wounded or unwounded, have the appearance of being mentally and physically fatigued.

On the other hand, the position of the women seems to have undergone a change. Before the war the German women, with all their incontestable excellence, always appeared to me somewhat ridiculous in the way they "looked up" to every member of the stronger sex, even the most insignificant. Now they have an air of fearlessness and of conscious self-control. They give an impression of having realized what they now have to perform, of their new position in a community where in so many directions they are taking the place of men.

The Virtues of Militarism

By Maurice Révai

Former Hungarian Deputy

This serious defense of German military ideals appeared in the Revue de Hongroie, Budapest:

MILITARISM is not a German but a French invention, for it was during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars that the army acquired the organization and importance which have resulted in the German militarism of today. Further, as far as size and cost of armies go, Germany is far from occupying the first place. No one is ignorant that the biggest military power is Russia, and that in France the army in time of peace is larger than in Germany, not only in proportion to population, but absolutely, for France has re-established the three-year-service system, while in Germany and Austria-Hungary it was two years. Nor is it true that Germany has spent most on her army. England, without compulsory service, devoted much more money to armaments. While Germany is obliged by her geographical position to maintain a powerful land force, England for the same reason increases her naval power to a far greater extent than her army. In 1913 Germany spent 1,476,000,000 marks on her fleet and army, and England 1,521,000,000 marks on hers.

In Germany military expenditure av-

erages about \$5.20, and in England \$8 per head, of population. Yet the English adopted the ingenious notion of regarding as their motive in this war the danger of German militarism to the whole world. Our enemies assert that Germany has caused the war, and that if the Germans had not wished it they would not have made such careful preparations or spent so much money and their best energies in developing the power of the German Army to such a high degree. Our reply is that it is England, France, and Russia who have forced armaments on Germany; England forced Germany to arm by her policy of encirclement. And now the curious thing is that, while German militarism is blamed for the war, the complaint is made that the German example was not followed. The English press ceaselessly attacks the British Government on this score. How does it come about that this militarism which the year before was the cause of all evil is today worthy of being copied? It is simply that our enemies have now recognized that German militarism is a means of victory.

German militarism does not mean only military organization, preparation for the struggle, and concentration of all the warlike virtues, but also the spirit

which penetrates with the sentiment of duty all the strata of the German people, the love of country, the unshakable faith in the power of the nation, and the firm, whole-hearted determination to emerge victorious from the struggle. The German carries into civil life this spirit of militarism which has been inculcated in him in the barracks. Since everybody undergoes military service, this same spirit of order, this same exactitude, this same scrupulousness, this same readiness for self-sacrifice, reign in the public administration, in the school, the church, the courts, in the factory, the office, and the workshop, in the family, in fact, everywhere.

It cannot be said that such militarism is the enemy of civilization, since Bernard Shaw and Chesterton, Anatole France and Bergson, declare for it in the fervor of their patriotism. In this connection it is interesting to note the view of German militarism taken by an Englishman, who is, moreover, a Socialist, namely, Robert Blatchford, who in 1910 spent six weeks in Germany studying this militarism and publishing in the anti-German Daily Mail a series of articles with the definite object of inducing England to adopt compulsory military service.

"The German workman," he said, "is more sober, orderly, and intelligent than the English workman. He owes this largely to the military training he has received in his youth, which makes him a disciplined being, producing all the habits of cleanliness, order, and politeness. A military training teaches young men to live rationally, dress neatly, and acquire a taste for open-air exercise. It is a kind of physical culture, thanks to which he becomes accustomed to early rising and getting enough sleep. This education is as beneficial to the mind as to the physique; it rouses in a man a feeling of self-respect and gives him an agile body."

German militarism realizes what Cicero called the maximum accomplishment of duty, that is to say, the virtue which consists in putting all one's energies at the disposal of the community,

of subordinating the interest of the individual to that of the Fatherland. This war has shown that it is not the number of bayonets that decides battles, but the spirit by which the soldiers are animated. Now, that was exactly the spirit of the Germans. Every impartial observer had had to take account of the fact that the German Army is not a flock of sheep setting out under the order of a Prince, but a people in arms, conscious that it is fighting for all that is most sacred in the world—Fatherland, freedom, and family.

But German militarism is, moreover, a guarantee of peace. Despite her formidable army, Germany had had no war for forty-three years, while during the same period her present enemies have carried on wars—and wars of conquest—in every part of the world. German militarism is just as old as the German Empire, and since it came into existence it has left every one alone, has attacked no one, but has kept the peace. However paradoxical it may seem, the military system based upon compulsory and universal service is better fitted to safeguard peace than any other. Some Englishmen have recognized this thoroughly. General Hamilton in a book published in 1910 said that the English Liberal Cabinet had rejected compulsory service, preferring a professional army, because it is only with such an army, and not with a national army, that wars of conquest in remote countries can be undertaken and foreign policy made to conform to the imperialist traditions and aims of Great Britain. A professional army and the fleet carry on the war alone, while the rest of the people go on quietly working, paying the cost, and not regarding the war too seriously. Lord Haldane, at that time War Minister, wrote the preface to the book.

Hamilton and Haldane are right. Wars of conquest such as those of the English cannot be waged except with mercenaries. Compulsory and universal service does not provide armies of adventurers who serve for money, who look on war as a trade, and who are lacking in patriotism, but armies composed of fathers of families and young men who

are the support of their parents. Such armies are ready for any sacrifice to defend their native soil. That is why an army such as the German Army is strong only when it is struggling for existence and honor against an attack from outside. It could not be used for conquest or to realize other ambitions. Militarism like that is, therefore, the surest guarantee of peace.

But there is another safeguard. This army being formed from all the elements of the nation, the rulers and statesmen have on that account a responsibility so heavy that it is impossible for a Prince or a Minister to go to war except for the most serious reasons. That is the power of German militarism; that is why England and her allies fear it so greatly.

Teutonic Ignorance of Russia

By a Russian Publicist

This article, written for the *Russkoye Slovo* of Moscow by its celebrated feuilletonist, Bayan, is regarded by Russians as one of the best analyses of Germany's failure to understand Russia that have appeared since the outbreak of the war.

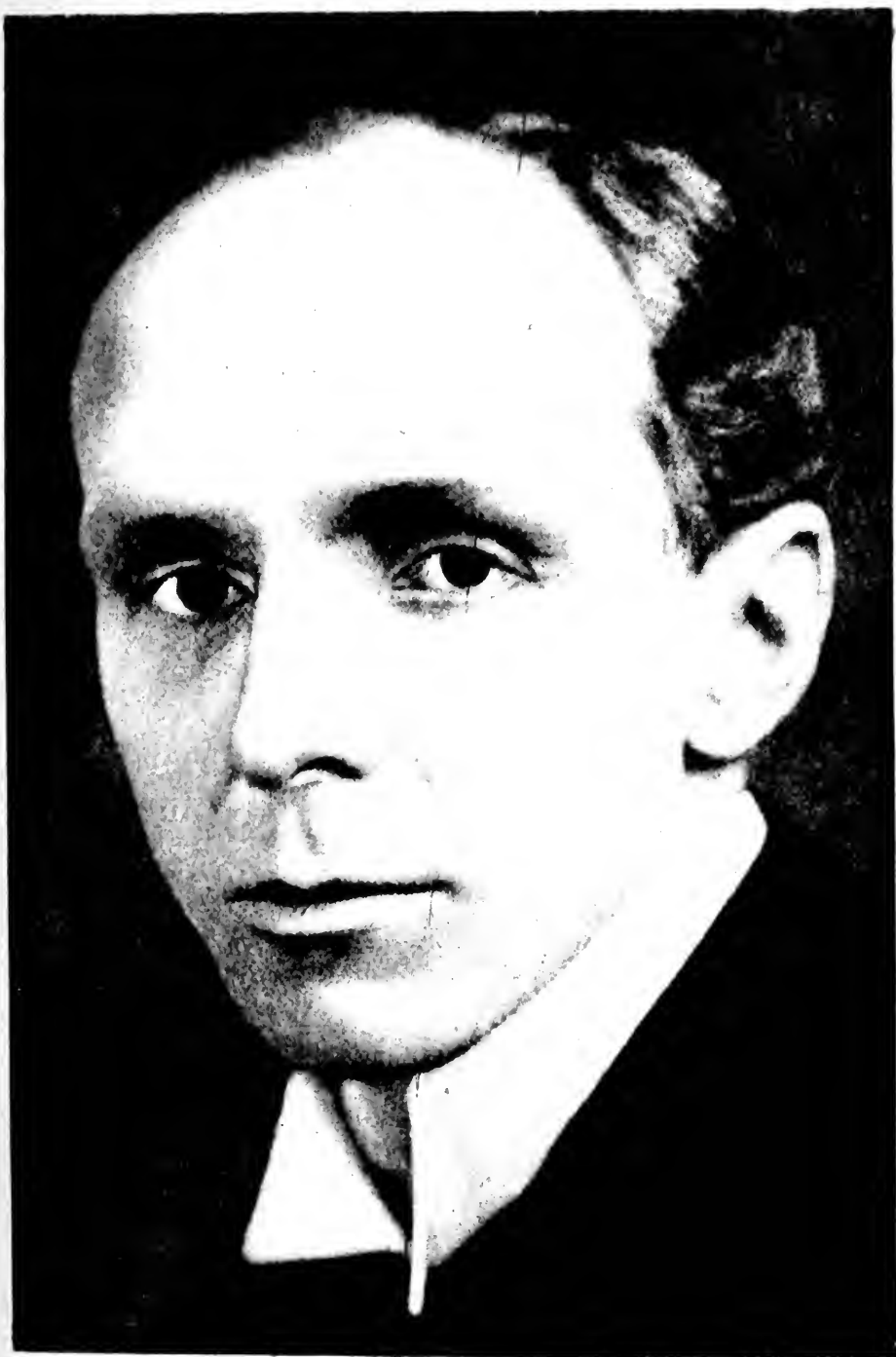
THE German press is interpreting in many different ways the party discords in the Duma. The stenographic reports of the speeches made by the party leaders are fully reproduced. Germany is paying not less attention to our political life than to our front. And in Berlin and Vienna more is expected from our political strife than from our material disorganization.

During the last decade the Germans have been forming a very light view of our society and people. Our political parties are little known to them. As everywhere, they had heard of the Cadets and Octobrists. But the first are being confused with the students of the military academies, and the second are known as the "serfs" of our boyar Gutchkov. To the Germany which knows so well our geography, topography, and all the details of our military defense, which has made the minutest study of our economic system, which has learned so unmistakably where and how our ills are located—to this Germany, which has spent hundreds of millions on military, economic, and other espionage, Russia's political life is still a dark mystery.

Germany, which has considered Russia a rich pasture, a German colony, always entertained nothing but contempt for our political organism and our political consciousness. Germans did not think us capable of such things.

Entirely engrossed in enslaving Russia's material forces, they have overlooked our spiritual forces. Till the outbreak of the war and even during its first months they were cognizant of only two currents in Russia's political life—the Government and anti-Government forces. In Russia, it was thought, only destructive elements were at large in society, (nihilism, anarchism, rebellion,) and the Government existed only for the purpose of bridling them. Because of this view, the Russian Government was to Germany the symbol of order and law. Russia, according to Germany, owed its comparative civilization to the Government, and, her interest in Russia being purely materialistic, calling only for outward civility, Germany always clung to the Government and the reactionary forces behind it. Germany supported the power that maintained order in her immense Russian pasture, the shepherds who were guarding the German flocks feeding upon it. Had Miliukov and Tcheidze happened to play the rôles of shepherds, Germany, in all probability, would have supported them as ardently as it did Count Witte and Kokovtsov.

Russia's enormous and complicated political life thus slipped by Germany as a Chinese shadow, showing only some comical figures of Cadets and Octobrists. While German commercial agents were studying the Russian markets in a



LORD ROBERT CECIL

**British Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Who Is Also Cabinet
Minister of Blockade and Contraband**

(Photo by Elliott & Fry)



MAJOR GEN. CHARLES TOWNSHEND

Whose British Expedition to Bagdad Has Been Besieged for Months
at Kut-el-Amara, on the Tigris

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

phenomenal fashion, and German spies were discovering on Russia's infinite boundaries little elevations for concrete foundations to be built for Germany's mortars, Germany's correspondents and diplomats were thoughtlessly and stupidly passing by the growth of Russia's political consciousness. At the beginning of the war German diplomacy assured the Kaiser that the Russian people were on the eve of a revolution, and that the Russian intellectuals were ready to support the Prussian King.

In the last six months Germany has lived through, as far as disillusionment and sobering up is concerned, sixty years. In this period of time she has, among other things, rediscovered the power of Russia, "buried" by her strategists after the capture of our fortresses. It is difficult to find out when and how this metamorphosis regarding Russia took place. There were no public announcements or explanations about it. Neither the General Staff nor the newspapers have refuted their previous fanfaronades. And, though confidence in ultimate victory has remained in Germany, it is not what it used to be, being colored in a different dye. Silently but resolutely Germany has acknowledged the indestructibility of Russia's military power, and to the Teutons the Russian Army has again become a portentous factor. Russia's material power is depressing Teutonic confidence. And contemporaneously with it there appears the relief of another terrible Russian power—the Russian spirit.

Germany has not yet penetrated the secret of Russia's political life, of her political ideals. The conflicts among these are still puzzles to her. Germany

eagerly seizes the scandalous in our political life and spreads that diligently, supporting and justifying her former stupidity. The Germans are still being brought up in the doctrine that Russia is a barbarous country, unripe for citizenship. But at the same time they are being prepared for surprises by some of her leaders, who, without spending much time on investigations and study, have been able, with their characteristic German practicality, to sense our secret.

Thus we witness as silent and abrupt a change in Germany's attitude toward our body politic as toward our front. She now acknowledges our second elemental force—the Duma. This recognition has become so general that her official organ was compelled recently to formulate it. The famous article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, denying Wilhelm's leanings toward the Russian reactionary forces, was only the expression of Germany's newest view of political Russia. Our rights to citizenship are now recognized, and the Duma is now held to be the personification of these rights and of our political maturity. Official Germany has finally come to the conviction that the voice of the Russian people can be heard only in the Duma, that there and thence flow all the currents of our spiritual life. Hence—her convulsive attempts at a separate peace.

The Russian Government can either strengthen or weaken this conviction. Whatever may happen in the Duma, the fact of its existence alone is a terror to our enemy. The army and the Duma are the Russian Scylla and Charybdis. It is inconceivable how the German ship could pass through them.

Germany's Total War Losses in Men

By Hilaire Belloc

As the result of a series of studies on German war losses, Mr. Belloc publishes the following totals in Land and Water, London:

WHEN the history of the war can be written with all documents available, no careful student of the situation will be surprised if the

total German losses of every kind up to the end of 1915 prove close on four millions.

We have now established all the four categories of absolute permanent loss. The first category arrived at by the calculation already presented to my reader gives us one million dead. The second category gives us about a quarter of a million prisoners. The third category, the permanently disabled wounded, gives us 1,600,000. The fourth category, the permanently disabled from sickness, gives us 600,000. We should have altogether from these categories just under three million—2,850,000 men.

Then, to this number which is the minimum permanent dead loss, what have we to add for the wounded and sick that will ultimately return, but are still in hospitals or in convalescence?

There again we have the analogy of the allied statistics to guide us. The average period in hospital and convalescence is four months. The admissions to hospitals per month, counting those only who will ultimately emerge cured and counting sick and wounded together, cannot possibly, for an army of the Ger-

man numbers, be less than 100,000. We have, therefore, to add to our total a floating balance of 400,000, and we bring to the end of the year an irreducible minimum off the strength of three and a quarter millions.

A man making out the very best case for German losses, pleading as a German would plead to some neutral power to prove the continued resources of his armies, could not by any form of argument whatever get the losses below three and a quarter millions up to Dec. 31, 1915.

There is no object in making calculations of this sort save the discovery of the truth.

Those who ridicule them as "mere arithmetical work" are in intelligence and science exactly on a par with the yokel who ridicules the doctor for using a thermometer to take the temperature in a case of fever. An estimate of numbers is the very soul of judgment in war. I have been at pains to put the very lowest figures admissible by any man who regards the problem seriously. I know very well that those figures are below the truth.

What's Wrong With the War?

By Robert Crozier Long

Following is the substance of an article in the April issue of The Fortnightly Review, London:

ACLOSER inquiry into what is wrong with the war shows that nearly every single thing that is wrong has its close analogue in domestic politics. The war is mistakenly carried on with the precepts and practices of home government and home struggles, instead of on the wholly different principles and practices of foreign policy and international conflict. During the "British inefficiency" and "British decadence" agitation started after the Boer war, (not in Germany, as is pretended, but in England,) home politics and politicians were laborled in the full measure. The indictment contained love of humbug; catchword phrases, be-

lief in bluff, in demonstrations, and in magic short cuts; reckless promise making; belief in the stupidity, perverted mentality, and factionism of opponents; make-believe that political defeats are victories; belief in one's own party's natural right to win. As these failings were common to all parties, they did not materially affect the balance of party power. The result is different when they are the chief intellectual weapons against foreign enemies whose intellects are differently armed.

A just measurement, consistently held to and acted on, of the qualities and quantities of opponents is essential to success in any struggle. In this war that principle is as flagrantly ignored as it is in home politics, and ignored precisely in the same way. It is amazing

that in the second year of war we have no consistent official conception of our enemies. True, there is endless characterization in talking and writing of Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians; but, again, the practice is not to paint our enemies as they are, or even as, from the standpoint of high policy, it is desirable we should believe them to be. The practice is to blurt out the first thing that pleases listeners, according to their mood of overconfidence or anxiety, and in particular to interpret the enemy in terms of the particular contention or plea which is uppermost for the moment.

Not only has the Cabinet no policy, but individual Ministers do not agree with themselves. In the same speeches, sometimes in consecutive sentences, the Germans are derided as corrupt, worthless, feeble, and misgoverned, and praised as terrible by virtue of an "organization," a patriotism, and an energy which are reproaches to our miserable selves. When the war began, the Cabinet (that is, one of the hundred voices of its twenty members) proclaimed that the Kaiser is a lunatic. To prove this was cited, without verification, a fabricated war speech in every word differing from what the Kaiser did say, (I heard the speech myself, and it was painfully sane.) As the Kaiser was both mad and a despot who meddles everywhere, Englishmen were left to conclude that German strategy (like Napoleon's in Austrian eyes) would be mad. The Germans, the nation officially learned, would rejoice if we helped them to overthrow their mad despot. The Germans (to quote only Cabinet expressions) are "hogs," "wild beasts," "venomous reptiles"; they can accomplish in life nothing but slaughter; and even (so said one Minister) they cannot slaughter efficiently, for they kill more civilians than they kill enemy soldiers. Austria is "a ramshackle empire." The Germans do not know how to conduct a war; their "calculations one and all have been completely falsified"; on the day Hindenburg entered Warsaw—presumably by accident—the nation learned that the Germans had never succeeded in one of

their plans. Naturally, with such official leading, the unwiser of the unofficial heads produced masterpieces; a prominent Baronet says that German commanders are chosen, not for their brains, but for their "ferocious appearances"; if shells batter Verdun, they are fired to gratify the Crown Prince's vanity, because the contemptible Germans are not influenced by the motives which govern the actions of intelligent belligerents.

The nation has been told in succession that money, resources, mechanism, and "superiority in munitions" are the secrets of success. The intellectual resource of millions, from Ministers to crossing sweepers, when faced with pessimism or criticism, is to say: "Yes, but this is a war of * * *," filling in the blank with anything but the right words: military superiority. The detached or neutral thinker is amazed to hear that this is a war of resources, with the implication that superior resources, automatically, and independently of their use, brings victory. * * *

The propaganda that only shells are needed is good as incitement to shell-makers, but it is injurious in its effects on national thinking as to the real secrets of success. The Russian General, Radko-Dimitriyeff, told me on the Dunajec, shortly before the unlucky battle of Gorlice-Tarnow, that he had plenty of shells; and most Russian retreats, and many other retreats in the war, were not at all determined by shortness of shell. The munitions catch phrase keeps favor not merely because of its use in helping shell production. Of all catchwords it is most considerate to personages. The implication is that our inferiority in an impersonal thing like shell supply is an ugly, inevitable unfairness of nature; nobody is guilty; Ministers, organizers, Generals, are all worthy and genial; but shells, which of course were never heard of in other wars, failed in their duty. * * *

Probably the war can be won only by military means—by putting in the field better armies than the enemy's, led by better Generals. The last and only compelling catch phrase will be: "This is a war of war."

Napoleon and Hindenburg in Russia

By Professor August Fournier

In the *Deutsche Revue* this noted Vienna scholar deals with the campaign of Napoleon in Russia as compared with the recent conquests of Germany in the great empire to the east.

WE must not overrate the value of historical data for the purpose of making comparisons with contemporaneous events, but in the light of recent happenings, the unique personality of Napoleon I. in his conquest of so large a portion of the earth can only heighten the interest attaching to his character ever since. The fact that Russia proved the barrier to his advance has likewise occupied many historians dealing with the events of 1812. The destruction of the greatest army of the greatest commander of all time is today emphasized more than ever before as we follow in the footsteps of Napoleon and breast a still more powerful Russia.

On the 24th and 25th of June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen at Kovno, which was then on the Russian frontier. According to the noted historian and geographer, Georg Hassel of Goettingen, the Russian Army of 1812 consisted of 550,000 men, among them 100,000 irregulars, who had a military organization, but had to maintain themselves. But, adds Hassel, these figures were merely on paper. In the political world it was an established fact that of the Russian Army only half the numbers on the official list were available.

Confronting Napoleon was a force of no more than 180,000 Russians, divided into three parts. Two of these divisions, a larger under Barclay's command and a smaller led by Prince Bagration, had the choice of opposing a thrice superior force at the Dvina or retiring to a previously fortified position at Drissa. The third army was charged with taking care of the Austrians under Schwarzenberg in Volhynia. This was the Russian plan of campaign. It is nonsense to talk about any previously arranged plan of retirement in order to draw Napoleon into the interior, even to the extent of letting him have Moscow so as to destroy him there.

As a matter of fact, today no Russian historical writer of standing would care to make such a statement. No, the Russians were ready to fight, at the Dvina, if not before.

Napoleon had in mind at the furthest to gain the border of the old Polish kingdom where the country of the Muscovite began, with a view to defeating the enemy there and wintering in Vilna. Before the war started he had frequently so remarked to his companions, and even when Vilna was reached he told General Sebastiani that to cross the Dvina unquestionably spelled ruin. It was only when Alexander refused to make peace that he decided in the following year to penetrate to the centre of the empire in anticipation of "finishing the business" some time in May. We know how differently things shaped themselves from what either party had expected.

Napoleon overestimated the strength of the Russian Army, and he shaped his plans accordingly. [His own total force was about 550,000.] He decided to send one army corps, composed of Frenchmen and Prussians under Macdonald, to the left against Riga and Petersburg, securing his right with the aid of the Austrians and employing the main army in the centre. This force, consisting of 400,000 men, was ranged in three divisions in the form of a wedge between the armies of Barclay and Bagration with a view to splitting them up and defeating them separately.

The wedge succeeded, but nothing came of the anticipated battles. Exactly because they had been separated the two Russian commanders refused to accept battle against the superior enemy. They retreated in the hope of joining later. Barclay even went beyond the fortified position at Drissa, because he failed to get into touch with Bagration. On the heels of both Russian armies came the Frenchmen, but the best that was of-

ferred the pursuers was an occasional skirmish with rearguards. The latter fought bravely enough, but soon disappeared behind a screen of Cossacks, a trick in tactics that even today the Russians are past masters in performing.

It was while on this hurried march through the poor and incomparably desolate Lithuania that Napoleon's army sustained its worst, and one may well say decisive, losses. Of course, the Emperor must have known that in the sparsely inhabited and little cultivated country he could not provision his troops as in either Austria or Prussia. For this reason enormous food depots were established in Dantsic, as well as in Poland and East Prussia. From here the troops were to be kept supplied. This was to be done partly by the way of water transportation, or else by thousands of wagons drawn by oxen. But the further the soldiers went in pursuit of the retreating enemy the greater became the distance separating the army proper from the supply trains, which could only follow at a much slower pace. Soon the men began to go hungry, for the enemy had taken good care to remove or destroy every possible article of service to the oncoming army. Many thousands stepped from the ranks to search for food, and they never returned. No less than 50,000 marauders were thus brought into existence, plundering wherever they could, and later killed by the returning peasants, who had been driven from their homes.

When Vitebsk was reached on July 25, 130,000 men failed to answer the roll

call. And still no battle in sight, something Napoleon had assuredly expected at this point. As for Barclay and Bagra-tion, neither had they succeeded in joining forces here. They finally met at Smolensk, and they immediately took the offensive against the approaching enemy, who compelled them to seek the city. The guns of the Emperor managed to set fire to the wooden houses of the place, but he could not break down the massive walls. The result was that the Russians had time to evacuate and continue on their retreat. And the sanguinary battle had still brought no decision.

As in the case of the present campaign of the Russians thus far, so also in the matter of Moscow and Warsaw, there had been no thought of giving up territory merely to lead the enemy further and further into the interior in order to destroy him. The burning of Moscow was a sacrifice beyond compare. Now that we ourselves are at war with Russia and our troops are deep in the enemy's country, our leaders will know how to take advantage of the Napoleonic experience.

Kaiser Wilhelm as far back as October declared in his address to the guard that the offensive campaign against Russia was virtually at an end. The east front stands solid, as invulnerable, in fact, as the fronts facing France and Italy. We battle now mainly for the purpose of securing points of resistance toward the east, while we carry our offensive elsewhere. Whether the opportunity for a new attack on the Russians would change the present plans is another question.

Dr. Liebknecht's Diagnosis of War

Denouncing the demoralizing effects of war, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the one uncompromising Socialist in the German Reichstag, caused a turbulent scene in that body on March 16 with the following words:

Education today serves to strengthen militarism and capitalism. You act as if you wished to throw open to the people the road to education, but that is only because capitalism requires soldiers. The teaching of history is systematically distorted for the purpose of introducing certain political convictions into the schools and also hatred against England. The militarizing of schools converts them into training stables for war. You educate your children to be war machines. With regard to war, their ideals seem to be embodied in poisoned gas bombs. In the schools should be taught not only that the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria at Serajevo was an incident which should inspire horror, but it should also be taught that there were wide circles in Germany and Austria in which this murder was regarded as a veritable godsend.

Human Documents of the War Fronts

Behind the dry official reports of military events is a vast fund of emotional human interest. It is the aim of this department of CURRENT HISTORY to give each month the best available glimpses of this side of the war, as found in private letters, personal experiences, and thrilling episodes of courage, humor, or pathos.

The Valiant

- By René Bazin

Member of the French Academy

I HAVE heard magnificent sayings of our soldiers; others have been written to me by those who heard them. I would not have them perish. It seems to me that they naturally form a part of the epoch we are living through; that they are good to read and meditate on, unconscious testimonies of that which historians will call the new life of France, of that which has ever been her deeper life, widened and developed in this hour of trial.

Therefore I shall record here not all these sayings and traits, but some of them.

At B., in the hospital of the Grand Hotel, a wounded soldier was to have a limb amputated. But he was so weak that the surgeon hesitated.

"If we could only give him some blood!"

"If that is all that is needed I am ready to give it!" answers another wounded soldier, a Breton.

The transfusion is made. The staff of the hospital, touched by the devotion of this wounded soldier, who was known to be very poor, made a little collection here and there, very quietly, and gathered five hundred francs, which they took great satisfaction in offering to him. One day one of them came close to his bed, spoke of the service he had rendered, thanked him and offered him the money. Mark his answer:

"Oh, no! I give my blood; I do not sell it!"

A very young soldier from the North, with a beardless and rather childish face, is stretched at the back of a trench, dying from a terrible shell wound in the

stomach. In spite of the frightful wound he does not complain, he does not repine, and in his wide, upward-gazing eyes one could just perceive the expression of sadness which he often had. For since mobilizing he had received no news from his home in the occupied territory. His comrades are doing what they can for him, offering him water to drink, unbuttoning his tunic, trying to stanch the blood. Opening his eyes, which he had kept for a long moment closed, and no longer with an expression of suffering, he said to one of his comrades, a big, hairy fellow, who was bending over him:

"Friend, you must not tell mother what a frightful wound I had! A bullet is better than what I have!" Then he distributed a few little things he had in his pocket—his knife, his purse, a corkscrew, a tinder-box—a last testament soon ended. Finally, with difficulty, he opened his notebook and, setting himself to write, though he could no longer see very clearly, he traced a few lines. When he had finished his soul departed. * * * Three minutes later, as the word of his end spread along the trench, at this time not under heavy bombardment by the enemy, a Captain arrived, smeared with mud up to the shoulders. He saw the soldier. "Oh, poor boy! One of my bravest!" Respectfully he took the notebook, which had fallen on the ground, opened it and read: "Au revoir, father; au revoir, mother; au revoir, little sisters; I am dying for my country. Vive la France!"

Sergeant Raissac of Beziers was mortally wounded in an assault on a German trench. When they lifted his body his hand still held a photograph represent-

ing his mother, his sisters and himself, and on the back of the picture he had managed to write, with his last effort, "Adieu! No tears, but a Christian acceptance. I am at peace with God."

Yesterday, during his two days' leave, I met the son of a poor countrywoman, a workman whom I have loved for a long time. When I took leave of him, saying, "Good luck to you, Marcel!" he looked up with unreproaching eyes and answer-

ed me: "On the one side, and on the other, I fear nothing!" And this meant: "Life? Death? What does it matter? I am ready!"

What does all this signify? It is the poetry of chivalry that continues; it is the unfinished Crusade; it is God making Himself manifest through purified France.

Those who seek the sublime will find nothing better.

The Heroism of Children

By Maurice Barrès

In Memory of Max Barthou, Who Volunteered at Eighteen

I BELIEVE that young heroes abound at this moment when every family is cruelly involved in the war. The son dreams of helping his father, his elder brothers, of joining them, of avenging them. Are his city and his home invaded? With his whole heart he tries and examines himself as to what his duty and his honor demand. I remember how the minds of my companions, some 10 years old, and our slightly older brothers were fired in 1870. * * *

Do you wish me to bring you my contribution to the monument of our young patriots?

First, a little story. On Nov. 24, 1914, on a cold day, about 3 in the afternoon, the Prussians, whom they call "Boches," are once again trying to cross the frontier, to enter France. It is very cold, there is a high wind, and snow covers the ground. Who tells the story? A workman at the front, who, from the neighborhood of Pont-à-Mousson, writes to his two little children at his home at Neuville sur Marne. They gave me his letter. I should spoil it if I retouched it. I transcribe it just as it is:

"My dear little Marcella, this story, which happened to some French soldiers, you are to tell to your little Charlie and your companions, and you are to show them how two little children saved the lives of twenty-eight papas.

"In a lonely farmhouse a detachment of reservists, composed of thirty

men, are resting from the labors of the night in an underground cellar, waiting for the next night to begin their work again and accomplish their mission.

In a room about them, two children, Liza and John, are sitting beside their mamma near the fire. All three talk the old country dialect. All at once the mother rises, runs to the door and sees some horsemen coming from a distance.

"My children," she says, pressing them to her heart, "I think the Prussians are coming. They will see that we have lodged and fed French soldiers, and they will surely want to make us tell where they are. They will take them and shoot them."

"We must say they have gone away there, just in the opposite direction!" said little John.

"Oh, no!" said their mamma; "if we deceive them with a lie they will come back and take vengeance. Listen rather! I shall speak to the Prussians only in dialect, and they won't understand a word. Do you also do as I do, and, to everything they say, answer always in the same phrase, in dialect."

"The clatter of hoofs was heard, and the rattle of weapons.

"Courage, my children!" said their mamma. The door opens. The Boches enter. They ask questions, but the mother's answers are unintelligible to them.

"Look at these two children! They

must learn French at school,' said the officer, who spoke a little French.

"One of the Germans seized little Lisa, while another caught little John.

"Where is your father?' he asked in a harsh voice. 'Where are the French that passed here?'

"Lisa raised her blue eyes to this foreign soldier and, all trembling, replied in dialect. John did the same. The soldiers, irritated, suspecting a trick, searched the house, but did not find the trap-door which had been previously covered with dirty straw. They threatened to cut the children's throats. They told them they would kill their mother, too, if they did not answer. The poor children began to cry, but, faithful to their mother's directions, they repeated, through their tears, the same phrase.

"The French soldiers who were in the cellar and who heard everything through a ventilator felt their blood boil, and, but for their officer, would have come forth to protect the poor children, and, without doubt, would have been killed, for they were outnumbered.

"The Prussians did not think that such young children, threatened with death, would be capable of such heroic discretion; they ended by believing that they could not make themselves understood and rode away.

"And that is how two little children, Lisa, aged 8, and John, aged 10, by their obedience to their mother and by their courage kept thirty men from being killed; twenty-eight wives still have their husbands, and forty-seven little children have their papas. Among these forty-seven little children my little Marcella and my little Charlie will perhaps see their papa again."

I leave this story in its fine simplicity. A workman who had become a soldier chats with his children far away. But the chief attraction in it for me is that the fact reported is quite authentic. I know the farm in the district of Meurthe et Moselle, and later on I shall tell its name, as well as those of the farmer's wife and the two children, who have received a well-earned reward.

The Work of the Women

By Gabriel Hanotaux

WE are beginning to see the little hats of the women chauffeurs, the women cab-drivers, multiplying in Paris. The straw and ribbons give them a certain charm, and it is a change for us from the caps and gray beards of their antique colleagues. In the Post Offices, in the banks, women bend over their work, assiduously scratching paper. Everywhere the tic-tac of the typewriter strikes you, and the stenographer, a pencil between her lips, keeps her company. As there is no more piano playing, this is a different kind of duet; that is all.

Slowly women's work takes the place of men's work. It is very necessary. Skilled labor is rare and sought after; the most urgent tasks have to wait. And then lightness of touch, skill, taste, all the qualities necessary in a host of Parisian industries, can no longer be

learned, when, through the passage of years, one has lost the habit of them. Why should we not see women barbers, women watchmakers, women decorators? And I say nothing of the endless branches of commerce in which women, when they wish, succeed as well as men.

The women are courageous, industrious, careful; they do not shirk pains; but they ought to be encouraged, guided in the new phase of our common existence in which they are necessarily called to take the places of men at the front. If it had only been a question of a very short war, as was expected, we should have adapted ourselves; but the months mount up; we must provide not only for the present but for the future also.

The wives of soldiers at the front receive for themselves and for their chil-

dren a rightful allowance. But many among them ask nothing better than to increase by work a sum that hardly goes beyond the strict necessities. And then not all women receive the allowance; these also need to earn their living. In a host of professions yesterday occupied by women a lack of work makes itself cruelly felt.

We must consider this. * * * But it

is already being considered! To organize courses and apprenticeships, to prepare, for the future, workwomen, women workers, well trained and prepared, is a way as good as many another to assure the rapid restoration of economic and social France after victory * * * while waiting for our leaders to make the recruiting of the class of 1935 not fall too far short.

The Aerial Attack on Ravenna

By Paolo Poletti

In *L'Illustrazione Italiana* this distinguished Italian author expresses his indignation at the bombardment of Ravenna by Austrian aviators, when the ancient Basilica of Sant' Apollinare narrowly escaped destruction.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

I WRITE with a feeling of relief. My beautiful Sant' Apollinare is uninjured, or nearly so. A blind bomb may have furrowed the April sky of my city, in this marvelous foretaste of Spring; but the criminal attempt has been in vain. And, with me, innumerable citizens of Ravenna have breathed a sigh almost of content. It is true that there were human victims. But our pity for them is too deep for any comment to be adequate; the only way to commemorate them worthily is to avenge them. But it is not of this wrong we wish to speak today. We wish only to bring together and to distill into a brief comment the living essence of the spirit of Ravenna, as it has affirmed itself in this historic, solemn hour.

The people of Ravenna have felt a lightning flash of sudden revolt because of the outrage perpetrated on their monuments. The citizens of Ravenna, if they have not, for the antique glories of their city, the fully conscious veneration which we shall hardly expect to find among them, nevertheless do breathe in from these monuments a deep impression of exaltation and well-founded pride. Our readers will remember those "Monologues" which Gigi Easi wrote with such grace and such penetrating humor. In one, "The Art of Delivering a Monologue," he introduces as speakers the

inhabitants of the various capital cities of Italy, each of whom magnifies the beauty of his own city.

So it happens that, along with the Florentine, the Neapolitan, the Venetian, and the rest, there is not lacking a good citizen of Ravenna who, with vibrant words and potent adjectives, in intense and enthusiastic exaltation, energetically affirms the supremacy of his mosaics and his basilicas. The scene is not only most exhilarating, but also, from the point of view of psychology, profoundly true. Our populace lives, and feels that it lives, with its mighty memories and with its great historic personages, whose moral significance at least it knows how to estimate, and whose remoter glory it understands by a kind of natural and traditional intuition, and respects it, I might almost say, by a distant residuum of atavistic suggestion.

Galla, daughter and sister of Emperors; Theodoric sleeping, sleeping, according to these humble fancies, a secular sleep under his heavy monolith; Justinian, upraiser of precious churches and reviser of the imperial idea and the laws of Rome; Theodora, the dancing girl become a Queen, speak a language incomprehensible to the rough minds of our people, yet a secret fascination emanates to them from the rich vaults, heavy with gold, of the antique basilicas;

from those vaulted roofs toward which, in their time, rose the thunderous hosannas of triumphal victories, and the humble supplications of tragical misfortunes; those vaulted domes, dazzling with emerald and ruby, to which were raised hands wrung in despair and menace, or joined in the lowly adoration of prayer; toward which were raised foreheads tormented with gnawing hatred or consoled by illuminating love. * * *

The basilica of Theodoric, made the target of the iniquitous attempt of the Barbarians, ever speaks to the people in the mysterious tongue of days long gone. * * *

Oh, my beautiful Sant' Apollinare! we dreaded to see shattered thy gleaming mosaics; we dreaded to see cut in two and mutilated thy ten-centuries-oil campanile, which sends forth joyful peals in the luminous evenings of May; we feared that the voice would be stilled, which arises from thee, to chant a profound poem of history and of art.

We recall your founder, Theodoric, and his reign in Ravenna; his wise and successful attempt to bring together in peaceful relations the conquerors and the conquered, engrafting into the ultimate

stem of Latin civilization the young shoot of fresh barbaric energy; so that his terrible invasion did not interrupt the continuity of history, but proceeded to develop harmoniously in the integration of the old Roman elements with the new, blended in a single composed form of enduring life.

Of the art which reminds us, through the verses of Gabriel d'Annunzio, of the millenary of Ravenna, one might also speak: of the "Purple night, gleaming with gold"; of the Virgins of Sant' Apollinare, in Francesca's passionate speech:

"The Virgins of Sant' Apollinare burn not so bright in their heaven of gold"; and the prophecy:

"Oh, Prisca, another hero will draw the bow from thy desert toward the infinite. * * * Clad in armor, he awaits the new days; thy warrior awaits the certain dawn, when a voice through the desert paths shall call forth the ancestral valor!" * * *

We fit the augury to the new times; and, to meet the new Barbarians, we invoke the sacred vengeance of Italy here, from this furthest bourne of our Garibaldian land!

The Fight of the Clan MacTavish

By Michael MacIntyre

Third Officer

When the German sea raider Möwe captured the Appam on Jan. 15 she also sank the Australian merchant vessel, Clan MacTavish, after the latter had made one of the pluckiest fights on record. The story of that encounter became known in full on March 3, when eighteen of the crew of the Clan MacTavish landed in England after weeks of imprisonment on the Möwe. The following is the remarkable narrative by the third officer based on his diary:

WHEN I went on the bridge to relieve the chief and the fourth officer for tea it was just getting dark. The day was glorious, with only a slight breeze and swell, and we were

sailing without lights. A vessel ahead was burning her foremast headlight. We were overhauling her rapidly, and just before 6 o'clock she was quite close, about six points on our port bow.

She started to call us on the Morse signal, and I answered. She then asked "What ship?" I reported to the Captain, and he told me to make no answer. She again asked the question, and we then inquired her name. She answered "Author, from Liverpool," and we then gave our name. By this time she was abaft our beam, and she immediately signaled "Stop at once, I am a German cruiser." The Captain instantly ordered the engineers to give us all the speed

they could, and at the same time I bluffed and signaled to them that we were stopped. The German then signaled for us to stop, as he was sending a boat aboard. When he saw our signal he at once stopped his own engines, with the result that he was left astern.

But as soon as he found that we were not stopped he started again full speed ahead, and fired across our bows. Our own gunners then got busy at the Captain's orders and fired back. Then the fun began. The next shell struck us on the fo'c'sle head, smashing up the windlass and the lookout man, a Lascar. The third went through the second officer's room and the steward's room; it seemed to be shrapnel, and splinters were hurled all over the deck, the port dinghy on the bridge being smashed up. All this time our own two gunners were firing as hard as they could, and we could see that they were hitting. A number of shells seemed to go singing by our ears. The German was only 200 yards away, but nearly all their shots missed, only four actually striking us.

The next to hit us struck the top of the engine room, killing seventeen men and wounding five, all Lascars. Another hit us below the water line in No. 5 hold, badly damaging us. It was obviously useless to carry on the fight, and the Captain then ordered "cease fire," and stopped the ship. I signaled the German in Morse to this effect, but owing to the smoke some time passed before they could see our signal, and they continued to fire. Even as I signaled our gun went off owing to the order "Stop fire" being delayed in transmission. And that, of course, caused more trouble.

The whole thing was over in less than fifteen minutes. They signaled to ask if we had any wounded aboard. Being on the bridge, I did not then know our full casualties, and replied that we had only one. They signaled that they would send a boat, and we began to get out our own lifeboats. It was not until we were taken on board the raider that we ascertained the extent of their casualties. Although our shells were so small—the gun was only a six-pounder—it seems we had done a good deal of damage, and their

bluejackets told us we had killed four of their crew and wounded two.

When the German commander came aboard he asked for the Captain, and on Captain Oliver coming forward he demanded to know why the *Clan MacTavish* had fired on them. "I wanted to get away, of course," replied the Captain, "and I fired to protect my ship. My Government put a gun on board, and I used it. It wasn't put there for ornament!"

They lined us up on the deck, and a number of men mounted guard with drawn revolvers, threatening to shoot without warning the first man who made a movement. We were kept at attention for some time, and then ordered into the boats, the Captain's and chief officer's going to the cruiser, while mine and the second officer's were ordered to the *Appam*—as we found the second vessel to be.

On board the latter we were taken below, and kept under armed guard in a first-class stateroom all that night and the next day, when we were transferred from the *Appam* to the cruiser.

The raider was later disguised by being repainted a dark yellow, like the P. & O. boats, with a yellow funnel. They also cut off a conspicuous derrick post aft and put bulwarks where there had been rails.

Whenever she chased another vessel we were confined below in the forecabin. While they were firing at the *Flamenco* we found an old gramophone there with a number of tunes, and all the time she was chasing and firing at the *Flamenco* we played these tunes, "Tipperary," "The Stars and Stripes," and "The Double Eagle" being among them.

We were told that the commander of the *Möwe* was Count von Donah, and that he was a junior Captain in the German Navy.

The vessel was nothing but a huge floating bomb. She had huge stores of torpedoes and shells, and mines and bombs were lashed everywhere. They were fastened on her decks and in all the rooms, and we were told she could be blown up at a moment's notice. They

were determined not to be captured, they said. If we had only had a bigger gun and could have got some shells home she would have gone up.

We did not see the sinking of the *Clan MacTavish* after we had left her, but it was accomplished by two bombs with time fuses, hung over her side, and the firing of one torpedo.

At the end of twenty-four days the *Möwe* took the steamer *Westburn*. That night they came and told us that all the crews of the ships captured were to go to Teneriffe in her, with the exception of the *Clan MacTavish* men, who were to stay behind for firing upon the cruiser. They added that they intended to keep us with them until they reached Germany or were sunk. The beggars kept us in suspense until the very last moment, when all the other crews had embarked, and then informed us that we could all go except the Captain and the two gunners—Reece and Angus. Altogether 228 of us went on to the *Westburn*, the Cap-

tain and second officer of which were also kept on the cruiser.

A guard of eight men were put on board with us, the commander being a German petty officer, who wore the Iron Cross. Bombs and mines were lashed everywhere in the ship, ready to blow it up at a moment's notice, and we were warned that on the slightest trouble this would be done. Every time one of the guards came aft to speak to us he carried a bomb ready to throw.

We arrived at Teneriffe on Feb. 22 and found that, only half an hour before, an English cruiser coming from another direction had entered the harbor and anchored. We learned that our German colors were seen just before we entered territorial waters, but it was then too late for the warship to do anything. As we passed close to her the German petty officer jeered at the Englishmen's helplessness in the matter and exclaimed: "If I were the commander of that British cruiser I would shoot myself."

Sunk at Sea by a U-Boat

By Arnold C. B. Groom

Late Captain of the British steamer Coquet

This stirring story of the experiences of a trading ship's crew plying between American and Mediterranean ports has interest alike as a true tale of adventure and as a historic example of the cruelties of U-boat warfare. The *Coquet* was sunk somewhere on the route between Port Said and Malta.

ABOUT 10:45 A. M., Jan. 4, 1916, I was writing in the saloon of the *Coquet* when I heard a gun fired. On my reaching the bridge the third mate told me it was fired across our bow. Then another was fired across the bow, one over the bridge and one under the stern from a submarine on the port quarter. At the same time one or two people told me there was another submarine on the port bow. I stopped the engines and indicated that I had done so by flag signals. The firing stopped and the submarine was soon close to us with signals flying "abandon ship." Immediately I took the chronometer, sextant, and chart in the starboard boat and we left the ship. The

other boat left a little before us. We had no sooner got clear of the ship than the submarine started firing at her. Eight shots were fired. One of them broke the signal halliards on the bridge. They stopped firing then and coming close to the boats ordered us alongside. This was a dangerous proceeding, as the submarine's deck was just awash and there was a big swell. I was ordered aboard the submarine and then some Austrians armed with revolvers and cutlasses were sent in our boats and the two boats returned to the *Coquet*.

All hands were given twenty minutes to get what they wanted from the ship. At the same time the Austrians looted whatever they could in the time given.

They lowered one of the small boats to take them and their loot back to the submarine. When they had all they wanted they ordered the two lifeboats to return to the submarine, then they set two time-fuse bombs under water abreast of Nos. 1 and 2 holds and left the ship themselves. Shortly afterward there were two explosions, and the ship settled down by the head. Four or five minutes after, the explosions of the Coquet lifted her stern high in the air. Something hit the whistle lanyard, and with a pitiful scream the Coquet disappeared.

While all this was happening the commander of the submarine asked me a good many questions. The two lifeboats were near the submarine again now, and bailing was in full progress in each boat with two or three buckets. I pointed this out to the commander of the submarine, and the fact that both of the bilge planks of the boats had most likely been sprung alongside his awash deck. I told him it was nothing short of murder to send thirty-one men away like that, in the middle of Winter, too, so far from land. He laughed, and said he would save the next ship and send her to look for us.

The boats were alongside by this time, and the Austrians searched them for anything valuable, taking chronometers, sextants, and charts, and also every scrap of paper they could find. They would not let me keep even the account of the wages of the crew or any of my bills, although I asked them specially for these later, and pointed out to them what they were, and that they were of no earthly use to them. They ordered me back into my boat, and then left us.

With a heavy sea running we were very soon all wet through, and remained so practically for the next six days. All the time we were in the boats all the able-bodied men had to take turns at bailing, two at a time. The steward, who was old and ill, I exempted from this work, also four boys I had who were very young, also seasick and somewhat frightened, I fancy. The boat was overloaded with seventeen in it, and was ankle deep with water, in spite of the vigorous bailing with two buckets.

The next day we lost sight of the second boat, which was not seen again.

By the night of the 7th everybody was chilled to the bone. With that cold northerly wind blowing right through our saturated clothes we all used to look forward to daytime coming in the hope of getting a little sun, but it was nearly always covered with clouds. Several of us had excruciating pains in our ankles, knees, and wrists. A poor little Italian messroom boy was crying all one night with them, and of course I could do absolutely nothing for him. I had them badly myself. Early on the morning of the 8th the weather moderated some, and I decided to set sail and make for the African coast.

On the 10th we landed at a small bay, with houses in the background. These afterward were found to be uninhabited cave dwellings. The boat's crew slept that night on the sands, and on the morning of the 11th I set out with three men to try to find some human being who could tell us which way to head for the nearest civilized place. We met an Arab who returned with us to the camp, where there was a Greek fireman who spoke Arabic.

The Arab suggested that I go with him to the nearest town afoot. This I could not do, as I was utterly done up with six or seven hours of walking that day after being cramped up in the boat, but eventually I sent two Greek firemen with him.

After a night in the cave dwellings the rest of us, fifteen in number, next morning were attacked by Arabs with rifles. I was wounded and lost consciousness.

When I awoke everything was quiet, except for the groaning of the carpenter, who was rolling between me and the edge of the water about six feet away. I found he was horribly mutilated, but still alive. He asked me to drag him away from the sea. I tried, but he was a big man and my wound was very painful. A little way out in the water the steward was floating face downward. Whether he was shot or drowned, or both, I do not know. Further up the little Italian messroom boy was lying dead. I could see

nothing of anybody else, and was afraid to go out of the trench, thinking that if the Bedouins saw me alive they would come back and finish me off.

Soon afterward a small Italian steamer, with the commander of Fort Marsa Susa aboard, entered the bay. A sailor named Lord was found lying in the sand, wounded by both bullet and bayonet. He said the other ten of them had been car-

ried off by Bedouins. He thought they left him because they believed him to be dying.

The commander of Fort Marsa Susa then took us aboard the little steamer, also the bodies of the steward and the messroom boy, and our wounds were washed and bandaged. The carpenter died just as we were starting to wash his wounds.

A Russian Fight for Trebizond

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from Russkoe Slovo, Moscow]

FOR ten months the Turks had been strengthening their position at Arkhave, on the shore of the Black Sea. For this reason, at the time when our attack began, the struggle on the shore sector was marked by exceptional obstinacy. We had to fight for every foot of ground.

Justice compels me to admit that the Turks rivaled our soldiers in bravery, and fought like fanatics. Our army literally squeezed them out, capturing one position after another. And all along the fleet supported the attack by artillery fire from the sea.

On the opening day of the fight the fleet demolished the positions of the Turkish howitzers, which, as General L. expressed it, "passed into eternal silence!" But after this the Turks still possessed mountain batteries which, in spite of heavy fire from the fleet, seemed to be intact, invulnerable. Yet the position of these mountain batteries was known accurately; our army had observed their fire during ten months.

The heavy shells of our naval guns hammered the heights where the mountain guns were for several hours. The guns had begun firing, but were quickly silenced. But hardly had the sun hidden behind the summit of the mountains when, in the thickening twilight, the flashes of shots from the invisible battery lashed out again malignantly. It was only on the next day that the battery was smashed to pieces and finally silenced.

The destructive force of the heavy

naval shells was so great that only two of the mountain guns remained uninjured. The others were twisted up by the splinters of our big shells. Then the invulnerability of the battery was explained.

In the mountainside on which the battery was placed the Turks had pierced a tunnel. In this tunnel, covered by a many-storied shell of natural armor, the guns were concealed while the fleet bombarded them. The shells of the fleet had turned the heights into a plowed field. The deep craters were ranged almost side by side.

The desolation was colossal. Bushes were pulled up by the roots. Trees drooped with broken tops. Everything that was above the surface was knocked to pieces. But the shells could not pierce the solid substance of the mountain, and the battery was untouched. We smashed it to pieces when it came out to shell our advancing army.

To move the Turkish artillery from place to place communicating galleries had been constructed, with a well-built causeway on which rails were laid, with cisterns for water. We found a number of gun emplacements, and the position of the batteries could be constantly changed.

According to the reports of prisoners, special construction battalions had been toiling day and night for several months on the positions at Arkhave. The whole surrounding population had been forced to work on the fortifications of the sector.

The moment the fire of the enemy's

artillery weakened, the forces of our shore army moved forward to the attack. We were separated from the Turks by the rather deep and swift mountain torrent of the Arkhave. The Turks have left uninjured all the bridges over the Arkhave, but our sappers discovered that the bridges had been mined.

In spite of the extreme cold and the icy temperature of the water our men plunged into the stream and waded across. The picture of their crossing gripped the imagination. The water was up to the soldiers' waists; in places the depth of the river was even greater, taking them up to the breast; our men fixed their chattels to their bayonets, and carried their bread also transfixed on the bayonets. Holding hands in twos and threes, they made their way across to the other bank, which was held by the enemy.

The water of the river literally boiled with bullets poured into it by the rifles and machine guns of the enemy. Our soaked, shivering soldiers scrambled up the bank and eagerly rushed against the hills that were held by the Turks.

Colonel L. was in command of this part of the operations. His men formed a very clear opinion of their leader.

"He has only to look on to something and the thing is done!" they say of Colonel L.

We were now making the effort to hook on to the heights that dominate the Arkhave. Officers and soldiers rivaled

each other in valor. They told me about Captain B. He was wounded shortly after our men got across the torrent. Paying no attention to his wound, he urged his men forward, occupied a greatly needed position, and then collapsed from loss of blood. His wound was found to be very serious, perhaps fatal.

The evening drew in very chilly. Our army consolidated itself in the positions we had just gained from the Turks. At several points we had time to dig trenches just deep enough to kneel in while firing. Every one of us was wet from head to foot. Ice and snow all about us. Our teeth chattered incessantly because of the cold. Some of our men were able to find blankets in the neighboring huts. In this way they succeeded in gaining a little warmth. As night came on we expected the Turkish counterattack. There was a general feeling of tension and excitement.

No sooner had the last shot melted into silence when our officer went to find out whether his watch was correct. At one point of the trench he saw a soldier who was energetically rubbing his face with snow, and then scraping his cheeks with a blunt razor.

"What are you doing?" asked the officer.

"Well, Sir, I found a razor, and so I decided to have a shave. My beard had grown too long. And I have no soap!"

So quickly had peaceful occupations taken the place of war!

Young Girls Fighting on the Russian Front

STORIES are filtering in from the various belligerent countries telling of actual fighting in the ranks by women. There are numerous authenticated reports from Serbia of women who are doing the work of soldiers, and there is official confirmation of the promotion of Slavia Tomitch, a young Serbian girl, who enlisted in the regiment of Wojo Tankositch, and who is credited with being the instigator of the plot, which resulted in the assassination of the Austrian Grand Duke. This

girl fought through the Serbian campaigns, was twice wounded, and was promoted to the rank of Sergeant. Martha Malko, the wife of a Russian sub-officer, fought beside her husband until he was killed and she was taken prisoner by the Germans. She is now interned at Schoulen.

A correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya* tells an interesting story of the experiences of twelve young Russian girls who fought in the ranks as soldiers of the line. The story, as related by one

of their number, was also authenticated by the Petrograd correspondent of The London Times, who wrote as follows:

"She was called Zoya Smirnov. She came to our staff straight from the advanced positions, where she had spent fourteen months wearing soldier's clothes and fighting with the foe on even terms with the men.

"Zoya Smirnov was only 16 years old. Closely cropped hair gave her the appearance of a boy, and only a thin girlish voice involuntarily betrayed her sex.

"At the beginning Zoya was somewhat shy; she carefully chose her words and replied confusedly to our questions; but later she recovered and told us her entire history, which brought tears to the eyes of many a case-hardened veteran who heard it.

"She and her friends decided to go to the war on the eighth day of mobilization—i. e., at the end of July, 1914; and early in August they succeeded in realizing their dream.

"Exactly twelve of them assembled; and they were all nearly the same age and from the same high school. Almost all were natives of Moscow, belonging to the most diversified classes of society, but firmly united in the camaraderie of school life.

We decided to run away to the war at all costs, said Zoya. It was impossible to run away from Moscow, because we might have been stopped at the station. It was therefore necessary to hire izvozchiks and ride out to one of the suburban stations through which the military echelons were continually passing. We left home early in the morning without saying a word to our parents and departed. It was a bit terrible at first; we were very sorry for our fathers and mothers, but the desire to see the war and ourselves kill the Germans overcame all other sentiments.

"And so they attained the desired object. The soldiers treated the little patriots quite paternally and properly, and having concealed them in the cars took them off to the war. A military uniform was obtained for each; they donned these and unobstructed arrived at the Austrian frontier, where they had to detrain and on foot proceed to Lemberg. Here the regimental authorities found out what had happened, but not being able to persuade

the young patriots to return home allowed them to march with the regiment.

"The regiment traversed the whole of Galicia; scaled the Carpathians, incessantly participating in battle, and the girls never fell back from it a step, but shared with the men all the privations and horrors of the march and discharged the duties of ordinary privates, since they were taught to shoot and were given rifles.

"Days and months passed.

"The girls almost forgot their past, they hardly responded to their feminine names, for each of them had received a masculine surname, and completely mingled with the men. The soldiers themselves mutually guarded the girls and observed each other's conduct.

"The battles in which the regiment engaged were fierce and sanguinary, particularly in the Spring, when the Germans brought up their heavy artillery to the Carpathians and began to advance upon us with their celebrated phalanx. Our troops underwent a perfect hell and the young volunteers endured it with them.

"Was it terrible?" an officer asked Zoya. "Were you afraid?"

"I should say so! Who wouldn't be afraid? When for the first time they began to fire with their heavy guns, several of us couldn't stand it and began to cry out."

"What did you cry out?"

"We began to call 'Mamma.' Shura was the first to cry, then Lida. They were both 14 years old, and they remembered their mothers all the time. Besides, it seems that I also cried out as well. We all cried. Well, it was frightful even for the men."

"During one of the Carpathian engagements, at night, one of the twelve friends, the sixteen-year-old Zina Morozov, was killed outright by a shell. It struck immediately at her feet, and the entire small body of the girl was torn into fragments.

Nevertheless, we managed to collect her remains [Zoya stated with a tender inflexion in her voice]. At dawn the firing died down and we all—that is, all the remaining high school volunteers—assembled near the spot where Zina had perished, and somehow collected her bones and laid them in a hastily dug grave. In the same grave we laid also all Zina's things, such as she had with her. The grave was then filled up and upon the cross which we erected above it the following inscription was written: "Volunteer of

such and such a regiment, Zina Morozov, 16 years old, killed in action on such and such a date in such and such year."

On the following day we were already far away, and exactly where Zina's grave is I don't remember well. I only know that it is in the Carpathians at the foot of a steep rocky incline.

"After the death of Zina other of her friends were frequently wounded in turn—Nadya, Zhena, and the fourteen-year-old Shura. Zoya herself was wounded twice—the first time in the leg, and the second time in the side. Both wounds were so serious that Zoya was left unconscious on the battlefield, and the stretcher-bearers subsequently discovered her only by accident. After the second wound she was obliged to lie at a base hospital for over a month. On being discharged she again proceeded to the positions, endeavoring to find her regiment, but on reaching the familiar trenches she could no longer find a single regimental comrade, nor a single fellow-volunteer; they had all gone to another front, and in the trenches sat absolute strangers. The girl lost her presence of mind, and for the first time during the entire campaign began to weep, thus unexpectedly betraying her age and sex. Her unfamiliar fellow-countrymen gazed

with amazement upon the strange young non-commissioned officer with the Cross of St. George and medal on her breast, who resembled a stripling and finally proved to be a girl. But the girl had with her all necessary documents, not excepting a certificate giving her the right to wear the St. George's Cross received for a brave and dashing reconnoissance, and distrustful glances promptly gave place to others full of respect.

"Zoya was finally induced to abandon the trenches, at least for the time being, and to try to engage in nursing at one of the advanced hospitals. She is now working at the divisional hospital of the N— division, in the village of K., ten versts from the Austrian town of Z.

"From her remaining friends whom she left with the regiment which went to another front Zoya has no news whatever.

"What has befallen them? Do these amazing Russian girls continue their disinterested and heroic service to the country, or do graves already hold them, similar to that which was dug for the remnants of poor little Zina, who perished so gloriously in the distant Carpathians?"

Hindenburg

By Sven Hedin

From his new book "Eastward," in which he recounts his journeys and experiences on the eastern German battle front.

WHEN I stood before the famous man I was reminded of the ancient Germans in the Teutoburg forest. His deeds, like theirs, will live until the end of time, for they have impressed themselves upon the national consciousness as super-human, and the people's love has already woven a shimmering legend around their hero. Hindenburg is a descendant of an ancient Germanic race of chieftains—is himself a chieftain. It is not that any special feature is striking or reveals the presence of extraordinary qualities—were the vic-

tor of Tannenberg a German peasant no one would be struck by his appearance. One would only say that this peasant had unusually strong, virile and honest features and one would guess that he had worked and worried much in the sixty-eight years of his life. But in the case of Hindenburg, his whole bearing proclaims who and what he is—the General who shattered the Muscovite steamroller and who, at the post at which he was placed by his sovereign, will continue to destroy Germany's enemies.

That is how he looked to me the first time that I saw him, the personification of security and reliability, radiating an atmosphere of imperturbable calm. And I comprehended a little of the power of

personality in the war, the power with which the leader controls the mass.

The room had grown absolutely silent and every one was standing at attention. But the Field Marshal did not move a muscle; he was just as serious as before when he shook my hand and repeated the words:

"You are very welcome!"

Then he greeted the other guests, made a slight bow to the staff, and invited us to follow him to the adjoining dining room. * * *

The Field Marshal asked me a few questions concerning my impressions at the western front, and gave expression to the hope that I might not be disappointed in my expectations at the eastern front. He spoke of the Kaiser, the Commander in Chief of the Army, and expressed his happiness that he might still serve such a monarch in the fall of his life. When I said that it must be a source of great joy and satisfaction to him to know that he had freed his menaced Fatherland from a mighty and rapacious foe, he answered simply and unassumingly:

"My dear doctor, a soldier must also have luck!"

For his great victories, Paul von Hindenburg gives the credit first of all to God, Who was with him in his battles; to the Kaiser, who intrusted him with the responsible post in the east, to Ludendorff, the indispensable, clear-sighted Chief of Staff; to his entire excellent corps of officers, and last, but by no means least, to his brave soldiers. For his part he does not make any claim to distinction or glory. It is probably an inner joy for him to feel that he has the love and the everlasting gratitude of the entire German Nation. But he does not plume himself on it. He is thankful for the glory which his Fatherland has achieved through him, and is and will always be humble before God and the world.

The evening meal was at an end and the coffee cups were empty.

"Perhaps you gentlemen would like to come to the front room and drink a glass of beer?"

And we went as he suggested and grouped ourselves around our famous host. It was an unconventional gathering, with merry words and jests. It was difficult to believe that we were at one of the centres of the war and at the focus of the military operations of the German Army in the east. The hand that had just struck such a hard blow was now peacefully concocting a drink of water, lemon, and sugar. No one was in a hurry. No orderlies and messengers passed in and out. Cares were laid away as soon as the desk was closed for the day. It was as if the war were already at an end and there could be no more danger. The Field Marshal was leaning back comfortably in his armchair, his fingertips lightly pressed together while he recounted reminiscences of his youth, of the war of 1870, and of the coronation at Versailles. Then he spoke of the recent events in the north-eastern section of Poland, and finally proposed that after I had visited the province of Suwalki I should also take a trip into those parts of East Prussia which had been devastated by the Russians. For whoever had not seen the terrible traces of a Russian invasion, he said, did not know what "the Russian peril" meant. * * *

Later, I often had the honor of being Hindenburg's guest and he gave me a number of glimpses into his mode of life. On this information, but above all on the report which his son-in-law gave me one evening, is based the following short description:

First of all I wish to emphasize the characteristic point that during the Russian campaign, Hindenburg has changed his ordinary habits of peace times as little as possible. He works, goes walking, eats and sleeps at the same hours and just as long as in peace times. He does not permit his habits and his calm to be disturbed. He adheres to what is dear and of benefit to him.

In war, as in peace, he begins work directly after breakfast. In Summer he rises at 6, in Winter an hour later. His work lasts until about 11, and then he takes a long walk, irrespective of weather or season. Several times I saw him

enter his automobile and drive out into the country with his adjutant to wander along the more or less beaten tracks in some peaceful wood. At five minutes to 1 he returns to get ready for the noon-day meal, which begins at 1 o'clock sharp. You could set your watch by his exact division of the day. The meal is a simple one and he likes to drink a glass of moselle with it.

When he rises from the table he goes directly to his room to rest. At 4 o'clock work begins again and continues until a few minutes before 8. In time of peace he partakes of coffee and cake with his family at about 4 o'clock; then he receives visitors and either takes a walk or works. He always has guests at table and takes great pleasure in conversing with them and giving his opinion on the burning questions of the day.

Punctually at 8 o'clock supper is served and conversation over a glass of beer continues until 11. One day is like the other, without interruption. Just as the war has been unable to change Hindenburg's mode of life, just so the rigor of the war and its events of world-historical bearing have not been able to disturb his composure. He was as unruffled at the time of the Mazurian battles as he is today. When every one feared for the safety of Scheffer and Litzmann, who appeared to be hopelessly surrounded by the Russians east of Lodz, Hindenburg retained his calm, and when the anxiety was at its height asked where the splendid cake on the dinner table had come from. The mother of a young Lieutenant had sent it and Hindenburg did not neglect to send her his thanks for the gift. The apparently

surrounded corps broke through with that cold decision which the General felt justified in expecting of them and took 12,000 prisoners in the bargain! Such absolute calm is for the most part a gift of nature, but it is also a result of the training to bear heavy responsibilities, in which German officers are drilled from the start.

Hindenburg is the idol of the soldiers, for victory is tied to his baton. By the mere mention of his name the soldiers are inspired to make the greatest efforts and go to meet death with enthusiasm. The General is like a father to his troops and he looks out for their every comfort.

The relation between Hindenburg and his Chief of Staff is touching. Only death can break their alliance. It has often been asked whether the Field Marshal or the Chief of Staff plans the operations, but one may feel convinced that the two supplement one another. The General alone bears the burden of responsibility, however. The two men are thus inseparably bound, not only by ties of friendship, but also by common successful work. When you see the two men in conversation you have the feeling of invincible, overwhelming power. The "General of the future" is the name which the Field Marshal has given to Ludendorff, and the latter's opinion of his superior is well-known to every one at the eastern front. The words which Prince Joachim once wrote to Hindenburg's son-in-law may stand for an expression of the feeling which the entire army cherishes for the victor of Tannenberg:

"You know I am not given to making phrases, but I would gladly die for Hindenburg!"

Heard on the Balkan Express

By Emil Ludwig

This picture of life on the famous Balkan Express, which has been making semi-weekly trips between Berlin and Constantinople since Jan. 15, appeared originally in the Berliner Tageblatt.

THE Balkan Express drew into Sofia. Fifty men, whose origin, honesty, and state of cleanliness had been officially approved, crowded anxiously against the windows of the waiting room

until this announcement was made in four languages: "Eleven persons leave the train here." This message undeceived the other thirty-nine travelers, as everything here goes by number, and one man cried loudly through the room: "I will give 500 crowns for a ticket to Vienna!"

Prominent among those who were pacing up and down the platform was a Persian. Under his magnificent yellow-bordered furs the big man wore a bell-shaped long khaki jacket, narrow trousers, and high boots, and his head was covered with a high fur cap. His heavy, short beard was blonde and was parted in the middle in the Persian style.

"I hear," said an Austrian officer to him in French, "that you come from Teheran. Is it possible that you have heard something of the fate of my friend, Staff Surgeon H.? He was a member of my corps, and is said to have escaped from Russian captivity."

"At your service," said the Persian in German as he saluted. "I am Staff Surgeon H. myself."

Later he recounted the almost incredible story of his flight from Askarpad, whither he had been dragged from Przemysl to serve as a doctor, a flight including a stretch of more than 800 kilometers to Teheran and then a trip to Asia Minor, so graphically and with such a wealth of detail that I dare not forestall his desire to be the first to tell it in public.

In the same dining car in which this "Persian" was directing the imaginations of the travelers to a barren mountain range, to the longings and fears of the prisoner and to his bewilderment at being free again, was heard the kaleidoscopic chatter and buzz of thirty voices—army contractors, diplomats, agents, officers, all inspired by the spirit of the present that never seems livelier or more entrancing than here in the Balkans, whose name the new train carries in letters by far too large. German officers in Turkish uniforms sit beside naval officers from Gallipoli and point out that one is going home on leave after fifteen months'

service and another after seventeen. One tells about the marmalade jars the English left behind at Sedd-el-Bahr, another details his trip on a raft on the Tigris, and a third points to a piece of shrapnel on his watch chain that was dug out of his thigh.

Over there a gentleman is explaining the blessings of the Central Purchasing Company to a doubter. * * * "And it logically follows that the victory of the blockaded Central Powers is guaranteed, not only by their arms, but also by the intelligent purchasing of the materials that we lack. My department in particular is so important for the interest of the public, that." * * *

"I assure you," says somebody behind me, "that we Zionists never were stronger than at present. The Government is now taking a great interest in having the Jews in Poland return to their homes. I, myself, am going to Budapest, to" * * *

"You are mistaken," declares an ingratiating voice in front of me, "today nothing depends upon the attitude of Greece. The whole thing is plainly narrowing down to the fate of the Irak region. I, myself, had an opportunity to learn things through confidential talks with X.—things—I tell you—"

"Cargo room!" The voice rolled through the car like thunder. "Cargo room, that's the question! If the British did not have much less cargo room than people naturally thought they had, as the first seafaring nation, they would now be able to send enough reinforcements to Egypt. I was an officer for three years in one of those lousy English cargo boats, myself, and I can tell you I know the breed."

This loud and positive, if not logical, judgment enlivened the crowd, which, between cheese and apples, considered events from the viewpoint of personal experiences and recklessly foretold their outcome. And then I thought how far we all were in the dark regarding the development of events, the outcome of which would affect every one of us.

The Slaughter at Douaumont

By a French Soldier

This narrative of one of the bloodiest fights at Verdun, translated from the Paris Figaro, comes hot from the trenches and breathes the fierce spirit of the war:

DESPITE the horror of it, despite the ceaseless flow of blood, one wants to see. One's soul wants to feed on the sight of the brute Boches falling. I stopped on the ground for hours, and when I closed my eyes I saw the whole picture again. The guns are firing at 200 and 300 yards, and shrapnel is exploding with a crash, scything them down. Our men hold their ground; our machine guns keep to their work, and yet they advance.

Near me, as I lie in the mud, there is a giant wrapped in one of our uniforms with a steel helmet on his head. He seems to be dead, he is so absolutely still. At a given moment the Boches are quite close to us. Despite the noise of the guns one can hear their oaths and their shouts as they strike. Then the giant next to me jumps up, and with a voice like a stentor shouts "Hier da! Hier da!" Mechanically some of us get up. (My wound, which had been dressed, left me free and I had forgotten.) I was unarmed and so I struck him with my steel helmet and he dropped, with his head broken. An officer who was passing sees the incident and takes off the man's coat. Below is a German uniform. Where had the spy come from and how had he got there?

But the Boches are returning again massed to the assault, and they are being killed in bulk. It makes one think that in

declaring war the Kaiser had sworn the destruction of his race, and he would have shown good taste in doing so. Their gunfire is slackening now, and ours redoubles. The fort has gone, and if under its ruins there are left a few guns and gunners the bulk of the guns are firing from outside. The machine guns are coming up and getting in position, and our men are moving on in numerous waves. I find a rifle belonging to a comrade who has fallen and join the Chasseurs with the fifty cartridges that I have left. What a fight it is, and what troops! From time to time a man falls, rises, shoots, runs, shoots again, keeps on firing, fights with his bayonet, and then, worn out, falls, to be trampled on without raising a cry. The storm of fire continues. Everything is on fire—the wood near by, the village of Douaumont, Verdun, the front of Bezonvaux, and the back of Thiaumont. There is fire everywhere. The acrid smell of carbonic acid and blood catches at our throats, but the battle goes on.

They are brave, but one of our men is worth two of theirs, especially in hand-to-hand fighting. They bend and fall back, and the sound of the song they sing to order, "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," only reaches us in hiccoughs. Our reinforcements continue to arrive. We are the masters. Our officers, with wonderful coolness, control the ardor of the troops. The infantry action is over. By its tirs de barrage the artillery is holding that of the enemy, and we keep awaiting the fresh order for action in silence.



Important War Books in Press

This department is devoted mainly to significant extracts from advance sheets of books relating to the great European war or to world affairs directly affected by the war. Some of the volumes are still in press, but all are to be out early in the month. The object is to give interesting advance information as to the contents of each book.

German Power Analyzed

THE GERMAN EMPIRE BETWEEN TWO WARS. By Robert H. Fife, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

MR. FIFE, who is Professor of German in Wesleyan University, offers a general survey of the German Empire from 1871 to 1914, taking up the matter in three sections. In the first he studies the development of relations between Germany and other nations; in the second he takes up internal politics during the same period, and in the third he considers various phases of the growth within the empire socially, industrially, and politically.

In a chapter discussing the "Expansion and Ambitions" of the German Empire Mr. Fife pays especial attention to the efforts and methods by which Germany has endeavored to gain an outlet through Turkey, finding in the incidents and policies extending through a number of years the antecedents of the present comradeship in war. He sums up as follows:

It was then, as co-worker and heir of the Turk that the German hoped to find outlet for a part of his surplus political and commercial energy. Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, with a heterogeneous and in part very energetic population, have great natural resources and only wait the touch of European capital to awaken to great wealth. Germany had long recognized this, and her leverage at the Court of the Sultan was early brought to bear in the effort to secure a foothold here. She regarded this field as peculiarly hers; hence the clever flattery of Abdul Hamid through so many years, hence the failure to co-operate with the other European powers in their protests against the brutalities of Turkish rule and their efforts to assist the Hellenic people in Crete and elsewhere, hence the hostile attitude of the German press against Italian occupation of the Islands of the Aegean in 1912 and the eager championship of the Turkish cause by

the same papers at the outbreak of the first Balkan war. German efforts were crowned with preliminary success, and the peaceful penetration of Anatolia by German capital went on apace.

In his study of the internal policies of the empire the author explains and justifies the dominance of Prussia:

Not only does the empire rest upon Prussia, but Prussia has become to a certain extent the empire. Prussia's monarch is its Emperor and the commander of its army and navy, Prussia's Minister-President is its Chancellor, the Prussian capital is its capital. Prussia includes nearly 65 per cent. of the empire's area, more than 61 per cent. of its population, and 60 per cent. of its taxable values. Prussia's methods in official administration have become the model for the smaller States. The military forces of the greater part of the smaller duchies and principalities are attached to Prussian commands, and the railways of all the Central States are at Prussia's mercy and therefore completely subordinate to the Prussian administration.

"If we were obliged," says Professor Fife, in a chapter on "The Proletarian in Politics," "to cover with one word the development of Germany in the four decades between the two great wars, that word would certainly be 'socialism.'" He goes on to outline the socialistic development and its causes. Then follows an inquiry into the reasons why the Socialist Party should be so constantly at odds with the Government and with all other parties. The author concludes:

Largely through its own choice the Social Democracy, although representing one-third of the voters in the empire, has been deprived of any considerable share in government and remained in an attitude of sullen hostility to the State. So well have the class organizers of past decades done their work that they have developed among the industrial workers who make up the Social Democratic Party a class feeling that is nothing more nor

less than than an independent class culture. It is not merely a political gulf which the Socialist leaders have fixed between the workman and every other class in Germany.

Mr. Fife's discussion of "The Press and Public Opinion" illuminates much in German progress and affairs that Americans find difficult to understand.

Russia's Strength Increasing

VICTORY IN DEFEAT. By Stanley Washburn. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

AS correspondent of The London Times Mr. Washburn was at the front with the Russian Army from October, 1914, until last November. During that time he was with every active Russian army but one, and was present at most of the important engagements. His book describes in detail the campaign in Galicia, the retreat through Poland, the evacuation of Warsaw, and the subsequent retirement before the German forces until the establishment of Winter quarters in November. The author says that it was during the early part of last Fall that he began to detect "that subtle seepage of morale which was beginning to manifest itself among the German soldiers," due to the fact that they had been assured that the fall of Warsaw would mean a separate peace with Russia. The Germans now in Russia, he says, because they have lost such volumes of young men, "are gradually losing their capacity to drive home attacks, because the new troops have not the punch of those marshaled for war a year ago." Comparing the outlook for the two countries, he has this to say:

In the meantime, when even the best friend of Germany must admit that she has passed the zenith of her resources both in men and material, Russia has passed her ebb tide and is getting stronger day by day. I have heard tales of only old men left in Russia to fight. This is a mere fiction. There are two million of Russia's young manhood trained and awaiting only arms to go to the front. Can Germany ever again put in this war two million young men in the field? Russia can put twice that this year if she gets material, and a million a year thereafter for as long as the war lasts. The Russian tide is coming in as the German is beginning to ebb.

Mr. Washburn considers Alexieff "the

cleverest and most capable General the Russians have ever had in their history." A chapter is devoted to description and analysis of the Russian Chief of Staff, of whom he says:

He has no recreations save work, and he lives practically twenty-four hours of the day for the single purpose of winning this war. I have met many Generals in this and other wars, but can say without reservation that Alexieff is the hardest worker that I have ever known, either in the military or any other profession.

In a chapter on the commercial opportunity presented to this country by present conditions in Russia, which the author considers the greatest American trade has ever known, Mr. Washburn explains at some length why it will be impossible after the war for the Germans to slip back into their former commercial relations with Russia. Two of these reasons, which will operate equally with regard to South American and Far Eastern markets also, will be the lack of financial backing to make possible the long lines of credit Germany formerly extended and the depleted ranks of her skilled industrial workers now being sacrificed so freely, "types of men that she cannot for a generation duplicate." A reason affecting Russia alone is, he says, the result of the realization by the Russians, after the breaking out of the war, of the extent to which Germans, under cover of the commercial influence they had gained, were exerting a powerful influence on domestic affairs.

Perhaps it is not strange, then, that Russia today is looking for a substitute for the German trade. "What we want," the Russians say, "is a trade that will supply us with our wants, but that will bring with it no political influence." Naturally and logically, then, the eyes of intelligent business men have been looking toward America to step into the breach and fill the gaps in trade which the cessation of relations with Germany

has created. "We are determined to rid ourselves of this influence," Serge Sazonoff, the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs in Petrograd, has said to me ten times if he has said it once; "why are you Americans doing nothing

to take advantage of this extraordinary condition in the Russian market? Russia wants American trade, and anything which the Government can do legitimately to encourage this trade will be done and gladly."

A Plea for Pan-Americanism

MODERNIZING THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

By Charles H. Sherrill. Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.25.

MR. SHERRILL'S study of the problem of how to make the Monroe Doctrine a practical, up-to-date method, beneficial for all concerned, of directing the interests of both the United States and South America, is the result of his own intimate acquaintance with both continents. He was for some years United States Minister to Argentina, where he paid much attention to the commercial, political, and intellectual developments of South American life, and he is now Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Chambers of Commerce of the United States. In this latter position he is devoting himself to the task of bringing this country into closer relations, not only commercially but in every way, with the South American republics. Within a week after the publication of his book the publishers received requests for permission to translate it into Russian, Japanese, and Spanish.

In his introduction the author thus sets forth his position:

I believe in Pan-Americanism and its great future because it is at the same time the most altruistic and the most practical foreign policy to which any country has ever devoted itself. It honorably reconciles the two seemingly irreconcilable shibboleths, "Safety First" and "America First," because it satisfies both our patriotism and our desire for security. It is based upon a study of and a regard for the viewpoint of other nations, thus educating the spirit of our own nation: advance the spiritual side of a whole people and things material will take care of themselves. It provides a definite foreign policy upon which the most practical of men may consistently unite with extreme idealists. It is an attempt to assemble the finest

traits of twenty-one republics so as to employ them in combination for the common good of all, meanwhile disregarding their shortcomings: this mixture of appreciation and toleration will surely be as effective when applied in the family of nations as it has proved in many a family of individuals. Once this attitude of mind is gained, it matters little how much the republics concerned differ in racial traits. Pan-Americanism makes for a broader and deeper type of patriotism, because it adds consideration for the viewpoint of other nations to the narrower and often selfish patriotism for one's homeland, whose interests, nevertheless, it safeguards. * * * Some policies are only beneficial when completely worked out, but Pan-Americanism, even when incomplete, is beneficial, and complete it would be an immeasurable blessing. It is the most practical agent for international peace thus far devised.

In the early part of the book the author cites many facts and describes many conditions in the attempt to show the people of this country the truth about South America, its life and its people, in matters concerning which there is here much misconception. He shows, for instance, that the Latin originals of South America have been as much modified in character as have the immigrants who came to this country, and it is his conviction that the process of Americanization "has been working simultaneously in both North and South America until we have almost reached a point of Pan-American equilibrium." He urges that in every possible way, especially by utilizing the help of newspapers in the dissemination of news in this country about South America, and in South America about the United States, by bringing the Chambers of Commerce of the two regions in closer touch, and by creating reciprocal interests in their colleges and universities, South and North America be

brought to a clearer understanding of each other's needs, views, and possibilities of mutual helpfulness.

Passing from consideration of the means by which peace and mutual understanding can be assured, he advances a plan for the removal of friction between this entire hemisphere and Europe on the one side, and Asia on the other. It is, in brief, that the United States should ex-

change the Philippine Islands for certain European territory in the Western world:

Trade the Philippines for all European possessions to the south of us, plus freedom of hand in the Panama Canal by an agreed annulment of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and then turn the Guianas and British Honduras into free republics, return the Falkland Islands to Argentina, and take under our own flag the West Indian Islands, so important to the defense of the great canal.

"Germany vs. Civilization"

GERMANY VS. CIVILIZATION: NOTES ON THE ATROCIOUS WAR. By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.

MR. THAYER, author of noteworthy biographies of John Hay and Cavour, calls the present conflict the Atrocious War throughout his book. Not only does he charge Germany with aggression and with savage methods, but he also condemns President Wilson bitterly for not protesting at the outset against German violations of international law in Belgium. He says:

We were the most powerful free people in the world, and to possess power imposes the obligation to use it in behalf of the weak. The little countries looked to us for leadership, looked and listened and waited, and we gave them neither sign nor sound. They would have joined us in protest even at the risk of bringing on themselves the fury of the Germans, within whose reach they dwelt. Our silence—the silence of President Wilson, letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would"—brought to them the desolating conviction that the United States would officially utter no declaration in behalf either of neutrality or of humanity. We tacitly admitted that a small nation has no rights, that neutral nations may be overrun and destroyed at the pleasure of a powerful aggressor.

Having devoted chapters to the Kaiser, Kultur, and the barbarous strain in the German nature, Mr. Thayer gives one to "Germanizing America," in which he addresses himself to the plots and activities of Germans in the United States. His view is indicated in the following passages:

Germany practiced a peculiarly ignoble form of deceit in permitting her subjects who came to this country to become nat-

uralized American citizens, with the tacit understanding that when they returned home they might resume their German citizenship. The purpose of this double shuffle was evident as soon as the war broke out. Germans who had resided here for years, never hinting that they wished to become Americans, suddenly applied for naturalization papers, and were soon presiding at pro-German meetings or editing pro-German journals, and setting themselves up as expounders of the Americanism of Washington and Lincoln. One hardly knows which to despise more, the deceit or the impudence. * * *

Glancing at the recoil of these activities upon German-Americans themselves after the war, Mr. Thayer says:

Only men convinced that they must win at any cost and by any means could resort to the terrorist methods which these agents use. But what if the Kaiser does not win? In what state will the hyphenate, seditious Germans here be left? Can they suppose that the Americans who are and intend to remain Americans will welcome them as neighbors? Will the American workmen who have been thrown out of employment by the blowing up of their factories feel kindly toward the Teutons who committed these crimes? Will American business men, whose legitimate business and investments have been blocked by German capitalists, cherish no resentment? Will American universities tolerate professors who have been slyly preaching sedition? It is far more likely that for a generation to come the very word "German" will be detested in the United States and that every German will have to show cause why he should not be regarded as a secret enemy of this country.

In his final chapter Mr. Thayer views the war as a death grapple between despotism and democracy.

A German Reply to "J'Accuse"

A SLANDER: NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE WORLD WAR. By Professor Doctor Theodor Schiemann. Berlin: J. S. Preuss.

PROFESSOR SCHIEMANN, an eminent German historian, and friend of the Kaiser, has undertaken to answer the most damaging of all the anti-German books on the war—"J'Accuse." His answer is in the form of a brochure entitled "A Slander," narrating the diplomatic history of the years preceding the war, and seeking to prove that there was a conspiracy of France, England, and Russia to strangle Germany. His main propositions are these:

That this war was desired by France in the first instance, was brought closer by the Russian-French alliance, and, through England's joining hands with those conspirators, became, under English leadership, necessary and inevitable.

That these three powers had long since resolved to break Germany's powerful strategic position in Central Europe, and had been systematically working to educate the world up to the notion that this proceeding was a moral necessity.

That in this war which has been forced upon us our goal should be the permanent safeguarding of our borders and the freeing of the seas from English tyranny.

Professor Schiemann holds that Bernhardi merely pointed out the necessity of grasping the sword before this conspiracy became active. The plot, he says, began with King Edward's entente with France, but it first became dangerous when England and Russia got together in 1907 and divided Persia between them. "This was designed above all else," he believes, "to make of Persia the booty

by means of which Russia should be led to an understanding with England over the great questions of European policy." Then followed the crisis of 1908 and the meeting of King Edward and the Czar, with their diplomatic representatives:

Iswolsky declared himself ready to proceed with England against Germany as soon as Russia should have sufficiently strengthened itself in a military way. Six or eight years was the longest period contemplated for this purpose, that is to say, till between the years 1914 and 1916. As long as Clemenceau remained in office it could be reckoned on that France would under all circumstances join in.

To Dr. Schiemann's mind the defensive agreements entered into by Great Britain and France at critical moments in the succeeding years were aggressive acts in a settled program for the ultimate and deliberate crushing of Germany. The most important of the comparatively new evidence that he cites is in regard to a secret naval convention entered into between Great Britain and Russia about two months before the war broke out. As the actual signing of this convention admittedly took place only after hostilities had begun, little has been said about it; but Dr. Schiemann gives it several pages, with details said to be taken from the minutes of an Admiralty conference held at St. Petersburg May 26, 1914, agreeing upon concerted action of the British and Russian navies.

If this brochure lacks the sweeping eloquence of "J'Accuse," it has the power of quiet earnestness and of a trained historical mind.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

Wilson's Highest Ambition



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

“There is an English Viceroy of India—why not also one of America?”

[Australian Cartoon]

The Banquet of Death

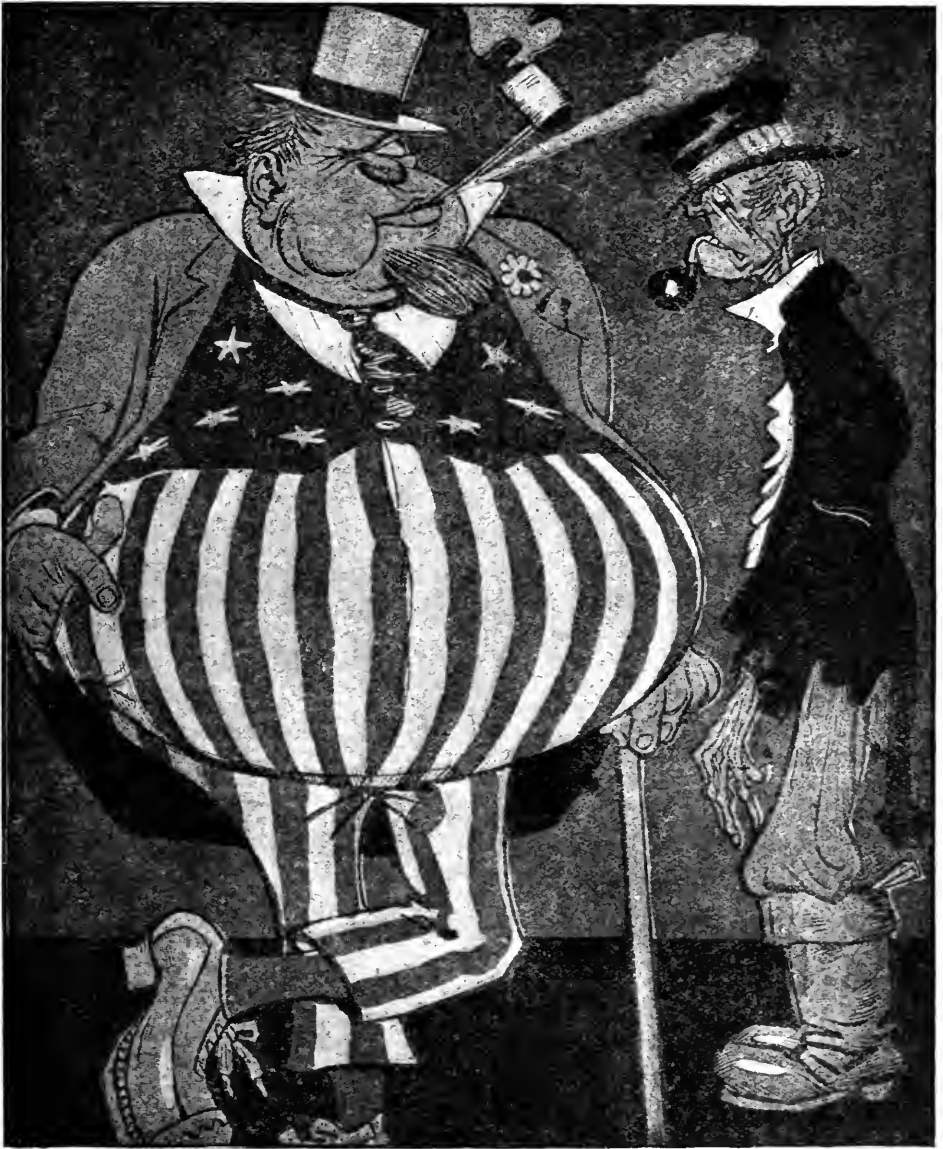


—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

THE BANQUETER: "This is the feast of my life."

[German Cartoon]

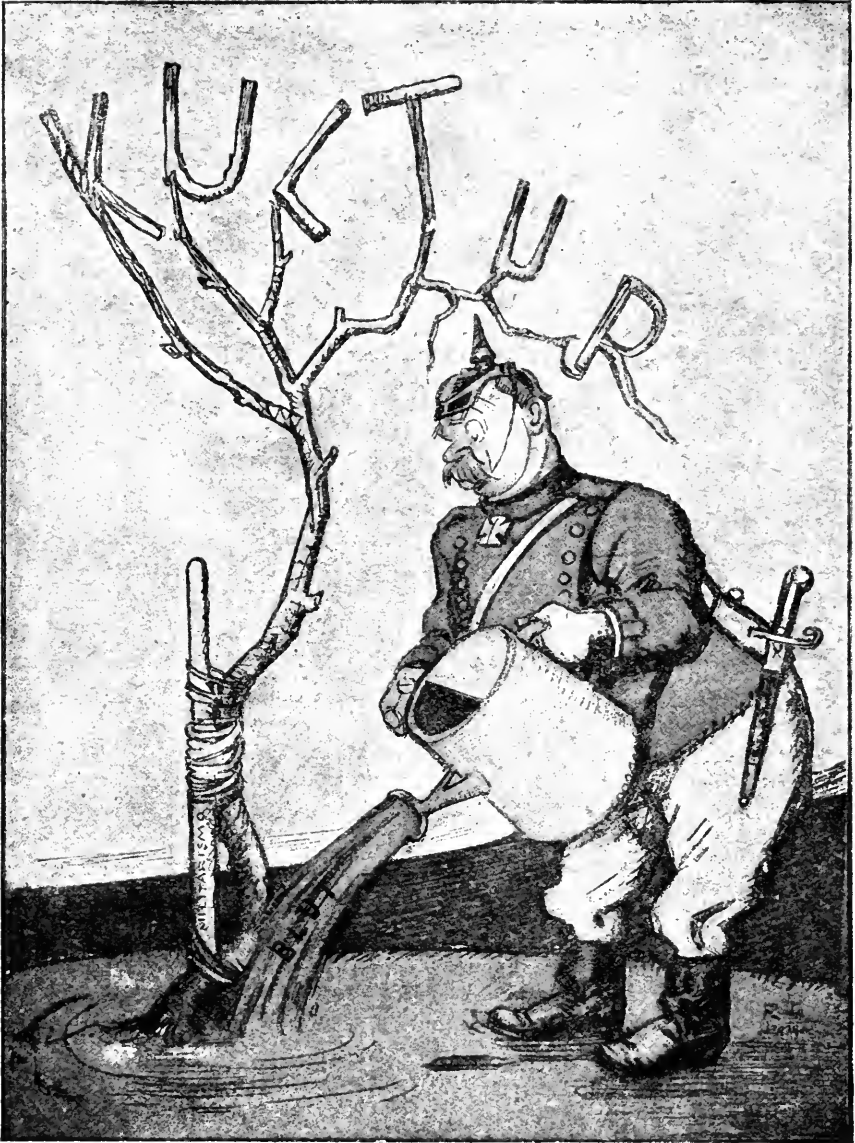
Rich Jonathan and Poor John



—© Kladderadatch, Berlin.

JOHN BULL: "Now I know, at least, what has become of my big stomach."

A Thirsty Plant



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

It must be watered often—with blood.

[English Cartoon]

Hohenzollern Madness



—Louis Raemackers in *Land and Water*, London.

Verdun: Storming "l'Homme Mort."

The Cornered Beast



—From *Le Matin*, Paris.

The Death of the Zeppelin



—From *Le Matin*, Paris.

The German Goliath Brought to Earth by the French Seventy-five.

[German Cartoon]

“And the Levite Passed By—”

Luke x., 32.



—© *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

“The Anglican Bishop of London praised the English seamen who refused to rescue our Zeppelin crew.”

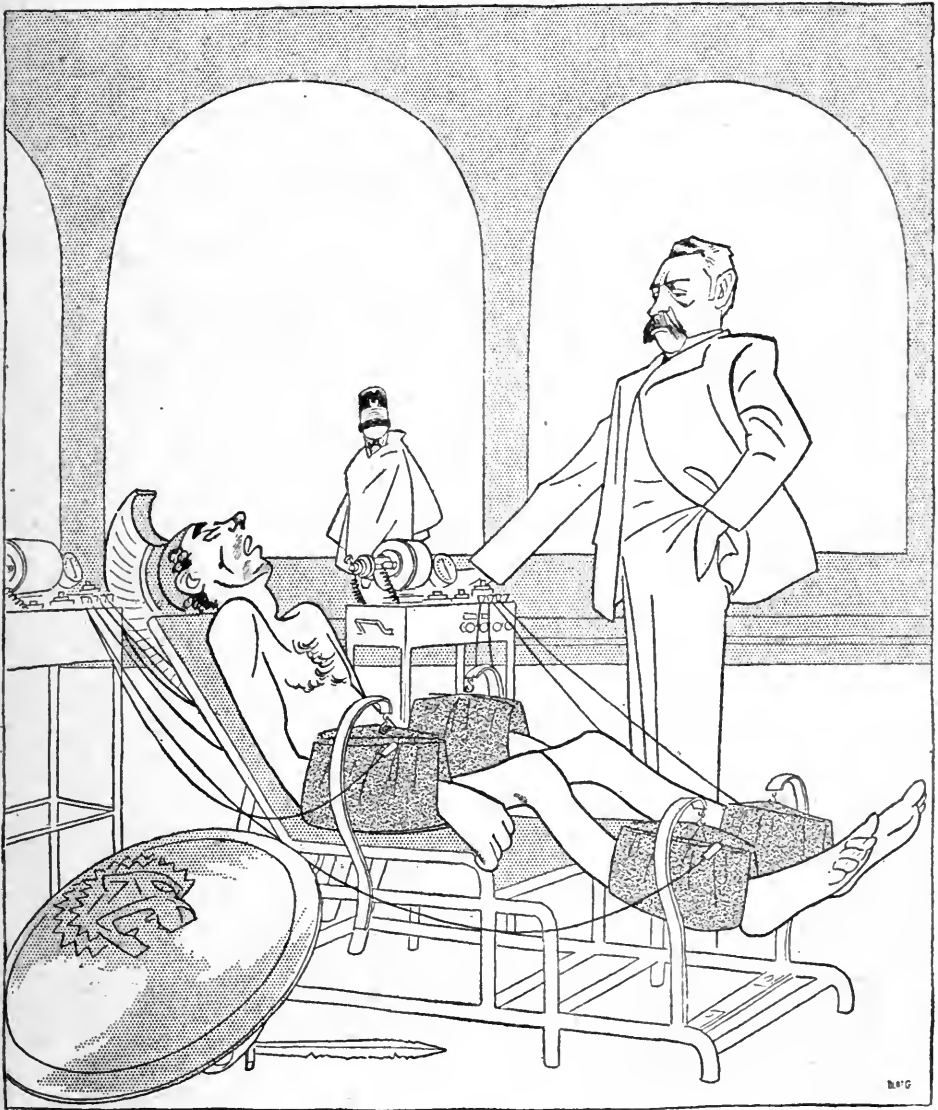
Mars in America



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

He Sends Them Kiting.

Dr. Briand's Resuscitation Experiment

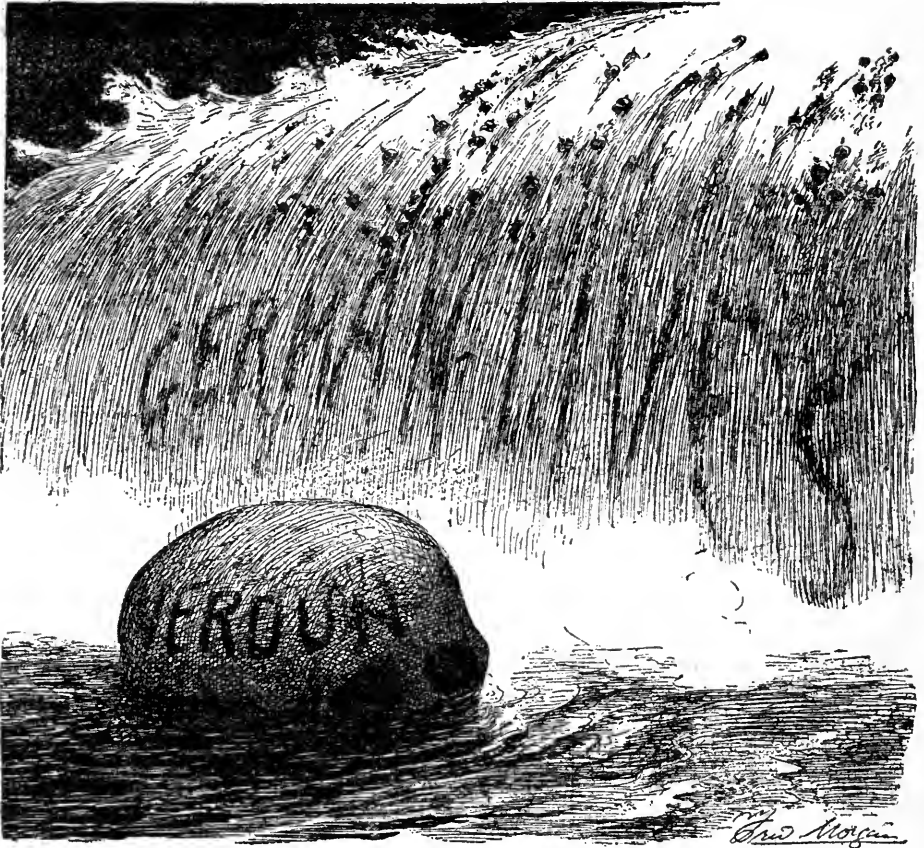


—© Simplicissimus, Munich.

BRIAND: "Do you feel better now?"

THE ITALIAN MARS: "Yes, a little. I—am—convinced—of our—final—victory."

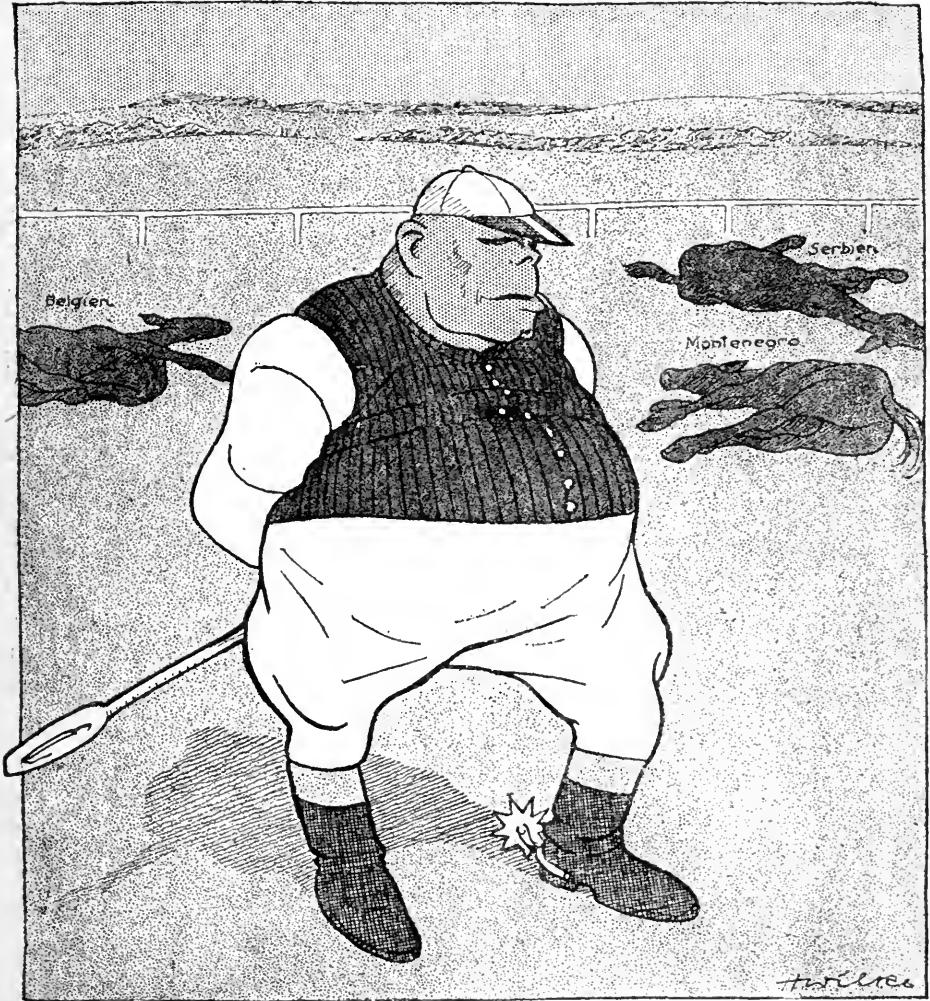
Wearing-Down Tactics



—© 1916, by *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

“Attrition” Gone Mad.

Tommy the Horse Butcher



—© Ulk, Berlin.

ENGLAND: "With my great overweight I shall yet ride all my horseflesh to death."

A Diplomatic Parley



—By Louis Raemaekers, Noted Dutch Cartoonist.

The American Attitude On the German Submarine Policy.

[German Cartoon]

As Seen From Mars



—© *Ulk, Berlin.*

“How peacefully the Earth shines there in the evening sky!”

The "Way" of the Kaiser



—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdamer*.

KAISER: "Each battle is a step along the way in which Almighty God so graciously leads us."

[German Cartoon]

Protection Against U-Boats



—© *Simplicissimus*. Munich.

“Where did this wire fence come from all at once?”

“That is the grating behind which the ruler of the world-seas has to hide herself.”

[Referring to the mysterious wire trawls that are said to have baffled German submarines in the English Channel.]

German Peace

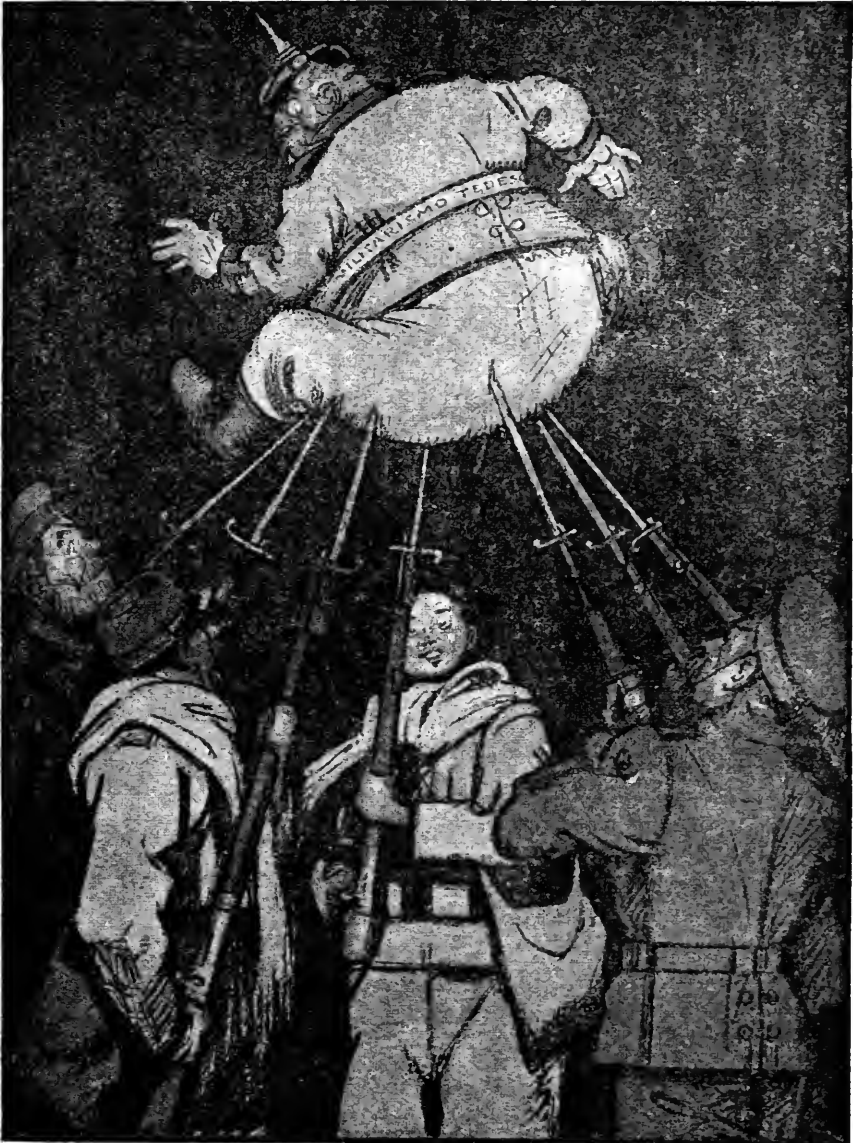


—From The New York Evening Sun.

“I Forgive Them!”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Accord of the Allies



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

All United For One Aim.

The German Plagues



—© Ulk, Berlin.

JOHN BULL: "Again I say, I will have nothing more to do with German products."

Watch Your Step!



—From *The Nashville American*.

And Still He Insists In Putting His Foot In It.

[French Cartoon]

The Other Trench



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

“The women of France also are doing their own brave part for la Patrie.”

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From March 12 Up to and Including
April 12, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- March 13—Heavy artillery fighting north of Verdun, in the Champagne district, and north of the Aisne.
- March 16—Both sides fight at Verdun to hold Le Mort Homme.
- March 17-19—Fierce German assaults on Vaux and Douaumont.
- March 20—Fresh German troops make strong attack between Malancourt and Avocourt.
- March 21—French forced to retire from Avocourt woods with loss of 2,500 prisoners.
- March 24—Haucourt trenches taken by Germans; Hill 304 under hot fire.
- March 25—Town of Verdun set afire by German shells.
- March 27—British troops smash German salient in front of St. Eloi.
- March 28—Germans repulsed with great slaughter in attack on Avocourt-Bethincourt salient.
- March 30—Germans win Malancourt and gain footing in Le Mort Homme region by fierce attacks on Hill 295.
- April 2—German assaults penetrate Caillette Wood.
- April 6—Village of Haucourt carried by Germans after night attack.
- April 9—French abandon Bethincourt salient, straightening their lines from Avocourt to Cumières.
- April 10—Germans penetrate French lines on Hill 295; furious assaults on Hill 340.
- April 12—Germans repulsed in renewed assaults on Le Mort Homme and Cumières.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- March 13—Austrians report repulse of Russian offensive on the Dniester and Bes-sarabian fronts.
- March 19—Germans repulse Russian attacks east of Vilna; 9,270 Russians killed near Lake Narocz.
- March 20—Russians lose heavily in attack on German positions south of Wichnevski Lake and north of Postavy.
- March 21—Austrians forced to evacuate bridgehead fortifications northwest of Usleczo and to abandon their transports.
- March 23—Russian armies in Galicia and Bukowina continue their advance and pierce German line in Riga region.
- March 31—Teutons repulsed in attack on Russian line in Jacobstadt sector and in forests south of Mokritz.

April 9—Germans bombard Shlok in the Riga region and are repulsed north of Lake Narocz.

April 12—German attacks southwest of Pinsk repulsed.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- March 13—Italian infantry charges against enemy's position near Plava.
- March 14—Italians storm Austrian redoubt at San Martino and capture Dante del Croviglio.
- March 18—Austrians capture Italian position north of Tolmino bridgehead.
- March 30—Austrians repulsed by Italians in counterattacks in Sugana Valley and in the Monte Nero zone.
- April 2—Italians capture blockhouses on the Rauchkofel and a trench near Sietz.
- April 8—Italians repulsed at several points in the Doberdo sector.
- April 10—Italians take Austrian trenches on the Mrzli.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- March 17—Russians occupy Mamhutan, on the Euphrates.
- March 18—Russians resume progress westward from Erzerum, and march on Sivas.
- March 22—Turks evacuate fortress of Erzerum.
- March 24—Turks report success on the Tigris, near Felahie.
- April 1—Turks advance in the Tchouk Valley.
- April 3—British driven from their positions in Arabia by surprise attack, and retreat to Sheikh Osman.
- April 5—British carry Turkish entrenched position at Umm-el-Henna, below Kut-el-Amara.
- April 6—British capture town of Felahie.
- April 8—Russians frustrate attempt of the Turks to cross the Kara Dere River.
- April 9—British fall in attempt to take Turkish position at Sannayyat, and are repulsed near Felahie after losing more than 3,000 killed.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

- March 13—British forces occupy Mushi in German East Africa.
- March 20—Germans driven from Arusha and from a strong defense along the Ruwu River.
- April 11—Portuguese forces occupy Kionga, in East Africa.

AERIAL RECORD

The western front was the scene of many aerial combats and raids. Six French aeroplanes dropped bombs over the German lines at Brioules on March 13. On March 20 sixty-five allied aeroplanes raided the coast of Belgium and bombarded Zeebrugge and Houttave. Twenty-three allied aeroplanes raided Mülhausen. It was estimated that at least fifty machines were engaged in the ensuing battle. In one day four German aeroplanes were brought down in the region of Verdun. A Zeppelin raided Dunkirk, killing two civilians and wounding four. In retaliation, allied aeroplanes dropped bombs on Keyen, Essen, and neighboring towns.

Italians brought down three of five seaplanes which bombarded Ancona and dropped bombs on Adelsberg and Opicina in Trieste, killing two men and wounding several. A raid on Ancona by a squadron of ten Austrian naval aeroplanes was successful.

On March 19 four German seaplanes raided the east coast of Kent, killing nine persons and injuring thirty-one. On March 31 five Zeppelins raided the eastern counties of England, dropping ninety bombs; twenty-eight persons were killed and forty-four injured. One Zeppelin, the L-15, was shot down, and sank off the mouth of the Thames after the capture of her crew by a patrol trawler. On April 1 two airships raided the eastern coast, killing 16 people and injuring 100. The coast of Scotland and the northern and south-eastern coasts of England were raided by six Zeppelins on April 2. Ten persons were killed and eleven wounded in Scotland. The southeast coast was again raided on April 4, and on April 5 a Zeppelin attacked the northeast coast, but was driven off by anti-aircraft defenses.

NAVAL RECORD

The German steamer *Esperanze*, carrying food for the Turks, was sunk in the Black Sea by a Russian warship. Turkish submarines sank a Russian transport north-east of Balum.

A British light cruiser rammed and sank a German destroyer off the North Frisian Coast.

Four British and three German destroyers were reported engaged in a battle off the Belgian coast on March 20.

Forts St. George and Sanjak and other coastal defenses of Smyrna were destroyed by a British warship on April 3 after three hours' bombardment.

In the Adriatic Sea, the French torpedo boat destroyer *Renaudin* was sunk by a submarine.

The Danish steamer *Stjerneborg* was torpedoed and sunk off Sardinia.

The liner *Minneapolis*, used as a transport,

was sunk in the Mediterranean. The crew was lost.

In the war zone the submarine campaign was carried on with renewed vigor. It is estimated that the loss to merchant shipping of countries at war with Germany amounted to 100,000 tons in March and to 81,000 tons between April 1 and April 12. At least twenty-three British ships and four French ships were sunk, and the Italian liner *Unione* was torpedoed without warning. The loss to neutral countries has also been enormous. Eleven Norwegian ships, six Danish ships, and the Swedish steamers *Hollandia* and *Murjok* have been destroyed. Attacks on the Spanish steamers *Santanderino* and *Vigo* were made the subject of inquiry by the Spanish Government. The Dutch steamers *Duyeland*, *Tubantia*, and *Palembang* were attacked. A protest was sent to the German Government by Holland, and the Dutch Shipping Council, which was intrusted by the Netherlands Government with the official inquiry, reported that the *Tubantia* and the *Palembang* were torpedoed.

The lives of Americans were again jeopardized in attacks on the *Eagle Point*, the *Berwindvale*, the *Englishman*, the *Manchester Engineer*, and in an alleged attack on the Channel liner *Sussex*. On April 10, in reply to an inquiry by the United States Government, Germany sent a note dealing with all five cases. She denied that a German submarine had torpedoed the *Sussex*, but admitted an attack on another vessel at approximately the same time and place. Spain also protested against the *Sussex* attack because of the death of Spanish subjects, including *Enrique Granados* and his wife.

MISCELLANEOUS

Sir Edward Grey, in reply to the protest from the United States Government against the removal of thirty-eight Germans, Austrians, and Turks from the American steamship *China*, declared that the British Government was satisfied that the men were engaged in a plot to make Manila a base for the perpetration of unneutral acts against the Entente allies.

The Governments of the Entente allies presented to Secretary Lansing, on April 3, a joint reply to the protest made by the United States against the seizure, detention, and censoring of neutral mails. The note declared that no legitimate letter mail had been confiscated nor any treaty violated, but asserted the Allies' intention to continue searching parcel post packages for contraband.

Greece protested against the declaration by the Allies of their intention to land forces on the island of *Cephalonia*.

Rumania signed a commercial treaty with Germany providing that each country should export to the other all goods unnecessary for home consumption.



RETURNING FROM A DIFFICULT MISSION

(From a Painting by Lady Butler)



BELGIAN ROYAL FAMILY

King Albert, Queen Elizabeth, Prince Leopold, Prince Charles, and
Princess Marie-José at Their Villa in Flanders

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUNE, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

NOTEWORTHY FEATURES

CURRENT HISTORY presents in this number several features which will prove of especial value. "The Defense of the British Blockade," Sir Edward Grey's official reply to the representations of the United States regarding interference with neutral trade, has not heretofore been printed in this country, except in very abbreviated form. It is a document of profound interest to all the neutral nations. The detailed account of what occurred in the Belgian Foreign Office on the fateful night of the German ultimatum, as related by the Belgian Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, is a moving drama of thrilling interest, and a human document that will always rivet attention. The complete correspondence leading up to the final triumph of President Wilson's diplomacy in relation to submarine warfare is given in chronological order; nowhere else has it appeared in this permanent form, with all the documents collated into one consecutive serial. It is a completed chapter of American diplomacy which will rank with the most momentous in our nation's annals. The dramatic chapter of Ireland's ill-starred adventure in independence is also given in completed form, with the official copy of the declaration of independence and a careful and correct narrative of what actually occurred. It is an ideal form in which to preserve the story of one of the most memorable episodes growing out of the war. These are only four features of the June number, but they serve to emphasize the purpose of CURRENT HISTORY, namely, to

bring to its readers authentic and complete narrations of the chief events of the world's history each month, its scope, being confined at present to such episodes as bear directly or indirectly upon the European war.

* * *

ACTUALLY A "WORLD WAR"

THE extent to which the entire world is concerned in the war was shown at the recent conference of the Allies at Paris. The following countries were officially represented, and acted in concert:

| | Sq. Kilom. | Population. |
|-------------------------|------------|-------------|
| Belgium and Congo... | 2,394,451 | 22,424,000 |
| France and colonies.... | 12,927,364 | 86,361,000 |
| Italy and colonies..... | 1,920,260 | 37,338,000 |
| Japan and colonies.... | 673,681 | 73,385,000 |
| British Empire..... | 29,819,400 | 424,089,000 |
| Russian Empire..... | 22,556,520 | 176,400,000 |
| Serbia | 87,300 | 4,633,000 |
| Portugal and colonies.. | 2,185,000 | 15,170,000 |
| Total..... | 72,563,976 | 839,800,000 |

Estimating the total population of the earth at 1,600,000,000, and the superficial area of the world at 135,420,000 square kilometers, it will be observed that the Allies alone represent over one-half the total. The Teutonic and Turkish Empires and Bulgaria, including the German colonies, represent a population of about 150,000,000 and an area of 6,150,000 square kilometers. Hence the total number of people actually involved in the war is approximately 1,000,000,000 and the area of "hostile territory" is nearly 80,000,000 square kilometers, or about 32,000,000 square miles. The area of the United States is 3,200,000 square miles, hence the warring nations repre-

sent ten times the population and ten times the area of our nation.

* * *

TALK OF PEACE

THE indirect references to peace in Germany's submarine note to the United States, with the Pope's letter to President Wilson and a cloud of less definite peace rumors, have caused much talk, but have no solid significance as yet, beyond emphasizing the self-evident fact that Germany is weary of the war. The failure at Verdun, the pressure of the blockade, the tightening food crisis in Germany, the resignation of Dr. Delbrück, Minister of the Interior, and the proposed appointment of a "food dictator"—these are straws that seem to show an adverse wind of destiny for the Central Powers and an increasing desire for the end of the war. For the real situation regarding peace, however, one must question not Germany, but the Entente Allies, who now have the stronger battalions. The answer is found in the words of President Poincaré, spoken at Nancy on May 14:

France will not expose her sons to the dangers of new aggressions. The Central Empires, haunted by remorse for having brought on the war, and terrified by the indignation and hatred they have stirred up in mankind, are trying to make the world believe that the Allies alone are responsible for the prolongation of hostilities—a dull irony which will deceive no one.

Neither directly nor indirectly have our enemies offered us peace. But we do not want them to offer it to us. We do not want to submit to their conditions; we want to impose ours on them. We do not want a peace which would leave Imperial Germany with the power to recommence the war and keep Europe eternally menaced. We want peace which receives from restored rights serious guarantees of equilibrium and stability. So long as that peace is not assured us, so long as our enemies will not recognize themselves as vanquished, we will not cease to fight.

Sir Edward Grey has said the same thing in his own way. Peace is a year nearer than it was a year ago, but the evidence of it is not yet in sight. As Secretary Lansing pointed out a few days ago, the time has not yet come for any neutral to take the initiative in that direction.

ENLARGING OUR ARMY

THE Conference Committees of House and Senate; to which their differences on the new Army bill were referred, reached a compromise which Congress doubtless will promptly ratify; hence, by the end of May, our first measure of preparedness will become law. The compromise provides as follows: The maximum strength of the regular army in time of peace will be 11,000 officers, 175,000 men, in addition to the enlisted men of the Signal, Medical, and Quartermasters' Corps and Philippine Scouts, bringing the total to 11,000 officers and 200,000 men; this can be increased by Executive order, when war threatens, to 11,500 officers and 225,000 combatant troops, plus the necessary Staff Troops, Philippine Scouts, &c.

The increase will consist of thirty-four regiments of infantry, ten regiments of cavalry, fifteen regiments of field artillery, five regiments of engineers, two battalions of mounted engineers, ninety-three companies of coast artillery, and eight aero squadrons. The company units, instead of skeletons as heretofore, will consist of two-thirds of the war strength, as follows: Infantry company, in peace, 100; in war, 150; cavalry troop, in peace, 70; in war, 105; battery, in peace, 126; in war, 190 men.

The measure provides a minimum strength in time of peace of 160,000 men; there was no minimum provision before. The maximum force of National Guard under the new bill is 17,000 officers and 440,000 enlisted men—800 for each Senator and Congressman. National Guardsmen are required to take the Federal as well as the State oath of allegiance, and will be given stronger inducements to improve; provision is made for compensating the officers and enlisted men of the Guard. A provision for Federal Volunteers was stricken out, but all necessary expenses of men at the National Training Camps are to be paid by the Federal Government. An important provision makes the enlistment term seven years, three to be served with the colors and four in the reserves. Provision is also made for the

erection of nitrate plants for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by the development of water power. It is estimated that this will require an outlay of approximately \$20,000,000. Such a plant can be utilized in the manufacture of fertilizers in time of peace.

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BLOCKADE PROBLEMS

THE British blockade is now receiving renewed attention at the hands of the United States Government. The latest British note appears elsewhere in this issue. Our Government declined to consider the question in connection with the German submarine issue, but now that the latter appears to have been adjusted, the interference with our trade and mails is to be made the subject of a serious protest.

The British contend that the blockade is impartial: that since it is impossible to put a stop to importation of goods across the inland sea from Scandinavia, or across a land frontier, as from Holland, a blockade that fails to inclose such inaccessible parts of an enemy's territory is nevertheless binding and to be respected. This is a moot question which some future international conference must settle. Our greatly increased exports to neutral countries give color to the charge that Americans thus seek to evade the blockade, and the British authorities give assurance that every effort will be made to minimize delays and make the restraints of trade as little burdensome as possible. The news from Germany indicates that food shortage there is becoming an acute question, and this apparently confirms the English contention that the blockade is effective, and hence binding upon neutrals. Our Government, however, is restive under the British seizure of mails. We are assured that the British Government is striving to eliminate these delays and interferences, but that it cannot relinquish its right to prevent the use of the mails for the transmission of goods or information by her enemies.

A strong point is made by Great Britain that the Orders in Council do not control her prize courts, the intima-

tion being strong that if our rights are in any way infringed we shall be sure of redress and justice in the courts. Certain phases of the question, however, are due to receive more serious attention, now that the acute stage of the submarine controversy has passed, and it is not unlikely that the whole issue may be submitted to international arbitration. The question will then arise, Shall the orders be suspended during the pendency of the arbitration? However settled, there is no fear that the issue will not be amicably arranged by diplomacy.

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AN EPOCH-MAKING BUDGET

THE British budget for 1916-17 is epoch-making, the greatest by all odds in the history of the empire, exceeding by millions the sum raised through taxation by any other Government. The total budget is \$2,045,000,000. The national revenue of Great Britain was \$1,335,000 in 1914-15, \$1,683,835,000 in 1915-16, with an increase of over \$350,000,000 for the current year. The interest debt charge is over \$700,000,000 for 1916-17. The new budget, on the basis of peace expenditure, notwithstanding the colossal interest charge, would yield a surplus of \$425,000,000.

The new taxation for 1916-17 will amount to about \$380,000,000, and is derived from the following new assessments: Increased income taxes, \$200,000,000, beginning at 56 cents in \$5 on incomes not exceeding \$2,500, and reaching \$1.25 in \$5, or 25 per cent., on incomes over \$12,500; on unearned incomes, where total earned and unearned income does not exceed \$1,500, 75 cents in \$5 up to \$1.25 in \$5, or 25 per cent., on incomes exceeding \$10,000. Taxes on railway tickets range from 2 cents for a fare of 25 cents to 2 cents in the shilling with a tax of \$1 on Continental journeys; 1 cent on tickets to entertainments where the admission does not exceed 4 cents, to 25 cents on tickets costing \$3.12, and 25 cents for every \$2.50; 87½ cents on every 10,000 friction matches; 8 cents a gallon for table waters, fermented, and 16 cents a gallon on other table

waters; 8 cents a gallon on cider; an extra 1 cent a pound on sugar; on cocoa 12 cents a pound; on coffee 12 cents a pound; on motor cars \$21 for 6½ horse power to \$315 for 40 to 60 horse power and over; \$10.50 on motor cycles. On excess profits the tax and super-tax reach 77 per cent. on the biggest firms, it is estimated that this source of revenue alone will be worth \$430,000,000 to the Treasury in 1916-17.

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MERCHANT MARINE LOSSES

IT is estimated that the loss in ships and cargoes inflicted on the British marine since the beginning of the war exceeds in value \$150,000,000. In one week in April, 1916, when the warfare was at its height, the British merchant marine lost eighteen ships, with a gross tonnage of 64,000. During the twenty months of the war, about 2,000,000 tons of British merchant shipping have been sunk. On March 31, 1916, there were 424 ships building, with a gross tonnage of 1,423,435. It is claimed by the British Admiralty that the present total tonnage is greater than at the beginning of the war, but this claim is disputed. The records show that from March 1, when the new German submarine warfare was begun, to March 18, nineteen ships, with a gross tonnage of 40,000, were sunk. From March 15 to March 28 the total tonnage lost was 70,000. From March 28 to April 12 the total losses to the Allies and all neutrals aggregated 81,000 tons. Unofficial reports show that between March 1 and May 15, 1916, ninety-eight ships were sunk by Teutonic submarine and mines, with a total tonnage of 225,000.

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GERMANY YIELDS

THE firm attitude of President Wilson in his note to Germany following the sinking of the *Sussex*, threatening an immediate rupture in diplomatic relations unless the German submarine warfare was conducted in accordance with international law, evidently accomplished its purpose, and Germany has now determined definitely to yield. The correspondence in full appears else-

where. It was supplemented on May 12 by a note verbale delivered by Count von Bernstoff to Secretary Lansing, which evidently confirms the purpose of the German Government to adhere rigidly to its agreement.

In this note the German Government suggests that the masters of merchant vessels be given to understand that in the event of their being stopped by "German public (sic) vessels the provisions of international law must be observed to the letter, [as to compliance with the order,] and that their special attention be called to the danger incurred by turning their ships on a submarine." This note was occasioned by the confusion which arose when a Dutch merchantman, upon being signaled to stop, turned and approached the submarine in order to facilitate examination and search, and thereby narrowly escaped being torpedoed. It is evident from this note that Germany wishes to take all precautions to avoid a repetition of mistakes such as she says occurred in the cases of the *Sussex*, the *Tubantia*, and other passenger ships recently sunk.

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FULL COMPULSION IN ENGLAND

THE British Prime Minister introduced in the House of Commons on May 3 a bill for applying general compulsion to men of military age in England, Wales, and Scotland. It requires enlistment to be imposed on every male, whether married or single, between the ages of 18 and 41. Every young man as he reaches the age of 18 is to be brought in after a month's grace; time-expired men are to be recalled if under 41 years of age. The bill passed its third reading in the House May 16, and is expected to become a law before June 1, 1916.

Premier Asquith announced when he presented the bill that, aside from Indian troops, Great Britain and her colonies had enlisted since the war began 5,000,000 men in the army and navy. It is estimated that there are 4,560,000 men of military age in Great Britain, of whom fully 4,000,000 have already enlisted; hence there remain available under the

Compulsory bill about 500,000 men, from which must be deducted the physically unfit.

For the first time in history Great Britain is engaged in military operations on land upon an extensive scale. Marlborough never had more than 12,000 British troops in his army at one time. England's largest contribution to the allied cause in the Napoleonic wars was 30,000 men with Wellington. There were but 300,000 British men under arms in the Boer war. There are now, according to Premier Asquith, 1,500,000 British troops at the various fronts, and 2,500,000 are being prepared for the front, with at least 400,000 more in sight as the result of compulsory enlistment.

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MEXICAN BORDER TROUBLES

PATIENCE, firmness, and good diplomacy seem to have turned up the silver edge of the war cloud in Mexico. At the present writing the situation is reported by General Funston to be more hopeful than at any time since the American troops crossed the border in pursuit of Villa's bandits.

After the attack by Carranza troops upon American soldiers at Parral on April 12 General Funston sent reinforcements to Pershing, and at the same time the latter's forces were recalled as far as Namiquipa to avoid a clash. On April 13 General Carranza sent a long official note to Washington asking for the complete withdrawal of American troops from Mexico. The demand was refused, but arrangements were made for a frank discussion of the whole subject at a conference in El Paso between General Alvaro Obregon, representing the Carranza Government, and Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, representing the American Government.

This conference lasted through the first ten days of May, and, though no signed protocol was obtained, it is believed to have solved the hardest part of the problem. It was almost frustrated by two new bandit raids on the Texas border—in the Big Bend country—which occurred while it was in session, and which caused the militia of Texas,

Arizona, and New Mexico to be called out. But General Scott succeeded in convincing General Obregon of the absolute good faith of the United States, a better triumph than a battle; apparently this, together with the firm determination to keep our troops in Mexico, has worked a complete change in the attitude of the Mexican de facto Government.

The net result of the El Paso conference is a verbal agreement by which the two Governments divide the patrol of the lawless area, the Americans continuing to cover the region between the New Mexican border and Namiquipa, while the Carranzistas undertake to police the Big Bend hinterland and the whole region south of Parral. Ten thousand Mexican troops have already been assigned to this work. General Funston now has nearly 50,000 militia and regulars to guard the border and do our part of the task. The ultimate withdrawal of our forces from Mexican soil now depends upon the promptness with which General Carranza's army is able to demonstrate its ability to restore law and order.

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BUILDING A GREAT NATION

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University, delivered a memorable address before The Associated Press in New York on April 25, in which he described the present war as "the Nemesis of nation-building conceived as an end in itself." Unless a nation have some purpose above and beyond self-interest, he said, war must continue to devastate the earth until "the last and strongest man, superb in his mighty loneliness, shall look out from a rock in the Caribbean upon a world that has been depopulated in its pursuit of a false ideal." Urging upon Americans the higher ideal of service to mankind, Dr. Butler continued:

We are the inheritors of a great tradition. What poets and philosophers have dreamed, that we are trying day by day to do, our stumblings, our blunders, our shortcomings are many; but if we keep our hearts clean and our heads clear he who a thousand years from now writes the history of liberty and justice and happiness among men will be able to tell to those far-off generations the story of the rise and influence of the American Nation.

Interpretations of World Events

After Verdun—What?

THE tentative German "explanation" of the Crown Prince's armies to take Verdun—that the Germans were greatly outnumbered by the French—is as curious as it is unconvincing. Imagine, only two years ago, the Teuton war lords confessing that the military force of France at any point hopelessly outnumbered and overmatched the military force of Germany. The thing would then have been inconceivable. But its significance goes deeper, and sheds much light on the probable next moves of the mighty game. Now that Verdun seems to be impregnable, or, to speak more truly, now that the armies of France must appear to their opponents to be invincible, shall we see that great "forward drive" of the Allies which has been promised and expected ever since the Marne? And shall we see, on the Russian front, a converging drive, carrying the Czar's forces back across Poland and Galicia, and, perhaps, much further? Possible, yet not very probable. First, because defensive war is now so exceedingly strong, offensive war so exceedingly costly. Next, because all indications show that the Allies can get the prize without paying the price.

General Shuvayeff, Russia's New War Minister

GENERAL SHUVAYEFF, who recently succeeded General Polivanoff at the War Ministry at Petrograd, is a big, deliberate man with a cool head and enormous energy. An infantry General, he was appointed about a year ago Chief of Commissariat to Grand Duke Nicholas. Before that he had been for six years head of the Commissariat Department at the Ministry of War. He put through a drastic series of reforms in his department, beginning with 1911, and taking as his watchword the rather caustic epigram, "The Commissariat Department exists for the army and not the army for the Commissariat Department," a sufficiently vivid commentary on the work of some of his predecessors. In

taking over the War Ministry, General Shuvayeff announced that he would be ruled by conscience, not by fear; and that he confidently expects Russia and her allies to gain a decisive victory.

Dmitri Savelevitch Shuvayeff was born in 1854. As a junior officer, Dmitri Shuvayeff took part in the Turkestan campaigns of 1873-75. There is a certain tragedy in the fact that the soldier who presided at the Petrograd Ministry when the war broke out, and under whom General Shuvayeff had served as a departmental head, is at present a prisoner in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul in that city, on charges growing out of the ammunition famine, which compelled the disastrous retreat from Poland and the loss of Warsaw, Vilna, and other important cities. General Sukhomlinoff professes his innocence of any willful fault, but, unhappily, both the shortage of shells and the dire retreat remain unforgettable facts.

English and Russians in Mesopotamia

THE surrender of General Townshend's force at Kut-el-Amara is likely to have less effect on the actual fighting on the eastern verge of the Sultan's empire than on the future relative standing of Russia and England there and in neighboring Persia. For, while the English have met with reverse after reverse, from Ctesiphon to Kut-el-Amara, Russia has, during the same period, won a series of victories, from Erzerum to Sultana-bad, from Hamadan to Trebizond. In mid-May the Czar's forces were announced to be within 100 miles of Bagdad, on the east, among the Persian foothills; they were pressing south from Bitlis and west, toward Constantinople, from Trebizond.

The failure of the English Government to send an adequate relief force up the Tigris to Kut-el-Amara is the more extraordinary in view of the fact that before the war the English "Residency" at Bagdad, as the Consulate General there was called, maintained a private line of shallow-draft steamships on the

Tigris, which plied up and down between Bagdad and the head of the Persian Gulf. As the gulf is only five days from Bombay, it would seem exceedingly easy to ship any amount of men right up the Tigris, all the lower waters of which had been fought for and won, step by step, and were in English hands for months before the battle of Ctesiphon. But the loss to England is less of military strength than of political prestige in the eyes of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mohammedans of India. Yet even here it may be said that English expeditions have time and again met with equal misfortune, as, for example, the Afghan expeditions, and that English prestige and credit have very solidly weathered the storm. But Russia's stock has gone up.

The "Irish Republic" of 1916

A VERY curious, very strange, and very pathetic episode of the world war was the "Irish rebellion," which flared up in Dublin, and as suddenly burned out, having cost, it is said, a loss of 521 soldiers and supporters of the British crown, and about four times as many "Irish Republicans." Curious, yet neither strange nor unprecedented, having in view the facts of Irish history.

The gravamen of the charge against the present "rebels" is, of course, that they struck at England at a moment of national peril, associating themselves for that purpose with England's most dangerous enemies. But this has happened many times before. When England was threatened by the invincible armada of Philip II. of Spain, in 1588, the Irish rebels of that day were intriguing with the Spaniards against England. A century later, their successors in Ireland, who had espoused the cause of the banished Stuarts, received aid and comfort from Louis XIV. of France, then the most determined opponent of England. The Irish rebellion of the Spring of 1798, and other movements of the same period, sought help and received encouragement from England's arch-enemy, Napoleon. And without doubt it was this readiness to rush into the arms of England's enemies, far more than her nationalism,

that earned for Ireland the suspicion and distrust of England, the cause of so much suffering and discord.

By their appeal to Germany at this juncture the Irish aspirants for "liberty" and "nationalism" have done much to forfeit any sympathy that might have been extended to them; by their deliberate and calculated opposition to the expressed will of the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen they have forfeited all claim to the title of nationalists. It is noteworthy that, on this occasion, as so many times before, from the days of John Mitchel to the days of Parnell, many of the leaders of the "Irish rebellion" have been either of English birth or of English descent—"more Irish than the Irish themselves."

Cutting the Bagdad Railroad

IN order finally to secure domination in the Mesopotamian area it will be necessary for the Allies—and this means chiefly the rapidly advancing Russian forces of the Grand Duke Nicholas—to cut the Bagdad Railroad, and thus make it impossible for the Teuton-Turkish powers to send further reinforcements, and, in particular, guns and munitions to the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The suggestion has been made, and it is distinctly among the possibilities of the immediate future, that the effective way to do this would be for a Russian force to cut its way through from the Euphrates, in the region of Urfa, the ancient Edessa, to Aleppo, the junction, from which the Pilgrims' Railroad runs south toward Medina and Mecca; and, from Aleppo to Alexandretta, near St. Paul's birthplace, Tarsus; a force of French and English meanwhile operating against Alexandretta from the Mediterranean, and, if successful there, cutting inland toward Aleppo, which is only some seventy miles from the coast. Admiral Degouy, who advocates this plan, makes an interesting comparison with Sherman's march through Georgia, and his junction, at Savannah, with the Federal fleet in 1865, thus cutting the armies of the South in two. Sherman, with 60,000 troops, not abundantly supplied with guns or ammu-

dition, relied upon the Federal fleet to make good what he lacked; and in the same way a Russian army might make forced marches, in light order, across the open country between Urfa and Aleppo, there meeting an allied force, with a strong naval base at Alexandretta, secured by the Allies' enormous preponderance of sea power in the Mediterranean Sea. This plan has two manifest advantages—it would effectually prevent the Turks from sending any of their now slender forces to Mesopotamia, and it would render wholly impossible any further attacks, or even threats, against Egypt by way of the Suez Canal.

The Iron Bones of War

IF gold be the sinews of war, then we may say that the bones of war are iron, especially in these days when huge steel guns, in enormous numbers, and therefore consuming enormous masses of steel shells, play the predominant part in every battle. It is a curious thought that the shells made with heavy steel casings, especially when carrying a charge of high explosive, practically go out of existence and are lost as completely as if, as in Jules Verne's story, they were shot to the moon; this meaning an enormous and unceasing destruction of the very substance of iron.

A French Senator, M. Berenger, has been quoted as saying that without the additional sources given to Germany by her possession of the iron mines of Northeastern France, and especially those of the Briey Valley, north of Metz, Germany would, before this, have been compelled to seek peace, from sheer inability to provide the raw material of her heavy shells. It is even suggested that the need to preserve her hold on the Briey Valley accounts for Germany's obstinate attacks on Verdun—to anticipate and check a French offensive toward Metz and the iron mines of Briey; a suggestion of very great interest in itself.

Along the same lines of thought an American economist has suggested that the Allies, if they are victorious and if they wish finally to draw the teeth of Prussian militarism, should confiscate

Germany's coal fields, thus cutting at her manufacturing power and her munition plants at one blow, and forcibly turning her back into an agricultural nation. That Germany is enormously productive, agriculturally, is, of course, evident from the fact that she has been able to feed her population of nearly seventy millions, during the greater part of two years, without any imports of foreign food; a task that England would at present be quite incapable of. The Allies, according to this proposal, should divide Germany's western coal fields between France and Belgium, and give her eastern coal fields, in Silesia, to Russia, or, perhaps, to a reconstituted Poland.

Perhaps the realization of some such possibilities as these is the motive which is at present urging Germany, while making claims of victory, at the same time to put out feelers in the direction of peace; indicating terms which, at each repetition, are less stiff, less favorable for Germany, more favorable for the Allies. The latest terms seem to be something like these: Northern France and Belgium to be evacuated, an indemnity being paid to Belgium; Poland to be erected into an autonomous kingdom, (presumably with a pro-German ruler, after the models of Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria,) and Germany to get back her colonies in Africa and the Pacific.

What England Is Doing for France

THERE is a recurring disposition to suggest that, on the side of the Entente, England is not fighting her weight. A statement of the French Committee on War Publications—which contains men like General Malleterre, Joseph Bédier, Ernest Lavisse, and Emile Boutroux, the two last being members of the French Academy, and Henri Bergson, who to that honor adds a repute which is world wide—makes it quite clear that, in France, the part being played by England is more truly estimated. At the beginning of the war the expeditionary force which England was able to send to France numbered, says this statement, only four divisions, or 80,000 men. In August, 1915, England had under arms 3,000,000 men, and this number, through

the supreme sacrifice of the traditional principle of voluntary service, has now been increased to 4,000,000 men, of whom 1,000,000 are already on the soil of France. England, at the beginning of 1916, counted 550,000 men among her losses, yet this left her with practically untouched reserves of force.

"When Germany has no more men," says the statement, "England will draw on her inexhaustible wealth of warriors. And her 'new armies,' supple, gay, already inured to toils and perils, the living image of a nation of athletes," will be ready to speak their word. The French recorders include, with lively recognition, "the Canadians of Ypres, the Australians of the Dardanelles"; Canada alone has already given 250,000 soldiers; she promises 500,000. But men alone are not enough. Early in the war, says the committee, the Allies, each in turn, came to realize that Germany must be beaten by artillery blows. And England set herself to do her part. At the outset almost everything was lacking. In a few months thirty-three huge munition factories rose out of the earth. This was the beginning; by Feb. 1, 1916, 2,720 factories were organized, all over England, and in this number vast enterprises, analogous to the famous Creusot gun factories, count as units. In England there are nearly 2,000,000 munition makers. In Canada 320 factories are making munitions, employing 100,000 skilled workmen.

An item of another sort: since the war began, England has made for the Allies a strip of cloth for military uniforms 15,000 miles long; three-fifths of the world's girth at the equator. And, side by side with this enormous host, the field army of 4,000,000, the army of 2,000,000 engaged in munition making, England maintains, at the highest point of efficiency, the greatest and strongest fleet the world has ever seen. "The English blockade, slowly, perhaps, but inflexibly," says the committee, "is making victory certain. Let us not, then, be chary of our admiration, our faith! she has given us so abundantly of both; for she has praised, with an ardent heart, the heroism and the resolution of

France! We are witnesses of a 'moral mobilization' which exalts and unites all the energies of England into an irresistible 'will to conquer.' The power of England is an ancient, potent spring. Slow to extend itself, it is now extended; with continuous weight it will press upon the enemy. Other peoples are more subtle, more swift; none is more vigorous. The grain of this metal has no flaws; it is impossible to break it."

The Teuton reader of these generous words will see, with a peculiar twinge of pain, the application to England of the famous Nietzschean phrase "the will to conquer," which Germans have in times past so habitually applied to themselves. But the deeper import of these words is the indication which they furnish, that the present Entente powers will, after the war, be held together by bonds stronger than triple steel; they will form the great nucleus of world power.

Russia and the Golden Horn

IN the Autumn of 1877, when the armies of Alexander II. were swinging forward toward the Sultan's capital, an English music hall song brought into being a new word which has since enjoyed a measure of fame. The word is Jingo, and, roughly, it is the reverse of pacifist. The song ran thus:

We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,

We've got the ships, we've got the men,
we've got the money too;

We've fought the Czar before, and we'll fight him yet again,

And the Russians shall not have Constantinople!

This is what the late Lord Salisbury called "putting England's money on the wrong horse"; and it would seem that, still to adhere to racetrack metaphors, there has been a complete reversal of form, coupled with the determination that "the Russians shall have Constantinople"—if they can take that fair city, with or without the help of England and France. That a clear-cut agreement to divide the sick man's heritage exists is implied by the recent statement, in the Imperial Duma, of Professor Milyukoff, who weighs his words, and does not go off at half-cock. Milyukoff said: The ques-

tion is no longer whether the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should become Russian or remain Turkish. The question is, whether they are to become Russian or remain German. Let us not be deceived. The question now pending may be decided once for all. But the conditions may never again be so favorable for us. The chief element in our favor is the attitude of our allies toward our national problem. Berlin-Bagdad is too great a menace for England, because of India and Egypt, and for France, because of her plans in Syria. Because of this real danger, therefore, these two powers cannot fail to come to an agreement with us, after centuries of suspicion. March, 1915, should be a memorable epoch for us, for then our agreement with our allies was reached.

The Modern Use of Monitors

A GAIN and again it has been noted that the history of war has been moved backward through the centuries. Steel helmets, long discarded, are once more in universal use. Hand grenades, which, generations ago, gave a name to a famous British corps, the Grenadiers, are rife along the whole line. Sapping and mining are about what they were in Hamlet's day, or, at least, in Shakespeare's—who made the Danish Prince speak of countermining a yard below his antagonist, the manoeuvre so constantly used today. One more weapon of war esteemed outworn is once more in fashion, the low-lying monitor, which is about half way between a surface battleship and a submarine. Of these monitors there are a number now in the British Navy, each with two big guns in a turret in the bow, able to slip in close to the shore of Belgium, and to rain big-calibre shells on the west end of the long German line. Each of these craft carries an odd-looking mast, only less unsightly than the lattice masts of our American battleships; they resemble the three legs on which gypsies support their kettles, and, presumably, form the support of a battery of machine guns. Since these monitors do their work not far from Zeebrugge, the German submarine base, they are specially protected, by auxiliary

craft continually on the lookout, against submarine attack. The complete success of these monitors in breaking into the sea end of the German line would mean the establishment of a British base near Ostend, with the possibility of outflanking the Teutons there, and so compelling a withdrawal in the direction of Bruges and Brussels.

General Yudenitch, the Hero of Erzerum

NICHOLAS YUDENITCH, who commanded the field forces of Russia at Erzerum, is one of the youngest army commanders in the present war, being only 53. When the Turks first entered the war, at the close of 1914, their plan of campaign included a swift invasion of the Russian Caucasus, a drive toward Tiflis, its capital. The battles of Sarikamysh and Ardahan, where Yudenitch led the troops of the Czar, smashed this movement of invasion and put the Turks on the defensive. The hero of these victories, after a course at the Alexandrovski Military School at Moscow, got his commission as a Second Lieutenant in the Guards, being then 18 years old. Three years later he entered the Military Academy at Petrograd. Thereafter he had practical experience on the staff of an army corps and as Chief of Staff of a brigade of Turkestan Rifles; was gazetted Colonel at the age of 33, and was put in command of the Eighteenth Regiment of Rifles. At the head of this regiment Colonel Yudenitch fought through the Russo-Japanese war, being seriously wounded on a Manchurian battlefield. In recognition of his war services he was promoted to the rank of Major General. Shortly after this he was stationed in the Caucasus, with a staff appointment; five years later he received the epaulets of a Lieutenant General, and the appointment of Chief of Staff of the military district of the Caucasus, in which position he rapidly acquired the deep-seated local knowledge which enabled him to carry out one of the most brilliant campaigns of the world war, the campaign which is likely to cause larger territorial changes than in any other area save, perhaps, Africa; for, after the war, the Black Sea will be practically a Russian lake.

THE REVOLT IN IRELAND

THE sudden attempt of a group of idealists to secede from the British Empire and set up an Irish republic has furnished one of the most dramatic surprises of the war. A direct connection between the plotters and Germany, through the person of Sir Roger Casement, both magnifies the significance of the revolt and helps to account for the swift and savage punishment administered to its captured leaders.

In its hidden causes the outbreak harks back to the crisis over home rule two years ago, when the two sections of Ireland armed against each other; its supporters were drawn partly from the Irish Volunteers, who organized and armed themselves in behalf of home rule at that time, but the movement also received financial aid from Irish sympathizers in America, while practical aid from Germany was expected. The conspiracy centred in Dublin, and its leaders for the most part belonged to the Sinn Fein, a secret society of extremists for whom home rule was not enough. The project which has cost them their lives is revealed in the following document, issued on April 24, the first day of the revolt:

PROCLAMATION

The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the people of Ireland:

Irishmen and Irishwomen, in the name of God and of the dead generations from which you received the old traditions of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom, having organized and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organization, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organization, the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish citizen army.

Having patiently perfected their discipline and resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America, and by her gallant allies in Europe, by relying on her own strength, she strikes, in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible. Long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and Govern-

ment has not extinguished that right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people.

In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty. Six times during the past 300 years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right, and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a sovereign, independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, its welfare, and its exaltation among nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation, and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences, carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided the minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrage of all her men and women, the Provisional Government hereby constituted will administer the civil and military affairs of the republic, in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonor it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish Nation must, by its valor and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed, in behalf of the Provisional Government:

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
S. MacDIARMAD,
THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE,
E. CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY,
JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

The first inkling of the revolt reached the outside world when the British authorities announced on April 24 that Sir Roger Casement, a former Consul General, had been captured in the act of trying to land German arms on the west coast of Ireland; that he had been conveyed thither in a German submarine,

with two Irish soldiers from German prisons, and that a German auxiliary cruiser loaded with 20,000 rifles and ammunition had been taken and sunk at the same time. The vessel had been sunk by its own men, and the twenty-two German bluejackets on board had been made prisoners.

Casement had last been heard of in Germany, where he had attempted to induce Irish prisoners of war to join an anti-British expedition to Ireland. Testimony at his preliminary trial in London subsequently showed that on Good Friday he had landed near Tralee from the German submarine U-19 with a soldier named Bailey and another named Monteith. In "McKinna's Fort" he was seen to drop a paper containing a code and the words: "Await further instructions. Have decided to stay. Further ammunition and rifles are needed. Send another ship." The small collapsible boat in which he and his companions had landed also helped to betray them, and Casement and Bailey were arrested before they could get away in the automobile which was waiting for them.

At the same time a German auxiliary cruiser from Kiel, disguised as a Norwegian merchantman, was caught in an even more dramatic way. The signalman of the British patrol boat which made the capture afterward told the facts thus briefly in court:

Early Good Friday morning the Bluebell was on patrol duty off the southwest coast of Ireland, when we sighted a ship flying the Norwegian colors. We signaled her and asked who she was and where she was bound. She replied that she was the Aud, bound from Bergen for Genoa. At that time we were about 150 miles west of Queenstown.

We ordered the Aud to follow us, but she did not do so until we fired a shell. Then she proceeded with us.

When we got near Daunts Rock the Aud stopped her engines. The Bluebell was then a cable's length away from her, and we saw white smoke coming from her after hold. Two German ensigns were run up on her masthead. The Aud lowered two boats, which were rowed toward the Bluebell. We fired around these boats. They flew flags of truce, and the occupants put up their hands. They were made prisoners. They proved to be nineteen or twenty German bluejackets, with three officers. Ten minutes later the Aud sank, about a mile and a quarter from the lightship.

Sir Roger Casement had been in the United States at the beginning of the war, but had made his way to Berlin to offer his services in some capacity to the German Government. At the present writing he is a prisoner in the Tower of London awaiting trial for high treason.

OUTBREAK IN DUBLIN

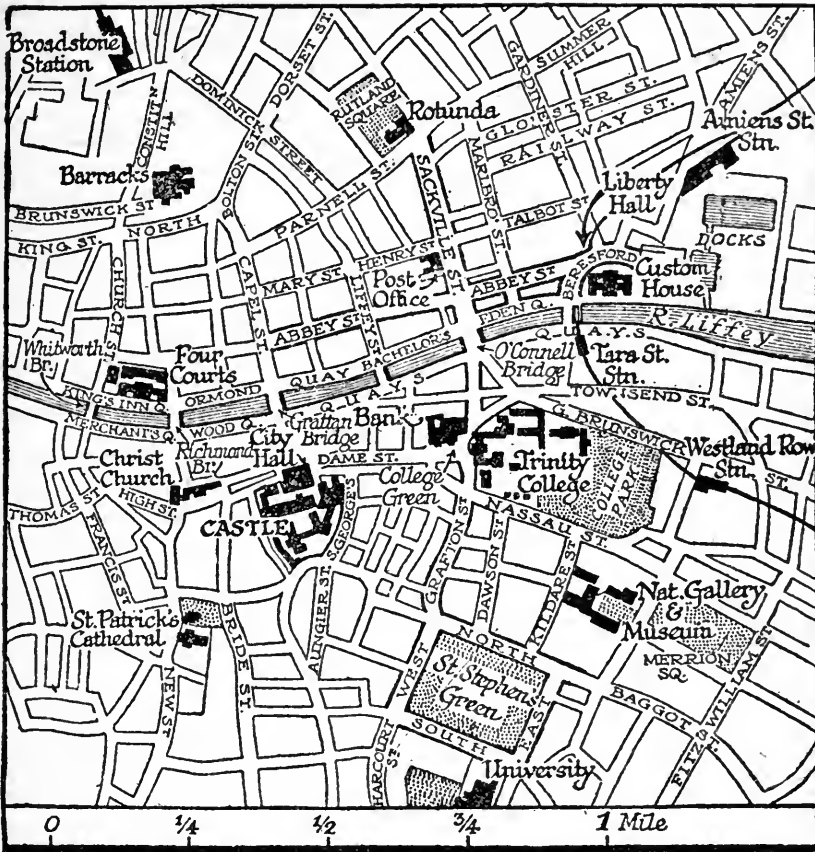
Announcement of Sir Roger's capture was made public by the British Government on Easter Monday, April 24, and on the same day the insurrection broke forth in Dublin. The first move was a dash by members of the Sinn Fein Society into the General Post Office, where they drove all officials from their posts, and cut the telephone and telegraph lines, with the intention of severing communication with England and the rest of Ireland. Many of these men were in the uniform of the Irish Volunteers. They posted armed sentinels at the doors and windows. On the streets other rebel bands began shooting all persons in khaki. Several unarmed British officers thus fell victims in the first moments of the uprising.

The authorities, taken unawares, ordered the police and soldiers to retire to their headquarters, as they were without arms. Meanwhile the rebels established themselves in the City Hall, Liberty Hall, and Stephen's Green, and also occupied many houses in Sackville Street and the side streets leading into it. Sharpshooters took up positions on the roofs and at the windows of houses. An attempt was made to seize Dublin Castle, but the little guard of Royal Irish Constabulary and soldiers prevented the rebels from getting beyond the gate at which they killed the policeman on duty.

A REBEL NEWSPAPER

On the 25th they continued to hold the places they had taken, as the military force at hand was still insufficient to attack them. Sniping continued, and Dublinites who tried to go about their regular business were the chief sufferers. In the midst of this confusion the Sinn Feiners published a newspaper called The Irish War News. The following extract from it reveals the atmosphere of self-delusion in which they lived:

At the moment of writing this report, 9:30,



SCENE OF THE FIGHTING IN DUBLIN

A. M. Tuesday, the Republican forces hold their position and the British forces have nowhere broken through. There has been heavy and continuous fighting for nearly twenty-four hours; the casualties of the enemy have been much more numerous than those on the republican side. The republican forces everywhere are fighting with splendid gallantry.

The population of Dublin is plainly in support of the republic, and the officers and men are everywhere cheered as they march through the streets. The flag of the republic flies from the General Post Office. Commander General Pearse is Commander in Chief of the Army of the Republic and is President of the Provisional Government. Commander General James Connolly is commanding in the Dublin district.

Communication with the county is largely cut, but reports to hand show that the county is largely rising. Bodies of men from Kildare and Fingall have already reported in Dublin.

ARRIVAL OF TROOPS

A large body of troops under General

Sir John Maxwell was already on its way from England, and on the morning of the 26th a cordon of fighters had been drawn around the rebel strongholds. Then bloodshed began in earnest. The insurgents had abundant ammunition and used it so freely that it was dangerous even for peaceful citizens to sit at a window or walk across a street.

Martial law was proclaimed in the City and County of Dublin. A gunboat came up the River Liffey and fired several shells into Liberty Hall, demolishing it and driving out the rebel officers who had their headquarters there. The cordon of troops was tightened, and the fighting became fast and furious.

By Thursday, the 27th, Dublin was a roaring battleground, with the streets full of barricades. The rebels in some force had taken a position in a flour mill on the south side of the Custom House

quay, from which they harried the troops on the north side until the authorities decided to use artillery to dislodge them. A dozen shells did deadly work, and the rebels retired to a disused distillery further south; there a naval gun and field artillery opened fire upon them. The bombardment was spectacular. From the top of the distillery floated the green rebel flag. Forty-eight shells hit the building, wrecking it, but the flag continued to wave, and it still hung there after the rebels had evacuated the structure.

IN SACKVILLE STREET

In the Sackville Street region the fighting also had grown hotter, and by the 28th sniping by rebel sharpshooters had become so troublesome that the artillery officer in charge ordered the shelling of the Post Office and adjoining houses. Eight shells were fired into the Young Men's Christian Association Building, two into the Catholic Club, and two into the Post Office. A cessation of the cannonade was then ordered, as some houses had caught fire and it was feared the entire city might be placed in peril. Additional fresh troops had arrived, and the cordons were further tightened.

The rebels started fires in several places in the hope that the flames would reach the Castle. On Friday night the sky for miles around was illuminated and flames shot up from many points. The green rebel flag that flew over the Post Office was sharply outlined by the glow. Rebels were seen walking on the roof. It was afterward discovered that they had sprinkled petroleum over the building and set fire to it before retiring to the Coliseum, where they again put up a stout fight.

A SUDDEN COLLAPSE

Early on Saturday morning the rebel leaders realized the folly of their undertaking and asked to be allowed to surrender, as their commander, James Connolly, had been severely wounded. Pádraic H. Pearse, the "Provisional President," issued a proclamation to his followers: "In order to prevent the further slaughter of unarmed people, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, who are surrounded and hope-

lessly outnumbered, the members of the Provisional Government at headquarters have agreed to unconditional surrender, and the commanders of all the units of the republican forces will order their followers to lay down their arms." This order failed to reach some of the isolated bands for many hours, and sniping continued throughout the day.

The final collapse came on Sunday, when the main body of the rebels in Dublin surrendered, beginning with those in the College of Surgeons. The prisoners here included the Countess Georgina Markiewicz, the Irish wife of a Polish nobleman, with 120 youths who had taken part in the fighting under her leadership. At the hour agreed upon for her surrender she marched out of the College of Surgeons with her followers arranged in ranks by twos. She was dressed entirely in green, and dramatically kissed her revolver before handing it to a British officer with the words, "I am ready." Her followers were then disarmed and marched away to Dublin Castle.

COUNTING THE COST

By Sunday evening more than 1,000 rebels had surrendered, and the military authorities, under General Sir John French, at once began transferring the rank and file of them to England. The leaders, however, were retained at Dublin Castle, where they were speedily put on trial by court-martial under General Maxwell. The other rebel bodies outside the city, notably those at Enniscorthy, surrendered the next day. Except in Dublin the uprising had met with little support. And in Dublin itself it was all over. It had left new bitterness, and the centre of Ireland's capital was a heap of smoking ruins.

On May 12 Mr. Asquith announced that the civilian dead, including rebels, numbered 180, the wounded, 614. The military losses were 124 killed and 388 wounded, making a total of 304 killed and 1,002 wounded. More than 1,800 prisoners were taken. At that date fourteen men had been executed, seventy-three condemned to various periods of penal servitude, and 1,706 deported.

The total damage by fire in Dublin was estimated at \$15,000,000. The buildings

destroyed numbered 179. An eyewitness says:

When I stood on O'Connell Bridge and saw the gaunt walls of what had been hotels and shops and the tottering masonry of the great Post Office Building it was with feelings of profound sorrow for the country and its capital. Sackville Street was full of women who had come from the slums at the back of Marlborough Street and Tyrone Street. Their object was to get news of the misguided men who had worked this ruin. As we came up the street ambulance men were bringing bodies of rebels out of the ruins of the fallen buildings. Now and again a heart-rending scream of grief would tell the despair of some distracted creature whose husband or son had been lured to his death by the emissaries of the Kaiser. Round the Doris Gresham Hotel another crowd was clamoring for any broken meats available.

Round the corner in Chancery Lane evidences of the struggle were more apparent. There were great shot holes in the corner of the Four Courts.

Crossing the Liffey over Wine Tavern Bridge, we walked down King Edward Street to Dublin Castle. Here we met a detachment bringing in about 200 rebel prisoners of all ages, all sizes, and all conditions of life. Some wore the green uniform of the Sinn Fein, some the uniform of the Irish National Volunteers, but most were in civilian dress. There were three or four boys of 13 or 14, and old men of 60 on.

Down Nassau Street and Grafton Street again we crossed to College Green and went down Westmoreland Street to O'Connell Bridge. From this point a scene of horror disclosed itself. Lower Sackville Street from the Nelson Pillar to the bridge was destroyed. The Metropole Hotel and office of The Freeman's Journal had disappeared and were now heaps of smoking ruins. The Post Office had been burned clean out, nothing being left standing save the bare walls and the front portico. The street in front was littered with telegraph forms, account books, ledgers, docketts, and piles of paper. Right in front of the Post Office lay the body of a horse, evidently dead for some days. Dead bodies were being brought out of the building.

The same destruction extends down Henry Street. In the middle of Abbey Street and round Byeden Quay to Beresford Place firemen were busy among the ruins and the last embers of the great conflagrations we had been watching for three consecutive nights.

IRISH PUBLIC OPINION

The Irish Nationalist Party denounced the revolt as "an attempt to torpedo home rule," and its foremost Parliamentary leader, John E. Redmond, cabled to the editor of an Irish-American newspaper:

The whole thing has been organized by

those in Ireland and in America who have always been the open and irreconcilable enemies of home rule and of the Irish Party. Though the hand of Germany was in the whole thing, it was not so much sympathy for Germany as hatred of home rule and of us which was at the bottom of the movement. It was even more an attempt to hit us than to hit England. The whole disgraceful plot is viewed with execration by the Irish people. It was almost entirely a Dublin movement; partly the creation of the Sinn Fein cranks and German agents there, partly of the remnants of that mass of discontent and anarchy which was left by the disastrous Larkinite strike.

In New York City there were enough Irish and German sympathizers with the Dublin outbreak to fill a theatre to overflowing and to pass resolutions in the tenor of the following:

We affirm Ireland's right to a separate and distinct national existence, and we remind the American people that the freedom of the seas, which is necessary to the world's peaceful commerce, and to no nation more than to the United States, which is now controlled and restricted by England for her own selfish interests alone, can only be permanently secured by the independence of Ireland. We affirm that, freed from the blight of English rule, and the deliberate crippling of her industrial and economic life, which has prevailed for many centuries, and the continuance of which is provided for by express provision in the so-called "Home Rule bill," Ireland could support a population of 25,000,000 and become a thriving hive of industry, capable of maintaining her independence and defending her rights.

We thank the Government of Germany for extending to Ireland as far as the present military situation will permit the same kind of aid as was rendered to the infant American Republic by France. We hope that aid will be enlarged so far as circumstances will permit, but Ireland will be recognized as a belligerent and an ally of the Central Powers, her civil and military rights asserted, and a place secured for her in the congress of the nations which will settle the terms of peace.

On the other hand, the United Irish League of America, representing "the solid belief of the vast majority of the Irish people in Ireland," passed resolutions in support of Mr. Redmond and voiced the prevailing sentiment by deploring the misguided efforts of the rebels, which, though sincere, "could only bring anguish to the Irish heart and greatly prejudice the cause for which a forty-five-year peaceable contest has been waged and which was on the threshold of actual fruition." The same

resolutions denounced those leaders who had acted "either from blind hatred of the English people, or, worse, with German gold in their pockets."

FATE OF THE REBELS

The military court at Dublin has meted out punishment to the rebel leaders with a swift severity that has aroused alarm even in England. At the present writing (May 18) fourteen of them have been shot after a summary trial. Every man whose name was attached to the proclamation of the "Irish Republic"—or any other official document of the revolt—has suffered the extreme penalty for high treason. The trial of Casement and Bailey in the civil courts upon the same capital charge promises to be one of the sensational events of British history.

The executions began on May 3 with that of Padraic H. Pearse, the "Provisional President," Thomas J. Clarke, and Thomas MacDonagh. The next day Joseph Plunkett was shot at dawn, after having been married in prison at midnight. Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan, and William Pearse, also were executed on that day. A day or two later Major John McBride was added to the death roll, and on the 7th Eamonn Ceannt, (Edmund Kent,) Cornelius Culbert, Michael Mallon, and J. J. Heuston, followed. On the 9th Thomas Kent of Coole was put to death, and on May 12 James Connolly, "Commander General of the Irish Republican Army," suffered the same fate, along with S. MacDiarmad, the last of the signers of the fatal proclamation. The sentence of Countess Markiewicz was commuted to penal servitude for life. Upward of a hundred others have thus far been tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

HIGH OFFICIALS RESIGN

The Irish revolt has caused the resignation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Baron Wimborne, and of his chief secretary, Augustine Birrell, who has held

that responsible post since 1907. The Under Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, also is out. A commission headed by Lord Hardinge, former Viceroy of India, has been appointed to investigate the causes of the Irish outbreak. The admission by the Government that F. Sheehy Skeffington, editor of The Irish Citizen, and two other journalists were executed in the Portobello barracks at Dublin without the knowledge of the military authorities has helped to raise a demand for less drastic methods in dealing with the situation. Mr. Asquith, the Premier, has himself gone to Ireland to quiet the excitement and diffuse a spirit of calmer justice.

At the same time John E. Redmond, the Nationalist leader, and Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, with other members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, have issued a manifesto to the people of Ireland pleading for their allegiance to the constitutional movement. The manifesto says in part:

It is true that Ireland has been shocked and horrified by a series of military executions by the military tribunals in Dublin. These things have been done in the face of incessant and vehement protests of the Irish leaders, and these protests will be pressed continually and strongly until the unchecked control of the military authorities in Ireland is abolished. But it is also true that, in spite of bitter provocations, the people of Ireland have had no hesitation in condemning the rising in Dublin as a dangerous blow at the heart and hopes of Ireland.

On the morrow of this tragedy we feel called upon to make a solemn appeal to the people of Ireland to draw the conclusions which these events force upon them. We must leave no misunderstanding in their minds as to our convictions and our resolves. Either Ireland is to be given over to unsuccessful revolution and anarchy, or the constitutional movement is to have the full support of the Irish people and go on until it has completed its work.

The coming together of the Ulster and Nationalist leaders on this unfortunate episode is regarded by some observers as a hopeful augury for a settlement of the difficult home rule problem.



THE REBELLION IN IRELAND

PADRAIC H. PEARSE
"Provisional President"
Executed



COUNTESS MARKIEWICZ
Penal Servitude



SIR ROGER CASEMENT
On Trial for High
Treason
(© Brown & Dawson)



AUGUSTINE BIRRELL
Chief Secretary, Resigned



BARON WIMBORNE
Lord Lieutenant, Resigned

DUBLIN AFTER THE REVOLT



Sackville Street Looking Toward the O'Connell Bridge



The Post Office, of Which the Outer Shell Remains

Origins of the Irish Revolt

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Padraic Colum

Irish Author, Playwright, and Journalist

THE revolutionary movement in Ireland began in the year 1912. In September of that year thousands of men in Northeast Ireland, directed by Sir Edward Carson, entered into a covenant to resist the administration of a Government which the King, Lords, and Commons of the United Kingdoms purposed to set up in Ireland. At the time the covenanters had already a military discipline and a military manner. Rumors came that they were actually acquiring arms. A small shipment of rifles was seized at Belfast, and from that time on much space was given in the newspapers to the formation, the movements, and the declarations of the Ulster Volunteers.

The editorial writers on the Conservative papers in England and Ireland rather missed the significance of happenings in Northeast Ulster. They thought that the arming of men there would kill Home Rule and the Liberal Government and safeguard the veto of the House of Lords. But the significant thing was that a section of the people of Ireland were handling guns. The British Government had always been jealous of Irishmen arming themselves. In the sixties and seventies men had been given long terms of penal servitude in horrible prisons for smuggling arms into Ireland. Of course Nationalist Ireland knew that Northeast Ulster was privileged. Still it was brought to the notice of Nationalists that the Arms Embargo act had been repealed.

Nationalist Ireland made no effort to obtain arms. Why should she? A Home Rule bill that satisfied the Nationalist leaders was being passed. Northeast Ulster was said to be preparing to make it inoperative, but then, as the Nationalists thought, the Government was not so impotent as it seemed. Besides, Northeast Ulster had bluffed through all history, and there was no reason to believe it was

doing anything else now. Nationalist Ireland regarded the Ulster Volunteers and the Ulster Provisional Government as theatrical.

Coincidentally with the arming of the Ulster Volunteers came labor troubles in Dublin, Wexford, and Cork. The Dublin troubles amounted to civic disturbances in the Fall of 1913. Dublin has practically the same population now as it had in the eighteenth century—about 360,000 people. But in the eighteenth century Dublin was an industrial centre and had a spending population. Her industries decayed, her gentry vanished with her Parliament, but her population remained the same. Dublin can give adequate employment for only about 200,000 people. The city has a great brewery and great distilleries, but it is now mainly a centre for distribution and transportation.

The Dublin Transport Workers had been organized by Mr. James Larkin. They had headquarters in a former hotel near the quays—Liberty Hall, and they had a base in Croydon Park, a piece of ground they owned. In the lockout of 1913 the employers had been able to bring the authorities against the workers. The labor revolt was crushed, and baton charges by the police had broken up meetings in the streets. The intellectuals who had allied themselves with Liberty Hall and the two labor leaders saw that the workers would have to have some means of defense against police attacks.

Talk of arming men was in the air. One of the intellectuals who had allied themselves with the workers, a gentleman who had been an officer in the British Army, offered to organize a defense force from among the workers themselves. Most of the Transport Workers had been in the militia. They were easily drilled and easily led. In a few weeks the first organized force outside Ulster was drilling in Croydon Park. This was the Citizen Army.

Meanwhile Nationalists in Northeast Ulster were becoming alarmed. Men who regarded Home Rulers as enemies were in possession of arms, and at any time a storm of hatred might break out. Appeals for assistance began to come from the Home Rulers of the Northeast. In response to these appeals a distinguished Ulster Nationalist living in Dublin, Professor MacNeill, published in the Gaelic League journal "An Cleadheamh Soluis" a project for the creation of a body of volunteers for Nationalist Ireland.

In November, 1913, the enrollment of the Nationalist Volunteers began. The response was eager. The Irish are a soldierly people, and this was the first time in 200 years that they had had the chance to organize along military lines in defense of a national principle. In March, 1914, came the Curragh Camp mutiny. Eminent officers in the army declared they would not obey orders if they were sent to put down any revolt in Northeast Ulster. "The army has killed Home Rule," vaunted the Conservative press. There was a crisis in Parliament, and the incident helped enormously the recruitment of the Irish Volunteers.

The Ulster and the Irish Volunteers had now to arm themselves surreptitiously. In November, immediately on the formation of the latter body, an embargo on arms going into Ireland had been declared. In May, 1914, the Ulster Volunteers ran a big cargo of arms into Larne. The authorities made no move to stop the shipment. At the end of July the Irish Volunteers ran a cargo of arms into Howth, just outside of Dublin. The authorities moved to intercept the volunteers on their return to the city. The military was called out, and the regular and irregular forces met half way between Howth and Dublin. The volunteers dispersed and got away with their arms. As the military went back through the streets they were hooted by a Dublin crowd, Stones were thrown at them. The commanding officer, Major Haig, gave his men an order to fire on the populace. They fired, and afterward charged with the bayonet, killing and wounding men and women.

A week later the European war broke

out. Ireland was swept into it with a fresh memory of citizens killed by British soldiers and with a sense of unfair discrimination as between the Nationalist and the Ulster Volunteers.

The historian of the Irish insurrection has now to account for certain happenings in Irish public life during the eighteen months of war—first, the loss of accord between the Irish people and their Parliamentary representatives; secondly, the determination of the Irish Volunteers to hold their arms at all costs; thirdly, the growing ascendancy of a secret society that in 1912 was regarded as moribund, and, fourthly, the exasperation that made Irish men and women long for the day of combat—these happenings made the insurrection of Easter, 1916.

A big minority of the Irish people supported the Allies in the war. But among the bulk of the people the belief persisted that any war in which England engaged was a war for conquest and spoliation. The Parliamentary party helped to recruit for the army in Ireland. Still, as Mr. Redmond and his followers spoke at recruiting meetings, many Nationalists were noting that while their men were being sent to the front, pains were being taken to keep the Ulster Volunteer organization intact. No accord was established between the Irish people and the men who, to the Irish mind, stood for the English ascendancy. In the first month of the war Mr. Balfour made a demand that the Home Rule bill be withdrawn. Finally the Home Rule bill was put upon the statute book. No date was given for its being made operative, and the measure was tied up with an amending bill that would reduce powers and perhaps curtail Irish territory.

Three threats kept the Irish nationalist public in a state of alarm. The first was that of conscription. Ireland's effective male population had been terribly reduced by emigration and people felt instinctively that the loss of many more young men would have a grave effect on the Irish stock. The second threat was that of a taxation that would leave the people hardly any margin for life. The third was that of actual famine. The Irish people have ghastly recollections of the

famine of 1846-7. Then, as they believe, the food they produced was swept into England to pay landlords' rents. If there was a scarcity of food in England, their stock and crop, they thought, would be swept out of the country to supply the English industrial centres. In order to safeguard the food supply, to guard against conscription, and to put up a threat against increased taxation, the Irish Volunteer command issued instructions that the rank and file of the volunteers were to resist disarmament.

A split had occurred in the volunteer ranks. Those who favored Mr. Redmond's policy separated themselves as the National Volunteers, and those who remained with Professor MacNeill kept the title of Irish Volunteers. The Irish Volunteers became more and more uncompromising in their attitude to the administration in Ireland. Meantime the Liberal Government that had put the Home Rule bill on the statute book had gone out of existence, and the new Coalition Cabinet included such opponents of home rule as Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

It was the apparent inability of the Irish Parliamentary Party to save the country from a devastating taxation that broke the accord between the people and Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. Before the war Ireland, it was calculated, was overtaxed to the amount of \$15,000,000. Then she had to raise a revenue of \$45,000,000. She had now to raise a revenue of \$85,000,000—that is to say, the revenue she had to raise was greater by \$10,000,000 than the revenue of Bulgaria, greater by \$10,000,000 than the revenue of Norway, greater by \$25,000,000 than the revenue of Denmark. In England and Scotland there were compensations for the increased taxation. Workmen were earning high salaries in the military and naval arsenals. But in Ireland, outside of Belfast, there were no such compensations.

More and more the Irish public turned

toward Professor MacNeill and the Irish Volunteers. And now, for some reasons not yet apparent, many of the volunteer higher command—Professor MacNeill was not among them—went over to a secret revolutionary organization—the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Using secret and open means, and supported more or less by an alarmed and exasperated public, the seven men whose names appeared on the republican proclamation prepared for revolt. An understanding now existed between members of the Irish Volunteer command, representing the Nationalist professional, business, and farming classes, and the command of the citizen army, representing the Dublin workers.

About last March the heads of the revolutionary organization were made to feel that a crisis had come. Several journals were suppressed, and men important in the volunteer organization had been arrested. Threats of conscription and disarmament had come up again. Public meetings were being held in Dublin to protest against overtaxation and deportation of prisoners—a private letter written at the time said, "Things have reached the breaking point here."

On April 19 a document was read to the Dublin Corporation which had an effect on the revolutionary preparations. It purported to be a secret order issued to the military; it was in cipher, and had been stolen off the files in Dublin Castle. According to this document all the heads of the Irish Volunteers, the National Volunteers, the Citizen Army, the Sinn Fein Council, and the Gaelic League were to be put under arrest on an order from the military commander. With this document made public the revolutionary group felt that they would have to move at once or their preparations would end in a fiasco like that of 1867. So on Easter Monday the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army paraded, and the revolutionists struck their resounding blows in Dublin and the country districts.



The Battle of Verdun

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Temps and Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE

THE City of Verdun itself, in spite of its high, encircling walls and citadel covering an immense subterranean town, has no longer any military significance; it owes its importance to the belt of detached forts which, spreading over a circuit of forty-eight kilometers, (thirty miles,) was intended to render stationary an entire army, to insure the investment of the city in view of a regular siege. General Séré de Rivières, the creator of the intrenched camp, estimated that it would take four army corps (160,000 men) to besiege it. But the present attack had forces of a very different character and means of action which Séré de Rivières could not have guessed at, and was made at first on a sector of about seven kilometers, (four and a half miles,) that is to say, on one-seventh of the line of forts.

Séré de Rivières held that an offensive against Verdun must of necessity be directed against the works on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, which make a curve from Dugny, down stream, to Charny, up stream; he thought that the line of the ridges of the Meuse was too strong to be the object of an attack, and considered hazardous any operations on the central sector. Yet this sector was the one attacked.

The enormous human flood, rushing upon a narrow stream, is without example in history, even in this war. It explains the successive withdrawals of our troops up to the limits fixed by Séré de Rivières for the advanced defenses toward Douaumont, limits which the enemy did not quite reach, since Pepper Ridge (Côte du Poivre) is still two miles from the Terre-Froide works, and these are in front of the line of forts which

immediately cover Verdun — Belleville, Saint-Michel, Souville—and protect the road and railway to Metz.

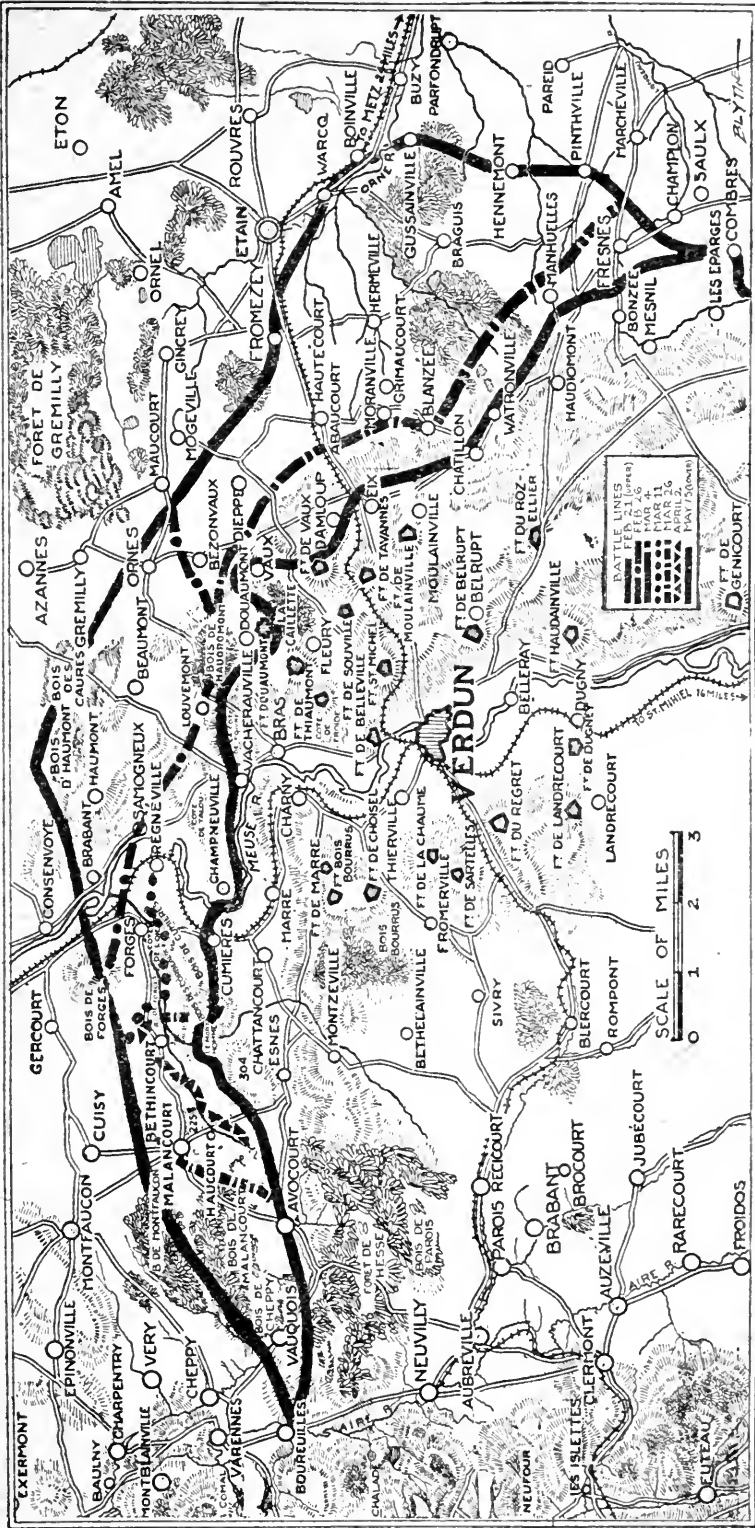
For several days the French commanders knew that the attack was near; our intelligence department had noted the preparations of the enemy; beginning with Feb. 15, we looked for the first storm of cannon shots. These were fired on Sunday, Feb. 20. An enormous quantity of artillery of all calibres, of all ranges, disposed on a front of thirty miles, from Montfaucon in Eastern Argonne, to Etain in the heart of Woevre, opened fire on our trenches, on the forts on the northern sector, and on the City of Verdun itself, which was soon subjected to a systematic destructive fire. The Governor of the town was forced to order the departure of the last inhabitants who lingered in the unhappy city.

Monday, Feb. 21.—In the evening, after a lively cannonade, the Germans made a first infantry attack with very considerable forces; capturing certain of our first line trenches, they reached our second line, from which counterattacks drove them back.

Tuesday, Feb. 22.—The enemy bombardment stretched across both banks of the Meuse, covered the ridges and was prolonged in Woevre to the neighborhood of Etain, near the village of Fromezey. The conflict was intense.

To the north of Verdun the Meuse descends by wide and harmonious curves as far as the village of Brabant; its course, skirted by the railroad to Sedan, exceeds twelve and a half miles, but the road which cuts across its curves is only nine miles. Opposite Brabant the Forges brook enters the Meuse; its valley up to its source almost exactly marks the line between the French and German trenches. On the right (east) bank of the Meuse

Map of Entire Area of the Battle of Verdun



the hills merge with a gentle slope into the Meuse ridges. Their tops are wooded—Haumont Wood, Caures Wood, Herbébois. From the Meuse to Herbébois is six miles. In this space there are only two villages—Haumont-les-Samogeux and Beaumont, the latter on a hillside at the foot of which passes the road from Montmédy to Verdun, which, with the Sedan road, formed principal approaches for the Germans.

On Feb. 22 the enemy bombarded this whole front, and then began a series of very violent infantry attacks. These were almost everywhere repulsed, but at the Haumont Wood, and in the salient to the north of Beaumont, toward the Joli-Coeur house and the Caures Wood, the Germans were able to secure a footing. Their losses were considerable, but this did not stop the movement.

While this was going on in the north another attack was being prepared in the east, in Woevre, to the northwest of Fromezey, in the space between Fromezey and Mogneville, occupied in part by the Haute-Charrière Wood. As soon as the enemy appeared here he was subjected to a barring fire so heavy that he was unable to complete the proposed movement. On this side the fighting was confined to the artillery—a slow and continuous duel.

Wednesday, Feb. 23.—Between the Meuse and the Herbébois Wood the bombardment was continued throughout the night. We replied with vigor, and at dawn on Wednesday infantry fighting was resumed on a front of nine and a half miles. The village of Haumont was the scene of especially furious fighting in which the enemy suffered severe losses, but gained possession of the ground. To counterbalance this a part of the salient occupied the evening before by the Germans, in the Caures Wood, was retaken by us and a strong attack to the north of Ornes, against our Herbébois line, was stopped short by our fire. The Germans squandered men belonging to seven different army corps; the prisoners we took said that certain enemy units had been completely destroyed. The enemy came forward, wave after wave, only to crumble under our

fire, sowing the slopes and the hollows with thousands and thousands of corpses.

EVACUATION OF BRABANT

Thursday, Feb. 24.—All night long the bombardment continued, from the right bank of the Meuse near Brabant as far as Ornes; the violence of the cannonade was such that it was necessary to order the evacuation of Brabant. It was made without difficulty, thanks to the darkness, while our batteries on the left bank, above Regnéville and Forges, answered the German cannon. This retirement brought us to Samogneux, 1,600 meters to the south, (one mile,) where, at dawn, the enemy launched a strong attack, which was repulsed. But the enemy was more fortunate on the northeast; they took back from us a part of the Caures Wood, employing a brigade for this assault. We only retained an angle of the wood. Our troops fell back before Beaumont and held their position there for part of the day, in spite of vigorous offensives. The village was then abandoned and we organized a line of resistance behind it.

In the same way we had had to give up Herbébois to take up a position in the open passage at the source of the Ornes, between this position and the Chaume Wood, near the village of Ornes. These movements, the tactical reasons for which, as well as the perfect order with which they were executed, were recognized later, brought us to the line of the heights extending from the hamlet of Neuville, in the Commune of Champneuville, to the south of Ornes, where are the Caurières and Vauche Woods.

PEPPER RIDGE

Friday, Feb. 25.—The night of Feb. 24-25 was broken only by artillery fire; no infantry attack was developed. Snow began to fall abundantly; it did not stop the German offensive, which on Feb. 25 began again with unheard-of violence along the whole line, and brought the battle line further to the south, to the edge of the village and fort of Douaumont.

The struggle once more took on the character of the most sanguinary fighting, on the Pepper Ridge, a long back-

bone whose culminating point, near Louvemont, reaches 347 meters (1,138 feet) in height, and which comes to an end above the Meuse at Vacherauville, where the Meuse flows past at a distance of 200 meters, (220 yards.) This position commands the roads from Longuyon and Sedan, by which arrived enemy masses that multiplied their assaults without succeeding in breaking in our front.

On this side the battle was terrible; the stories of the wounded give tragic details of the heaping up of German dead; our report said, "The enemy no longer count their sacrifices."

Even more violent was the struggle around Douaumont; there it took on a character of sanguinary slaughter. Innumerable enemy corpses covered the slopes, and new masses ceaselessly presented themselves, having for objective the village, the fort, and the row of redoubts which border the strategic road leading to the Terre-Froide position.

Douaumont, the culminating point of the intrenched camp of Verdun, had been the object of a terrible bombardment; the fort, at the end of the day, was nothing but a ruin. The defense of the positions near it, notably of the Vauche Wood between Douaumont and Bezonvaux, caused fierce combats; more than once the German assaults were broken before the resistance had fixed itself on the culminating point of the plateau.

DEFENSE OF HAUDROMONT

Saturday, Feb. 26.—The fighting throughout the day of Feb. 26 seems to have been the fiercest, the enemy then making his greatest efforts; our command, on its part, marked a halt in the movement of retreat, or, if the word be preferred, withdrawal. The German batteries redoubled the violence of their bombardment along the whole front, on both sides of the Meuse, to assure the success of this effort which might prove decisive, for, if the lines of Douaumont were forced, the assailants would be able to reach the row of forts which border the passage through which runs the railroad to Metz. Attacks launched with the help of large forces toward Neuville

(Champneville) and on Pepper Ridge were repulsed. Bloody contests were renewed, without reaching such a paroxysm as marked the struggle about Douaumont. The fort, shaken by the firing of enormous guns, was the object of repeated assaults which cost the enemy enormous losses.

Finally, his success seemed decisive; the defenders having had to abandon the ruins, a Brandenburg regiment, the Twenty-fourth Infantry, effected an entry. This advantage was immediately announced to the whole world by a dispatch from German General Headquarters, proclaiming the capture of the fort of Douaumont, "the northeastern cornerstone of the principal line of permanent fortifications of the fortress of Verdun." The Imperial General Staff was in too great haste to record a great victory. Hardly had the fort been taken from us when a strong counterattack was launched; all the lines were retaken and even passed, the fort was half surrounded without the Erandenburgers having evacuated it.

At the close of the day the enemy outlined two attacks on the flanks of the position; one, to the east, attempted to drive us from the Haudromont farm, situated on a wooded slope between Louvemont and Douaumont, between two folds along which passed roads leading to Bras; our artillery and machine guns broke it; a counterattack pushed back our assailants on the heights of Louvemont.

With equal violence other large enemy contingents made a drive against our Hardaumont positions, between Rezonvaux and Vaux; there also the enemy was repulsed.

The entire effort of the day had, therefore, been concentrated between the road from Louvemont to Bras and the edge of the ridges at Hardaumont. The enemy had failed wherever he attacked, except in the centre, where the fate of Douaumont, reached by the Brandenburgers, and then repassed by us, remained uncertain.

During these three last days events were being prepared in Woevre; we shall later devote a special paragraph to them.

DOUAUMONT AND VAUX

Sunday, Feb. 27.—On the plateau, between the Meuse and Woevre, the enemy's effort was aimed against our right wing; except for artillery action, the region of Champneville and the Pepper Ridge were not the theatre of any fighting; but, between these two points, the Talou Ridge, (288 meters, 945 feet,) on which we had for a short time made a stand, had to be evacuated, without the enemy being able to gain a footing there, however, as the position, under artillery fire from both sides, had become untenable.

While the bombardment continued along the whole front, the Germans were directing furious efforts against the village and fort of Douaumont, to try to disengage the Brandenburgers, who seem to have remained in the ruins as in a trap. But we held on; repeated furious assaults did not overcome the tenacity of our soldiers. A movement on the east, to the north of the village of Vaux, that is, near the Hardaumont Wood, was not more fortunate. In spite of the unheard-of losses to which they consented, the Germans remained unable to retake the ground from which we had pushed them back.

Monday, Feb. 28.—On Monday also the enemy multiplied attacks around Douaumont, but without giving them the character of massed rushes such as marked the preceding days. These partial attempts at one time resulted in the occupation of one of the redoubts attached to the fort, but a hand-to-hand fight drove the enemy out again. These attacks continued at night, sometimes with great violence; they involved bayonet fighting, in which our men got the better of it.

Tuesday, Feb. 29.—The attacks slackened greatly; all were not noted in the dispatches, for the one of that night announced that the enemy was intrenching on the north slope of Pepper Ridge. But we had been told that our men held that long crest since they had given up the Talou Ridge, on which neither French nor Germans could stand the artillery fire. The Talou Ridge had, therefore, been passed. If the north flank of the Pepper Ridge was now furrowed by the

trenches of our adversaries, the crest remained in our possession. Further, the enemy had still only small numbers on the ground won, since we had shelled a single battalion collected at Samogneux, three miles to the north, on the Meuse.

Except for this incident, the day was only marked by intermittent bombardments.

ATTACKS IN WOEVRE

In the above description of the phases of the great battle, day by day, we have passed over the symptoms which manifested themselves in Woevre of an attack against the eastern front of the intrenched camp, that is, the barrier of the ridges of the Meuse. At the outset we explained the value of these escarpments, and detailed the fortified works which were established there at a time when it could not be supposed that artillery would one day have a power superior to all armor. This line of positions, so long considered impregnable, was threatened in its turn; attacks were produced in three directions, including that of the heights of Vaux-before-Damloup, which we connected with the Douaumont fight.

When the great battle began our lines extended a considerable distance in Woevre, to the outskirts of Etain on the north, and around Fresnes-in-Woevre on the south. Enemy movements against these positions took place to the west of Etain, near Fromezey, as noted under Feb. 22. During the days of Feb. 23 and 24 the bombardment continued on this side with such intensity that a serious attack could be foreseen. Before this threat our command had the posts of the first line withdrawn; this operation was carried out rapidly, with a skill and success so complete that the enemy became aware of it only several hours later. None the less it was announced as a German victory. But we had not fired a shot.

On Feb. 27 the enemy, recovering from his surprise, advanced along the Etain road toward the Eix defile, through which both the road and the railroad from Verdun to Conflans and Metz enter the Woevre district. Our troops occupied the railroad station 2,000 meters (1¼ miles) from Eix and 1,500 meters from

Abaucourt, and bearing the name of these two villages. This station is important because the narrow-gauge railroad from Commercy to Verdun and Montmédy cross the railroad to Metz. Violently attacked, it was taken from us; it was retaken, then taken from us again, and finally remained in our hands.

To the south of the station, at a distance of a little more than 2 kilometers, (1¼ miles,) a hillock which dominates by some 30 meters (100 feet) the lower parts of the plain is traversed by a road coming from Etain and going to the entrance of the ridges at Moulainville. This position, strongly occupied by us, had already been bombarded; it was attacked at the same time as the Eix station, but all assaults were repulsed. The front of Moulainville and its attached batteries dominate by 200 feet this crest, which is bordered by two streams.

About six miles to the south the enemy attacked the village of Manheulles, on the direct road from Verdun to Metz, at the point of junction of a road coming from Pont-à-Mousson, with the road which skirts the base of the ridges of the Meuse. The point is thus important; it was energetically defended; the Germans were repulsed. On Monday two attacks directed against Fresnes-in-Woevre failed. But the enemy returned to the charge. He succeeded in seizing Manheulles; but, if he held the village, we retook the approaches to it. The objective of this operation of the Germans was the high promontory of Haudromont, (363 meters, 1,190 feet,) which dominates the plain by more than 100 meters (328 feet) and beneath which the road from Verdun climbs the pedestal of the plateau which holds the fort of Rozellier. Manheulles is 3 kilometers (3,280 yards) away.

ATTACKING DOUAUMONT

As might have been foreseen by noting the constant intense bombardment of our positions on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, an attack, not less serious than that on the front between the Meuse and Woevre, was being prepared on that side; it developed on Monday, Feb. 28, and on Tuesday, Feb. 29, had assumed very large proportions. It was, then, in Eastern Argonne, and perhaps also in Woevre,

that the Germans were preparing to direct their effort, while they confined themselves to demonstrations along the lines of Douaumont. We shall follow the incidents of each of these sectors separately.

The last events which we noted between the Meuse and Woevre were the hand-to-hand combats during the night of Feb. 28-29 around Douaumont, and the lodging of the enemy on the northern slope of Pepper Ridge, the crest of which we continued to hold.

Wednesday, March 1.—The only event was a fairly brisk bombardment; the Germans were preparing infantry attacks which took place on the following day with extreme violence.

Thursday, March 2.—We have not been told the exact points against which these successive assaults were directed; "the region of Douaumont" only was indicated. The fire of our troops pushed back the waves of the enemy while our cannon replied to our adversary and covered with shells the paths by which their columns were advancing to the assault. Our adversaries then resumed the bombardment of the village and made new attacks with redoubled violence. Several times the assailants, cruelly tried, had to retire; a last effort finally allowed them to get a lodging among the ruins.

Another action was going on meanwhile to the east of the village of Vaux, hidden in a hollow dug out in the breast of the ridges of the Meuse, at the outlet of a pond from which flows an affluent of the Ornes. Vaux spreads along this hollow; at the foot of a hill 349 meters (1,144 feet) high, 100 meters (328 feet) above the plain, and crowned by a fort bearing its name, facing the Hardaumont works. The struggle was bloody; the enemy, descending by a kind of defile between the Douaumont fort and the Hardaumont works, rushed against Vaux, without these repeated assaults enabling him to force our wire entanglements. Our machine guns and cannon inflicted enormous losses on him. Finally he withdrew, leaving numerous corpses on the wires.

Friday, March 3.—The struggle was

resumed with great heat around the village of Douaumont. If the enemy was in the ruins, we held the top of the slope under which these lay. A counterattack brought us to the immediate approaches to the hamlet, and, in the evening, we took them. The affair might have been extended, for troops were seen descending from Beaumont, moving against Pepper Ridge, bombarded since the day before—but our batteries dispersed them.

The enemy did not give up the game. The bombardment was continued.

Saturday, March 4.—Douaumont was once more attacked; the Germans regained a footing there; we drove them out again; they returned; the whole day passed in alternations of successes and withdrawals from this lamentable heap of crumbling dwellings. In the evening the fight took on a larger development; the enemy bombarded the whole sector, more than 3 kilometers, (3,280 yards,) included between the woods which surround the Haudromont farm, near Pepper Ridge, and the fort of Douaumont. A very lively attack followed the cannonade; our barring fire sufficed to stop it. We still held the approaches of Douaumont.

Sunday, March 5.—The bombardment, resumed, was not able to drive us from Douaumont. On the same day an attempt to take from us the little wood covering the extremity of Pepper Ridge, toward Vacherauville, was repulsed.

The Germans had shown a great deal of activity in these regions; troops on the march appeared toward the Fosses Wood near Beaumont, and at the approaches of the village of Louvemont, offering a target to our batteries, which directed their fire upon them.

Monday, March 6.—On the following night no infantry action was attempted; in compensation, the artillery was active, especially between Douaumont and the Meuse. Perhaps the cannonade on this side should be considered a participation in the events which were being prepared on the left (west) bank of the river.

Tuesday, March 7.—The enemy attempted a new attack to the east of Douaumont, against our Hardaumont Wood positions. After a bombardment

which drew a reply from our batteries, troops were launched in an assault; the enemy got a footing in a redoubt; a counterattack drove him out of it.

Wednesday, March 8.—He reoccupied it.

IN WOEVRE

Before following the contests which suddenly carried the interest to the west, we must record what took place in Woevre, or rather in a small corner of that region, around Fresnes-in-Woevre.

We have seen that the enemy had succeeded in seizing Manheulles, a village situated on the road from Metz to Verdun, 2,500 meters (2,733 yards) from the promontory of Haudiomont, which sticks out, high and abrupt, before the mass of the ridges. But an attack against the neighboring town, Fresnes-in-Woevre, failed. Renewed on March 1, after an intense bombardment, it had a brief success; certain elements of our trenches were entered. A counterattack restored them to us. During March 2 a bombardment of like force took place; it was continued through the night; however, when the Germans attempted to advance our barring fire sufficed to push them back. Thereafter the cannonade continued, becoming constantly more intense. On March 7 it covered not only Fresnes but the villages which fringe the base of the ridges of the Meuse, and was followed by a very powerful infantry attack; our troops resisted valiantly, causing the adversary heavy losses, but had finally to abandon the town, without doubt withdrawing through Bonzée-in-Woevre on the ridges of the Meuse, to the north of Les Eparges, where mine contests took place. Les Eparges is at least five kilometers (three miles) to the southwest of Fresnes. The artillery struggle was continued with vigor. The fire of our batteries on Blanzée and Grimaucourt makes it probable that the enemy was active near the Conflans railroad.

In this region the enemy gets supplies by the railroad from Commercy to Montmédy, which receives, at Vigneulles-les-Hattonchâtel, the munitions and food supplies sent from Metz by the strategic railroad from Thiaucourt to St. Mihiel.

On different occasions the Vigneulles junction was bombarded by our airmen and long-range guns; this firing was renewed, for Vigneulles has an important part to play in events; several trains were hit, a locomotive blew up, fires were observed. These results bring credit to our fire, which was directed from a long distance.

WEST OF THE MEUSE.

General Séré de Rivières, creator of the intrenched camp of Verdun, held that the most threatened point of the great fortress would be the western sector, that is, the left bank of the Meuse. He feared that an enemy coming from Champagne and Argonne might get very close to the town, on the high hills which form the watershed between the Meuse and the Aire. He had proposed to cover the place along the line of the summit, by establishing a fort ten kilometers (6 miles) from the town on the plateau of Sivry-la-Perche. By expressing the fear that the enemy might get a footing on the northeast—toward Mort Homme Hill—he indicated that these heights should have been occupied.

It was the organization of this position that had to be considered in 1914, when the French and Germans had fixed their defense between Verdun and Montfaucon. Violent battles extending from Montfaucon to the Meuse ended by giving us as our barrier, after many fluctuations, the valley of the Forges stream, a rivulet born near the twin villages of Malancourt and Haucourt, and passing through Béthincourt on its way to join the Meuse opposite Brabant-on-the-Meuse, from which the battle of 1916 developed. The stream separated the two sides; from Malancourt the lines of the trenches descended toward Avocourt, left to the enemy the woods of Cheppy, to the French the forest of Hesse, then, by a sinuous line, crossed and divided the peak of Vauquois, passing the Aire at Boureuilles, which remained in our hands, and finally climbing up into the Argonne forest toward the Fille-Morte and the Haute-Chevauchée.

The enemy made Montfaucon, a feudal stronghold perched on the top of a con-

ical hill, the centre of his position. Thence he threatened the whole region between the Aire and the Meuse—the eastern Argonne. The movement which took place in March had been foreseen for a long time.

Malancourt, in our hands, is only 4 kilometers (2½ miles) from Montfaucon. The watershed is a range of ridges reaching 304 meters (1,000 feet) between the villages of Malancourt and Esnes, which is dominated by a hill 310 meters (1,017 feet) high. There is here a series of very strong positions; a valley coming down from Béthincourt separates them from a system of hills which slope down to the Meuse at Regnéville, opposite Samogneux. On these hills there are some well-marked crests—two at the Mort Homme are, the one 265 meters, the other 295 meters, (870 and 968 feet;) a long ridge which separates the Forges brook from the broad valley of the Meuse toward Cumières reaches 265 meters (870 feet) between this village and Regnéville. It is called the height of Goose Ridge at the place where the Forges road crosses it.

This whole system of heights which descends in a gentle slope, like a glaciais, toward the Forges Valley, had been submitted to bombardment from the beginning of the battle of Verdun. This artillery action was even more accentuated beginning with March 1, being particularly directed against the Mort Homme, Goose Ridge, and the passages of the Meuse, and then extending toward Malancourt. The cannonade was continued during the night of March 4-5, through the whole of Sunday, (March 5,) and the forenoon of March 6, from Béthincourt to the Meuse.

Then the infantry came on the stage. The village of Forges, where we had a post, was vigorously attacked—a fierce struggle which compelled us to evacuate Forges to transfer the defense to Goose Ridge. The enemy launched several successive attacks against these slopes without succeeding in reaching the summit. Our counterattacks drove him back into the village.

This was only the beginning. On March 6, after an intense bombardment, a new and more violent attack was made.

Troops which came from Forges followed the railroad track, on which a marked curve follows more regularly the curve of the Meuse at Regnéville, and, coming in small groups, concentrated to climb up the slopes, while an entire division, coming up from Forges, under our fire, reached the summit, 265-Meter Hill, a kilometer (1,093 yards) to the east of Goose Ridge. In spite of heavy losses they were able to gain a foothold. But the height of Goose Ridge remained in our hands; we remained masters of Béthincourt, of the woods of Corbeaux and Cumières and, consequently, of the Mort Homme hillocks. This line of defense, violently bombarded by large-calibre guns during March 7, was the object of multiplied attacks; all were repulsed, but the enemy was able to gain a footing at the centre of our lines in the Corbeaux Wood sector; thus at two points he held the crest between the Forges Valley and the meander formed by the Meuse around the territory of Champneuville. These two points, between which is the height of Goose Ridge, are the approaches of the Corbeaux Wood, if not the wood itself, and 265-Meter Hill.

On March 8 we counterattacked in the Corbeaux Wood and drove out the enemy, who held on only in the extreme east. A German attack with large forces against Béthincourt was repulsed at the same time. Violent fighting continued for two days, at the end of which the Germans had succeeded in regaining the position from which we had driven them.

Thursday, March 9.—We pushed our assailants back from the Corbeaux Wood, and carried on an artillery duel while our long-range guns shelled convoys signaled on our extreme left wing in the wooded region comprised between Avocourt and Montfaucon. On the next day, also, our batteries took as a target an enemy column in the same direction. It must be noted that, each day since the battle began, there had been similar firing on this side. But, in spite of the activity shown by the movements of the enemy in this forest formed of communal woods, there was, up to this, no infantry action.

Friday, March 10.—Was marked by repeated assaults against our Corbeaux Wood position. In vain did our shells, the fire of our machine guns and the rifle fire from our trenches break up their ranks; new waves swept forward. Finally, to break our resistance, the enemy launched against us forces estimated at not less than a division, (20,000 men.) At a cost of enormous losses he succeeded in dislodging us from the part of the wood which we had retaken. In the night the effort was directed against Béthincourt, along the road which connects this village with Chattancourt, by the Mort Homme positions. The enemy penetrated a connecting trench, from which a counterattack drove him immediately.

Saturday, March 11; Sunday, March 12.—There was a continuous bombardment, to which we replied with success.

Monday, March 13.—The fire of our adversaries redoubled, directed against the Mort Homme and, more to the south, the undulating region whose highest points are occupied by the Bois-Bourrus Woods, 400 hectares (1,000 acres) in extent. These woods give their name to one of the forts which cover a long crest that comes out over the Meuse above Charny, a series of works separated by 6 kilometers ($3\frac{3}{4}$ miles) from the citadel and circuit wall of Verdun. On this day our long-range guns reached the enemy organizations, the shelters and field railroads in the region of Montfaucon, where were organized the forces destined to operate against Béthincourt and the movement of which was carried out on the following day.

Tuesday, March 14.—After several hours' bombardment the enemy directed a strong attack against the three-mile front between the Béthincourt road and Cumières. The enemy was repulsed, but gained a footing in certain elements of the trenches between Béthincourt and the Mort Homme.

Wednesday, March 15.—He lost a part of this by a counterattack, after which our front was marked out by Béthincourt, the Mort Homme, the edge of Cumières Wood, and Cumières village.

THE FIGHT FOR VAUX

Events between the Meuse and the plain of Woivre had been more important. It will be remembered that, on March 7, the Germans essayed against the Hardaumont Wood an attack which allowed them to keep a redoubt that was long contested. On March 8 the struggle began once more, very fiercely, between Douaumont and the village of Vaux. Several times running, large forces, the whole of the Third Corps, it was said, sustained by violent artillery fire, drove against our lines without bending them. The enemy was continually repulsed; at one time the village of Vaux was entered; our men freed it by a counterattack with the bayonet.

The fight was continued all night and the following day with growing violence. The Germans directed furious assaults against Vaux, covering the ground with their dead. Other troops were launched against the steep slopes which led to the fort; in massed formations, the enemy tried to climb the cliff-like ascent, but crumbled under our fire; their losses were enormous. The enemy believed themselves certain to succeed; the German General Staff telegraphed to Berlin to announce the taking of Vaux and the armored fort; the name of the victorious General was given, and the numbers of the regiments that had gained the victory. The large cities were illuminated. Our command was compelled to issue a contradiction; the Germans, caught in the act, extricated themselves by announcing that we had "retaken" the fort, which we had never lost. Our enemy's sacrifices in men had been terrible; yet they prepared to renew them on the same day, when our artillery, reaching their organizations, forced them to disperse.

On March 10 they returned to the charge, after having once more directed an intense bombardment against the ravine-like hollow with precipitous sides. Assault after assault was directed against the heaps of ruins that had been Vaux. All these efforts only enabled the enemy to occupy a few houses around the church, built at the spot where the ravine opens out into the plain, the open-

ing of which the enemy had been able to reach, thanks to the fog.

At the same time the steep hill on which is the fort and its batteries had been approached by the Germans; in spite of terrible losses, our enemy reached the slope of the plateau; but there they found themselves against our barbed wire entanglements; they could not even reach them, as our fire drove them back in masses over the edge of the hill.

On the same day (March 10) our trenches to the west of Douaumont, that is, toward the wood which covers the ravine-cleft curve that opens beneath the Haudromont farm, were attacked with unprecedented violence. Three times successively, in columns of four, the enemy surged against our lines. Each time our cannon and machine guns broke up these masses, which, decimated and exhausted, were forced to retreat to the shelter of the trenches. But the German artillery continued firing with great intensity against Douaumont and Vaux. After this, the infantry did not attack this region again except on March 13, toward Haudromont; a strong reconnoissance was stopped as soon as it appeared.

An advance was made close to the Meuse. On March 11 a grenade attack took place in a thicket called the Bois-Carré, at the end of Pepper Ridge, next the river. On March 12 the gathering of troops was signaled by our observers in the ravine hollowed out on the north of that ridge, whose sides, carpeted with short grass, remained in our hands. Our shells rained on these groups, and reached the German batteries installed between Louvemont and the Longuyon road.

On Monday, March 13, the enemy's activity was concentrated in a violent bombardment against Vaux and Dam-loup.

In Woivre, except for an unimportant infantry attack, which, on the evening of March 11, took from us one element of our trenches on the road from Verdun to Conflans, to the north of Eix, there was only an artillery duel, but this was continuous. It was especially violent, beginning with March 10, along the whole line of the ridges, from Eix to the

height of Fresnes-in-Wœvre. Eix, Moulainville, and its steep slopes, then, beyond Haudromont, Villers-under-Bonchamps, and Bonzée, and, later, Ronvaux on the north slope of the Haudiomont promontory, were cannonaded; our artillery replied to the enemy, whose infantry did not intervene.

The Germans tried to interfere with our communications between the two banks of the Meuse by launching floating mines at St. Mihiel on March 10; they hoped to blow up the bridges which we had thrown across the river and the permanent bridges of Verdun. But the river is well guarded; the terrible engines were discovered and fished out.

Thursday, March 16.—As on the preceding day, gun fire was particularly violent. Our batteries had to hammer the works which the enemy constructed between Douaumont and Haudromont. Movements of troops were signaled near Vaux, and caught under the fire of our guns. It was the prelude of an attack which developed toward 8 in the evening, and which the usual bombardment enabled us to foresee. It consisted of a whole series of furious actions, directed against the village of Vaux and the slopes crowned by the fort. Twice the village was assailed; the enemy, subjected to our fire, was compelled to retreat, leaving numerous dead in the ruins. The heights were twice subjected to equally furious attacks; there also the troops that attempted to scale the cliff were broken up. The enemy did not admit that they were defeated; taking advantage of the night, they entered, to the southeast of the village, a sunken road by which they hoped to get behind the fort; but our men were vigilant; cannon and machine guns dispersed the attacking column. It would seem that in these attacks our infantry played a subordinate part; the artillery and machine guns overcame the attack.

Friday, March 17; Saturday, March 18.—On Saturday the Germans returned to the charge, attempting, in the forenoon, along the whole front from Haudromont to Vaux, a series of partial attacks, which did not succeed in reaching our trenches. In the afternoon, after vig-

orously bombarding Vaux, the slopes of the fort, and the ridges, toward Damloup, they launched a new assault, but our barring fire pushed them back again, and they were compelled to retire. After this Vaux was left in peace. On Wednesday, March 22, the bombardment was still going on.

THE MORT HOMME REGION

Events on the left (west) bank of the Meuse were more important. On March 15, after having retaken a part of the trenches on 265-Meter Hill, to the north of the principal height of the Mort Homme, we held a line going from Béthincourt to Cumières, by the Mort Homme and the fringe of the wood of Cumières, which joins the Corbeaux Wood. The enemy seemed to be keeping quiet, but, on March 16, he resumed the bombardment of this front and, in the afternoon, made a strong attack in waves of assault which were broken forthwith by our fire. It appears that six divisions (120,000 men) were engaged.

They did not attack again on this side, but our guns continued to shell the connecting roads behind their front, anticipating a movement from the southwest. March 18 was marked only by the fire of our guns against the positions near the Mort Homme and the Corbeaux Wood.

Sunday, March 19.—Quiet reigned all along the front.

Monday, March 20.—An intense bombardment with shells of the largest calibre suddenly broke out to the west and southwest of Béthincourt, on the sector extending from the village of Malancourt to Avocourt, the two villages being separated by a wooded hill which forms a part of the sylvan zone called the Forest of Montfaucon. After this preparation an entire division was launched in an attack. It had not up to this time taken part in the operations before Verdun, and arrived intact from a distant front. Preceded by men who projected flaming liquids, it rushed against our lines; in spite of the violence of the assault, our fire held the enemy; cannon, machine guns, infantry fire caused such losses that the assailant was forced to

retire, holding only the east end of the woods.

The bombardment began again, and lasted throughout the night.

Tuesday, March 21.—Repeated infantry attacks were preceded by the projectors of flaming liquids. Our fire inflicted enormous losses on the enemy, but was not able to prevent his getting a footing in the southeast end of the forest, called the Avocourt Wood.

While this fighting was going on the enemy's long-range fire continued to sweep the ground between Malancourt and the approaches of the Bois-Bourrus. The 304-Meter Hill, between Malancourt and Esnes, was a special target. Its occupation would have made it possible to attack the Mort Homme from the rear. On March 21 the artillery struggle was intense, but the Germans made no new infantry attacks.

Wednesday, March 22.—Several attacks were directed against our fronts comprised between Malancourt and the angle of the Avocourt Wood. All the attempts of the enemy to advance from the wood were checked, and he only gained a foothold on a hillock to the southwest of Haucourt.

During the next week no infantry fighting took place around Verdun. It might have been thought that the battle was ended.

Tuesday, March 28.—The struggle began again in the Malancourt-Avocourt region, without advantage to the enemy.

Wednesday, March 29.—We made appreciable gains. We had foreseen a renewal of infantry fighting which had been announced by the almost continuous bombardment of our lines, and the fire which we directed on the woods constituting the forest of Apremont and, beyond, on the region where the departments of the Meuse and of the Ardennes march together, from the defile of Grandpré, in the Argonne Forest, to the approaches of Montfaucon. On Wednesday morning our artillery opened fire on the Avocourt Wood, which we had had to abandon during the preceding week, and prepared an attack on the southeast corner. Our infantry, sent forward to the assault, seized trenches on a depth of

more than 300 meters, (330 yards,) reached a work called the Avocourt redoubt, powerfully held by the enemy, and seized it. The Germans tried to regain this ground; they threw against our positions a brigade which had recently arrived and had not yet been engaged. It suffered the fate of other assaulting troops; its effort was broken; after great losses, it was thrown back to the west.

The enemy at the same time resumed his attack, with considerable forces, against the village of Malancourt; he seized an advance work, to the north, and two houses, but could not press home this slight success.

DOUAUMONT-VAUX LINE

Between the Meuse and the plain of Woevre also there were only intermittent bombardments, more sustained on the sector Douaumont-Vaux-Damloup. On this side also the enemy's fire was extended to reach our second lines, the row of forts to the north of the Metz railroad. The German dispatches boasted of the destruction of the City of Verdun by incendiary bombs, a procedure to which Rheims, Soissons, and Arras have accustomed us.

Our cannon replied vigorously to the enemy from Pepper Ridge and Douaumont and Vaux.

In Woevre there was a renewed artillery attack on the ridges of the Meuse, from Moulainville to Eparges; Châtillon, between Moulainville and Haudiomont was also bombarded. Noting troop movements, our airmen bombarded the enemy's railroad communications, setting fire to a train of cars on March 27. Three days earlier a train of munitions had been destroyed at Vigneulles.

Thursday, March 30.—The Germans approached our trenches, which they had bombarded on the previous day. Preceded by projectors of flaming liquids, they threw themselves on us. In spite of their barbarous methods of surprise, they were pushed back, but soon returned to the charge, to be thrown back again after suffering heavy losses.

But they did not give up the game. In the afternoon they resumed the bombardment with extreme violence, keeping

it up all night on a front of 5 kilometers (3 miles) from the woods of Haudromont, near Pepper Ridge, to Vaux.

Friday, March 31.—During Friday night they launched two attacks in great force against Vaux. The first was not even able to approach our lines, as our gun and rifle fire broke it up. The second, directed especially against the village, was very lively; the Germans succeeded in occupying the western part of Vaux.

Saturday, April 1.—The enemy, wishing to extend his success, tried to dislodge us from the ravine which comes down from the fort of Douaumont to Vaux, but our barring fire stopped him.

Sunday, April 2.—The fight became more violent. A bombardment with large calibre shells was prolonged for a considerable time. When the enemy thought the desired effect had been produced he sent forward four columns at once, more than a division, (20,000 men,) on the whole front from Douaumont to Vaux. To the south of the road which joins these two villages there is a wood of some size, which is called La Caillette. The Germans succeeded in penetrating it, but counterattacks took most of it away from them again; they were pushed back on the north of the wood, near Douaumont fort. At Vaux they failed to drive us from the approaches of the village.

Monday, April 3.—Our troops vigorously counterattacked, and succeeded in retaking most of the Caillette Wood, and, throwing themselves on Vaux, retook the part of the village which had been taken from us. This last action was carried out with exceptional energy.

Tuesday, April 4.—After a bombardment lasting till 3 P. M., compact masses of the enemy appeared coming out of the little Chaufour Wood, 500 meters (547 yards) to the northwest of the village of Douaumont, followed at a distance by columns ready to profit by a breach in our lines, situated between Douaumont and the row of redoubts joining the fort to the Terre-Froide Ridge. Our batteries and machine guns immediately opened fire on these masses, which were estimated to contain more than a division, (20,000 men.) Whole ranks were mowed

down; twice the wave broke against our trenches, small isolated columns coming up to sustain the assault, while the reaping continued. At last the enemy troops flowed back in disorder, seeking cover in the Chaufour Wood, from which they had come. Our batteries, concentrating their fire, dug new hollows in the masses taking refuge in the bushes. No help could come from the German detachments occupying the north corner of the Caillette Wood; these also were pushed back by our troops, who pressed them vigorously against the Douaumont fort.

Wednesday, April 5.—The slopes on which is the fort of Moulainville, on the ridges of the Meuse, were very heavily bombarded, as far as Châtillon. Floating mines, sent down from St. Mihiel, as before, to destroy the Verdun bridges, were stopped.

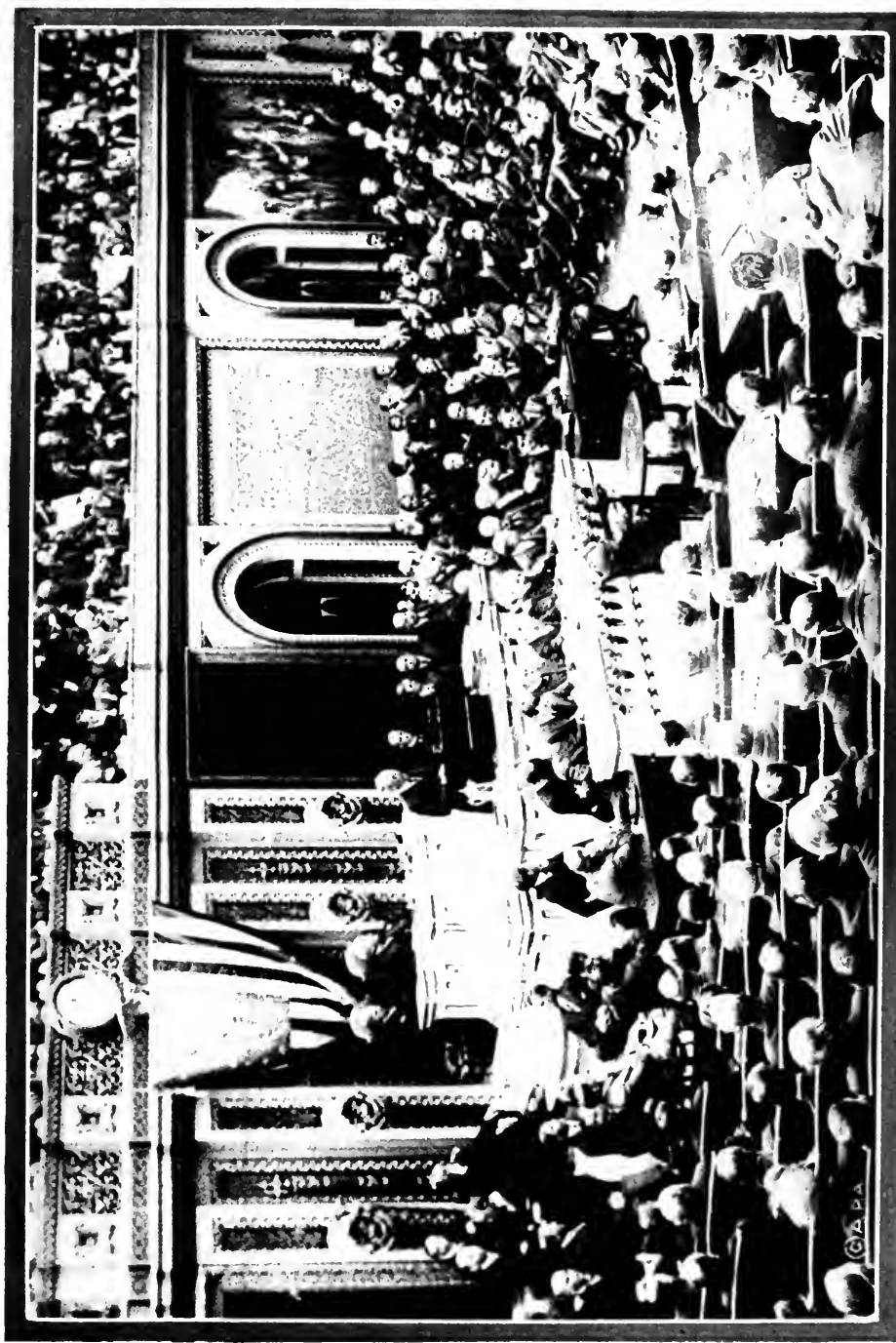
IN AVOCOURT WOOD

In the night of March 28-29, the Germans several times threw themselves on that part of the Avocourt Wood from which we had driven them; each time, our barring fire drove them back, inflicting terrible losses. The principal attack was against the redoubt, where their dead bodies were piled up in heaps.

On the following day the Avocourt zone was quiet except for two grenade contests, but at Malancourt, after a night bombardment, the enemy launched a series of massed attacks, approaching the village from three sides. We had only a battalion (1,000 men) there, while the forces launched against them were estimated at five brigades, (50,000 men.) Our little troop resisted valiantly, inflicting enormous losses, and then withdrew without losing one un wounded prisoner. The Germans then occupied the ruins of Malancourt, but were able to go no further; we held all the approaches.

Until April 2 there was only intermittent bombardment. On April 2 repeated assaults failed to capture the Avocourt redoubt. Our trenches on the left bank of the Forges rivulet, rendered untenable by the taking of Malancourt, had been evacuated on the night of March 31, without the enemy discovering it; throughout the whole of April 1 he bombarded these empty galleries unceas-

A HISTORIC MOMENT IN THE SUBMARINE CRISIS



President Woodrow Wilson Delivering His Address to Congress on the Ultimatum to Germany, April 19, 1916

CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIES IN PARIS, MARCH 27-28



Presided over by President Briand of France, who is No. 25 in the photograph. The others are (1) Premier Asquith of England; (2) Lord Bertie, (3) Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, both of England; (4) M. Thomas of France; (5) Lord Kitchener and (6) General Sir William Robertson of England; (7) an English military aid; (8) Ambassador Tittoni, (9) Premier Salandra, (10) Baron Sonnino, (11) General Cadorna, and (12) General Dall' Olio, all of Italy; (13) Mr. Matsi, Japan; (14) Senhor Chagas of Portugal; (15) General Gilinski, (16) M. Isvolsky, (17) Premier Pashitch, (18) General Vesnitch, and (19) Yovan Yovanovitch, of Serbia; (20) General Roehitch; (21) General Castelneau, (22) General Joffre, (23) Admiral Lacaze, (26) General Roques, (27) General Bourgeois, all of France; and (28) Sir Edward Grey of England.

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ingly and on April 2 launched a strong attack against them. We had transferred our defense to the right bank of the Forges rivulet, where bare slopes, forming a glacis, gave us a superb shooting range. From these slopes our guns, aided by the guns of Béthincourt, which took the assailants obliquely, mowed the enemy down without their finding a man in front of them.

The bombardment from Avocourt to Béthincourt was resumed, but the expected infantry attacks did not develop, with the exception of an assault against Haucourt on the afternoon of April 4. It was repulsed.

SUMMARY OF LATER EVENTS

[By the Translator]

To bring the account of this terrible and unprecedented battle up to date, it is necessary only to enumerate the oft-repeated and as often-repelled attacks at three points: First, in the Woevre region, the plain which lies to the east of the ridges of the Meuse on the east of Verdun, between the great intrenched camp and Metz; secondly, on the right (east) bank of the Meuse, in the region between Douaumont and Vaux, and, third, on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, against the Mort Homme Hill, 304-Meter Hill, and 287-Meter Hill, all of which have been described again and again in the foregoing narrative. The attacks, beginning with April 5, are as follows:

1. In the Woevre, April and May, almost incessant bombardment; few infantry attacks.
2. East of the Meuse, April 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 17, and 27, and May 8.
3. West of the Meuse, April 5, 7, 9, 10, and 22, and May 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

In each of the three battle sectors practically the same ground was fought over, week after week; where the Ger-

mans made small gains French counter-attacks invariably drove them out.

From a consideration of these facts two conclusions follow: First, that during the last week of February the French were not retreating from a strong position, but were retreating to a strong position; and, having reached their definitive line of defense, they have been able to hold it against the greatest and most furious assaults ever made in the history of war, prepared by the most tremendous artillery forces that have ever been brought together. This successful defense forms one of the finest military achievements ever recorded, and brings higher glory to the soldiers of France, from General Joffre, General Castelnau, and General Petain to the privates in the trenches, than did even the great and decisive victory of the Marne. Secondly, it is quite evident that, after the first two weeks of the battle—when the original plan miscarried—the German Great General Staff has had no plan at all, no strategic, no tactical, conception; it has simply been a case of blindly, obstinately hammering away; and the rotation of the attacks, against the three sectors we have indicated, might just as well have been settled by the rattling of the dice-box. On this point a military writer recently said:

In short, with ever-ebbing vigor, the German Army is smashing its head against the walls of Verdun. The weight and vigor of the blows decrease, but the suicidal mania continues. Two months have passed since the early success of the German attack ended with the capture of Vaux village. Each resumption of the attempt to take Verdun since that time has been a cause for increasing wonder. What is there about this enterprise that has turned it into a fatal obsession, from which the German high command cannot escape, however great the cost of continuance?





A BERLIN ARTIST'S VIEW OF GERMAN WAR TRIUMPHS

[A GERMAN INTERPRETATION]

Verdun: The Epic of the War

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New Yorker Staats-Zeitung

VERDUN has brought war back into honor, the sort of war in which the individual man and personal courage are given their full chances and values. At Verdun the bearing-down strategy, the open battle, comes back into honor. Trench warfare is that form of wearing-down strategy which plays the bloody game with the least possible risk, and which has no great fondness for battle.

This war, like all others, will be won not in the trenches, but on the battlefield. The wearing-down strategy, which aims at tiring the opponent to the point of utter exhaustion, at winning the war by a gradual wearing-out, is false. The view that trench warfare means the last word of strategy has long since been disproved. The last word is still the same today that it was in the days of the great bearing-down strategists, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Napoleon, Gneisenau, Sheridan, Moltke.

The strategy which aims at defeating the enemy in open battle becomes folly only when it becomes recklessness—the kind of recklessness which “puts all on one throw.” But Verdun is not a “throw.” The results that can be expected from the wearing-out strategy are definitely limited; the effects of the bearing-down strategy, however, are decisive. That is the lesson of the history of world wars, the great teacher and admonisher. The decisive effects whereof we speak embody victory.

Verdun will bring the decision. And the victory will be fought for with legitimate weapons and with open visor. At

Verdun bombardments are carried on neither with “silver bullets” nor with “paper notes.” The battle is fought neither with the intrigues of back-stairways nor from ambush. At Verdun there are no “hymns of hate,” no “boches,” and no “degenerates.” The sole commander upon that battlefield is military genius. The fight is fought, breast to breast, by man’s courage, the sort of courage that does not deny even to the enemy the recognition that is due him.

In the midst of the tragedy, after the various satires and farces of this war of nations, Verdun is an epic, a song of heroism. Let Thersites return! Patroclus lies in his grave of honor before Verdun, too; Verdun is the Epopeus, the Iliad of this war.

Priam’s fortress fell. Verdun, too, will fall.

* * *

The German General Staff figured the duration of the Verdun campaign at five months. The Imperial German Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, declared in the Reichstag that the operations against the fortress of Verdun were developing in accordance with an accurately pre-determined plan which provided for all possibilities.

The Prussian War Minister, General Wild von Hohenborn, made the following statement in the Reichstag session of April 11, last:

“These are not, as our enemies are pretending to believe, the last exertions of an exhausted nation, but the hammer blows of a strong, invincible people which commands sufficient reserves in

men and all other means for the continuation of the hammer blows."

With the accuracy of clock-work and with the force of hammer blows the German campaign against Verdun takes its course. Like a giant glacier, slowly but irresistibly, the solid mass of German warriors sweeps down upon Verdun.

That is the German view of the events which have taken place since February 21 on the fronts of Verdun, and of the military situation as it has developed.

The French view is reflected in the announcement that the Verdun campaign as such is already a closed incident, and in the decree which bestowed upon General Petain, the defender of Verdun—who, in the meantime, has been hurled upon the Tarpeian rock—the highest dignity of the Honor Legion: "It is due to his calm firmness and to the wisdom and foresight of his orders that he succeeded in improving a precarious situation and in inspiring all with confidence."

The ultimate goal of every war consists in beating the enemy army, in putting it out of action. As against this ultimate aim, which means victory, fortresses are, in themselves, without significance. Their military importance for the development and often for the decision, is based solely upon the question as to whether and in what respect they are suitable to the army as bases in an offensive and as points of refuge in a defensive, and whether and how they are suitable as the "starting points" for a great drive.

Antwerp, which was regarded as the strongest and most modern fortress, had lost its military importance from the moment it was divested, by the rapid and victorious march of the German troops through Belgium, of its suitability as a base for an allied march into Germany. The fortress could not even serve as a refuge point.

The whole powerful fortress chain on the eastern frontier of Russia was important for the development of the war only by virtue of the fact that it covered the retreat of the Russian armies and created for them the possibility to escape the threatened envelopment.

Verdun, however, is not at all a fortress in the accepted sense of the term. Verdun represents an entirely novel and modern strategic factor. As a link of the French chain of fortresses which extends down to Belfort, Verdun had been constructed and built out first, as a point of concentration of the military forces for an offensive; second, as the gate from which these forces were to be put into motion against the enemy; third, as a point of refuge for the event of the failure of an offensive, and fourth, as a battlefield upon which a possible invasion was to be resisted.

A starting point for an offensive against the enemy is at the same time a point of incidence for the enemy. Verdun represents the "Anti-Metz." But the German frontier stronghold also represents the "Anti-Verdun." With Metz as their base, the Germans are driving against Verdun, which blocks the advance into the interior of France. To open the door for this advance—that is the task the German General Staff has set itself in the campaign against Verdun.

The fall of Verdun would bring the purpose and aim of every war, the disabling of the hostile army, very considerably nearer its realization.

The events up to date before the fortress have given the military situation the following aspect:

Verdun, intended as a starting point, has completely lost its value as such and as a base for an offensive. It no longer forms a refuge point for the army, but must be defended by the army in open battle. The defense already has devoured such huge masses of troops that in these circumstances there can scarcely be any question of an offensive at any other point of the front.

What do these things mean? They mean that the German General Staff is aiming, with the campaign against Verdun, at an advance into the interior of France. Such an advance would bring into motion all other fronts as well.

The achievements up to date of the German operations against Verdun may be comprised thus:

1. Verdun is no longer a starting point for an offensive, but has become the point of incidence for the enemy.

2. A large part of the French army has been completely withdrawn from active part in the war and is partly "tied up" on a very small part of the front.

3. The successes of German arms won thus far create all the pre-conditions for the systematic extension of that which has already been achieved. This means that they are driving further and further toward the ultimate goal of all wars: the disabling of the enemy's army.

As for the discussions in the allied countries, the Verdun campaign, as a military undertaking with a definite aim in view, has already been relegated to the "closed incidents" and is merely considered an offensive operation on a larger scale, comparable to the French drive in Artois and Champagne last September. Again, on the German side, the wishes were so "well winged," and the marching gait of expectations was so rapid, that the German troops and the successes have not always been able to keep an even pace. A closer understanding of the tactics employed in the fighting against Verdun teaches one to realize the reasons for this slow and systematic pushing forward. The rate of the forward movement is determined, first, by the strength of the resistance it meets, and, second, by the careful sparing of human material.

The operations at Verdun since Feb. 21 can be divided into three sections. Each new phase forms the continuation of that which preceded it on the militarily logical line of development. The first phase, the shortest, consisted of the advance against the northern outer fortifications in the terrain lying in front of the fortress, and in the capture of the area necessary for a concentrated attack and for the bringing up of the heavy guns. It culminated in the storming of Fort Douaumont, Feb. 25.)

The second phase was initiated by the extension of the attacking front to the east, from the Woevre plain against the Côte Lorraine. This advance brought the attackers as far as the foot of the

Meuse Heights. The northernmost point of this line south of the railway leading from Verdun to Metz is the village and railway station of Eix; to the north of the railway this line stretches as far as Dieppe. From Eix two roads lead in a westerly direction against Verdun, through the two valleys of the Meuse Heights; the old army road and the railway. North of the railway the advance started out from the line Damloup-Dieppe. In that area the contact was established between the German northern army and the Woevre army. Both armies were participating in the fighting against Vaux, which aims at the possession of the whole plateau between Douaumont, Harदाumont, and Vaux—fighting which is still in progress.

The third stage of the Verdun battle carried the extension of the German front of attack to the west, to the left bank of the Meuse, from the line Forges-Malancourt to within the firing range against Le Mort Homme and the Côte de L'Oie. This new offensive is directed against the northwestern outer fortifications of Verdun, as well as against the railway which leads from Verdun to Paris and which is today the only great line of supply—and the logical line of escape.

The first move in this offensive was the advance (March 14) against Le Mort Homme (Dead Man Hill) on the sector Béthincourt-Cumières and then (March 20 to 22) through the large wooded area between Malancourt and Avocourt. As a consequence, the French front had assumed the form of a salient whose head, extending beyond Haucourt to Malancourt, reached far into the German positions. This head was crushed in by the Germans through the capture of Malancourt. The loss of the northern slopes of Termiten Hill (Hill 287) on April 7 forced the French to evacuate their positions south of the Forges Brook between Haucourt and Béthincourt, as well as to abandon the latter village itself, all these positions being exposed to the German flanking fire. The new French line now ran from the southern slopes of Bois d'Avocourt over Hill 304 to the southern slopes of Le

Mort Homme and the Bois des Corbeaux. The taking up of this new front marked the conclusion of the third stage of the campaign, a stage which, with artillery duels and occasional infantry attacks, lasted into the middle of April.

The fourth phase of the campaign of Verdun will one day be the object of deep and extensive study for the history of wars. This phase is taken up by a great military surprise: a French counteroffensive. The French had, by means of occasional counterattacks, made repeated attempts to escape encirclement by the Germans at Verdun. The surprise, however, consisted of the fact that the French General Staff had actually weighed the possibility of a great counteroffensive against Metz. It was as a result of the consideration of such a possibility that the counterattacks at Le Mort Homme, as well as in the area of Douaumont, were launched—evidently with entirely fresh troops. The force of this countermovement was, for a time, such that the German line had to be taken back at certain points. It was this force which deceived the military experts on the allied side into the theory that the German campaign at Verdun was already ended. The necessity to meet such a force of the French counterattacks is also the reason for the temporary lull in the German forward movement.

The great Spring offensive had been the hope of the Allies and the pride of the French. With the tremendous army reserves of General Joffre the German lines were to be penetrated, France's sacred soil was to be cleared of the invaders. This offensive was spoken of in Paris in the whispering tone of worship; it was the sacred event-to-be, the evangelism of the French.

A recently published report of the French War Ministry shows that the view was originally held in the French camp that the German attacks against Verdun were merely a "make-believe" manoeuvring, aimed at diverting attention from the preparations for a really great offensive at some other point of the front; a view which has found its echo in the neutral countries as well.

The important reserves of General Joffre were to be saved for the great allied Spring offensive. Therefore the attempt was first made when the Verdun campaign began to get along with the reserve formations in the neighboring forts.

However, the development of the military situation has made it necessary for France to mass in the Verdun area alone thirty divisions, with a total strength of 450,000.

As early as January there was circulated among the peasant population of Lorraine the rumor of an impending French offensive against Metz. French fliers dropped messages foreshadowing the event, telling the residents of Metz to leave the town because it was to be completely destroyed. From the direction of Pont-à-Mousson the frontal terrain of Metz was bombarded by heavy calibre guns; the Germans were to be driven from the Combres Height on the Côte Lorraine and ejected from St. Mihiel, and among the French troops west of the Meuse the word was passed that they were to be sent forth against Metz. April 15 was fixed as the date for the beginning of the offensive.

It was about this time that we witnessed the beginning of a French attempt at a counteroffensive at Verdun. West of the Meuse it was set in motion from the salient position on Hill 304 and on the eastern slopes of Mort Homme, as well as in the area between Bois des Corbeaux and the Bois de Cumières. To the east the movement was launched on the front between Vaux and Douaumont and against the German positions in the Bois Caures and on the hills to the southwest of Douaumont, as well as against the whole German line from Douaumont to the ravine of the Vaux Brook.

Simultaneously with these moves there appeared in the press a Reuter dispatch to the effect that the civil population of Metz was about to evacuate the city. That was a distinct echo of the previous warning of the French fliers.

The analysis of this French offensive, the great military surprise, will one day furnish the history of wars a highly in-

teresting chapter of the Verdun campaign. Today it is only known that the French counterattacks on both banks of the Meuse broke down with terrific losses to the attackers. Perhaps the change in the chief command of the Verdun defense, coming as it does at a truly critical moment, may be explained by the ineffectiveness and the heavy losses of that offensive. This fourth phase of the campaign around Verdun was stifled in blood.

The fifth phase began a few days ago with the storming of Hill 304, to the northwest of Verdun, which was the initial success in the resumption of the German attacks.

The gravity of the French situation lies in the losses suffered. The number of killed is so great that the number of unwounded prisoners is only 40 officers and 1,280 men. The consequences of the new German success are, for the French, even more serious. According to a French account of the situation the French Commander in Chief had stationed his ablest army corps along the line Hill 304-Dead Man Hill, on which a German frontal attack took place. The hill was taken by a frontal attack. The possession of Hill 304 will carry the German line further to the Avocourt-Esnes-Chatancourt line, the straight continuation of which extends to the eastern bank of the Meuse. The possession of Hill 304 embodies the control of the Verdun-Paris railway. It makes the French positions between Avocourt, Cumières and Chatancourt untenable; Cumières and Chatancourt are about to share the fate of Malancourt, Haucourt, and Béthincourt.

The area between the Bois de Corbeaux and the Bois de Cumières has been the scene of violent fighting of late. Here there ascends from the village of Cumières on the edge of the Meuse Valley, against Hill 295, a ravine whose northern rim is formed by the Bois de Corbeaux and the Bois de Cumières, while the southern edge is called Les Caurettes. The little Bois Caurettes has already been mentioned repeatedly in the French official reports, as the objective of German storming attacks threatening to cut the French off from

the village of Cumières, and again as the scene of very violent French counterattacks which were aimed at averting that danger. After the loss of Hill 304 the French will find themselves compelled to evacuate this area, too. Then the entire terrain on the left bank of the Meuse, to the line Avocourt-Esnes-Chatancourt, will be cleared of the French.

An official Berlin report contains the first intimation as to the strength of the German troops standing before Verdun. The strength on the French side is estimated by this report at fifty-one divisions, of which some have several times gone into fire after the losses had been replaced. The German force before Verdun, the report says, is not even half that figure. Figuring upon 20,000 men in a French division, we would arrive at the staggering number of more than 1,000,000 French troops on the various fronts of Verdun. That seems to us an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the Berlin report states the numerical proportion between the French and German troops. This proportion may also serve as a factor in the estimate of the losses on both sides.

Those are presumptions. The fact is that the storming of Hill 304 represents a great success for the Germans. The military situation of the Verdun campaign is developing upon the straight line of military logic. The advance proceeds slowly, in accordance with the given circumstances and the tactics employed, but unhaltingly toward the ultimate goal. Dead Man Hill—the name of the oft-mentioned and furiously fought for hill to the west of the Meuse—is the miners' name for the razed part of a ravine. The frontal terrain of Verdun is being systematically "razed" by the German troops. The last stage of the Verdun campaign, the stage which will be the shortest of all, will bring the fall of the fortress proper.

The original theory that the German attacks before Verdun were only feints, destined to veil other intentions at other points of the far-flung front which stretches from the North Sea to the Swiss mountains, has been rectified by

the events of the last two months. The latest forward movement by the German troops after the storming of Hill 304, against the Verdun-Paris railway, and the western outer fortifications of Verdun, show clearly that the German campaign there is by no means ended. The once popular assertion that the various pauses by which the German advance is interrupted were the result of exhaustion of the German forces is heard no longer. The view that the German General Staff inaugurated the Verdun drive in order to forestall the so loudly heralded allied Spring offensive is contradicted by many weighty military considerations. The Entente press still thinks the Germans capable of deeper plans. It speaks of threatening preparations for a new German offensive on the Yser and in Northern France, and its latest sensation is the announcement of German attempts at landing on the coast of England.

As long as the definite decision has not come to pass at Verdun, it is improbable that a new movement on a large scale will be launched at any other point of the large western front.

At the outbreak of the war Germany set out to force the decision by the bold dash against Paris from the north. At that time the strategy of destruction had developed into recklessness. It had to atone for it with failure.

From Verdun the gate from the east

is to be opened for the advance into the interior of France; recklessness has given way to caution.

The number of prisoners taken and guns captured as well as the size and importance of the hostile territory occupied are, viewed from the higher military perspective which comprises the ultimate success, irrelevant. The conclusions which history will deduce from the events before Verdun will culminate in the lesson that, many as have been the surprises of this war, the final decision always falls upon the battlefield, in open field battles such as that of Verdun.

There, at Verdun, men are fighting men, as in the ancient epics. There the proof will be furnished that the bullets of iron and steel after all shoot straighter and safer than those of silver; that the sword that is swung is, after all, still more powerful than the pen that writes notes.

Not very far from Verdun lies the great military camp of Chalons. Over Chalons leads the road from Verdun to Paris. The camp rises upon the historic Catalaunic fields on which, in 451, the western Goths defeated King Attila. Legend has it that at the same time there was fought, high in the air, above the field of carnage, a battle of ghosts. Above Verdun, too, the ghosts are fighting today, not only smokelessly, but inaudibly as well. And in this battle of ghosts the prize is peace.

Verdun

H. A. CRUSO in Westminster Gazette

Two faiths there be which lighten earthly ways:
 One overhigh for reason to attain,
 A morning star, invisible at noon's blaze,
 A star for which all wanderers are fain,
 But the more striven toward the more obscured
 By flickering creeds of fancy, till they cry
 "It is not!" so sometimes at even, cured
 Of restless reason, glimpse it ere they die.
 The other gemlike, patiently sought out,
 Fashioned in stress, by courage lit, cut fine
 From flaw by sharp experience and doubt
 Till man's thought quickens to a flame divine.
 This is thy faith, for this thy sons have died;
 For this, great France, we battle by thy side.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments From April 15 to May 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[MAP OF VERDUN ON PAGE 419]

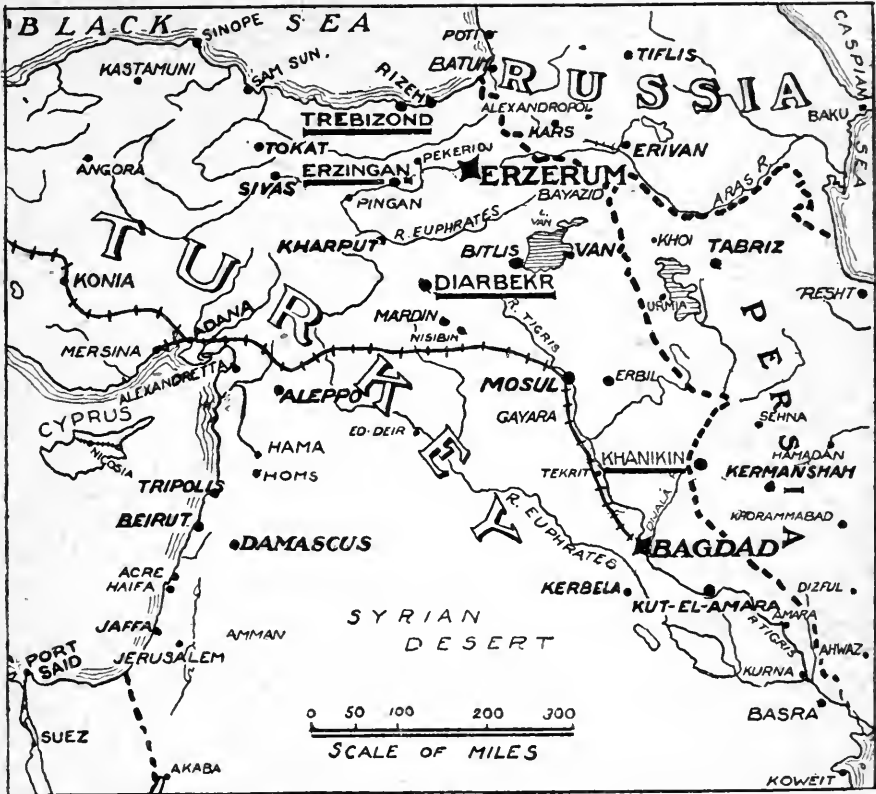
THE dominant features of the month are, first, the capture of Trebizond by the Russians; second, the surrender of General Townshend and his army of British at Kut-el-Amara to the Turks; and, third, the continued fighting in the Verdun sector. I give them in their order of importance as well as in their chronological order, for, as the Russians work their way westward, the movement from the Caucasus is becoming daily more important.

Suddenly and unexpectedly reports reached us that the Russians, forcing the Turkish position along Kara Dere, had taken Trebizond. It seems that they advanced in three columns, with some indefinite connection between them, one clinging close to the seacoast, the other along the road from Erzerum, and the third from Bitlis. The only column, however, which appears to have contributed directly to the capture of Trebizond was that operating along the coast. The Kara Dere was the only defensive line covering the city. The river, rising in the Alps of Pontus, runs from the escarpment of these mountains through a very deep gorge with almost perpendicular sides. So rapid is the descent from the plateau to the Black Sea that its current is really torrential. The eastern bank of the river had been, some time previously, thoroughly strengthened by the Turks, in all probability under the guidance of the German engineer corps. With the Black Sea guarding one flank of this line, and the almost impassable

mountains of the Alps of Pontus on the other, it was obviously impossible to turn the position either from the north or the south. The only alternative was a frontal attack, and this is what the Russians made.

Points which can be used as bases of supplies are in this country few and far between, because roads are so few and railroads conspicuous for their absence. There is, therefore, no line by which supplies and ammunition can be sent forward to the various parts of the front, and, indeed, no way by which the bases themselves could be stocked up. It is necessary, therefore, if the Russians hope to continue their advance, that they establish a base which they can readily feed, which base has also means of reaching if not the entire front at least the most important of the three columns. No other point in this part of the theatre of operations answers this need as does Trebizond. The Russian fleet is in absolute and complete control of the Black Sea, and therefore it is a matter of no difficulty to maintain a flow of supplies into any Black Sea port which their land forces control. Moreover, the only passable roads in this whole section have branches running to Trebizond.

With Trebizond firmly in Russian hands, there are few points of importance in Asia Minor that cannot be fed with supplies of all kinds. From the standpoint of the Turks, moreover, Trebizond is for the same reason of equal importance. That port is the main avenue of



ONE RUSSIAN COLUMN HAS TAKEN TREBIZOND AND IS PUSHING WESTWARD TOWARD CONSTANTINOPLE. ANOTHER IS NEAR ERZINGAN, AND A THIRD IS THREATENING DIARBEBEK AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY, WHILE A FOURTH HAS JUST FOUGHT ITS WAY ACROSS THE PERSIAN BORDER NORTHEAST OF BAGDAD.

supply upon which all the Turkish forces in that region depend, and it is through that port that all reinforcements in men and material must come. This affects not only those forces between the mountains and the sea, but also the troops in Armenia further south. In holding Trebizond, therefore, the Russians, in the final analysis, command all that maze of eastern mountain country as far south as the plain of Mesopotamia.

The Russian operations must be regarded as having for their immediate object the stretching of a line across Asia Minor from the Gulf of Alexandria to the Black Sea. Therefore the various Russian successes or reverses must be analyzed with reference to their effect on that purpose. Such a line presupposes the capture also of Erzingan and Diarbekr. It was not, however,

until the fall of Trebizond that the occupation of these points and the establishment of the line mentioned became a possibility. Once these places have fallen the railway which leaves the main road from Constantinople to the east at Aleppo will be almost in Russian hands, as they will be but a short distance from Raz-el-Ain, its extreme eastern point. It is but fair to say, however, that the present part of the journey is the most difficult. Now the Russians are in the mountains, a wild tangle which forms almost the entire eastern part of Asia Minor. Once these have been passed they will have the advantage of an advance over the great central plain, which will make the latter stage of the fighting much simpler from the standpoint of terrain.

The Russians are pursuing their ad-

vantage with no delay. Their right wing, which has been somewhat to the east of their left and centre, has made great strides through Persia and is now only about 100 miles east of Bagdad. This move, combined with the successes further north, threatens all the Turkish forces that participated in the capture of the British at Kut. It is not known just how extensive this Turkish force is. It is apparent, however, that 100,000 men would be a very conservative estimate. It will be remembered that Townshend had about 9,000 men under him and that the relief force was about 80,000 strong. To oppose these two forces and prevent a junction between them when they were separated by only a few miles necessitated a body of troops at least as large as that stated.

In fact, the situation of this body of Turks is fast becoming precarious. They are dependent entirely on the Tigris and the Euphrates for supplies. The strong British relief force is south and east of them, so that they cannot draw from Persia or from the country between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. Once Bagdad is reached, the line of the Tigris has been cut, and the line of the Euphrates is only twenty miles away. West of them is the great Syrian Desert, from which, of course, nothing can come. It is beginning to look as if the Russians had stolen a march on the German General Staff, striking in a quarter where they were not expected and going forward at a rate which was not thought possible, thus capturing in an incredibly short time fortified places which the world was certain the Turks could hold, and all this at a time when the Germans had thoroughly involved themselves in an inextricable fashion at Verdun.

The great war will not be decided in Asia Minor. There can be no two ways about that. But the campaign against the Turks may prove the straw that will break the camel's back.

Much stress has been laid on the surrender of the British forces under General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara. As a military proposition it is entirely negligible. Only about 9,000 men surrendered, the rear guard of the British army

which started in 1914 from the Gulf of Persia to capture Bagdad and was thrown back at Ctesiphon. It was not a particularly brilliant feat of Turkish arms. The British were hopelessly outnumbered. Its only value to the Teutonic allies is found in the damage it causes British prestige in the Orient. The British, of course, rule over the largest number of Moslems in the world, those in India. If Turkey were strong enough to cause a holy war it might be disastrous. If such a thing were at all probable, however, it would have happened long ago. Instead, there are strong indications that the Moslems in India are more ready to take up arms for England and against their co-religionists than to do the reverse. It is easy to overrate the effect of the British defeat, and this is what is pretty generally being done. All this might be different were the Russians not running loose through Asiatic Turkey. But any danger which the Kut episode might have had to England is more than offset by the fact that today the Russians are at least fifty miles nearer the city of the Caliphs than the British ever were. In the east, then, in spite of British reverses, the fighting during the last month distinctly favors the Allies, and as this article is being written, it seems, from such information as is at hand, that nothing can save Bagdad from falling into Russian hands. Once this happens the entire face of the Mesopotamian operations may change, as it is impossible to estimate the effect on the Moslem world of seeing that city in the hands of the Christians.

Before Verdun the Germans are still continuing what seems to be a useless sacrifice for something of very doubtful value. The German press still speaks of Verdun as the heart of France and the gateway to Paris. Verdun is not in any sense the way to Paris. Had the city fallen in the first days of the attack, as it is now evident the Germans expected it would, the damage to the French would have been considerable. Now no such event is possible. The French are still hard and fast on their main line of defense on the east bank of the river, from which line the heaviest of Ger-

man attacks do not appear to have sufficient force to move them. On the west bank the French are still several miles in advance of their main line, and the Germans have not as yet been able to make any appreciable dent in the more important of their advance posts.

So sure are the French of their ground that they have yet to make a general sustained counterattack. At certain important positions they have attacked, and, wherever this has been done, have invariably gained what they sought. The month has been marked by this later phase, the offensive of the French in defense of crucial points. It has been particularly noticeable at two points—the Woods of Avocourt and in front of Le Mort Homme. In the former case the Germans had taken a small redoubt near the southern edge of the woods. In the latter case, they had through persistent and expensive attacks taken a series of trenches on the northern and western side of the hill. The French in a few days had recovered the Avocourt redoubt and had thrust the Germans back again

to the foot of Le Mort Homme. Seeing this, the Germans replied with another violent assault on Hill 304. The assault showed all the power, all the concentration of heavy artillery fire that had marked the opening days of the battle. The gain was insignificant. There was some, it is true, and they did gain a foothold on the northern slopes. But there they are held fast.

As the battle has developed, it is beginning to appear as a very serious miscalculation of the German General Staff. That they had expected to carry Verdun in the first rush of the battle is most evident. That their failure has upset all their calculations is also evident; for from the way the attack is now shifting from one point to another, marking a failure at each point, it is beginning to appear that the Germans do not know quite what to do. But one thing is certain—that, as matters stand today, the Germans have at least 200,000 men less than they had on Feb. 21, and they have nothing to show for their sacrifice.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Military Events of the Month

IN a review of the war from April 15 to May 15, chief attention belongs, beside Verdun, to the Mesopotamian Tigris city Kut-el-Amara, the ancient Parthian stronghold which for thousands of years had passed from memory, and which today once again stands in the midst of the flooding life of world-historic development.

As the fighting at Verdun constitutes the last phase of the European war, so does the fate of Kut-el-Amara present a decisive factor in the world war. The capitulation of the British army under General Townshend at the end of April, and the occupation by the Turks of the Tigris city, which lies 400 kilometers to the northwest of the Persian Gulf and 40 kilometers to the southeast of Bagdad, sounds the deathknell to a policy.

The organizer of the victory at Kut-el-Amara, von der Goltz Pasha, Field Mar-

shal of two empires, rejuvenator of the Osmanic Army, was not destined to witness the crowning of his life's work in Turkey; in the City of Bagdad, which served him as general headquarters, he succumbed to illness shortly before the victory came.

The military significance of the fall of Kut-el-Amara overshadows the discontinuance of the Dardanelles campaign. For, after all, that campaign was merely a military adventure and a political accident. The Mesopotamian campaign, on the other hand, represented the straight and logical continuance by war of a centuries-old policy. That British policy was to be guaranteed its extreme and ultimate materialization through the possession of the land of the Euphrates and Tigris. The union jack hoisted over Bagdad would have rammed the doors to the roads leading from the north to

the Persian Gulf, which form one of the routes to India. Through the medium of the tracks of the Bagdad Railway Germany proposes to establish the connection with the gulf.

By means of the Bagdad Railway Germany proposes to reach her place in the sun of the Near East. After the fall of Verdun an understanding between Germany and France will be feasible. Kut-el-Amara already has furnished the basis for an understanding between Russia and Germany. Nor will England be able to escape the consequences—military and political—of these two most important events of the war.

The collapse of the French offensive against the Plateau of Douaumont-Vaux, east of the Meuse, and the capture by storm of Hill 304, in the territory west of the river, [this is denied by the French,] have given added weight to the probability that the decision will fall in the latter region. This was predicted even last March by Colonel Repington, the well-known military expert of *The London Times*. He went so far in his prediction as to foreshadow the evacuation by the French of the entire region east of the Meuse after it had fulfilled its task of serving as a bridgehead, in order that the whole defensive strength might be concentrated upon the territory to the west of the river.

On that bank the German attacking front now runs from south of the Bois d'Avocourt, over Hill 304, then south of Le Mort Homme, to the bank of the Meuse north of Cumières. The next objective of the German attacks is the road Avocourt-Esnes-Chattancourt. The village of Esnes, however, already is the aim of a lively German artillery activity. The village, an important intersection of communications, is also connected by a road with Montzéville, to the south. From there a road leads to Donbasle-en-Argonne, which is a station on the Verdun-Paris railway.

For this reason the bombardment of that region has provoked excitement and consternation in Paris, which is met by military critics by pointing to the strength of the second French defense position. The principal points of pro-

tection of that defense line are Montzéville, between Hill 310, southward of Esnes, and Hill 272, and the Bois Bourrus. With the latter wood the French line of defense already enters into the immediate province of the fortress proper.

It is on this line that the decision will fall after the still projecting French front between Le Mort Homme and Cumières has been crushed in in the region of the Bois de Courettes. Hill 310, to the south of Esnes, according to the French military critics, embodies the hope in a successful beating off of the German onslaughts. This position has been built out after all rules of modern arts of fortification and with utilization of the lessons of the present war. General Petain, who in the meantime has found a successor in the person of General Nivelle, as a consequence of the costly failure of the offensive movement on the right bank, is said to have personally supervised this construction.

All these hills are densely wooded, and particularly the Forêt de Hesse, the pivotal point of the left flank of the French line, is adapted for the establishment of a defense position because of its impassability and its dense wood. As everywhere around Verdun, the "co-operation" between hills and woods form the brilliant precondition of the French defense.

However, after the positions of the first French line have been gradually crushed in and the region of Esnes has, with Hill 304, lost its last bulwark, the second defense line will scarcely put greater obstacles in the way of the German advance than were presented by the difficult territory to the north of Hill 304.

One must not attach too great a military significance to the German attacks against various positions of the far-extended British front, which now reaches to south of the Somme. This front has been thinned to such a degree by the withdrawal of French forces that even the Australian and New Zealand regiments had to be called upon to fill in. In spite of the weakening of the fronts to the south of the Somme the German

operations against the British positions between the Somme and Maricourt, and upward to the La Bassée Canal, are not to be interpreted as preparations for an attempt to break through, but rather as a "feeling out" of the respective fronts for possible thrusts in the future.

The reported plan of a new offensive on the Dvina front by Field Marshal von Hindenburg against the Russians, of which Petrograd tells us, will probably materialize as little as will the reported advance of Bulgarian, German, and Austro-Hungarian troops against the allied positions before Saloniki. During the last month there has not been a single action in the Russian or in the Balkan theatre that could have furnished the slightest relief for the French before Verdun.

The Russians have continued during the last thirty days their operations in the Caucasus and in Persia. After the capture of Erzerum by the Russians, it was predicted that they would now promptly hasten to the aid of the hard-pressed British expeditionary force in Mesopotamia. After the fall of Kut-el-Amara the allied military critics triumphantly prophesied that now the Russians would cut off the Turks from the rear.

However, the principal directions of the Russian advance point southward, to the Persian Gulf, and to the west, to the Mediterranean. Russia's appearance on the Mediterranean would signify a new menace to England. The possession of Armenia includes the control of Western Asia. Erzerum and Erzingan dominate the northern, Kharput and Malatia the central and southern, part of Asia. From Armenia and across Kurdistan the roads lead to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Russia has occupied Kars, and taken Erzerum and Trebizond, and is about to break through to the Mediter-

anean by way of Kurdistan and Cilicia. The goal is Alexandretta on the Bay of Iscanderum, opposite the British Island of Cyprus. But the way is still long and extremely difficult. The Turkish army still stands protectingly before Erzingan. It has been reinforced through bodies of troops released after the fall of Kut-el-Amara.

The Russians will not get beyond Trebizond, the base of their right wing on the Black Sea. In the centre the Turks have repeatedly assumed the offensive, on the line Baiburt-Manachatun-Kope Mountain. On their left wing, on the Felahie front, the Russians have suffered considerable reverses.

With the military occupation of Ispahan, the second capital of the Persian Empire, Russia had already reached the southern border of its sphere of interests as stipulated through the Russo-British Convention of Aug. 30, 1907, and had approached within 200 miles of the Persian Gulf, the goal of its ambition for the open sea.

The fighting on the Perso-Mesopotamian frontier, which is described as having Bagdad as its objective, and in which the Turks have been driven back by the Russians from Kasri Shirin to Chanykin, 110 and 100 miles, respectively, from Bagdad, are entirely remote from the principal roads leading through Persia to the gulf.

At Kut-el-Amara England has lost a campaign. By way of Erzingan the Russians are striving for the Mediterranean. Through Persia they are seeking a way to the Persian Gulf. Before Verdun the French offensive power has been broken and its defensive power will exhaust itself. The events of the last month, on widely separated roads, are pointing to the final decision and to peace.



THE SUBMARINE CRISIS

Text of American Note to Germany, With Appendix on Sussex Case

The diplomatic correspondence of the United States with Germany on the submarine issue has extended over more than a year, several times threatening a break in the relations of the two countries. President Wilson's first note of protest was sent on Feb. 10, 1915, just after Germany had declared the waters around England a "war zone." The issue became acute with the note of May 15, sent eight days after the destruction of the Lusitania. The documents exchanged in the intervening twelve months will be found in the files of CURRENT HISTORY. In our May issue the unsatisfactory German reply regarding the Sussex was presented with data indicating the approach of a grave diplomatic crisis. Herewith we print the four notes in which that crisis was met and its acute stage passed—by the yielding of Germany. President Wilson's historic note of April 18 won the desired promise that merchant vessels, "both within and without the area declared a naval war zone shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance"; and his supplementary note of May 8 rejected absolutely the complicating conditions which Germany had sought to impose. The official documents follow.

Department of State,
Washington, April 18, 1916.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador
Gerard:

You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

I DID not fail to transmit immediately by telegraph to my Government your Excellency's note of the 10th inst. in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24 last wrecked the French steamship Sussex in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to your Excellency:

Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the Sussex, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in your Excellency's note of the 10th inst. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50

o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer Sussex, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The Sussex had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About eighty of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

A careful, detailed, and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the Sussex was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender, and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of your

Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed.

The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the *Sussex*, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelvemonth and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had willfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

The Imperial Government will recall

that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the water's thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus

entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction, which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of beligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic*, and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex*, have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew, have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as

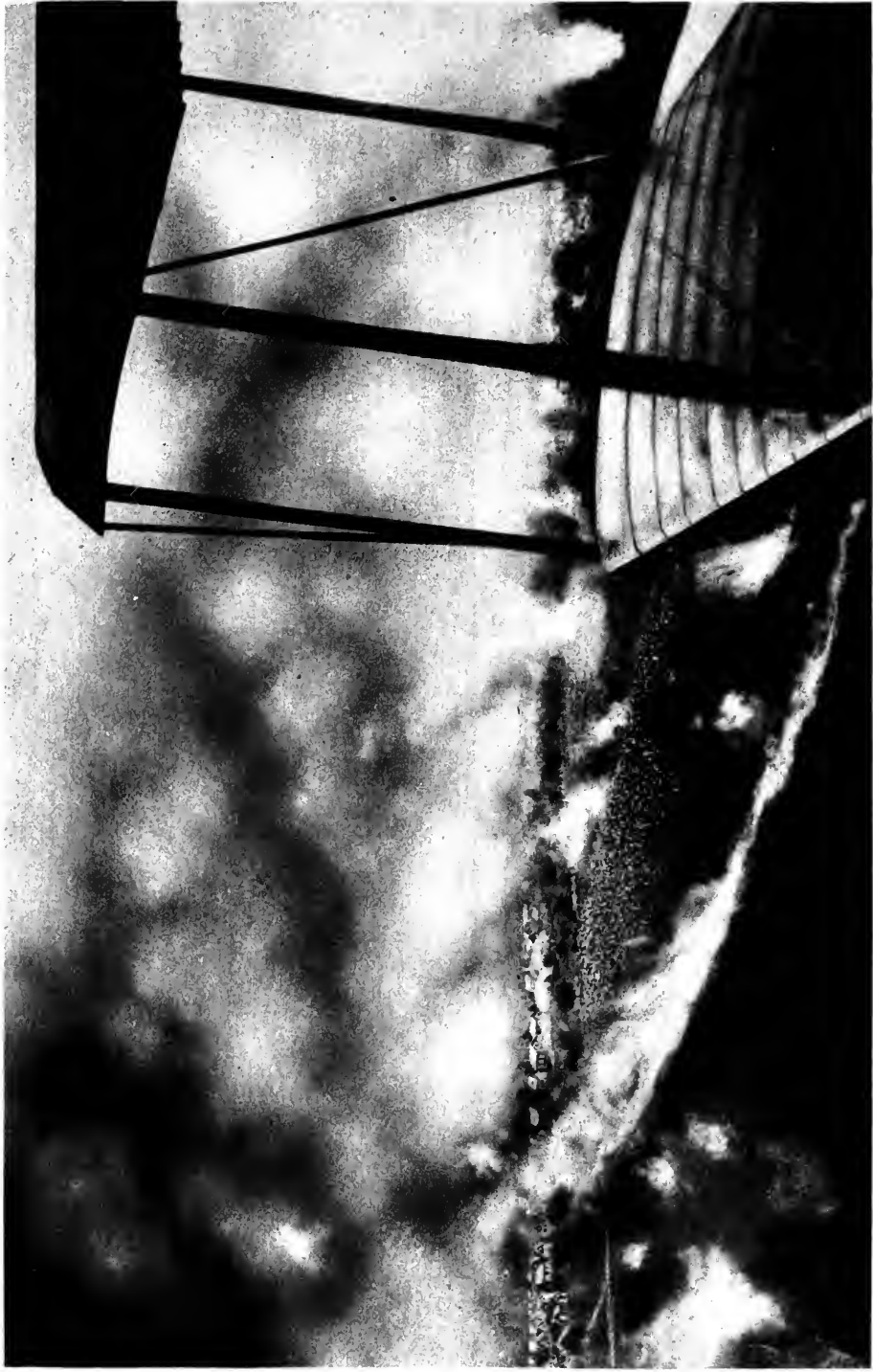
wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of

A BATTLE VIEWED FROM A BRITISH BIPLANE



Wonderful View of a German Gas Attack. With Massed German Troops Ready to Rush Forward, and French Shells Bursting Over Them
(© American Press Association)

GLIMPSES OF A FRENCH FRONT



"Here Comes a Fokker!"



Dinner on a Cold Day



Using a Periscope

commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

LANSING.

APPENDIX

STATEMENT OF FACTS IN SUSSEX CASE, ACCOMPANYING NOTE TO GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF APRIL 18, 1916.

The French Channel steamer *Sussex*, employed regularly in passenger service between the ports of Folkestone, England, and Dieppe, France, as it had been for years, (French Foreign Office,) left Folkestone for Dieppe at 1:25 P. M. March 24, 1916, with 325 passengers and a crew of fifty-three men. (Declaration of Captain Mouffet; Rear Admiral Grasset's report.) The passengers, among whom were about twenty-five American citizens, (telegram London Embassy, March 25, and Paris Embassy, March 26 and 28,) were of several nationalities and many of them were women and children and nearly half of them subjects of neutral States. (Report of Commander Sayles and Lieutenant Smith; Rear Admiral Grasset's report.) The *Sussex* carried no armament, (French Foreign Office report of Commander Sayles and Lieutenant Smith; affidavits of American passengers,) has never been employed as a troopship, and was following a route not used for transporting troops from Great Britain to France. (British Admiralty statement; French Foreign Office.)

The steamer proceeded on its course almost due south after passing Dungeness. (Declaration of Captain Mouffet.) The weather was clear and the sea smooth. (Affidavits of Edna Hall, John H. Hearley, Gertrude W. Warren.

At 2:50 P. M., when the *Sussex* was about thirteen miles from Dungeness, (declaration of Captain Mouffet,) the Captain of the

vessel, who was on the bridge, saw, about 150 meters from the ship, on the port side, the wake of a torpedo. (Declaration of Captain Mouffet.) It was also seen very clearly by the first officer and the boatswain, who were with the Captain on the bridge. (Report of Rear Admiral Grasset.) Immediately the Captain gave orders to port the helm and stop the starboard engine, (declaration of Captain Mouffet,) the purpose being to swing the vessel to starboard so as to dodge the torpedo by allowing it to pass along the port bow on a line converging with the altered course of the steamer. Before, however, the vessel could be turned far enough to avoid crossing the course of the torpedo, the latter struck the hull at an angle a short distance forward of the bridge, exploded, destroyed the entire forward part of the steamer as far back as the first water-tight bulkhead, carried away the foremast with the wireless antennae, and killed or injured about eighty of the persons on board. (Declaration of Captain Mouffet; report of Rear Admiral Grasset; deposition of Henry S. Beer.) At the time no other vessel was in sight. (Affidavits of Samuel F. Bemis, T. W. Culbertson, John H. Hearley, and others.)

The approach of the torpedo was witnessed by several other persons on the vessel. (Affidavits of Samuel F. Bemis, Henry S. Beer, Gertrude W. Warren.) One of these, an American citizen named Henry S. Beer, was leaning on the port rail, about ten feet behind the bridge and gazing seaward when he saw the approaching torpedo about 100 yards away and exclaimed to his wife and companion: "A torpedo!" Immediately following his exclamation the missile struck the vessel. (Depositions of Henry S. Beer and Mrs. Henry S. Beer.)

In further corroboration of the fact that the Captain saw the torpedo coming toward the vessel is the sworn statement of the engineers on duty that the order to port the helm and to stop the starboard engine was received and obeyed. (Report of Admiral Grasset.) No reasonable explanation can be given for this unusual order other than that the Captain saw something which caused him to change his course sharply to starboard.

In addition to this evidence, which would in itself appear to be conclusive that the agent of destruction was a torpedo, is that of Lieutenant Smith, U. S. N., attached to the American Embassy at Paris, who, accompanied by Major Logan, U. S. A., of the Embassy, went to Boulogne, inspected the hull of the *Sussex* and personally found beneath the mass of water-soaked debris of the wreck fifteen pieces of metal, which they retained in their possession, as they did not believe the pieces formed part of the vessel. The inspection of the hull disclosed that the vessel was wrecked by an external explosion, the boilers being intact, and that a short distance forward of the bridge was a large

dent, showing that the vessel had received a heavy blow, the direction of impact being from abaft the beam along a line at an acute angle with the keel of the vessel. (Report of Lieutenant Smith, cabled April 9.) This evidence coincides with and corroborates the statement that the vessel was swinging to starboard and away from the torpedo when struck.

The pieces of metal which the American officers had collected were compared by Lieutenant Smith, Lieut. Commander Sayles, and Major Logan with mines and plans of mines in possession of the French naval authorities at Boulogne, Rochefort, and Toulon, and British naval authorities at Portsmouth. These officers are positive in their opinion that these pieces of metal were not parts of a mine. (Report of Lieutenant Smith, cabled April 2 and 5.)

Among these fifteen pieces of metal were two screw-bolts showing the effects of an explosion, which were stamped with "K" and "56" on faces of the head of one, and "K" and "58" on faces of the head of the other. On examining German torpedoes in the possession of the French naval authorities at Toulon, and of the English naval authorities at Portsmouth, the American officers found that identical screws with the letter "K" and a number were employed to fasten the "war" head (Kopf) to the air chamber. (Lieutenant Smith's reports, cabled April 2, 5, and 13.)

The screws used in French and English torpedoes have no markings and are of a slightly different size. (Same reports.) Furthermore, the American officers were able by comparison and close examination to positively identify and locate all the remaining pieces of metal as parts of a German torpedo as follows:

Fragment 3, part of inner seat of water relief valve of engine valve.

Fragments 4 and 5, punto bands of engine room casing.

Fragments 6 and 10, inclusive, and 12, parts of engine cylinders.

Fragments 11, 13, 14, 15, parts of steel warhead still bearing the distinctive red paint common to German torpedo warheads. (Report of Lieutenant Smith, cabled April 5.)

In view of these authenticated facts there can be no reasonable doubt but that the *Sussex* was torpedoed and that the torpedo was of German manufacture. As no vessel was seen by any person on the *Sussex*, the conclusion is irresistible that the torpedo was launched without warning from a submarine which was submerged at the time of the attack and remained beneath the surface after the explosion.

The conclusion thus reached from the evidence (the affidavits being those of Ameri-

can citizens) collected by the Department of State is substantiated by the statement in the Imperial Government's note of April 10, 1916. According to those statements—

(A) *A German submarine torpedoed a steamer one and one-half miles southeast of Bull Rock Bank.*

Department's Comment—The point of attack is exactly in the course which was taken by the *Sussex* after passing Dungeness and about one-half mile from the place where the Captain of the *Sussex* states he was torpedoed.

(B) *The attack took place at 3:55 o'clock P. M., Central European time.*

Department's Comment—3:55 P. M. Central European time would correspond to 2:55 P. M. Western European time. The time of the striking of the torpedo, according to the Captain of the *Sussex*, and the stopping of the clocks on board the vessel, was 2:50 P. M. Western time.

(C) *The torpedo when it struck caused an explosion which tore away the whole foreship up to the bridge.*

Department's Comment—The forepart of the *Sussex* was wrecked as far back as the first watertight bulkhead, according to the official reports.

(D) *The German submarine was submerged when the torpedo was launched, and there is no statement that it came to the surface after the attack.*

Department's Comment—The conclusion was reached that the submarine was submerged from the fact that no one on the *Sussex* saw a submarine, though the weather was fine.

(E) *No warning was given and no attempt was made to give one, since it is not mentioned.*

Department's Comment—The evidence collected shows affirmatively no warning was given.

(F) *A sketch by the submarine commander of the steamer which he torpedoed does not agree with a photograph of the *Sussex* in The London Graphic.*

Department's Comment—This sketch was apparently made from memory of an observation of the vessel through a periscope. As the only differences noted by the commander, who relied on his memory, were the position of the smokestack and the shape of the stern, it is to be presumed the vessels were similar in other respects.

(G) *No other German submarines on that day attacked steamers in that locality.*

Department's Comment—As no vessel is reported to have been torpedoed without warning by a submerged submarine other than the *Sussex*, it is beyond question that that vessel was torpedoed by the submarine whose commander's report is relied upon in the note of April 10.

LANSING.

President Wilson's Address to Congress

Joint Session, April 19, 1916

On the day after the foregoing note to Germany had been dispatched the President informed Congress of his action in a noteworthy speech delivered before both houses in joint session. In part his address was necessarily a repetition of the substance of the note. After summarizing the situation Mr. Wilson continued:

IN pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government, despite the solemn protest of this Government, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate, as the months have gone by, less and less observant of restraints of any kind, and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand. Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this Government foresaw must happen has happened. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances, as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, cannot be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of hu-

manity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the Imperial German Government, it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

[After summarizing the facts of Germany's new campaign, announced in February, against armed liners, and recalling typical cases of violation of international law from the Lusitania to the Sussex case, he concluded with these words:]

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to

a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your

approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

American Memorandum on Armed Merchant Vessels

BY direction of the President a memorandum was prepared during March, 1916, in regard to the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas. A week after sending the note of April 18 to Germany this memorandum was made public as a statement of the American Government's attitude on the principles relating to submarines and armed merchantmen in war. The full text of Mr. Lansing's memorandum is given below.

Department of State,
Washington, March 25, 1916.

I.

The status of an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent is to be considered from two points of view: First, from that of a neutral when the vessel enters its ports, and, second, from that of an enemy when the vessel is on the high seas.

First—An armed merchant vessel in neutral ports.

(1) It is necessary for a neutral Government to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality which enters its jurisdiction, in order that the Government may protect itself from responsibility for the destruction of life and property by permitting its ports to be used as bases of hostile operations by belligerent warships.

(2) If the vessel carries a commission or orders issued by a belligerent Government and directing it under penalty to conduct aggressive operations, or if it is conclusively shown to have conducted such operations, it should be regarded and treated as a warship.

(3) If sufficient evidence is wanting a neutral Government, in order to safeguard itself from liability for failure to preserve its neutrality may reasonably presume from these facts the status of an armed merchant ves-

sel which frequents its waters. There is no settled rule of international law as to the sufficiency of evidence to establish such a presumption. As a result a neutral Government must decide for itself the sufficiency of the evidence which it requires to determine the character of the vessel. For the guidance of its port officers and other officials a neutral Government may therefore declare a standard of evidence, but such standard may be changed on account of the general conditions of naval warfare or modified on account of the circumstances of a particular case. These changes and modifications may be made at any time during the progress of the war, since the determination of the status of an armed merchant vessel in neutral waters may affect the liability of a neutral Government.

Second—An armed merchant vessel on the high seas.

(1) It is necessary for a belligerent warship to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of an enemy encountered on the high seas, since the rights of life and property of belligerents and neutrals on board the vessel may be impaired if its status is that of an enemy warship.

(2) The determination of warlike character must rest in no case upon presumption but upon conclusive evidence, because the responsibility for the destruction of life and property depends on the actual facts of the case and cannot be avoided or lessened by a standard of evidence which a belligerent may announce as creating a presumption of hostile character. On the other hand, to safeguard himself from possible liability for unwarranted destruction of life and property the belligerent should, in the absence of conclusive evidence, act on the presumption that an armed merchantman is of peaceful character.

(3) A presumption based solely on the presence of an armament on a merchant vessel of an enemy is not a sufficient reason for a belligerent to declare it to be a warship and proceed to attack it without regard to the rights of the persons on board. Conclusive

evidence of a purpose to use the armament for aggression is essential. Consequently an armament which a neutral Government, seeking to perform its neutral duties, may presume to be intended for aggression, might in fact on the high seas be used solely for protection. A neutral Government has no opportunity to determine the purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel unless there is evidence in the ship's papers or other proof as to its previous use, so that the Government is justified in substituting an arbitrary rule of presumption in arriving at the status of the merchant vessel. On the other hand, a belligerent warship can on the high seas test by actual experience the purpose of an armament on an enemy merchant vessel, and so determine by direct evidence the status of the vessel.

The status of an armed merchant vessel as a warship in neutral waters may be determined, in the absence of documentary proof or conclusive evidence of previous aggressive conduct, by presumption derived from all the circumstances of the case.

The status of such vessel as a warship on the high seas must be determined only upon conclusive evidence of aggressive purpose, in the absence of which it is to be presumed that the vessel has a private and peaceable character, and it should be so treated by an enemy warship.

In brief, a neutral Government may proceed upon the presumption that an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is armed for aggression, while a belligerent should proceed on the presumption that the vessel is armed for protection. Both of these presumptions may be overcome by evidence—the first by secondary or collateral evidence, since the fact to be established is negative in character; the second by primary and direct evidence, since the fact to be established is positive in character.

II.

The character of the evidence upon which the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is to be determined when visiting neutral waters and when traversing the high seas having been stated, it is important to consider the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas.

First—The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports.

(1) It appears to be the established rule of international law that warships of a belligerent may enter neutral ports and accept limited hospitality there upon condition that they leave, as a rule, within twenty-four hours after their arrival.

(2) Belligerent warships are also entitled to take on fuel once in three months in ports of a neutral country.

(3) As a mode of enforcing these rules, a neutral has the right to cause belligerent

warships failing to comply with them, together with their officers and crews, to be interned during the remainder of the war.

(4) Merchantmen of belligerent nationality, armed only for purposes of protection against the enemy, are entitled to enter and leave neutral ports without hindrance in the course of legitimate trade.

(5) Armed merchantmen of belligerent nationality under a commission or orders of their Government to use, under penalty, their armament for aggressive purposes, or merchantmen which, without such commission or orders, have used their armaments for aggressive purposes, are not entitled to the same hospitality in neutral ports as peaceable armed merchantmen.

Second—The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels on the high seas.

(1) Innocent neutral property on the high seas cannot legally be confiscated, but is subject to inspection by a belligerent. Resistance to inspection removes this immunity and subjects the property to condemnation by a prize court, which is charged with the preservation of the legal rights of the owners of neutral property.

(2) Neutral property engaged in contraband trade, breach of blockade, or unneutral service obtains the character of enemy property and is subject to seizure by a belligerent and condemnation by a prize court.

(3) When hostile and innocent property is mixed, as in the case of a neutral ship carrying a cargo which is entirely or partly contraband, this fact can only be determined by inspection. Such innocent property may be of uncertain character, as it has been frequently held that it is more or less contaminated by association with hostile property. For example, under the Declaration of London, (which, so far as the provisions covering this subject are concerned, has been adopted by all the belligerents,) the presence of a cargo which in bulk or value consists of 50 per cent. contraband articles impresses the ship with enemy character and subjects it to seizure and condemnation by a prize court.

(4) Enemy property, including ships and cargoes, is always subject to seizure and condemnation. Any enemy property taken by a belligerent on the high seas is a total loss to the owners. There is no redress in a prize court. The only means of avoiding loss is by flight or successful resistance. Enemy merchant ships have, therefore, the right to arm for the purpose of self-protection.

(5) A belligerent warship is any vessel which, under commission or orders of its Government imposing penalties or entitling it to prize money, is armed for the purpose of seeking and capturing or destroying enemy property or hostile neutral property on the seas. The size of the vessel, strength of armament, and its defensive or offensive force are immaterial.

(6) A belligerent warship has, incidental

to the right of seizure, the right to visit and search all vessels on the high seas for the purpose of determining the hostile or innocent character of the vessels and their cargoes. If the hostile character of the property is known, however, the belligerent warship may seize the property without exercising the right of visit and search which is solely for the purpose of obtaining knowledge as to the character of the property. The attacking vessel must display its colors before exercising belligerent rights.

(7) When a belligerent warship meets a merchantman on the high seas which is known to be enemy owned and attempts to capture the vessel, the latter may exercise its right of self-protection either by flight or by resistance. The right to capture and the right to prevent capture are recognized as equally justifiable.

(8) The exercise of the right of capture is limited, nevertheless, by certain accepted rules of conduct based on the principles of humanity and regard for innocent property, even if there is definite knowledge that some of the property, cargo, as well as the vessel, is of enemy character. As a character of these limitations, it has become the established practice for warships to give merchant vessels an opportunity to surrender or submit to visit and search before attempting to seize them by force. The observance of this rule of naval warfare tends to prevent the loss of life of noncombatants and the destruction of innocent neutral property which would result from sudden attack.

(9) If, however, before a summons to surrender is given, a merchantman of belligerent nationality, aware of the approach of an enemy warship, uses its armament to keep the enemy at a distance, or after it has been summoned to surrender it resists or flees, the warship may properly exercise force to compel surrender.

(10) If the merchantman finally surrenders, the belligerent warship may release it or take it into custody. In the case of an enemy merchantman it may be sunk, but

only if it is impossible to take it into port, and provided always that the persons on board are put in a place of safety. In the case of a neutral merchantman, the right to sink it in any circumstances is doubtful.

(11) A merchantman entitled to exercise the right of self-protection may do so when certain of attack by an enemy warship, otherwise the exercise of the right would be so restricted as to render it ineffectual. There is a distinct difference, however, between the exercise of the right of self-protection and the act of cruising the seas in an armed vessel for the purpose of attacking enemy naval vessels.

(12) In the event that merchant ships of belligerent nationality are armed and under commission or orders to attack in all circumstances certain classes of enemy naval vessels for the purpose of destroying them, and are entitled to receive prize money for such service from their Government, or are liable to a penalty for failure to obey the orders given, such merchant ships lose their status as peaceable merchant ships and are to a limited extent incorporated in the naval forces of their Government, even though it is not their sole occupation to conduct hostile operations.

(13) A vessel engaged intermittently in commerce and under a commission or orders of its Government imposing a penalty, in pursuing and attacking enemy naval craft, possesses a status tainted with a hostile purpose which it cannot throw aside or assume at will. It should, therefore, be considered as an armed public vessel and receive the treatment of a warship by an enemy and by neutrals. Any person taking passage on such a vessel cannot expect immunity other than that accorded persons who are on board a warship. A private vessel, engaged in seeking enemy naval craft, without such a commission or orders from its Government, stands in a relation to the enemy similar to that of a civilian who fires upon the organized military forces of a belligerent, and is entitled to no more considerate treatment.

Germany's Reply, Conceding Reforms in Submarine Warfare

Berlin, May 4, 1916.

The undersigned, on behalf of the Imperial German Government, has the honor to present to his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. James W. Gerard, the following reply to the note of April 20 regarding the conduct of German submarine warfare.

THE German Government handed over to the proper naval authorities for early investigation the evidence concerning the *Sussex*, as communicated by the Government of the United States. Judging by the results that the investigation has hitherto yielded, the German Government is alive to the possibility

that the ship mentioned in the note of April 10 as having been torpedoed by a German submarine is actually identical with the *Sussex*.

The German Government begs to reserve further communication on the matter until certain points are ascertained, which are of decisive importance for establishing the facts of the case. Should it turn out that the commander was wrong in assuming the vessel to be a man-of-war, the German Government will not fail to draw the consequence resulting therefrom.

In connection with the case of the *Sussex* the Government of the United States made a series of statements, the gist of which is the assertion that the incident is to be considered but one instance of a deliberate method of indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders.

The German Government must emphatically repudiate the assertion. The German Government, however, thinks it of little avail to enter into details in the present stage of affairs, more particularly as the Government of the United States omitted to substantiate the assertion by reference to concrete facts.

The German Government will only state that it has imposed far-reaching restraints upon the use of the submarine weapon, solely in consideration of neutrals' interests, in spite of the fact that these restrictions are necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. No such consideration has ever been shown neutrals by Great Britain and her allies.

The German submarine forces have had, in fact, orders to conduct the submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain. With regard to these, no assurances have ever been given to the Government of the United States. No such assurances are contained in the declaration of Feb. 8, 1916.

The German Government cannot admit any doubt that these orders were given or are executed in good faith. Errors actually occurred. They can in no kind of warfare be avoided altogether. Allowances must be made in the conduct of naval warfare against an enemy resorting to all kinds of ruses, whether permissible or illicit.

But apart from the possibility of errors, naval warfare, just like warfare on land, implies unavoidable dangers for neutral persons and goods entering the fighting zone. Even in cases where the naval action is confined to ordinary forms of cruiser warfare, neutral persons and goods repeatedly come to grief.

The German Government has repeatedly and explicitly pointed out the dangers from mines that have led to the loss of numerous ships.

The German Government has made several proposals to the Government of the United States in order to reduce to a minimum for American travelers and goods the inherent dangers of naval warfare. Unfortunately the Government of the United States decided not to accept the proposals. Had it accepted, the Government of the United States would have been instrumental in preventing the greater part of the accidents that American citizens have met with in the meantime.

The German Government still stands by its offer to come to an agreement along these lines.

As the German Government repeatedly declared, it cannot dispense with the use of the submarine weapon in the conduct of warfare against enemy trade. The German Government, however, has now decided to make a further concession, adapting methods of submarine war to the interests of neutrals. In reaching its decision the German Government is actuated by considerations which are above the level of the disputed question.

The German Government attaches no less importance to the sacred principles of humanity than the Government of the United States. It again fully takes into account that both Governments for many years co-operated in developing international law in conformity with these prin-

ciples, the ultimate object of which has always been to confine warfare on sea and land to armed forces of belligerents and safeguard as far as possible noncombatants against the horrors of war.

But although these considerations are of great weight, they alone would not under present circumstances have determined the attitude of the German Government. For in answer to the appeal by the Government of the United States on behalf of the sacred principles of humanity and international law, the German Government must repeat once more, with all emphasis, that it was not the German, but the British, Government which ignored all accepted rules of international law and extended this terrible war to the lives and property of non-combatants, having no regard whatever for the interests and rights of neutrals and noncombatants that through this method of warfare have been severely injured.

In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare.

As matters stand, the German Government cannot but reiterate regret that the sentiments of humanity, which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare, are not extended with the same warmth of feeling to many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, shall be starved, and who by sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the Central Powers into ignominious capitulation.

The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain likewise was ready to adapt the conduct of warfare to these rules.

Several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act ac-

cordingly failed because of flat refusal on the part of the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain again and again has violated international law, surpassing all bounds in outraging neutral rights. The latest measure adopted by Great Britain, declaring German bunker coal contraband and establishing conditions under which English bunker coal alone is supplied to neutrals, is nothing but an unheard-of attempt by way of exaction to force neutral tonnage into the service of British trade war.

The German people knows that the Government of the United States has the power to confine the war to armed forces of the belligerent countries, in the interest of humanity and maintenance of international law. The Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to insist, against Great Britain, on the incontrovertible rights to freedom of the seas. But, as matters stand, the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States, while demanding that Germany, struggling for existence, shall restrain the use of an effective weapon and while making compliance with these demands a condition for maintenance of relations with Germany, confines itself to protests against illegal methods adopted by Germany's enemies. Moreover, the German people knows to what considerable extent its enemies are supplied with all kinds of war material from the United States.

It will, therefore, be understood that the appeal made by the Government of the United States to sentiments of humanity and principles of international law cannot, under the circumstances, meet the same hearty response from the German people which such an appeal otherwise always is certain to find here. If the German Government, nevertheless, is resolved to go to the utmost limit of concessions, it has been guided not alone by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over one hundred years, but also by the thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should the cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

The German Government, conscious of

Germany's strength, twice within the last few months announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe. The German Government feels all the more justified in declaring that responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and in history if after twenty-one months of the war's duration the submarine question, under discussion between the German Government and the Government of the United States, were to take a turn seriously threatening maintenance of peace between the two nations.

As far as lies with the German Government, it wishes to prevent things from taking such a course. The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, that it is in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that German naval forces have received the following order:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interests, restrict the use of an effective weapon, if the

enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States repeatedly declares that it is determined to restore the principle of freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

Accordingly, the German Government is confident that in consequence of the new orders issued to the naval forces the Government of the United States will also now consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual co-operation toward restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war, as are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government Dec. 28, 1914, and Nov. 5, 1915.

Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the American Ambassador assurances of highest consideration.

VON JAGOW.



Answer by the United States

President Wilson instructed the American Ambassador at Berlin to deliver the following reply to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Washington, May 8, 1916.

THE note of the Imperial German Government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the Government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it "is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents" and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted.

Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on Feb. 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy. Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the

United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

LANSING.

A British Reply to Germany's Note

By Lord Robert Cecil

Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs

In behalf of the British Foreign Office the following comment upon certain portions of the German note was made public by Lord Robert Cecil:

THE reply of the German Government to the American note of April 20 respecting submarine warfare is not a communication upon which any general comment can properly be made in this

country, as the questions at issue concern the United States and Germany, and any interference by a third party would be presumptuous. Since, however, the German note contains certain misstatements of fact respecting the actions of Great Britain the following observations may not be thought out of place:

The German Government state that

they have, so far as is possible, instituted a far-reaching restraint upon the use of the submarine weapon, solely in consideration of neutral interests and in spite of the fact that these restrictions were necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. It is alleged that no such consideration has ever been shown to neutrals by Great Britain and her allies.

Do the facts bear out these assertions? So far as is known, the measures taken by Great Britain against German trade have cost no neutral his life. Great Britain maintains that they are in accord with the principles of international law and is prepared to make good that claim. They can surely compare favorably, so far as consideration to neutrals is concerned, with a policy whose fruits are seen in the tragedies of the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, and the *Sussex*.

The Germans maintain that it was owing to the illegal conduct of the British warfare that Germany was forced to resort to her submarine campaign. This is not the first time that the Germans have attempted to justify their submarine warfare on the ground that it is a measure of reprisal against the action of the British Government in cutting off supplies from Germany. The following list of incidents, in chronological order, should suffice to dispose of this plea:

September, 1914.—Dutch vessel *Maria*, from California for Dublin and Belfast with cargo of grain for the civil population, sunk by the German cruiser *Karlsruhe*.

Oct. 26, 1914.—The *Admiral Ganteaume*, with 2,000 unarmed refugees, sunk by a German submarine.

December, 1914.—Admiral von Tirpitz foreshadowed adoption of submarine campaign.

Jan. 27, 1915.—American ship *William P. Frye*, with wheat from Seattle for Queens-town, sunk by German auxiliary cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm*.

[The *William P. Frye* was sunk by the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, according to the records.]

Feb. 4, 1915.—Declaration by the German Government of their intention to institute a general submarine blockade of Great Britain and Ireland, with the avowed purpose of cutting off all supplies from these islands. This blockade was put into effect officially Feb. 18, although, as a matter of fact, a merchant ship had been sunk by a German submarine at the end of January.

It was not until March 11, 1915, that the present measures against German trade were put in force by Great Britain. Before the enforcement of those measures the Germans had destroyed cargoes of foodstuffs coming to the civilian population of this country, had declared their intention of instituting a system of submarine outrage, and had actually submarined merchant vessels without warning.

As for their pretended tenderness for noncombatants, their slaughter of old men, children, women, and girls in Belgium and Northern France, not to speak of the unreported proceedings of their honored allies in Armenia, forever prevents them from being heard in such a cause.

The German Government speaks of many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, are to be starved and who by their sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the Central Powers into an ignominious capitulation. In this connection it is interesting to remember that at the beginning of last month the German Chancellor made the following remarks in the Reichstag:

I can understand that in 1915 the enemy would not give up hope of starving Germany, but I cannot understand how cool heads can cling to it after the experience of 1915. Our enemies forget that, thanks to the organizing powers of the whole nation, Germany is equal to the task of the distribution of victuals. Our stocks of bread and grain will not only be sufficient, but will leave an ample reserve with which to commence the new year. We have not run short of anything in the past, nor shall we run short of anything in the future.

There is a curious contradiction between this statement and the present appeal on behalf of starving women and children. However, presuming that the statement of the Chancellor in the Reichstag was untrue, it is interesting to recall the opinions of two former German statesmen, Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi, as to the right of a belligerent to cut off supplies from the enemy.

In 1885, at the time when his Majesty's Government were discussing with the French Government the question of the right to declare foodstuffs not intend-

ed for the military forces to be contraband, Prince Bismarck made the following statement to the Kiel Chamber of Commerce:

I reply to the Chamber of Commerce that any disadvantage our commercial 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. 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.

In 1892 Count Caprivi made the following remarks in the Reichstag in the course of a discussion respecting the question of international protection for private property at sea:

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 an 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.

These older German authorities were right. The truth is, all war is cruel, horrible, but those who have drenched Europe in blood; who scatter death and destruction among combatants and non-combatants by their Zeppelin bombs and

submarine torpedoes; who, by their poisoned gas and high explosive shells have maimed, tortured, and slain millions of the best and bravest of their fellow-creatures, are presuming too far on the toleration of mankind when they complain of such a comparatively humane method of warfare as blockade.

Of the German peace overtures, if such they are to be called, I will say little. It was only in last December that their Chancellor declared that we believed it to be in our interests to attribute falsely to them peace proposals. Yet the German Government now say that twice within the last few months Germany has announced before the world her readiness to make peace. Which is the truth?

It may be that the Germans want peace. If so, it is because they fear defeat. It may be only that they want to appear peaceful. For us it matters not. Our attitude, at any rate, is unchanged. We drew the sword unwillingly. We shall sheathe it gladly. But we should be untrue to our trust, we should be betraying civilization if we abandoned our task until we have re-established in Europe the supremacy of law, the sanctity of treaties, and the right of all nations, great and small, to live their lives, to fulfill their destinies, free from the intolerable menace of Prussian militarism.

Germany's Note Admitting the Sinking of the Sussex

In this note, which virtually closes the episode, Germany admits the torpedoing of the Sussex, and offers reparation. The official text, as cabled by Ambassador Gerard, is as follows:

American Embassy,
Berlin, May 8, 1916.

SUPPLEMENTING his note of the 4th instant concerning the conduct of the German submarine warfare, the undersigned has the honor to inform his Excellency, the American Ambassador, Mr. James W. Gerard, that the further investigation made by the German naval authorities concerned in regard to the French steamship Sussex, on the basis of the American material, has been concluded in the meantime. In

conformity with the result of this investigation the assumption expressed in the note of the undersigned of the 10th ultimo, that the damage of the Sussex was to be traced back to a cause other than the attack of a German submarine, cannot be maintained.

Such an assumption had to be arrived at with certainty from the material in the possession of the German Government, for itself, and without further knowledge of the circumstances connected with the torpedoing of the Sussex, the more so as apart from the points enumerated in the note of the 10th ultimo the following facts had come to the attention of the Admiralty Staff of the Navy through reliable information: March 24, 1916, approximately at the same time as the Sussex, an auxiliary warship left the port of Folkestone

with a large transport of British infantry on board. On the same day a transport steamer was torpedoed in the Channel. A few minutes preceding the explosion on the *Sussex* she had passed through a mass of ship wreckage, which created the impression that a ship had sunk at that spot shortly before. All these facts justified the conclusion that the only case of torpedoing which could be considered under the circumstances had struck the British war vessel, whereas the *Sussex* had met with an accident in some other way.

However, on the basis of the American material, the German Government cannot withhold its conviction that the ship torpedoed by the German submarine is in fact identical with the *Sussex*, for in accordance with this material the place, the time, and the effect of the explosion by which the *Sussex* was damaged agree in the essential details with the statement of the German commander, so that there can no longer be any question of the possibility of two independent occurrences. An additional reason is constituted by the fact that officers of the American Navy found fragments of an explosive in the hold of the *Sussex* which are described by them upon firm grounds as parts of a German torpedo.

Finally, the counterevidence which was deduced in the note of the 10th ultimo from the difference in appearance of the vessel described by the submarine commander and the only reproduction of the *Sussex* then available has proved to be untenable, inasmuch as according to a photograph of the damaged *Sussex* now to hand the characteristic distinctions no longer existed at the time of the accident. While the *Sussex* in the photograph of my (the) *Daily Graphic* inclosed in the note only carried one mast and also showed the white gangway customary on passenger ves-

sels on the level with the portholes, O. W. S., the reproduction of the damaged *Sussex* shows a second mast and a uniform dark color, and thus approaches in her outer appearance the description of the vessel as furnished by the submarine commander.

In view of the general impression of all the facts at hand the German Government considers it beyond doubt that the commander of the submarine acted in the bona fide belief that he was facing an enemy warship. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, misled by the appearance of the vessel, under the pressure of the circumstances, he formed his judgment too hurriedly in establishing her character and did not, therefore, act fully in accordance with the strict instruction which called upon him to exercise particular care.

In view of these circumstances the German Government frankly admits that the assurance given to the American Government, in accordance with which passenger vessels were not to be attacked without warning, has not been adhered to in the present case. As was intimated by the undersigned in the note of the 4th instant, the German Government does not hesitate to draw from this resultant consequences. It therefore expresses to the American Government its sincere regret regarding the deplorable incident and declares its readiness to pay an adequate indemnity to the injured American citizens. It also disapproved of the conduct of the commander, who has been appropriately punished.

Expressing the hope that the American Government will consider the case of the *Sussex* as settled by these statements, the undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to the Ambassador the assurance of his highest consideration.

VON JAGOW.

A German Medal Celebrating the Torpedoing of the *Lusitania*

PHOTOGRAPHS of a satirical German medal issued in commemoration of the destruction of the *Lusitania* have recently reached this country. The medal is engraved and issued in bronze by Karl Goetz of Munich, and is offered for sale all over Europe, being catalogued by a large Amsterdam coin dealer at the price of 7¼ florins. The Numismatist calls the attention of Americans to it with the mild remark that the average collector in this country "will wonder why, considering it from any point of view, it should have been issued."

On the obverse appears the prow of the *Lusitania* at the moment of sinking, with an aeroplane and a mounted gun, (which the whole world now knows it did not carry.) Above is the inscription, "Keine Bannware," ("No Contraband,") and below "Der Grosse Dampfer *Lusitania* durch ein deutsches Tauchboot versenkt, 7 Mai, 1915," ("The Great Steamship *Lusitania*, Sunk by a German Submarine, May 7, 1915.") On the reverse is a figure of Death, in the Cunard Line office, selling tickets to passengers for the fatal journey. The satirical inscription is "Ge-



GERMAN MEDAL OF LUSITANIA DISASTER

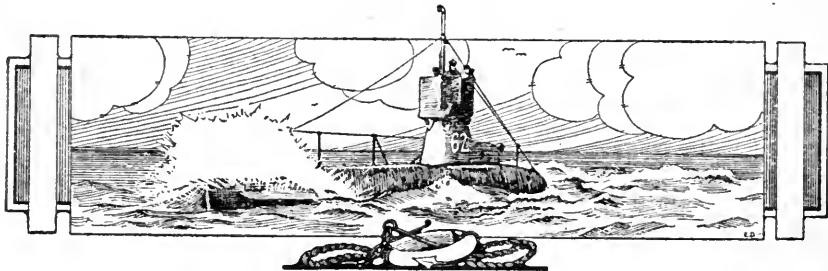
schäft über alles," ("Business First.") The medal is cast in bronze, is 2 3-16 inches across, and has a beveled edge.

This treatment of an act which caused the death of 1,198 passengers, of whom 124 were Americans, is commented upon in a two-column article in the Paris Figaro, from which the following is an extract:

"I am not quite sure that the fact of having issued this 'satirical' medal to commemorate and glorify the crime of the German pirates is not something, if not more hideous, at least more ignominious than the crime itself. The German Emperor and his Grand Admiral, von Tirpitz, are malefactors under the common law, the one decorated, the other crowned. They at least run the risk of public malefactors, like a Cartouche or a Mandrin. The submarine officers who

fired the murderous torpedo are slaves, gross and brutal, in passive obedience. There is not a marine officer in all the other fleets of the world, the Austrians and Turks excepted, who would not have broken his sword rather than execute so infamous an order.

"But of what mud can that soul be made, if one can call it a soul, which in the guise of an artist sneeringly celebrates that atrocious hecatomb as a victory, and hawks it about for money! And the whole German Nation, which also has glorified the abominable and cowardly crime, and which amuses itself with this abject commemoration! That is what, in the space of half a century, the Hohenzollern dynasty has made of the Germany of Goethe and Kant. If we do not crush the wild beast in its lair, what will become of the rest of the world?



Why Americans Are Pro-Ally

By Booth Tarkington
Popular American Novelist

At the request of an English friend, Mr. Tarkington recently wrote this pithy analysis of American war sentiment for the information of the British public.

ALL normal and educated Americans have been from the beginning, and now are, "pro-ally." There are no exceptions. A few "prominent citizens"—not a dozen, all told—have been entertained and personally enlightened by the Kaiser, or by his close adherents, and are "pro-Germans"; but that sort of enlightenment is, of course, destructive to education, and these troubled gentlemen have had no visible influence, though one hears that two or three of them have been able to convert their wives to the German view. There are also, here and there, a few "pro-German" oddities, quirk-brained persons and tender-hearted souls, who are "for Germany" because everybody else is cursing Germany. They are of no consequence and may fairly be classed as not normal.

It should be understood, of course, that the educated "German-American" is not an educated American. The "German-Americans" are becoming consistent lately: they advocate the hyphen for all persons dwelling within the United States; they would not forbid even Colonel Roosevelt to be known as a Dutch-English-German-American, though the Colonel himself appears to be sluggish in claiming his rights in the

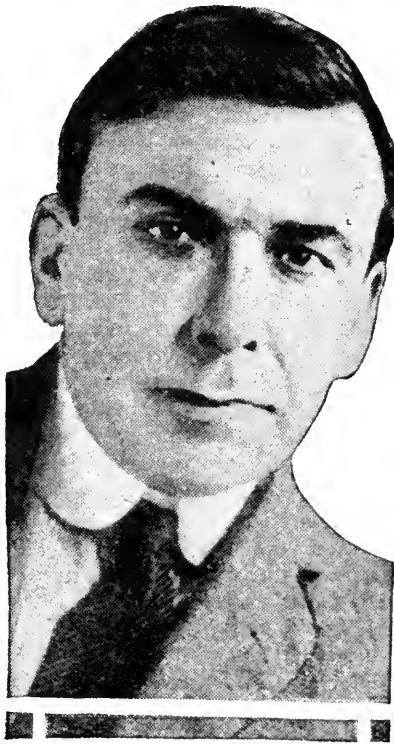
matter. We may dismiss the "German-Americans" from this consideration, not without compassion: they are human and they are sweating blood.

Officials are all neutral. They are neutral because the United States is officially neutral. Politicians, for the greater part, affect to be neutral. That is because they are politicians and wish to offend nobody. The end will be, of course, that as feeling grows higher they will offend everybody. Neutrality always offends everybody.

Almost all of the newspapers are "pro-ally," though numbers of them pose as neutral. But you may accept it as the fact that all officials and politicians and editors who are educated Americans are actually "pro-ally." The "great mass of the proletariat" are vaguely "pro-ally," but more definitely, as about everything,

pro-nothing. They do not know that the war affects them, and they do not think about it.

The American is "pro-ally," but not because he is characteristically of English descent. Characteristically he doesn't know his descent. He sometimes guesses at it, idly, concluding, if his name be Baker, or Knight, or Thompson, that his ancestors may have been English—he



BOOTH TARKINGTON

doesn't care. Nor does he regard England as the "Mother Country"; nor is that saying much in his mind: "Blood is thicker than water." He is not "pro-ally" out of sympathy. Who thinks he is fails to understand the American. The American is pro-Belgian out of sympathy; and he is anti-Teuton, in the Belgian matter, out of indignation; but he is "pro-ally" because history is "pro-ally."

We were the onlookers from the beginning, and we saw that Germans made the war. We saw that the German Nation went into the war with a patriotic stupidity, magnificent and horrible; that the German Nation was wholly in the grip of a herd instinct which had been used by manipulators; and that these manipulators, having made the Germans into a loyal, warlike tribe, brought on the war in the approved manner employed by all war chiefs desiring a war. Their unblemished hypocrisy was of an old, old model always employed by war chiefs—and absolutely obvious to any mind not under the sway of herd instinct.

The Germans saw what had happened here. They understood that an impartial national mind had judged them; so they naturally organized a stupendous campaign attacking our judgment. For their purpose, their propaganda accomplished precisely nothing.

* * * Now, this is the American mind; this is how the American thinks of the war: "The German Nation has been revealed as a warlike tribe, wonderful in that capacity, but not to be thought civilized merely because it uses typewriters. Its will is the will of its chieftains and its credulity is theirs to use as they choose. The chieftains, for their own greater power and greater glory, as they, in their barbaric way, conceive glory, and for the expansion and increased riches of the tribe under their control, made this war. They forced it at a chosen time—as they forced the last three wars which they have made. They then began operations with a crime which would dishonor a civilized nation but which a barbaric tribe would consider creditable. Their descendants, who will probably become civilized in the course

of time, will be dishonored by this crime, but the barbarians who committed it will naturally never comprehend the shame of it.

"England came into the war for good reasons, whether those reasons were to protect herself, or because the violation of Belgium demanded it. The latter motive is the finer, but the former is sufficient. Probably both motives operated together, strengthened by a promise to aid France—a good promise. My birdseye view is of an England fighting to make a predatory tribe learn to keep the peace. And England must win. I am not worried about the freedom of the seas under England: I am worried about freedom anywhere under Germany. There were some sufferers down South wailing about their cotton, and there are others out in pocket and complaining of the high hand of England; and our Government, being neutral, must send bothersome notes to England—the Government is literally bound to do so. These are 'technicalities'; I wish they could be abolished. I do not want England bothered. We have a real note pending with Germany; the Lusitania case is just what it was last May, and we have waited so long that other nations have forgotten that we are only waiting, or they think that our waiting means a pitiable acquiescence. Not yet!

"And about our getting rich through the sale of munitions to the Allies, I am sorry if that sale is what causes our prosperity. It is a horrible way to make money. It is absolutely necessary that we furnish munitions to the Allies, and we shall not tolerate interference with our manufacture and shipping of these munitions, but I wish there were no profit-taking. However, under any circumstances, the Allies must be supplied with munitions—for they must win!"

That is the American thought.

Working against the American is something fermented of sloppy materials and waste, stirred and brewed into a gas by the ebullience of these times. The fermentation takes place, where history informs us that many of our fermentations of ignorance, for the last sixty years, have taken place, within the Democratic

Party; its opponent, the Republican Party, specializing, at times, in the fermentations of corruption, until it is forced out of power and into reformation. Mr. Bryan, late Secretary of State, is the witch of the Democratic caldron, and, to drop the figure, he is trying to prevent the President's renomination. Mr. Bryan has often used "mob ignorance" to effect his purposes; but it is generally believed that he is quite sincere, and that upon the frequent occasions when he makes use of mob or Congressional ignorance he is honorably and consistently ignorant himself. He is a man of unsullied conscience; he has never in his life done a thing which he believed to be wrong; and his career reveals a long series of coincidences, in each of which his sincere view of the True and the Right and the Elevating was precisely that which seemed most likely to elevate Mr. Bryan. However, nobody believes him to be a hypocrite; it is felt, merely, that he is incapable of analyzing his own real motives.

He still has power within the Democratic Party, and he has used it to embarrass the President in the latter's dealings with the German Government. Mr. Bryan can now count upon the German-Americans and the pacifists, and also upon a number of personal henchmen. He hopes for a vast addition, contributed by public ignorance, to these forces; he hopes that there will develop a great

body of voters to whom international law and all foreign relations mean nothing; who are unaware that they dwell upon a round world; who are indifferent to the outcome of the war—in brief, who have never beheld the sea and would riot to keep from having to fight for some incomprehensible nonsense about submarine boats. So far, however, this body of reserves for Mr. Bryan and his rather nauseating Congressmen—and the German-Americans and pacifists—has not developed. In our belief it will not be at all formidable.

Except for an army or navy man, here and there, it is the fact that in August, 1914, almost all Americans thought that there would be no more great wars. Now we think of little except preparation for our own defense. Defense against whom? Who was it that so utterly changed our minds? Not England. Not France. Not Russia. There is not a sane American who thinks of England or France or Russia or Italy when he thinks of "preparedness." And "preparedness" is in either the foreground or the background of every American mind continually. Shall we fight without "preparedness"? We still hope for honorable peace, whether we are prepared or not prepared for war, but the American answer to the question just asked is, "Yes, if we have to!" England, whom we fought twice when we were unprepared, need not doubt it.

Colonel Watterson on German Hopes

Colonel Henry Watterson, once an officer in the Confederate Army, now the dean of American journalism, writes in The Louisville Courier-Journal:

God bless the noble, patient, puissant, helpless people of Germany. As mistaken as the noble, patient, puissant people of the Confederacy, they have fought and are fighting as wondrous, as inflexible, and as futile a battle. There can be but one end of it. If the world is not again to sink into the Dark Ages, if another fall from civilization into barbarism be not before us, the gigantic, bloodthirsty, savage dominion of Prussian militarism must be as completely dissolved as the armies of the South in the great war of sections in America were dissolved. In the one case republican government went with the armies of the Union; on the other hand, civilization and Christianity. If the Confederacy had won, democracy had been proved a failure. If Prussia could win, the world were lost.

The Best Way to Enforce Peace

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By John Cadwalader, Jr.

THREE contingencies as to the outcome of the European war present themselves: (1) A complete victory for Germany, (2) a complete victory for the Allies, or (3) a draw in which Germany's fleet and army remain intact. It is, of course, probable that a complete victory for the Allies will leave us free from all immediate danger of foreign attack. But there is still Mexico as a plague spot, and there is small chance, if one of the foreign belligerents—say, France, Italy, Russia, or Japan—thought its citizens in danger there, and their rights ignored, that the aggrieved nation would not feel amply justified in intervening to protect them. Once having intervened it would find it very difficult to let go. This Government in such case would be obliged to interfere.

The Monroe Doctrine is a standing insult to every nation except one, and just because we have for 100 years pursued what seems to most of the world a "dog in the manger" policy we cannot tamely relinquish it without forfeiting all respect. It has been treated by our statesmen, and in the main rightly so, as not only an altruistic principle of protection to our weaker neighbors, but as also a measure of self-defense essential to the free development of America's twin offspring, liberty and democracy.

Words cannot describe what would inevitably happen to this country in the event of a German victory. We have been given undoubted proof that "live and let live" is no part of Germany's scheme. Her aims are purely selfish, and she will carry those aims to the logical extreme. Covetousness in Germany is a virtue, and if there is any portion of America that Germany covets she will seize it when the time is ripe, or if perchance she believes, as she truly does, that she could administer our Government far better than we can ourselves,

she will unquestionably lay her plans, not in a hurry, but very carefully and systematically, to take it from us.

The consequences to us in the event of a draw in the European war are almost equally serious. In that case, assuming that Germany retains her fleet and her army, and is deprived of any possibility of expansion in Africa or Asia, what more certain than that she will look toward Mexico or South America to make up her losses? Popular writers have suggested the further possibility of an immediate descent on our unprotected coasts and the collection of an indemnity from the cities of the eastern seaboard sufficient to pay all the expenses of her war. As it now seems likely that Congress will do something in the way of preparedness to block this scheme, it is more probable that the attack will be made indirectly on Central or South America, giving Germany a much better chance to establish herself there firmly before we could exert any considerable pressure against her.

Optimists and pacifists, of course, say that these are mere bogies of the imagination, because Germany will be too exhausted after the war, even should it end in an even draw, to think of beginning another; but the teaching of history is against this "flattering unction." What aggressive nation has ever stopped fighting because it had enough? The lust for conquest grows by feeding on itself, and the people at home that blindly follow such a government must be kept fed up on more and more conquests, lest they turn their attention to home problems and to the question, "What good came of it at last?"

But apart from all other possibilities, fraught with danger as they are to the richest and the most unprepared nation on earth, does not the bare possibility of a German victory stiffen the limbs and freeze the blood of every true

American? The triumph of the most ruthless aggressor, fortified with the most devilish instruments of science and with the most indefatigable determination to pursue his ends regardless of the rights of any living thing; cynical and indifferent to law, religion, and humanity—can such an event be contemplated and not arouse all our manhood to instant action?

The law, whether it be national or international, is made for the protection of the weak; but, as the German leaders of thought have said again and again, the weak have no place in the scheme of things when it comes to their interfering with the strong. Religion, unless it be the worship of Thor and Odin, the gods of Thunder and of Battles, is the product of weak minds, and Christianity especially is a confession of failure.

Humanity, or what is left of it since the German began his assaults, makes no appeal to men whose one thought is to devise some new form of frightfulness; but what is left of it—and this the German knows and gloats on—has still the capacity to suffer, and the limit of its capacity for this at least is not in sight.

Whither, therefore, does our argument lead? We have two contingencies, one dangerous, the other more so, and we have a third contingency, the possibility of which should make us tremble for all that is dear to us and all that is sacred in life.

Let us for a moment conceive what would have happened to us if England had not throughout the war controlled the seas. If Germany had been in complete control as England has been we should have been her vassal. Trade with the Allies would have been altogether stopped, and trade with neutrals only permitted so far as it did not interfere with Germany's plans.

This, of course, is the least that we might have suffered, inasmuch as Germany believes in exercising her power to the fullest extent, and having the power to seize and hold for ransom any or all of our sea coast cities, she would have done it without hesitation or scruple.

But supposing that England and Germany had been more evenly matched on the ocean, so that neither could be said to have control; our position would have been well-nigh as perilous, and our commerce at the mercy of both belligerents.

Granted that our trade has been diverted to English harbors, and that we have suffered vexatious delays and hindrances as the result of England's blockade or quasi-blockade of Germany, at least she has not sunk our ships nor massacred passengers and crews. Until this war began such practices were reserved for pirates, and it was not considered possible that the lives of non-combatants at sea could be endangered by any power that called itself civilized. The record of the Confederate navy in our civil war was a model in this respect.

Ample justification existed for our Government to declare in the cause of humanity as well as in its own self-interest that the torpedoing or sinking of passenger or merchant vessels by submarines in view of the unavoidable danger to lives was absolutely violative of the spirit of international law, and thus by one bold stroke we should have made the freedom of the seas a reality. The Constitution gives to Congress the power "to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations," and we have asserted the power to override rights that were generally recognized by international law, as, e. g., when we declared by special statute the slave trade to be piracy, although previously sustained on general principles by the Supreme Court in the case of the *Antelope*, 10 Wheat., 66.

What more glorious edict, the equivalent of a worldwide emancipation proclamation, than an act of Congress proclaiming to the world that this country would punish as felons and pirates all those who took the lives of non-combatants at sea by submarine attack, whether those noncombatants were enemies or neutrals!

But, alas, we have permitted the piratical practice to continue, and the ruthless aggressor has grown more ruthless

as the desperation of his case grows ever greater.

The remedy, and the only remedy, that will "provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" is a union, alliance, or diplomatic understanding between all English-speaking peoples for the policing of the seas. With England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, the freest and most democratic Commonwealths of the world, united with us in such a way that each is bound to help the other against any power that endangers the lives of noncombatants at sea, there need be no fear that international law may become the sport of any ambitious power.

Dr. Eliot argues earnestly and ably for an offensive and defensive alliance of England, France, and America, with others to follow, for the freedom of the seas.

It is better, it seems to the writer, to describe it as a treaty for the policing of the seas, which is at all times a matter of vital interest to ourselves and not less so to England and her colonies, and which would not involve us in a departure from our traditional policy of isolation in matters relating to European politics. Furthermore, with such policing guaranteed by an overwhelming combination sufficient to paralyze the trade of any two powers who sought to oppose it, no matter what offensive strength they might develop on land, the way of the transgressor would be hard, indeed.

If we should feel that Anglo-Saxon character and civilization were not sufficient guarantee against the use of such power at all times for improper ends, it would be easy to provide that if any one of the constituent powers were guilty of piratical acts the remaining members of the league should be absolved and free to adopt measures of repression against it.

What more simple, complete, and effective league to enforce peace could be devised? Simple, because the peoples involved are already one in spirit and in aspiration; complete, because our race has its young and virile democracies

growing up in every section of the globe; effective, because the sea, our own element, is the greatest medium of civilization and of bringing together the scattered elements of the human race.

Thus we come back to the ideal with which liberalism started—that the world must draw closer together, else it fall asunder altogether—but a liberalism based on the protection of the law and of that strongest bond to draw all nations to observe the law, the majesty of a truly majestic Anglo-Saxon fleet.

The problem would no longer be "The Influence of Sea Power on History," but "The Maintenance by Sea Power of the Liberties and Rights of all Mankind."

The argument for an immediate denunciation of the attacks on noncombatants at sea seems unanswerable. If this nation feels that Germany's submarine war is opposed to every principle of humanity as well as to the spirit if not the letter of international law, now is the time to say so. By waiting till the war is over, the practices that we abhor become precedents for the next war. Furthermore, what faith will England put in any of our high professions if we show a continued unwillingness to maintain our principles at any sacrifice?

The country is moving toward the assertion of protection for noncombatants at sea, as the recent vote in Congress shows. That there were any Senators or Representatives willing to abandon our citizens to their fate by warning them not to travel on armed merchantmen is a deplorable fact. But that the great majority stood up for human rights against the clamor of the commercial interests, the pacifists, and the German corruptionists offers great hope for the future. If submarine warfare is limited to its proper sphere, viz., operations against ships of war, there will be small temptation for any naval power to attempt any future campaign of frightfulness.

The destruction of the enemy's commerce is the chief purpose of naval warfare, and it has in the opinion of the ablest thinkers been the deciding factor in most wars. Can we not confidently

expect that if America takes her stand against the barbarous practices of submarine warfare it will be a great factor in ending not only the present awful struggle, but also all future projects for world dominion by "blood and iron"?

The plan proposed, so far as the writer is aware, presents no legal or constitutional difficulty. An agreement for the policing of the seas may require the use of force to suppress acts which the high contracting parties define as piracy and, therefore, may of course lead to war. That act, however, which would in fact be the declaration of war in such case, would be the act of a foreign power. A state of war would, therefore, exist without a declaration by Congress and without any usurpation of such authority by the President.

The honor of the country is placed ultimately in the hands of Congress, which could, if it saw fit, refuse to provide for the common defense even in

case of invasion, just as it has the power to abrogate any treaty that has been entered into and so to violate our pledged faith. But just as it has never refused to vote appropriations to foreign powers in treaties made by the President and ratified by the Senate, although the House has often shown a stubborn spirit, so it is not conceivable that a treaty of the sort herein advocated, when duly ratified by the Senate, would not receive the fullest support from our direct Representatives, just as from that great, crude, uncouth, but withal simple and generous-minded mass of humanity that we call the American people.

We must have faith in that better side of our national character and not expose to foreign view that very raw side of one type of American

"That bids him flout the law he makes;
That bids him make the law he flouts;
Till, crazed by many doubts, he wakes
The drumming guns that have no doubts."
PHILADELPHIA, Penn.

If Great Britain Had Remained Neutral

By Dr. BERNHARD DERNBURG

In concluding a long article in the Berliner Tageblatt on the economic consequences of the war to Great Britain, Dr. Dernburg, at one time the Kaiser's confidential envoy in the United States, declared:

If England had remained neutral, not taken a hand in the Austro-Serbian row, and not encouraged Russia to take part in it, she would not only have saved the fourth of her national wealth, which this war is, directly and indirectly, costing her, but she would have been able to attain a position like that of the United States, which in the year 1915 had an excess of exports amounting to 7,800,000,000 marks, (\$1,950,000,000,) a sum which must be paid to her by foreign nations, either in gold or its equivalent. The conclusion to be drawn from this exposition is that it is impossible for even the richest country of the world to maintain its trade, industry, and commerce intact, lend enormous sums to its allies in cash and still larger amounts in munitions and services, and at the same time maintain the biggest navy and a mighty army—the British enlistments have exceeded 3,800,000 men—and that, consequently, it is extremely improbable that after the close of this struggle England will possess any economic preponderancy over Germany or be able to attain such a position.

The Two Gorgon Heads

By Pierre Loti

Member of the French Academy.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from Le Figaro]

"I begin by taking. Afterward I can always find learned men to demonstrate that it was my good right."—Frederick II. (whom, for lack of a better, they call the Great.)

I.

THEIR KAISER

HIS is one of those accursed faces upon which, with age, emerge all the horror and all the night that lurked in the bottom of the soul.

The features at times are not ignoble, no, but on such faces something has been inscribed that is a thousand times worse than ugliness, and one cannot look at them. * * * Thus it is with their Kaiser. To freeze you, his sinister likeness, the least of his portraits glimpsed in a newspaper, is sufficient. Oh! that viperine eye, ambushed under flabby eyelids, that smile twisted by all his inner defects; skilled hypocrisy, unhealthy brutality, cold ferocity, without counting that excess of arrogance, in whose presence inanimate whips start up and begin lashing!

I once saw, at the back of an old temple in Japan, a hideous image which was regarded as a masterpiece of its kind, and which had been kept for ages under a veil in one of the treasure boxes. (You know the veneration of the Japanese for demon images, and the mastery of their artists in the horrible.) It was a human mask, with rather regular and refined

features, but when you had looked at it well its atrocious expression, at once cruel and dead, pursued you for days and nights. In the midst of the corpse-like flesh and pallid wrinkles its two eyes, half closed, the one more than the other, glittered and seemed to wink, as if to say, "For a long time, in my box, I have been pondering something frightful for you, and at last you have come, and I have you, and here it is!"



PIERRE LOTI

Well, for any one who knows how to see, the face of their Kaiser is as frightful as that one hidden in the old temple yonder, whatever may be the fashion of the helmet, with point or with death's head, in which he may fancy to deck himself. Through all the years that the dreadful look of that man has pursued me I have had a presentiment, like the rest of the world, that he was "pondering something for us," but also that it would be diabolically worked out, and more frightful than all the old crimes of the barbaric ages. And I said to myself that for

the safety of humanity that thing ought to be killed!

Kill it, yes! Strike down the hyena! It should have been done before its latent rage was fully in evidence—or at least it should have been chained, muzzled, imprisoned behind closed and solid bars!

Their Kaiser, their unnamable and proteiform Kaiser: every time that you

imagine you have said all there is to say about him he confounds you with something new which one would never have foreseen. After his almost stupid obstinacy in trying to represent his Germany as the attacked victim, in face of the most blinding evidence, the most formal written proofs, and the most crushing confessions of his accomplices, has he not of late felt the need of "swearing before God" that his conscience was pure and that he had not desired war! Before what God? Before his own, naturally; before "his old God," whom in private he must surely call "My old Beelzebub!" What elegance, too, in that epithet "old" applied to such a name!

It seems that their Kaiser has received from his old Beelzebub, besides the mission of spreading over the earth the greatest amount of mourning, of causing the most blood and tears to flow, also the other mission of hunting down every beauty, every religious remembrance, in order to profane all, to soil everything, and to render ugly all that he could not destroy. He has succeeded even in dishonoring science, in degrading it to the rôle of accomplice to his crimes.

And not only will this war of his own making—this war which he had willed with so much infernal premeditation—be a thousand times more destructive of human lives than all past wars put together, but he and his set must needs wreak their rage upon all those treasures of art which should have been the inviolable patrimony of civilized Europe. And if ever he had been able to become the absolute master which his vanity of a sick man dreamed of being, it would no longer have been by explosives and scrap iron that he would have succeeded in destroying everything, but by the incurable bad taste of his Germany. It is enough to have visited Berlin, capital of the crude, the gilt, the parvenu, in order to imagine what would have become of our cities. And one shudders also to think of the swift and final downfall of the wonderful Orient, with Stamboul, Damascus, Bagdad, on the day when he shall be the one to make the laws there.

Their Kaiser, whose look has death in

it, baffles reason and common sense. The morbid degeneracy of his brain is incontestible, yet in certain lines it is superiorly organized for evil, and is specialized in killing. For the honor of humanity let us agree that he is mad, as a certain Prince of Saxony has just declared. Granted, he is mad; in any country but Germany his war would have brought him a straitjacket in a dungeon. But, to the misfortune of Europe, his birth has made him Kaiser of the only people capable of accepting and following him—a people "cruel by nature, whom civilization has rendered ferocious," as Goethe says—and a people whose stupidity is infinite, as Schopenhauer confessed in his solemn testament.

In this "infinite stupidity" he himself shares at certain points; otherwise, would he have fumbled so irremediably his first move in 1914, through having imagined, up to the last minute, that England would not budge, even in the presence of the great sacrifice of Belgium? And is there not at least as much stupidity as ferocity in his massacres of civilians, his plots in America, his Zeppelins, poison gas, and the rest, all things of which he is personally the odious instigator, and which have succeeded only in accumulating against him and his Germany all the hatreds and disgusts in the world?

At the end of forty years of desperate preparation, with means so formidable, that he should recoil at no method however atrocious or vile, that he should care naught for any human law, any human pity, any conscience; that he should wallow thus in blood only to end in a fiasco—no, truly, something essential is lacking in the head of that assassin! And one must be the German people in order to go on allowing one's self to be led to destruction by such an unbalanced knave.

Destruction and barbarism! And will there be no limit to the sheeplike submission of those people, who, at the present moment, are getting themselves slaughtered like cattle in charges conducted with an imbecile rage by a microcephalic youth as devoid of intelligence as he is of soul?

II.

FERDINAND OF COBURG

Tsar of Bulgaria

To find a being more abominable than their Kaiser and their Crown Prince would at one time have seemed an impossible wager, but the wager has been accepted and won; this Coburg has been found!

And when one recalls that he had stirred the enthusiasm, in his hour, of most of our French women! About 1913, when I alone was beginning to nail him to the pillory, they were exalting his name and wearing his colors. A paladin of the cross, he was called. Oh! a free paladin, indeed, carrying a scapulary and saturated with masses after the style of Louis XI., but a man who, one fine morning, when the Queen could not see him, had forced his son to apostatize. It is known, besides, that he is now preparing for us the comedy of a reconversion to Catholicism, which he had formerly abjured for political reasons—and he will find priests yonder to bless that operation with serious faces.

A Gorgon's head is this other, too, his face marked likewise with the stigmata of knavery and crime. The first time that I encountered the furtive glance of his too-little eyes—it was twenty-five years ago at Sofia—I felt passing through my nerves that shudder of disgust by which instinct warns one of the approach of a monster. And I asked, "Who is that vampire?"

In a low and frightened voice some one replied, "Why, that is our Prince; you ought to salute him!"

"No! The idea!"

A cowardly assassin in his private life, but an assassin at a distance, he was wont to pass prudently beyond the frontier whenever his executor of high commissions had "work" to do under his orders; and then, when this hangman threatened to compromise him too much, he would have the official's hands cut off, (Panitza, Stambouloff, &c.)

And this man, like the other, *prays!* When it was hoped recently that the great accomplice was about to die of the

hereditary vices in his blood, he knelt for a long time between two rows of Germans summoned as spectators, to ask Heaven for the invalid's recovery—a monster praying for a monster; and then he rose, all steeped in grace divine, to say to the bystanders: "Never before have I prayed with such fervor!" Could even the thick-headed Boches, for whom this play-acting was intended, resist the impulse to mad laughter?

Assassin likewise in political life—assassin of nations! After his first enormous crime against the Serbs, his allies then, whom he had knifed in the back without a declaration of war, he attempted, as you may remember, to throw the crime back upon his Ministers when it turned out badly. And against this same heroic people, already crushed by barbarian hordes, he has just renewed—without warning, as always—his traitorous blow: the sort of oily cut-throat that would come up behind and finish off a man already in the grip of a band of highwaymen. If the alliance of Germany with Turkey did not of itself reach the point where it was necessary to compass the "suicide" of the heir apparent, it has done so in the case of Bulgaria. Their Kaiser and this Coburg, a diminutive copy of him, must have a fatal understanding with each other; one might have guessed as much merely from comparing the two faces, the two looks of beasts of the night. How comes it, then, that our diplomats at the little Court of Sofia did not suspect twenty months sooner that the brigand pact was signed in the shadow? And today, behold these two united to the point of half devouring each other, these two repulsive creatures in whose presence the most degraded criminals who drag the bullet in convict prisons seem to have committed only innocent peccadillos!

III.

THE NEUTRALS

Wake up, then, you small or large neutral countries, who do not yet realize that without us it would have been your turn to be stamped upon like Belgium, like Serbia and Montenegro! The world can breathe only after the complete

crushing of these last of the barbarians; how have you failed to feel it? What do you need to open your eyes? If it is not enough to see all our ruins—intentional and needless ruins—to read the many irrefutable attestations of enraged murders, not sparing even our smallest infants, if all that is not enough, then at least look among yourselves, look at the insolent irony of the pressures which the people of prey make you endure, or look at all the attacks, bold and secret, already committed on the other side of the ocean!

Or, again, if you are absolutely unable any longer to see what is happening around you, at least glance through what their intellectuals, their "great men," have written for centuries; on every page you will be frightened to find the most barefaced apologies for violence, rapine, and crime. Thus you will discover that all the horror overwhelming Europe today has existed in germ in the Teutonic brain from the very beginning, and that no other race in the world would have dared to denounce itself with so much cynical nonchalance.

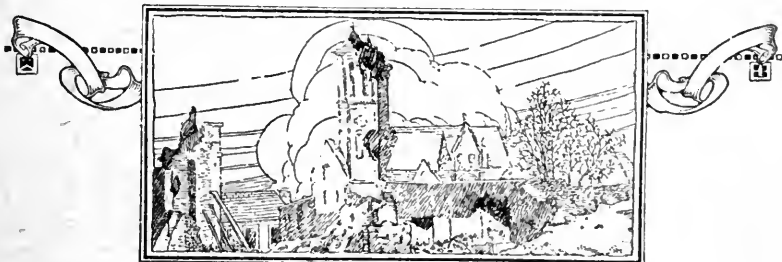
And you, prelates or monks of a neighborhood clergy, who reproach us for being irreligious, and who make for our enemies the blindest of propaganda, pray leaf over a little the official manifesto of the Bishops of Belgium, and tell us what kind of a soul those people have who all the time profane the name of the Most High in their burlesque prayers, and then run amuck against all the sanctuaries of the faith, cathedrals or humble village churches, overthrowing crucifixes and killing priests!

Unless one belongs to their cursed race is it logically possible to be pro-German?

One may be neutral, I know, but only through terror, or because one is unprepared, or perhaps, without knowing it, because of the allurements of a certain momentary profit, or because of a little unrealized and short-lived egotism. It is terrible, of course, to throw one's self into such a struggle; but neutrality or even hesitation is becoming more than a dangerous mistake, and has already become almost a crime.

An insane villain had dreamed of dragging us all back twenty centuries to the old degrading servitudes and the old darkneses; he was plotting to realize for his own profit a vast bankruptcy of progress, of liberty, of human thought, and in his plans of an insatiable ogre it was you, neutral peoples, you who were marked next for attack. At least help us a little, so that this may end more quickly, this orgy of theft, of destruction, of massacre, of showering the earth with blood. Enough! Let us get out of this nightmare! Enough! Let all the world arise! Will not he who holds his hand today be ashamed afterward to keep his place in the sun of victory and peace which shall shine on us again? And we, when at last we shall have beaten down the mad hyena, losing our blood in streams, shall we not be almost in the right to say, with our arms still in our hands: "You neutrals, who will profit from the deliverance without having taken part in the struggle, at least pay us a little with your lands and your gold!"

Oh, let the tocsin sound in all directions, regardless of boundaries, from one end of the earth to the other; let it sound the supreme alarm; let the drums of all earth's armies beat the charge! And have at the German Beast!



Why Europe Was Deceived

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Italy's Foremost Living Historian

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from *Le Temps* of Paris]

THERE is no denying that during the ten years that preceded the European war Germany had risen greatly in the opinion of the world, while France had fallen. Everywhere the Germanophile movement was gaining ground irresistibly. More and more all classes, professions, and parties in Europe and America agreed in regarding Germany as a model. The industry, commerce, banking, science, schools, army, merchant marine, navy, and many social institutions of Germany were the objects of growing admiration in all the world.

One scarcely dared to remark that the diplomacy of the powerful empire was sometimes maladroit, that the attitudes of the Emperor were not always quite serious, that German industry and commerce were trying to develop themselves with the aid of complicated and laborious expedients. One often ended by finding in these criticisms of detail the occasion for new encomiums. If the Government had faults, the people were admirable; their efforts, in all departments of human activity, were prodigious.

Even revolutionary parties which could not sympathize with the "feudal" institutions of Germany had become more or less Germanophile. The organization of the Socialist Party and its apparent strength, the law for workingmen's pen-

sions, the efforts made by the Government and the municipalities to solve the problem of proper housing and insure healthful living conditions to the masses—these things had touched the most hardened revolutionary hearts in many coun-

tries. The conservative classes, too, admired Germany as the only country in Europe that did not yet tremble before those whom it should rule. Admiration for Germany had become so great that the world counted especially upon its strength and wisdom to preserve peace. As late as July 30, 1914, statesmen, both young and old, in the various countries of Europe believed that once again the world would be indebted for peace to the German Empire.

On the other hand, a singular and growing mistrust enveloped France. It is true

that the French were still universally credited with intelligence, culture, taste, and many agreeable and brilliant qualities; but men denied their possession of the solid and serious qualities—the energy, the perseverance, the audacity, the breadth of view—necessary for enterprises of great spread of wing. France was "aging and falling off." Stingy, foresighted, prudent to the verge of timidity, torn by religious and political struggles, weakened by the errors and excesses of a Government grown more and more democratic, it seemed to be a



GUGLIELMO FERRERO

country of small industries, of moderate fortunes, and of routine, destined to be effaced increasingly before better endowed rivals.

France was reproached with being a laggard in many ways, in spite of all the revolutions she had wrought. She was acknowledged to be rich, but her envied wealth was attributed to the weakness of her spirit of initiative, which led her to economize, as if the gold pieces fell from the sky upon her privileged soil to be picked up by a nation of happy idlers! She was still regarded, after so many years, as the chief menace to European peace because of her secret aspirations for an impossible revenge; but at the same time many were convinced that her military power had been destroyed by wealth, pleasures, and anti-militarism, by democratic theories, by the incurable disorganization of the army. Between these two reproaches there was an evident contradiction, but Europe did not appear to perceive it. Men repeated everywhere at the same time that France desired war and that she no longer knew how to make war.

How often I have discussed these questions in the last decade in Europe, even in France, and in my journeys through the two Americas! But all arguments shattered themselves against an invincible mistrust. One doubted. French society seemed to be menaced from without and from within—by Germany, by alcoholism, by depopulation, by anti-militarism, by civil strife, by moral corruption, by political and bureaucratic disorganization. A fact no less grave, the new generations were everywhere more favorable to Germany and more hostile to France than the old. This could easily be noted in Italy. The prestige that Germany enjoyed in Italy has often been ascribed to her victories. That was true, in a measure, of the generation that concluded the Triple Alliance in 1882 and witnessed the wars of 1866 and of 1870, but not of the generation that followed. And the latter admired Germany much more than did its predecessor. One could justly say that everybody in Italy had become or was becoming Germanophile after 1900.

When one recalls that state of things the sudden change produced by the war appears all the more extraordinary. It will not be easy for future historians to describe the shudder of horror and of terror that everywhere seized the admirers of Germany when they discovered all at once the sombre ambitions that lay concealed at the bottom of the feverish activity which had so long blinded the world. During the first months of the war France was avenged for the calumnies she had suffered, by the anguish with which many of her former detractors prayed God's pardon for having misjudged her. The change has been so sudden and so complete that we need not be astonished if many of the converts have ended by believing that it is not their opinion which has changed, but France herself; that a miracle was wrought, and that in two days this "aging" country renewed its youth.

The self-esteem of men is never at a loss for expedients when it wishes to excuse a fault or error. But, however great may be the faith in miracles which Europe has put to the test since the beginning of the war, that faith cannot hide from clear-sighted minds the fact that our epoch had deceived itself. A problem—a grave problem—arises, then, and will long confront us: Why and how could so enlightened an age deceive itself so egregiously?

The solution of this enigma probably will be a hard and painful task for our epoch; for the underlying error is bound up with too many ideas which had come to be accepted as proved beyond discussion, with too many sentiments which seemed to us a part of honor and of human nature itself, with too many interests which we were accustomed to regard as sacred. Yet this error, like so many others committed by humanity, was merely the too sweeping application of a principle which, within certain limits, was true. It might be defined by saying that our epoch had convinced itself that numbers are not merely one species of power, but power itself.

Why did the world so admire Germany for twenty years? Because Germany was the one country in Europe where the pro-

digious swarming of the people on a soil restricted, but rich in coal, produced the most rapid and immediate development of industry, of commerce, of wealth, and of military power. With a population multiplying rapidly on land very rich in fuel, Germany could and did become the first metallurgical power in Europe and the second in the world. The growth in population and in metallurgy in turn shaped the rapid development of a great number of industries and public services of which iron is the principal element. The whole empire was covered with railways and factories of every kind; the army was constantly increased; an enormous merchant marine and the second war fleet in the world were created in a few years; cities grew larger everywhere, and almost all were rebuilt; the wealth of the people increased in reality each year, but it seemed to increase still more, because the rapidity of the circulation increased along with its mass, keeping up a perpetual movement throughout the country.

This rapid and complex development won the admiration of the world. On the other hand, what harmed France was the relative slowness of her development, which seemed to connote, in last analysis, the opposite type of demographic phenomenon.

It was, in short, a purely quantitative conception of progress that dominated Europe and America up to the beginning of the war; that furnished the standards of measurement for judging peoples, governments, generations, and that caused the world to dedicate Germany to the uninterrupted triumphs of youth and France to the bitter disillusionments of age. This conception, moreover, which makes progress consist in the increase of wealth and of all that serves to produce it—men and tools—has never been seriously contested by philosophy; it has spread through the masses and become one of the directing ideas of our civilization. It has, incontestably, the great advantage of offering, for the measurement of the world, a standard that seems certain. If progress consists in the growth of population and production, statistics will tell us with mathematical

precision what nations are most progressive and in what proportion each of us has accomplished his duty.

This conception of progress, indeed, is true, at least in part. No one would deny that numbers are a power. The war has shown that the increase of population, the development of industry, and the strength of the Government had made of Germany a military force even more formidable than we had believed. It is evident, besides, that Germany would have been completely defeated long ago if France had counted ten or fifteen million more inhabitants.

But this conception of progress must also contain an element of error if the world, which believed in it with so blind a faith, has been so stupefied upon seeing hordes of conquerors suddenly leaping the frontiers of the country where, according to that conception, the arts of peace should have found their inviolable asylum. Neither Europe nor America expected to see such a hurricane of violence come out of the progressive effort of our epoch, and through the ambition of the nation which had been for ten years their favorite. What, then, was the defect in that conception? Why does the world deplore the fact that it was so grievously mistaken concerning Germany and France? Because—permit me to repeat it—if numbers are a power, they are not the power.

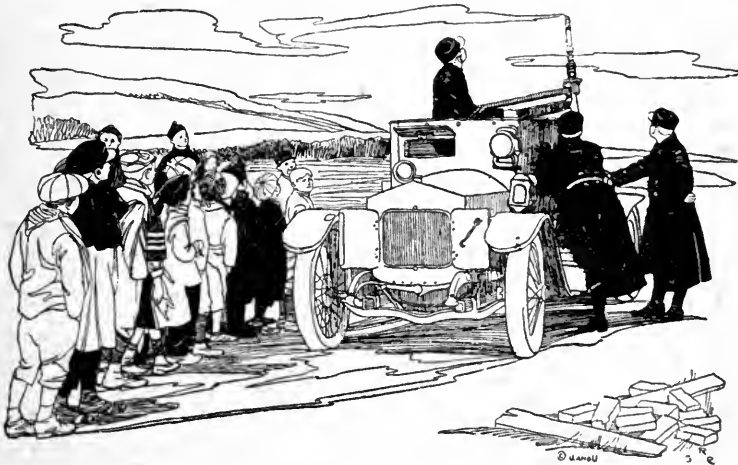
The quantitative conception of progress has reduced the life of nations, which is very complex, to elements which are too simple, neglecting a great number of moral and intellectual forces that cannot be reduced to figures. There lies its defect. A nation and a civilization are not merely quantities that can be expressed in figures; they are also a sum total of qualities—vices and virtues—which elude any numerical evaluation and which must be appreciated with the aid of standards more delicate and less sure. These standards are more difficult to apply, and their combinations are sometimes very difficult to foresee. The apparent order which the police maintain in the streets, the cleanness of the stations, or the coldest statistics of population and commerce may hide the

most extravagant madness of a whole nation, exalted by cupidity and pride. A country where population increases little, where political contests are sharp and the services of the highway commissioner mediocre, can nevertheless preserve a feeling of right, of honor, and of justice, which will make it, in a great historical crisis, a necessary element of equilibrium and of safety.

To this simple truth the eyes of the world were almost completely closed for thirty years. To this truth they are beginning, little by little, to be reopened under the shock of the most tragic of events. The supposed miracle in France means nothing else. It is the quantitative theory of progress, in which our epoch had believed with so much faith, because it seemed to simplify the most complicated problems of life, that has deceived the world. The world is beginning to realize it, and to perceive that the great problems of moral life cannot, like so many others, be simplified by the ingenuity of man; for their

difficulty is the very reason for their existence.

How an epoch which has done such great things, and has surpassed in knowledge all those that preceded it, could so long delude itself regarding the value of the standards it used, and could judge the most delicate things of life so carelessly and grossly, is another formidable problem which the European war has just propounded to us. If our age wishes seriously to solve it, it can, upon the ruins accumulated by the immense catastrophe, turn toward the past and better understand in its essence all the history of the nineteenth century. It can get hold of itself more easily in the midst of the dreadful surprises that have been overwhelming it for the last eighteen months. It can also get its bearings and find the way to the future more quickly in the midst of the present upheavals, and prepare itself, by a profound and complete examination of its conscience, for the formidable tasks that await it after the war.



Burdens and Dangers From Europe's Colossal War Debts

THE hostilities in Europe will have gone on two years should the war continue to Aug. 1. Attempts to gauge its burden to all the powers involved have resulted in a calculation that, if it is still in progress on the second anniversary, the direct cost of the struggle will have been in excess of \$45,000,000,000. The total military expenditure in the first year was approximately \$17,500,000,000. In the second year it will have been \$28,000,000,000.

These figures, as the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York points out, represent simply the expenditure for carrying on the hostilities. They do not allow for the destruction of cities, railways, ships, factories, warehouses, bridges, roads, or agricultural values. Neither do they allow for the economic loss through the killing and maiming of men, the loss of production in occupied territories, the decrease in stocks of food, metal, and other materials, the derangement of the machinery of distribution, or the cost of pensions. They measure in a common term an expenditure of capital which, to the Governments concerned, will in the end be translated for the most part into permanent additions to their national debt.

If the war costs \$45,000,000,000 it will represent a sum three times greater than the entire capitalization of the railways of the United States, and four times greater than the total deposits of all our national banks. It will represent a sum six times greater than that expended in the civil war. It will represent forty times the amount of the present national debt of the United States, 120 times the cost of the Panama Canal, 500 times the amount of the annual American gold output. Direct cost of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71 was \$2,500,000,000, and of the South African war \$1,250,000,000.

The aggregate amount named for a full two years' warfare is believed to be well within the actual total. Dr. Karl

Helfferrich, Germany's Finance Minister, has named precisely that amount, \$45,000,000,000, as an outside figure of the war cost to only March 31.

Great Britain's expenditures are now in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000 a day. The daily average was \$14,000,000 a year ago. France is spending \$18,000,000 a day, according to the latest estimate of Alexandre Ribot. Last year France spent \$8,000,000 daily. Russia, which a year ago spent an amount equal to that of France, is now spending \$15,500,000 daily, according to Pierre Bark. These daily war expenditures of the Entente Allies make a total of \$58,500,000.

Germany's present daily war cost is \$16,600,000, on the authority of Dr. Helfferrich. That of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria combined, on the same authority, is \$10,900,000. The aggregate for the Central Allies is therefore \$27,500,000. Altogether, the cost of strife to all of the belligerents is approximately \$86,000,000.

It is estimated that in spite of the present relative position of the nations as regards war cost, the direct cost to the chief nations of the Central Alliance has been only a little short of that of Great Britain, whose aggregate up to the present time has surpassed that of any other single belligerent. Great Britain's expenditure has increased gradually. Germany's was large from the first, because of extensive campaigns on two fronts, and because of the superior number of individual enemy nations.

Great Britain has lent funds on an extensive scale for the purchase of military supplies to Russia, France, Italy, Belgium, and certain neutral countries. France has made advances to Russia, Belgium, Serbia, and neutrals. Germany has extended credits to Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Advances, or loans, by the strong powers to the weaker belligerents and to neutrals have amounted to \$3,500,000,000. Figures from

English sources indicate that Russia in this manner has received \$1,125,000,000, Italy \$675,000,000, Belgium and Serbia \$875,000,000. Turkey and Bulgaria have received perhaps \$700,000,000.

Pro-rated over the entire population, the direct war cost has meant more to France than to any other belligerent. England is second on the list, Germany third, and Russia, because of its vast population, nearly last. Reduced to a per diem basis, the war has cost France 30 cents daily for each inhabitant of the republic. It has cost England 28 cents a day for each inhabitant, Germany 22 cents, and Russia 6 cents.

ANALYSIS OF THE DEBTS

Professor W. S. Rossiter analyzes in detail the debts of the warring nations in the Atlantic Monthly, asserting that the total losses, direct and indirect, in the first two years, amount to \$80,000,000,000. Mr. Edgar Crammond of the Royal Statistical Society, London, computes that the aggregate value of human life lost in the first year of the war was \$11,475,000,000 or \$2,933 per man based on the average earning power of the man in the various countries. The increase during the last century, in the national debts of the principal powers—Great Britain, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Germany—presents some striking contrasts. It appears that the total in 1816 was \$6,182,180,000, of which Great Britain owed \$4,502,180,000, while in 1916 the total was \$56,631,437,017, an increase of fourteen-fold; in that same period the national wealth increased six-fold, and the population two and one-half times. Data are offered by Professor Rossiter, showing the proportion of debt as it actually existed before the war and what the percentage would have been if computed on the debt basis of 1816:

RELATIVE PROPORTION OF DEBT

| Nation. | If Computed on Debt Basis | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| | Actual, of 1816. | 1916. |
| Great Britain..... | 61 | 13 |
| Russia | 12 | 19 |
| Austria-Hungary | 4 | 16 |
| France | 20 | 21 |
| Italy | 1 | 11 |
| Germany | 2 | 20 |
| | 100 | 100 |

The aggregate of war loans contracted up to March 15, 1916, was \$31,900,150,554. The debts of the warring nations in less than two years increased one-third more than the accumulations of 100 years prior to the war. The aggregate national debts of the nations at war and the per capita burdens now and in 1816 are as follows:

| Nation. | Total Debts, | | Per Capita. | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | 1916. | 1816. | 1916. | 1816. |
| Germany | \$13,114,078,000 | \$5 | \$192 | |
| France | 12,358,459,444 | 9 | 310 | |
| Great Britain.... | 11,269,768,463 | 224 | 242 | |
| Russia | 8,710,233,000 | 17 | *61 | |
| Austria-Hungary.. | 6,338,300,000 | 14 | 124 | |
| Italy | 4,015,080,000 | 7 | 113 | |
| Belgium..... | \$25,518,000 | ... | 106 | |

*Russia in Europe population basis.

The following table by Professor Rossiter shows the proportion which the war debt contracted in two years bears to the total debt:

WEIGHT OF THE WAR AND TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS ON SCALE OF 100

| Country. | Weight of Debt. | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| | War Aggregate Debt. | Total Debt. |
| Germany | 26 | 23 |
| Great Britain..... | 25 | 20 |
| France | 23 | 22 |
| Austria-Hungary | 8 | 11 |
| Russia | 13 | 16 |
| Italy | 5 | 7 |
| Belgium | .. | 1 |
| Total..... | 100 | 100 |

The following table shows the actual war loans as contracted up to March 15, 1916, (computed by The London Economist:)

WAR LOANS OF NATIONS AT WAR, MARCH 15, 1916

| Country. | Amount. | *Unit. | Dollars. |
|---------------|----------------|--------|----------------|
| Germany ... | 34,681,000,000 | Mark | †8,254,078,000 |
| Great Britain | 1,662,600,000 | £ | 8,077,320,000 |
| France | 40,576,827,566 | Franc | 7,425,559,444 |
| Austria-H'g'y | 524,200,000 | £ | 2,547,500,000 |
| Russia | 8,073,000,000 | Ruble | 4,117,533,110 |
| Italy | 8,212,000,000 | Lira | 1,478,160,000 |
| Total..... | 31,900,150,554 | | |

*Custom House standard: £ 4.86; Mark .238; Franc .183; Ruble .51; Lira .18.

†The first German loan realized 4,460 millions of marks, the second 9,060, the third 12,101. The fourth loan is now in process of flotation, and although the amount realized is unknown, it is an important factor of indebtedness. In the German debt here given the fourth loan is included as approximating the second—9,060 millions of marks.

Germany's Invasion of French Industry Before the War

By Raphaël-Georges Levy

[By arrangement with The Quarterly Review, London]

DURING the last twenty-five years the nature of German emigration has undergone a radical change. The poorer classes of Germany, which, about the middle of the nineteenth century, poured in large numbers into the United States and other American countries, have almost ceased to leave their native land. The richer Germany grew, and the more work there was at home, the less temptation to go abroad. On the other hand, Germany was seeking in all parts of the world markets for her manufactured goods, and endeavoring to obtain fresh supplies of the raw materials needed by her factories.

In order to attain these ends, she began to send abroad, not destitute workmen, but an army of clerks, commercial travelers, engineers, contractors, who settled temporarily or permanently in the countries from which they hoped to draw the resources needed at home or which they intended to flood with goods manufactured in Germany. If necessary, Germany exported also the capital needed to start the works which she intended to set up in foreign parts, or to purchase those suited for her purpose, because in doing so she prepared customers for German industry.

One great problem for Germany has been to secure a sufficient quantity of iron ore. Her iron lodes are small, and by no means in proportion with her collieries. Her coal output is rapidly increasing and nearly equals that of the United Kingdom. In France the reverse is the case. The iron deposits of French Lorraine have proved to be very important. During recent years great lodes of iron ore have been discovered in Normandy. Germany has bought leases, and she has sold, to the owners

of the ore deposits, coal or coke in exchange for their ore. Herr Thyssen is the man whose name has been most often heard in connection with the German ante-bellum invasion of France. In the French Lorraine basin he owns the mines of Batilly, Jouaville, Bouligny; in Normandy he has bought the mines of Perrières, Soumont, and Diélette. All these enterprises have turned out well for Herr Thyssen, whose wealth is estimated at \$100,000,000. One-seventh part of the French Eastern basin and one-half of the Normandy basin belonged to German manufacturers, who owned besides mining interests in other parts of France and in French colonies. The few shares taken by Frenchmen in German undertakings are not to be compared with the control acquired by Germans over French mining resources. Once having got the ore, the Germans built mills near the mines or bought mills situated in the neighborhood.

Germany was not satisfied with establishing her industrial captains on our territory; she was selling us a growing quantity of goods manufactured within her borders. In 1912 she sent us 94,000 tons of engines and 26,000 tons of tools and machinery, whereas she bought from us only 5,200 tons of the former and 4,000 of the latter.

Much has been said about the conditions of German competition. In many instances it was based on the practice known as "dumping," i. e., offering goods abroad at a price much under cost, so as to compete successfully with the native products of the country which it is intended to conquer. For this purpose, the exporting manufacturers must be linked together in a strong pool, so as to be able to uphold high prices in their own country. By these they get compensa-



THE BLASTED REGION OF VERDUN

German Shells, Some of Which Are Seen Bursting, Have Cut Off the
Trees and Honeycombed the Earth With Great Holes

(© Underwood & Underwood)



THE CATHEDRAL OF YPRES

West Front as Seen From the Cloth Hall: the East Front Is Totally
Destroyed by German Shells

(© American Press Association)

tion for the losses which they sustain temporarily through their sales abroad. This loss, in the mind of the members of the pool, is only a temporary one; the final aim is to crush the industry of the country which they invade. As soon as this part of the program is realized, they put up the prices and gain ample compensation for the sacrifices made during the struggle with their former competitors.

One of the most habitual forms of this invasion of France by German industry has been the formation of French companies the capital of which was owned by Germans, and under whose shield they sold their products. German firms are on the watch for opportunities of getting an interest in French companies, and even endeavor to absorb them entirely.

The manufacturing of chemical and pharmaceutical products is one of the fields where German supremacy has been most effective during the last thirty years. This is the more surprising as nearly all the great discoveries which have been the origin of the dyer's industry were made by Frenchmen. The latter have not drawn from their discoveries all the practical results which our foes have subsequently evolved. In accordance with their habit, they created in France companies with a French frontage, whose only business it was to act as agents of German factories. Similar phenomena occurred in the manufacture of oily materials.

The German electrical companies have tried in several ways to get a footing in France. The celebrated Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (A. E. G.) founded the Compagnie Centrale d'Énergie Electrique, through which they acquired some interests in Rouen, Châteauroux, Alger, and Oran. The Schuckert, another great electrical concern, had also a share in several French companies. In this field, as in metallurgy, the object

was the same—to conquer the French market; but the method was different. The invaders concealed themselves; they tried to keep French frontages in order to make people believe that the products sold by them were made in France and sold by Frenchmen.

Among the agencies working for German export trade the first place should be given to the great shipping companies. Besides these agents, who, by virtue of their business, are a kind of official pioneers of the export trade, one must not forget the innumerable Germans established in France, especially in the Departments of the East and the North, where the men served in business firms as servants or masters and in the towns as workmen, the women as teachers or nurses. They were constantly engaged in spying out and preparing means of approach for the tradesmen as well as for the soldiers of their country. The main factors of success in their commercial campaign were the cheapness of their goods, the quickness of their deliveries, and their easy terms of payment.

One of the secret supplements of the Deutsche Export Revue, which is sent only to German subscribers, declares that, in order to conquer a country economically, it is necessary to export into it men; this has been done with the tenacity which is one of the features of the German character. Where the ground was favorable, as in Antwerp, they flooded it. In France, where they knew that public sentiment was, in a certain sense, against them, and where they met with powerful national organizations, they acted more modestly. But everywhere they were doing their underground work, trying to extend their influence, to penetrate all the secrets of the country of which they were the guests, and to prepare in silence a way for their armies.



Frenzied German Trade a Cause of the War

Professor Millioud's Book

MAURICE MILLIOUD, a noted Swiss economist, who holds the Chair of Sociology in the University of Lausanne, has made a study of the economic conditions which helped to precipitate the European war. This volume, written in French, is now published in English by the Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston under the title "The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Finance in Germany." In the first section of his book Professor Millioud analyzes the feudal and militarist caste that rules Germany, finding that, while Pan-Germanism represents the ideal and mental state of that caste, it is really the lower or uneducated class that has been most powerfully influenced by that ideal.

In the second section Professor Millioud discusses "Germany's Aims at Conquest by Trade and by War," finding the chief cause of the war in economic conditions. For Germany's action in setting Europe on fire he finds four contributing causes, which, he says, pieced together, show "a terrible organizing for conquest and power which staggers one by its heinousness and terrifies by reason of the inexorable severity which it threatens." In his study of the first of these four causes he rejects the explanation given by the Germans themselves, that they were the victims of a plot hatched by Russia, and after examination concludes: "It is clear, then, that the war was intended, the consequences had been considered, and it was entered into of deliberate purpose."

Of the explanation accepted in all foreign countries, especially England and the United States, that Germany was forced into the war by the militarist class and the impelling force of Pan-Germanic aims, he says that these forces must be considered as a symptom, a clue, rather than a cause. The idea that political necessity caused the war is not satisfactory, because Germany's political and military hegemony on the Con-

tinents was undisputed. In the economic theory, the determination to use the army for the profit of industry and trade and to crush competition and destroy financial resources in two or three rival powers, the author finds many more facts and arguments to explain Germany's reason for precipitating war.

"Everything," he says, "points to the fact that the war was a step taken in despair, a stroke carefully planned, threatened several times before, * * * yet at last hurriedly rushed into in 1914."

He outlines the German scheme of trade conquest and explains the methods that were employed. These methods required huge amounts of capital, and it was, Professor Millioud thinks, the methods of using that capital, the overextension of trade and the pyramiding of loans by which it was financed, making possible Germany's long-credit system, that brought on the troubles which were the chief factor in plunging the nation into war.

"Threatened by no one, Germany felt herself menaced on all sides. She claimed to be fighting for very existence, and she spoke truth. Her manufacturers, financiers, and statesmen had dragged her so deeply and by such methods into a war of economic conquest that she could not withdraw. The methods employed were now working against her. Without having entirely miscarried, victory [in economic domination] was clearly beyond her grasp. Must she wait the inevitable crash, the stoppage of trade, the downfall of her credit, the misery which must overwhelm her people, and the fury which would perhaps possess them in consequence? Would not such a state of things make war inevitable sooner or later, and was it not better to make war while there was most likelihood of its ending rapidly and victoriously in her favor?"

Sir Edward Grey on the Cause of the War and Peace Conditions

[BY SIR EDWARD GREY, THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THROUGH EDWARD PRICE BELL OF THE CHICAGO NEWS.]

PRUSSIAN tyranny over Western Europe, including these islands, our people will not stand. The pledges given by Mr. Asquith as regards the restoration of Belgium and Serbia shall be kept. We have signed a pact to make peace only in concert with our allies. This pact, I need not say, we shall honor strictly and to the end." Thus spoke Sir Edward Grey. He continued:-

"What we and our allies are fighting for is a free Europe. We want Europe free not only from the domination of one nationality by another, but from hectoring diplomacy and the peril of war; free from the constant rattling of the sword in the scabbard, and from the perpetual talk of shining armor and war lords.

"In fact, we feel that we are fighting for equal rights, for law, justice, and peace, and for civilization throughout the world, as against brute force, which knows no restraint and no mercy."

"What do you mean by the destruction of Prussian militarism?" was asked.

"What Prussia proposes as we understand her," replied Sir Edward, "is Prussian supremacy. She proposes a Europe modeled and ruled by Prussia. She is to dispose of the liberties of her neighbors and of us all.

"We say that life on these terms is intolerable. This also is what France, Italy, and Russia say. We are not only fighting Prussia's attempt to do in this instance to all Europe what she did to non-Prussian Germany, but we are fighting the German idea of the wholesome, almost desirability, of ever recurrent war. Prussia under Bismarck deliberately and admittedly made three wars.

"We want settled peace throughout

Europe which will be a guarantee against aggressive war. Germany's philosophy is that settled peace spells disintegration, degeneracy, and the sacrifice of the heroic qualities in the human character. Such philosophy, if it is to survive as a practical force, means eternal apprehension and unrest. It means ever-increasing armaments. It means arresting the development of mankind along the lines of culture and humanity.

"We are fighting this idea. We do not believe in war as the preferable method of settling disputes between nations. When nations cannot see eye to eye, when they quarrel, when there is a threat of war, we believe that the controversy should be settled by methods other than those of war.

"Such other methods are always successful when there is good-will and no aggressive spirit. We believe in negotiation. We have faith in international conferences. We proposed a conference before this war broke out. We urged Germany to agree to a conference. Germany declined to do so.

"Then I requested Germany to select some form of mediation—some method of her own for a peaceful settlement. She would not come forward with any such suggestion. Then the Emperor of Russia proposed to Germany to send the dispute to the tribunal at The Hague. There was no response.

"Our proposal of a conference was rejected by Germany. Russia, France, and Italy all accepted it. Our proposal that Germany suggest some means of peaceful settlement met with no success, nor did the Czar's proposal. No impartial judgment of any kind was to be permitted to enter. It was a case of Europe submitting to the Teutonic will or going to war.

"If the conference in London in the Balkan crisis of 1912-13 had been worked

to the disadvantage of Germany or her allies, the German reluctance for a conference in 1914 would have been intelligible, but no more convincing pledge of fair play and a single-minded desire for a fair settlement than the conduct of that conference in London has ever been given.

"And in 1914, after Serbia had accepted nine-tenths of Austria's demands, a settlement of the outstanding questions would have been easy. Russia ordered no general mobilization till Germany had refused the conference and till German preparations for war were far ahead of Russia's. Germany declared war on Russia when Austria was showing every disposition to come to terms, and Germany was in fact at war with Russia four or five days before Austria was, though the quarrel at that time was one that primarily concerned Austria and not Germany.

"These two methods of settling international disputes—the method of negotiation and the method of war—I ask you to consider in the light of this struggle. Do we not see the disaster of the war method conclusively shown?

"How much better would have been a conference or a reference to The Hague in 1914 than what has happened since industry and commerce have been dislocated, the burdens of life heavily increased, millions of men slain, maimed, or blinded; international hatred deepened and intensified, and the very fabric of civilization menaced? These have come from the war method.

"The conference we proposed, or The Hague reference proposed by the Czar, would have settled the quarrel in a little time. I think a conference would have settled it in a week, and all these calamities would have been averted. Moreover—a thing of vast importance—we should have gone a long way toward laying the foundations of international peace."

"Do you think the neutrals ever will be able to help toward peace?" he was asked.

"The injustice done by the war has got to be set right. The Allies can tolerate no peace that leaves the wrongs of

this war unredressed. When persons come to me with pacific counsels I think they should tell me what sort of peace they have in mind. They should let me know on which side they stand, for the opponents do not agree. If they think, for example, that Belgium was innocent of offense, that she has been unspeakably wronged, that she should be set up again by those who threw her down, then it seems to me that they should say so. Peace counsels that are purely abstract and make no attempt to discriminate between the rights and wrongs of this war are ineffective, if not irrelevant."

Sir Edward was reminded that desire for conquest, lust for revenge, and jealousy of an economic competitor in the world market were suggested by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg as the three driving forces of the "coalition against Germany before the war."

NO ANTI-GERMAN COALITION

"There was no coalition against Germany before the war," answered Sir Edward. "Germany knew there was no coalition against her. We had assured her in the most formal and categorical way that in no circumstances should we be a party to any aggression against her. She wanted us to pledge ourselves to unconditional neutrality, wanted us to declare that, no matter what she did on the Continent, we should not interfere.

"It is true that she always referred to a possible war being forced on her. The trouble was that she gave us no test of a war forced on her. She remained free to claim that any war was forced on her. Now she claims that this war was forced on her. I need hardly remind you that Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, at the outset definitely refused to accept that view of it.

"No one thought of attacking Germany. There was not a measure taken by any power that was not purely defensive. The German preparations were for attack and were far ahead of the others on the Continent."

"You have observed the German Chancellor's recent reference to Belgium as a bulwark," the interviewer suggested.

"Belgium was a bulwark," answered Sir Edward. "Defensive of Germany, of France, and of European peace. This bulwark, until Germany decided to make war, was in no danger from any quarter. In April, 1913, we had given a renewed assurance to Belgium to respect her neutrality. When war threatened, we asked France if she would adhere to her pledge to respect the neutrality of Belgium and she said 'yes.' We asked Germany the same question, and she declined to answer. Immediately afterward, in scorn of her signature, she assaulted and destroyed the bulwark."

"Von Bethmann Hollweg acknowledged the wrong, pleading that necessity knows no law, and promised that as soon as Germany's military aims were realized she would restore Belgium. Now he says there can be no status quo ante either in the east or the west. In other words, Belgium's independence is gone as Serbia's and Montenegro's independence is gone unless the Allies set it up again."

"To all this we say to Germany: Recognize the principle urged by lovers of freedom everywhere and give to the nationalities of Europe real freedom, not the so-called freedom doled out to subject peoples by Prussian tyranny, and make reparation as far as it can be made for the wrong done."

"Would you mind indicating the object of Britain's rapprochements in recent years?" Sir Edward was asked.

"Good relations and an end to quarrels with other powers. Going far back we had working relations with the Triple Alliance, but we were habitually in friction with France or Russia. Again and again it brought us to the verge of war, and so we decided to come to an arrangement with France and then with Russia, not with any hostile intent toward Germany or any other power, but wholly to pave the way to permanent peace. So, instead of preparing for war, as Germany asserts without a vestige of truth in support of the assertion, we were endeavoring to avoid war, and German statesmen knew we were endeavoring to avoid war and not to make it."

PEACE THAT DOES JUSTICE

"German statesmen assert that England is the only real obstacle to peace," the interviewer remarked.

"Nobody wants peace more than we want it, but we want a peace that does justice and a peace that re-establishes respect for the public law of the world."

"Presumably Germany would like the neutrals to think that we are applying pressure to keep France, Russia, and Italy in the war. We are not. France, Russia, and Italy need no urging to keep them in the war. They know why they are in the war. They know they are in it to preserve everything that is precious to nationality. It is this knowledge which makes them determined and unconquerable."

"It is impossible for me to express to you our admiration for the achievements of our associates in this struggle. And as is the measure of our admiration, so also will be the measure of our contribution to the common cause."

"There are two statements that come from German sources: One is that we are preventing the Allies from making peace; this goes to the address of the neutrals. The other is that we are advocating a separate peace with the Allies. This goes to the address of one or other of the Allies. Each statement is absolutely untrue."

"You have noted that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg affirms that Britain wants to destroy united and free Germany."

"We never were smitten with any such madness," answered Sir Edward. "We want nothing of the sort, and von Bethmann Hollweg knows that we want nothing of the sort. We should be glad to see the German people as free as we ourselves want to be free, and as we want the other nationalities of Europe and of the world to be free."

"It belongs to the rudiments of political science. It is abundantly taught by history that you cannot enslave a people and make a success of the job; that you cannot kill a people's soul by foreign despotism and brutality. We aspire to embark upon no such course of folly and futility toward another nation. We be-

lieve that the German people, when once the dreams of world empire cherished by Pan-Germanism are brought to naught, will insist upon the control of its Government. And in this lies the hope of a secure freedom and national independence in Europe, for a Prussian militarism has plotted war to take place at a chosen date in the future."

SIR EDWARD'S PEACE VISION

In the midst of war Sir Edward's great vision remains a vision of peace—not a peace vulnerable to political and militarist intrigue and ambition, but a peace secured by a unified and armed purpose of civilization. Long before the war Sir Edward hoped for a league of nations that would be united, quick and instant to prevent, and, if need be, punish violations of international treaties of public right and of national independence, and would say to the nations that came forward with grievances and claims:

"Put them before an impartial tribunal; subject your claims to the test of law or the judgment of impartial men. If you can win at this bar you will get what you want; if you cannot, you shall not have what you want; and if you start war we shall adjudge you the common enemy of humanity and treat you accordingly. As footpads, burglars, and incendiaries are suppressed in a community, so those who would commit these crimes, and incalculably more than these crimes, will be suppressed among the nations.

"Unless mankind learns from this war to avoid war," said Sir Edward in conclusion, "the struggle will have been in vain. Furthermore, it seems to me that over humanity will loom the menace of destruction. The Germans have thrown the door wide open to every form of attack upon human life. The use of poi-

sonous fumes or something akin to them was recommended to our naval and military authorities many years ago and was rejected by them as too horrible for civilized people to use.

"The Germans have come with floating mines in the open seas, threatening belligerents and neutrals equally. They have come with the indiscriminating and murderous Zeppelin, which does military damage only by accident. They have come with the submarine, which destroys neutral and belligerent ships and crews, in scorn alike of law and mercy. They have come upon blameless nations with invasion, incendiarism, and confiscation. They have come with poisonous gases and liquid fire. All their scientific genius has been dedicated to wiping out human life. They have forced these things into general use in the war.

"If the world cannot organize against war; if war must go on, then all the nations can protect themselves henceforth only by using whatever destructive agencies they can invent, till the resources and inventions of science end by destroying the humanity they were meant to preserve. The Germans assert that their culture is so extraordinarily superior that it gives them a moral right to impose it upon the rest of the world by force. Will the outstanding contribution of the 'Kultur,' disclosed in this war, be such as to lead to wholesale extermination?

"The Prussian authorities apparently have but one idea of peace—an iron peace imposed on other nations by German supremacy. They do not understand that free men and free nations will rather die than submit to that ambition, and that there can be no end to the war till that aim is defeated and renounced."



Germany's Reply to Sazonoff's Charges Regarding Outbreak of the War

[Summarized for CURRENT HISTORY from an Official German Document]

IN his speech at the opening of the Duma, Feb. 22, 1916, Mr. Sazonoff, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, took occasion to renew the charge that Germany was guilty of bringing about the present war and that Russia had been dragged into it.

The German Government thereupon issued a communiqué to the semi-official North German Gazette in which it meets this charge. This communiqué is of interest in that it adds fresh material to the already published German White Book on the events leading up to the war. This material deserves attention from all students of the political developments immediately preliminary to the great conflict. Essential portions of this communiqué are quoted herein.

Despite the solemn denials made by her highest military personages, it is definitely known that Russia started war preparations as early as July 25, 1914. Count Pourtalès, the German Ambassador at Petrograd, made earnest representations to Mr. Sazonoff, and drew up the following promemoria, now published for the first time:

"I gravely pointed out that it was of the utmost importance not to let military measures interfere with the work of diplomacy. In this respect, I remarked to the Minister, I had to tell him frankly that it had come to my knowledge that Russia was actually making military preparations, and that this news alarmed me to the utmost. I added that among the Military Attachés the rumor even circulated that several corps on the Russian western border had already received mobilization orders. Mr. Sazonoff replied that he could guarantee to me that no mobilization orders had been issued. But he admitted that some military preparations had been made. In a long and detailed argument I explained to Mr.

Sazonoff how dangerous an attempt to support diplomatic action by military measures appeared to me. The Minister retorted that military measures taken for the sake of not being taken unawares by events were far from signifying a desire for war. He then asked me:

"Surely, with you mobilization is not identical with war either?"

"I answered that perhaps it was not identical in theory, but that in a highly civilized State such as Germany mobilization was a measure which cut so deeply into all peaceful conditions that it was only resorted to in the last moment, when war appeared inevitable, i. e., when the safety of the empire was seriously menaced. True, when, then, the button was pressed and the machinery of mobilization was set in motion, it could no longer be stopped. Our geographical position with two fronts that had to be defended, I said, compelled us to act quickly if our national life was endangered."

The Ambassador's reasoning obviously made such an impression on Mr. Sazonoff that he immediately communicated it to the Minister of War. On that same evening General Suchomlinoff requested the German Military Attaché, Major von Eggeling, to call in order to give the Major further assurances on the General's word of honor. (German White Book. Exhibit 13.)

On the evening of July 26 the Imperial Chancellor sent to the Imperial Ambassador a telegram, quoted in the German White Book, to the effect that military preparations on the part of Russia would compel Germany to take countermeasures which would consist in the mobilization of her army, and that mobilization meant war. In accordance with that telegram, in the afternoon of July 27, Mr. Sazonoff was once more warned by Count Pourtalès not to proceed with military preparations,

whereupon the Minister referred to declarations given by General Suchomlin-off to the Military Attaché.

On July 28 the Ambassador again discussed with Mr. Sazonoff the Russian military measures. In regard to this, the Ambassador sent the following telegram to Berlin:

"I pointed out to the Minister that trustworthy information had reached us which left no doubt that military preparations were being made exceeding what the Minister of War had told the Military Attaché. I said that I could only explain this to myself by assuming that the military district commanders might be going further in the measures ordered by them than was intended in Petrograd. At any rate, I felt compelled, I said, most earnestly to point to the danger which at the present critical moment might arise from making far-going military preparations."

On the same day, that is to say as early as July 28, the Ambassador felt obliged to enter an energetic protest against the destruction of the wireless telegraph apparatus on a German merchantman that lay in the harbor of Petrograd.

Midday of July 28, after the Minister had informed the Ambassador that because Austria had mobilized against Serbia, Russia felt it necessary to mobilize against Austria, and after Count Pourtales had raised the gravest objections to such a measure, the Ambassador, in a second interview, spoke of the Russian mobilization order as a "grave mistake, as long as Russia declared her earnest desire to find a peaceful solution."

In the evening of July 28 the Imperial Chancellor gave the Ambassador telegraphic instructions to point out to Mr. Sazonoff most emphatically that a further progress of the Russian mobilization measures would compel Germany to mobilize, and that then a European war could hardly be averted. Those instructions were carried out in the evening of July 29.

On July 30 the mediating activity of the Kaiser and of the German Government took the course already well known

to the world, and resulted—as is known from the speech delivered by the Imperial Chancellor on Aug. 19—in the resumption of the temporarily halted exchange of opinions between Vienna and Petrograd.

In the night July 30-31, the general mobilization of the entire Russian Army and Navy was ordered. No sooner did the news become known than the Imperial Ambassador at Petrograd called at the Foreign Office in order to declare that war seemed inevitable to him unless those orders were canceled. He reported events as follows:

"Early on the 31st I was just about to go to the Foreign Office when the Military Attaché, Major von Eggeling, reported to me that general mobilization orders were just being posted at the street corners. Although the telegram from Vienna had raised some hope, I was now convinced that war was inevitable. As I had learned meanwhile that Mr. Sazonoff was with the Czar at Peterhof, I went at once to see his assistant, Neratow. I expressed myself to him to the effect that I was afraid that the mobilization which was directed against us had utterly ruined those prospects for an understanding which had recently opened up. I felt convinced, I said, that the news of a general mobilization would strike Germany like a flash of lightning, since that measure, in the present state of negotiations, meant a grave menace and provocation to Germany, which the German people could not brook. I said that I could not understand how the Russian Government, just after solemnly assuring us that military measures would not be taken against us, could decide on the fatal step of a general mobilization at the very moment when that Government knew that our Kaiser and the German Government were endeavoring most zealously and successfully, as had just been shown, to mediate between Petrograd and Vienna. I went on to say that the general mobilization of the Russian army could only be interpreted by us in the sense that Russia wanted war at all costs, and that the step would therefore let loose a hurricane in Germany. Mr. Neratow made no answer, but merely ob-

served that he would inform the Minister of my arguments."

Directly after the interview with Mr. Neratow, the Ambassador went to the Czar at Peterhof with the object of giving the monarch a personal explanation of the consequences which the Russian general mobilization was sure to have. Count Pourtalès pointed out to the Czar that Austria had just shown her willingness to negotiate with Russia. He dwelt on the new prospects which that attitude gave to a peaceful settlement of the crisis and asked the Czar to withdraw the mobilization order, because otherwise the preservation of peace seemed to be out of the question. The Czar declined the request, saying that a recall of the mobilization order was impossible "for technical reasons."

The German communiqué enters into detail in an analysis of the initial attitude of the British representative. It says:

"On July 25 the British Ambassador pointed out to Mr. Sazonoff that he must be prepared for a German declaration of war as the German countermeasure against a Russian general mobilization.

"The fatal character of the Russian general mobilization was presumably also the reason why the Russian Government delayed in notifying the French ally of it. It is a matter of common knowledge that on the evening of July 31 the French Government had not yet been informed of the fact that Russia had ordered general mobilization in the night July 30-31. We must conclude that the French Ambassador in Petrograd, however incredible it seems, had omitted immediately to report the fact to his Government. The German countermeasure became known in Paris before news of the Russian movement reached the French capital, and so the French public more readily fell into the error of considering the situation as a menace from the German side.

"Hence Russia has not been 'dragged into the war.' The Russian Government let it loose. Mr. Sazonoff knew what the consequences of the Russian mobilization would be; he did not prevent it because he wanted the war, since he felt sure of success. Only the retrogressive move-

ment of the Russian armies makes him so modest now as regards his activity in the matter of having started the conflict. His case is similar in regard to the Russian war object, which he announced to the world in earlier speeches. Besides the conquest of Constantinople and the strait and the domination of the Balkans, the crushing of Austria-Hungary and Germany also played a part, while, according to his present speech, he is graciously resolved to permit our further existence, and declares the notion of letting a nation of seventy millions 'disappear' to be absurd. If Mr. Sazonoff saw himself nearer the realization of his kind intention, which surely he originally had, if he saw himself nearer it than is the case, it is quite certain that he would now be proud of his strong, resolute action in starting the war.

"Today, the calculations of the Triple Entente are clear as daylight. In this place, let us only refer to two utterances of the *Novoye Vremya*. On March 7, 1914, that paper discussed the 'approaching hour' and the 'necessity of improving the army from top to bottom by night and day.' On July 20, 1914, it said: 'The superiority of the Entente on land and sea justifies a more energetic language in the councils of Europe.' This certainty of victory, in the critical days prior to the outbreak of hostilities, seems to have overcome all of Mr. Sazonoff's scruples against a solution by the sword. His confidence in England's co-operation took all restraint from his will to have war. On July 29, 1914, the Reuter correspondent in Petrograd reported:

"In Russian eyes the die is cast and only a political miracle can avert war. A partial mobilization has already been ordered, and there is every indication that the whole of the vast military machinery will soon be set in motion. An imperial manifest is awaited to-night. Confidence of England's support, about which doubts have mostly disappeared, the Russian public is prepared to accept war.

"One day later, on July 30, 1914, according to the report of the Reuter correspondent in Petrograd, the English measure of naval preparedness in conjunction with Japan's peaceful assurances 'more than confirmed Russia's determination to stand by her guns.'"

These newly published documents cast

a new light upon the involved activities in Petrograd in the hours preceding the declaration of war. In German eyes they

are a complete contradiction of any Russian statement as to "being dragged into the war."

What Russia Is Fighting For

By Professor Milyukoff

Russian Liberal Leader in the Duma

In the course of a noteworthy speech in the Russian Duma M. Milyukoff stated that a definite agreement of the Allies concerning the future of Constantinople had been reached early in April, 1915. Other important passages of his address are here translated verbatim:

SOCIALISTS in most countries are saying that the war was begun by the Governments against the wish of the peoples. This is false. Even the majority of the Socialists have to agree that it is not true, at least so far as Germany is concerned. The German people and the majority of German Socialists have resolutely supported the Government, and when we speak of the responsibility of the German Emperor we must remember that the Emperor William was forced by his own people to begin the war. Therefore in this case the responsibility for the present butchery must be equally divided between the people and the Government.

But perhaps in Great Britain the Government acted against the will of the people in going into the war? Nothing of the kind. In free England the Government which would act against the will of the people in such an important question would be swept away the very next day. It is true that free British thought has expressed, and is expressing, all sorts of opinions, among them those of an anti-militaristic nature. It is true that when the war began there were very many criticisms against Sir Edward Grey, but we know that in the course of time British democracy showed an astonishing preparedness for the greatest sacrifices, and we can only bow before it. The country has not even stopped at destroying old traditions, and has voluntarily sent millions of its sons to engage in

a life and death struggle, and when the stream of volunteers dried up they went so far as practically to accept compulsory military service. That great country does not follow its Government, but practically leads the Government, and sets us the greatest example of the conscientious union of a whole nation for the accomplishment of a great national task.

The Socialists also ask, "Where are all those great principles in the name of which the war has been proclaimed?" But the war is really being fought for big principles. The fate of Belgium, Serbia, and Poland is brought up against us. This fate is certainly our concern, but only in the sense that we cannot stop the war before Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and Armenia have been fully compensated for everything they have suffered. Therefore, we cannot make a separate peace, but must fight on to the end.

These Socialists regret that the idea of the necessity for crushing militarism goes astray, and that the principles of international life are beginning to be ignored. But we do not forget this idea; it is only those who are ready at the end of this unprecedented war to return to the old state of things in Europe, when the rights of the people were ignored, and when armaments went up regardless. No, we have not sacrificed millions of our sons for nothing, and we do not want to see such a state of things again!

If we return from large perspectives concerning the whole world to the more narrow historical problems of different nations, we must say that these must be also realized to the full extent. These problems are being faced by all the nations. We have them also, and it were a crime to say that the blood of our people

was shed not for their realization, but for somebody else's foreign interest.

Our Russian interest in this war can be defined very briefly: We need an outlet to a free-sea. We did not begin the war for this, but without it we shall not end it. The annexation of the Dardanelles is in no way an attempt to enlarge the Russian frontiers. Russia is big enough, and has no need for new territories; but her complete development without an outlet to a free sea cannot possibly be realized. In our time, when the old idea of continentalism is dead, when international relations demanding a sea-way have become the order of the day, the State without such communications is an organism without the necessary organs.

You can say to me: "If Turkey had been wiser we could not possibly have realized this aim. We would have had to wait." But when Liman von Sanders entered Constantinople, when the Turkish War Minister became a servant of Germany, and the Turkish fleet became controlled by Germans, the whole situation changed. We fully realize what is the plan of Germany, and for what she is carrying on this war. It is clear to everybody that in the case of victory Germany would create in Europe a central State, and would capture or subjugate Turkey economically, and then politically. "Berlin-Bagdad," that is the German idea; and since it has been created we have no other choice. The question now is not whether the strait shall become Russian or remain Turkish; the question is whether it shall become Russian or remain German.

We must make no mistake. The question which is now being decided will probably be decided forever, but there will scarcely ever be such favorable conditions as there are now. The chief of these conditions is the attitude of our allies toward our national problem. "Ber-

lin-Bagdad" is too real a danger, not only for us, but for Great Britain, with India and Egypt; and for France with her prospects in Syria. On the basis of this real danger an agreement has become possible between powers which for centuries were suspicious of each other.

The end of March (O. S.) and the beginning of April (N. S.) in 1915 is a date which is well worthy of remembrance by large masses of the Russian people. This is the date when a definite agreement was reached between us and our allies.

[In conclusion Mr. Milyukoff urged the necessity of going on with the war. A neutral had come to him to suggest peace.]

He told me that he had come to Russia in order to ascertain what the feeling is with regard to a separate peace. He said: "You cannot imagine how in Germany they wish for peace. Probably the evacuation of Belgium and the evacuation of Serbia might be made the basis for further negotiations."

I answered him: "We know well the feelings of Germany; but in your country they should know who started this war, and whether it is possible by any sort of international agreement based on a simple return to the status quo ante to divert Germany from her aims. We do not want to crush Germany, but we must make it impossible for her in the future to upset the peace of Europe; and by her own free will she will never consent to anything in that direction." No, the fate of a democratic Europe cannot be decided at a congress of diplomats. The new Europe must create new forms of intercourse, and to do this she must show a real creative spirit. That is an enormous task to accomplish, but one which our generation has to face, and it can only be brought to a successful issue by the whole nation's taking part in the shaping of the future destinies of Europe.



Human Documents of the War Fronts

Behind the dry official reports of military events is a vast fund of emotional human interest. It is the aim of this department of CURRENT HISTORY to give the best available glimpses of that side of the war, as found in private letters, personal experiences, and thrilling episodes of courage, humor, or pathos.

The Puzzled German

By Rudyard Kipling

In occasional letters to Herbert Ballie, (Municipal Librarian,) Wellington, New Zealand, Mr. Kipling writes with refreshing vigor about the war. In a letter dated Jan. 12, from Bateman's Burwash, Sussex, England, he remarks:

I WAS at a hospital the other day which held 900 samples of all the stock we raise, and I met a youngster from Auckland, a farmer, half full of sharpnel, but going strong. Also, a Maori, who interested him immensely.

You're quite right in what you say about the new relations between the dominions. All that was small and petty in their rivalries has been washed out in blood. All that was best is better even than before. There is a sort of grave courtesy and affection now at the back of all the chaffing and joking. That is very fine and touching to see. And they do chaff each other, too!

Don't you be too concerned over our bickerings and back talk at this end of the show. It is the ancient habit of the English to grouse and argue and growl over every job they engage in. I had to listen to a long lecture the other day from a wounded bank clerk on the sin of calling the Germans names. He said it was not right to abuse them for following their "national ideals." He was of opinion that no German was fit to live, because his "national ideals didn't square with the ideals of civilization," and he looked forward to the complete wiping out of Germany as a power. But (and he talked about it for ten minutes) that didn't justify "coarse and vulgar abuse." Well, that is a point of view that would not strike most people.

This sort of thing puzzles the German

badly. He cannot understand why men who grouse and criticise their own side keep on hammering him. There was a man called Napoleon who, if you remember, was puzzled in very much the same way, and the worry eventually killed him. The Germans do not yet understand why the "colonies," as they call them, have not "revolted" from England. I cannot help feeling for them. Here they are winning at least one victory per week, and an extra big one once a month. And here are the Allies with their infernal stupidity not yet recognizing that Germany, if properly approached, would be ready to impose "a victorious peace." (They are rather keen just now on "victorious peace" in Germany, but nowhere else!) Instead of which the silly Russians and foolish French and the fat-headed English and the deluded "colonies," who cannot be making money out of the game, are sending up more men and guns against them.

If I were a German I would really be grieved at the blindness of all the rest of the world, and, judging from their papers, they are grieving in multitudes. But I fancy it is a long way yet for them and for us. They have got to go on winning victories for another year, if their men and their money run to it. They will probably finish up with a splendid victory, and then those "damn fool" Allies will "reform their line" and pick up the pieces and get ready to be beaten again—very likely not far from where the lines are now. Then the show will shut up with Germany victorious to the last, and the Allies methodically carving her up into nice harmless pieces. Maybe I am wrong—I hope I am—but

that is the way I see it: Germany winning all the victories, and the Allies winning the war.

One thing we must get into our thick heads is that wherever the German—man or woman—gets a suitable culture to thrive in, he or she means death and loss to civilized people, precisely as germs of any disease, suffered to multiply, mean death or loss to mankind. There is no question of hate or anger or excitement in the matter, any more than there is in flushing out sinks or putting oil on water to prevent mosquitos hatching eggs. As far as we are concerned, the German is typhoid or plague—Pestis Teutonicus, if

you like. But until we realize this elementary fact in peace, we shall always be liable to outbreak of anti-civilization. Make this clear by all means in your power.

I see that Australia has begun to restrict German trade. That is right. Where a bale or box of German goods comes into a civilized country there is always the chance of exposing mankind to danger sooner or later. This has been proved before all mankind in every quarter of the world. * * * We must put the work through, for the sake of all mankind and for the saving of our own souls.

An Officer's Story

Retold by V. Ropshin

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Niva, Petrograd]

I SHOUTED, "Forward!" jumped over the parapet, and ran forward over the field of beetroot. I remembered that I was an officer, and must keep in front of my men.

I heard no shots. At the German trench I felt a blow on my shoulder, just as if some one had hit me with a riding whip. But I did not at first realize that I was wounded. Without stopping, we leaped across the trench. When we were across it I felt a sudden catching of the breath, and everything went black before my eyes. On the right was a deep funnel, the crater of a 12-inch shell. I jumped into the crater.

The funnel was wide, with crumbling edges, and with a sticky, clayey bottom. I sat down on the damp earth and felt that my arm was very sore. I struck a match and began to smoke.

Now I heard the thunder of guns; I distinguished the rattle of howitzers and the whistle of bursting shells. I had a feeling of depression. Involuntarily I closed my eyes.

I sat a whole hour unconscious in this way. When I came to myself I saw a German in front of me, a German officer, in a gray-green cloak and with a round cap of the same color. The officer was

standing straight before me, and was looking me in the face. I tried to rise, but he said in French:

"You are my prisoner! Sit down!" and he covered me with his revolver.

I answered: "Shoot!"

I felt certain that he would shoot me. But he unexpectedly lowered his arm. His face was tanned, with thick, dark hair and wide, blue eyes. After a short silence he said:

"I could shoot you—but I do not want to. We are both prisoners in this hole!"

And he added, saluting: "I am a Captain in the 238th Prussian Regiment; Müller!"

I also gave him my name. We were now sitting at opposite sides of the hole, he a German and I a Frenchman. We remained silent. We both felt awkward, and I tried not to look at him. At last he said:

"You are wounded?"

"Yes."

"Allow me! I shall fix a bandage for you!"

I answered: "Pray, do not trouble yourself!"

But he came over to me and pulled out cotton wadding and bandages. And as he touched me with his hands I experi-

enced a curious transformation. He ceased to be a German, a detested enemy, a man who wanted to shoot me, one of the armed bands whose presence pollutes our land. He was simply Captain Müller, my chance and already kind acquaintance.

He bandaged me skillfully and rapidly. When he had finished he smiled, and said in German: "So!"

I thanked him in French: "Merci!"

Then we sat together, once more in silence. The firing did not diminish, and sometimes the bombs burst near by, quite close to us. The earth trembled, a dark, narrow column rose up, and we were spattered with dirt, with lumps of earth, and smoke. But neither I nor the German stirred. We did not wish to show that we were afraid.

Toward evening the fire grew more intense. The German was now listening to the guns.

"That was yours; that's mine; that's a 120, that's a 75, that's a 77, that's another 75."

My arm was numb and ached severely. I said: "Will you kindly get a flask out of my pocket? I have some cognac."

We drank some brandy, both from the same bottle. First he, then I; and when we had drunk from the same bottle he blushed and raised his big, blue eyes.

"You are married?"

"Yes; I am married."

"Have you any children?"

"No."

"I have—two."

He rose and said, with a wave of his hand: "I own a brickyard, over there, in Hanover. I am a peaceful man. I have

managed the brickyard all my life. I wanted peace—and I have gone to war. And now we are living like moles. We sleep in the water. We risk our lives every minute. People have gone mad. Black has become white, and white black. Tell me, why are we fighting?"

"Your Wilhelm wanted it!"

"Ach! Wilhelm! And did my children want war? Wilhelm wanted it and they did not want it. And I obeyed not them, but Wilhelm! And here I am, on French, on foreign soil, beside you, in this hole; and perhaps I shall die today. I shall die, or you will. They will kill me or you. Why? What for? For Germany? For my brickyard? When will this war end? When will we go home again? Or shall we not go home? Tell me, why are we fighting?"

I wanted to answer him. I wanted to tell him that we Frenchmen were defending our country, and that the Germans were bandits, not guests! But I suddenly felt that I was thrown up into the air, that it had become hot, that there was a rank smell of smoke, and that everything about me was red. This lasted a second—or it may have been a year—and when I came to myself I saw the blue sky overhead. I made an effort to rise. I noticed that the crater was smashed down at the edge, and had grown smaller and deeper. From beneath the overturned, damp earth a pair of boots stuck forth, worn at the heel; and beside them, close to me, lay an officer's round cap, with the brim torn off. I understood—my companion had been killed. My arm ached; I stumbled and lost consciousness. During the night the men of my regiment picked me up.

Real Letters From the Front

Written to an American Artist

IT has seemed to us of interest to present the following extracts from letters of French soldiers, in order that the reader may see for himself the difference between real expressions from men on the battlefield and the words

commonly attributed to them. As one soldier recently put the matter, in speaking of a near relative who had fallen: "We know his last words; and they were not a grandiose sentiment about *la patrie*, but just 'My poor wife! My poor child!'"

The passages here printed are not expressions of the supreme moment, but they are from men who have been the constant witness of it among their comrades. And this fact should be considered in connection with another—that the writers of these letters are all intellectual men, artists, *littérateurs*, and physicians. From the temper of such men, thrown into terrible conditions so foreign to their usual lives, one gets a new sense of the spirit of the French armies and a new understanding of the respect with which the world stands before them today.

From an artist, Nov. 23, 1914:

Our rôle as territorials is not a very active one, as one thinks of war; just now we are digging trenches. Still there is talk of our occupying some of them shortly. And what of my painting, you will ask me? I think of it a good deal, and I hope to ripen many things while waiting for the moment when I can have the happiness of materializing them—that is, if the future and events permit.

From the same, April 13, 1915:

The glimpse of your family life I get from your letter makes me glad for you and a little jealous for myself, who am so far from home, living an almost subterranean existence. I am far, too, from all my old preoccupations and speculations. And yet it does not seem as if one should look on all this as a misfortune, though of course one is at the mercy of a bullet or a shell—and the Lord knows if there isn't a big enough rain of them sometimes, and then you will always get a bunch the size of a nice little woman, all at once.

Looking out through my loophole, I see a stretch of beautiful country. As Spring came on, nature assumed an almost mystical significance. There was a whisper of life out there, and through "the blue incense of pale horizons" one could hear it singing in the grass, in the trees, in the air. It chattered volubly, and one seemed to feel its astonishment at finding men so wicked. But life does not stop for such considerations; it goes on in that populous plain—where for days we would see no man.

For a long time now sounds have meant more to me than things seen. One extends the power of one's eyes through sounds—even if they are more generalized than such concrete matters as a burned cottage or a postcard from home, or the *poilu* who brings you your soup. For us who so much of the time cannot look about us (it is the foolhardy ones who get killed first) sounds mean things they never did before: there is information in them, often a warning. And what variety, and how full of suggestion!—a volley of bullets has the sound of a break-

ing wave; a shell passes—it is like the rush of trains in the *métro*; a bullet close to you sounds like a bee.

* * * There is a sad procession of wounded after each day of fighting—but their vehement enthusiasm, (I speak of the more slightly wounded,) their desire to get back into the furnace, stirs your entrails.

From a physician who had been attending the wounded on the firing line:

I am on a month's furlough, granted on account of illness brought on by overwork. I shall go to the Midi, and then return to the front, that I have not left for a year. I hope to stay there till the end of the war or till my own end. That life has an irresistible attraction for one who has once tasted it, everything back of the front seems mean and miserable; the proximity of death gives to life a powerful savor that makes you enjoy it in all its aspects. The further I go the more I look on civilization—or, rather, one-civilization—not as a moral phenomenon, but as an aesthetic phenomenon, in which war may play a necessary rôle in exalting the taste for life, the energy to realize, and our driving onward to the unknown.

I continue to write and to prepare the future as if nothing were happening. This war has not surprised me, and if it strikes me grievously in some of my affections, it does not throw me out of the track that my instinct traces for me. I have never been more the master of my mind nor more prodigal of my heart.

I am happy at the success that L.'s painting had in America, but it is a bitter happiness, and one in which the terrible irony of life reveals itself. L. was killed some months ago during an attack on a German trench—without enthusiasm and without fear. He had not, any more than I, the *hatred* of Germany, but he had the feeling that France and we ourselves could find in this formidable contact, sources of new energy, of which our victory on the Marne revealed the existence with a sort of supernatural splendor. On that day David, covered with blood and dust, struck Goliath on the forehead, and since then, in spite of his marvelous vitality, in spite of his strength and his mass, the knees of the colossus are trembling, and in the end he will fall. I saw that miracle from within, I was a part of it, with a million other Frenchmen; it is one of the great recollections of my life, and I believe, since that day, that France will not perish. If she dies, she will have revealed in her last gesture what a flash of light may yet start from the soul of a great dying people.

From a journalist in a hospital where he was recovering last Summer from injuries caused by the fall of his horse, which was killed under him while he was carrying a message:

The *poilu* in the bed next to mine has been

for a long time at a part of the line where the fighting has made the country uninhabitable for the peasants for a long distance round about. He is pretty badly cut up, but just now he said a real droll thing: "This nurse is the first woman I have seen in three months; it was worth getting wounded just for that."

From the same man after his return to the front, some months later:

The cold weather has set in, and it is cold, indeed. I was not caught in the trenches by it, as I was just sent back here for my days of rest. But imagine what it's going to be soon, standing there at a loophole, as motionless as a statue, your feet in that icy mud, impassable under the snow and sleet that cracks your skin like the bark of an old tree. The poilu is there like a tree in the wind, and as nameless as an elm or an oak, and like them a son of the soil of France.

I am a Second Lieutenant in a brave infantry regiment now—one that has given the measure of its boldness many a time. The spirit is excellent, and I keep it up with reading the war poems of the great Walt Whitman, "Drum Taps."

From an artist:

For the last three months, since I have been at the front, the time passes with the most terrific rapidity, and that disquiets me sometimes, because it emphasizes the fact that we shall have difficulty in making up for the loss of energy withdrawn from our personal ideal. And for how many days yet?—or months, I'd better say. However, I am getting back my taste for work; as badly placed for it as I am, and lacking many things, I need, I make the best use I can of chance-found elements and continue my researches. At X. that was quite impossible; I need these surroundings of intense activity to arouse me. We are a strange mechanism.

But there is no denying it, the grandeur of a battle line is impressive, and it gives to the mind a measure of objects unknown before in one's accustomed atmosphere. Is it the idea of death, always present in the thunder of the cannon and the falling shells, that transposes our relative state by broadening its limits? Is it the idea of life, agglomerated in powerful masses, which grows greater through the disappearance of the individual in a gigantic body? I do not know. At all events, synthetic thought makes great progress here, and, for my part, the judgment that I can make of the intellectual past gains in strength here. In this respect the flight of time will not be entirely a detriment to us.

Confidence reigns among us, and the feeling that little by little we are becoming the masters of the hour. For our country and for all of us this long effort of sixteen months was needed, to bring us to what we hoped was abolished forever. And it is hard, I assure you, to relinquish, even for a limited time, the dream of universal union that should have been the ideal of all. Will it finally mean the death of personal power and of secret diplomacy? I am very much afraid that after this drama we shall have a lot of trouble in finding in the tangled skein the spool of thread we had so much work in rolling up.

* * * I have been deeply concerned about my brother, for his post was one of the uttermost danger; once he was slightly wounded and once he was buried alive for a considerable time when a shell demolished the trench he was in. I shall never forget a luncheon we had together, with the shells flying over our heads, one day when I paid him a visit in his trench. We separated that day not wanting to let our secret disquietude show, but I knew what a hell I was leaving him in, with the rapid-fire guns centred on his position, and I did not live till he returned to the reserves.

Two Weeks on a Submarine

By Carl List

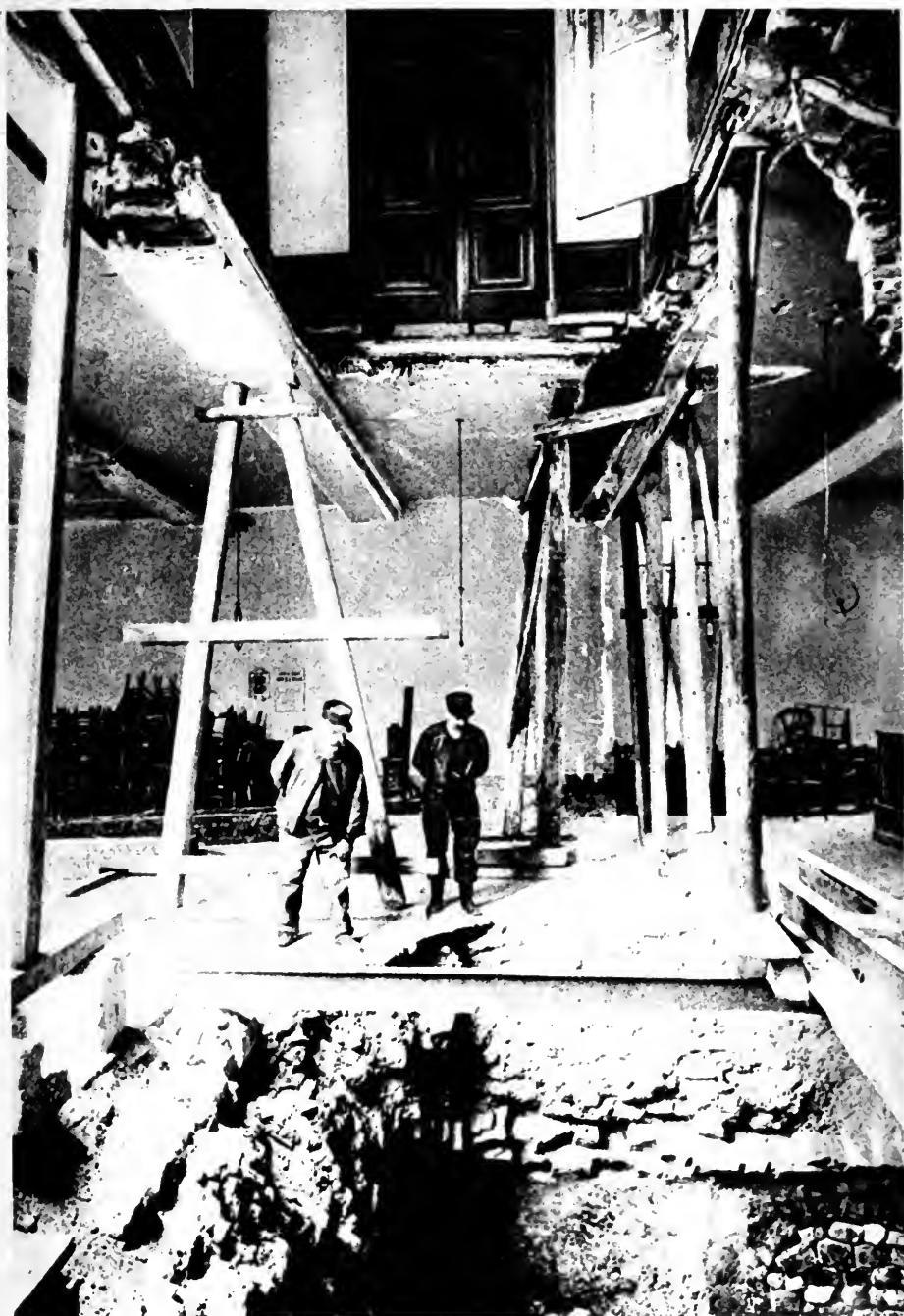
This article, by a German-American sailor on a Norwegian ship bound for Queenstown with a cargo of wheat, was communicated to *L'illustrazione Italiana*, from which it is here translated.

THE Norwegian ship on which I was embarked was nearing the Irish Channel. The afternoon was misty, the sea rough. We were warned by an English steamer of the presence of German submarines in the vicinity. There was a certain depression among those on board.

I asked the Captain if there were anything to do. "No," he answered. Boom!

a cannon shot was heard at the very moment. General confusion. All the men ran up on deck and looked about, terrified. Boom! another cannon shot. Then one of the German sailors, pointing to a spot on the horizon, said: "A German submarine."

It was true. The black spot grew rapidly larger, and then one could make out some human figures near the small



AN OFFICE IN RHEIMS

Effect of a Single German Shell That Plunged Through the Building
and Deep Into the Earth Beneath



COUNT FERDINAND VON ZEPPELIN

Creator of the German Cruiser of the Skies. A New Portrait by
Schwornstadt, Drawn From Life

(By arrangement with *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Berlin: © 1916)

cannon on the deck. It was the famous U-39. We hoisted our flag and awaited events. The Captain sent the mate with our ship's papers over to the submarine, which was now near. Soon those who were not German received orders to take to the boats. The Germans were taken on board the U-39, I among them. When this was done our ship was sunk.

So there I was on board a submarine. The impression of it was strange enough. The first evening, quite exhausted, I threw myself down in a corner. I heard a few short orders, then the sound of the machinery. * * * After that everything was in absolute silence. Some said we were navigating at such a depth that big ships could pass overhead of us. * * * I fell asleep.

Next day on waking I tried to get my bearings. We Germans were treated as friends. We were permitted to go about everywhere.

The boat had the shape of a gigantic cigar, about 200 feet long, divided into numerous compartments. They were full of shining instruments. Now there was a buzzing sound, like the inside of a beehive, now absolute silence reigned. Every nerve was tense with the expectation of the orders on which our lives depended. Toward the prow was the room from which the torpedo was launched, a room full of tubes and valves. The officers' lodgings are very restricted, since the space on board a submarine proscribes any comfort. The commander was Lieut. Capt. Foerstner, a tall young man, thin and pale—which is not surprising, since he never had a moment's repose; neither he nor the men of the crew ever got their clothes off during the twelve days I was on board.

The periscope, the eye of the submarine, made known to us everything that took place on the surface of the water, and it did so with such clearness that it was almost like looking through a telescope. There was always a man on watch there.

Suddenly a ship comes in sight. Its smoke is like a black line drawn on the horizon. A bell rings. It is a signal for each man to be at his post. The U-39 slowly rises to the surface. A last look is given at the mirror of the periscope; no English coast guard is in sight. So everything is ready for action. We hear the command, "Empty the water cistern." Freed from her ballast, the submarine rises to the surface. "Both engines ahead at full speed!" The boat cleaves her way through the water that cascades her sides with foam. In a short time the ship is reached. The submarine hoists her flag and fires a cannon shot. No flag betrays the nationality of the captured ship, but we can read the name, Gadsby, on her side. She is English. We signal that her whole crew is to take to the lifeboats, and quickly! At any moment we may be surprised.

Through the megaphone we indicate to the men the nearest way to land; then a cannon shot, then a second one. The captured ship, after pitching for a while, sinks.

The time necessary for the sinking of a ship differs considerably in different cases. Some disappear in five minutes, others float for several hours. The finest spectacle I witnessed was the sinking of the Fiery Cross. The crew received orders to get off in the boats. Some of our men rowed up close to the abandoned ship and attached hand grenades to her sides. They were fired and the three-master was blown up with all her sails spread and set. The hull and the rigging went down to the depths, but the sails spread out on the surface of the water like so many little fields of polar ice. Eleven ships were destroyed during my stay on board. Quite a number of others were captured besides these, but they were let go again.

This trip, which I shall never forget, lasted twelve days. It was dangerous, but it was exciting and so fine that I would not have missed it for anything in the world.

The Sinking of the Provence II.

By N. Bokanowski

Deputy of the Department of the Seine

The French Auxiliary cruiser La Provence II., formerly a passenger liner, was sunk by a submarine in the eastern end of the Mediterranean while serving as a troop transport. Nearly 4,000 men are said to have been on board, of whom only 870 were saved. One of the survivors, M. Bokanowski, wrote this thrilling description to President Poincaré of France:

Malta, Feb. 29, 1916.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT: You are doubtless familiar, in all its details, with the fate of the Provence II. I should like to describe to you—to assuage in a measure the grief of France—the noble behavior of those who made ready at that moment, between sea and sky, to die for their country.

We had on board a battalion and some detachments of the Third Colonial Regiment of Infantry. At the moment of the explosion I was on the bridge, with the commander of the ship, his second in command, and several of the higher officers. We directed the steps to be taken, distributing lifebelts, superintending the launching of boats and liferafts. Not an outcry, not a complaint, not the slightest sign of panic—only the dignified tranquillity of men who long ago had consecrated their lives to the sublime cause that had put arms in their hands.

Everybody would have been saved had it depended only on officers and crew. Unfortunately the ship sank rapidly. The water soon found its way into the boilers. When they began to explode, about ten minutes past 5, I jumped into the sea and swam as fast as I could in order to get beyond the radius of suction. A few moments later there were several deafening explosions. I turned and saw the end. The ship was going down stern foremost. Captain Vesco, still standing on the bridge, cried in a voice that rose above the tumult: "Adieu, mes enfants!" The men, grouped in clusters on the forward deck, replied with an enthusiastic

shout: "Vive la France!" The survivors, swimming about the ship, or safe on boats and rafts, saw the Provence make a sudden plunge, her forward deck standing perpendicular in the air. They, in their turn, saluted with a cry of "Vive la France!" It was a quarter past 5.

After swimming for half an hour I succeeded in reaching an overloaded raft, the occupants of which pulled me aboard. Night was falling, the wind was chill and nipped the flesh of the men, who were almost entirely naked. Throughout the endless night, not a whimper! My companions in misfortune had no words except to lament the fate of those who were drowned and to curse the Boche, who, neither before nor after his treacherous shot, had dared to appear and show his flag. In water up to the waist, with teeth chattering from the cold, but upheld by the desire to survive and be able to punish the villains, we were picked up eighteen hours later by a trawler. Several men had died from the cold on the rafts, and several others had lost their reason.

An English patrol and a French torpedo boat divided the survivors between them, some heading for Milo, others for Malta. I was among the latter, and we arrived here about 1 o'clock yesterday. Captain Vesco, who was in command of the Provence II.; Lieutenant Besson, second in command; Colonel Duhalde, commanding the Third Colonial Regiment of Infantry, remained on the bridge until the very last second of the ship's life in the most noble spirit of self-sacrifice, giving with perfect calmness precise and effective orders for saving the passengers.

The gunners of the Provence's stern gun, having loaded it when the torpedo struck, remained at their posts, trying to discover the hidden foe in order to repay him in his own coin, until the piece was entirely submerged.

Lieutenant Noël, commanding the trawler Canada, having picked up the

signal of distress, hastened in search of the survivors, succeeded, after prolonged efforts, in discovering them, and went about the business of saving them under extremely difficult conditions when he had been without rest for thirty-six hours.

Surgeon Navarre of the Third Colonial Regiment, being taken aboard a trawler nearly exhausted by his eighteen hours on a raft, refused to change his drenched clothing or to take any food until he had dressed the hurts of the wounded and looked after the sick. He was prostrated a long while after such superhuman labors.

And I must mention this other incident, which brings tears to my eyes:

Gauthier, Assistant Quartermaster of the Provence, having been taken on board a greatly overloaded raft, was hailed by

a soldier asking for help; he jumped into the water to give him his place, saying: "A sailor's duty is to save the soldiers first of all."

He was picked up, twenty-one hours after the wreck, clinging to a plank.

I call attention also to the devotion and zeal—meriting our profound gratitude—of Lieutenant Sinclair Thomson, commanding the English patrol Marguerite, and of his officers and crew, by whose labors about 300 survivors were taken from the place of the wreck to Malta.

Pray pardon the form of this story, Monsieur le Président. I have written it hurriedly, with a bruised hand, and with a head still in a sad muddle. I wished, before my impending departure for Saloniki, to say to you with all my heart: "That is what these noble fellows did!"

BOKANOWSKI.

Sunk and Saved by a U-Boat

By John D. Harrison

This remarkable story of adventure is told by a young Chicagoan who had shipped at Rio de Janeiro on board the Margam Abbey, an English vessel engaged in provisioning British cruisers in the Atlantic:

THE first excitement came when the assistant steward, a man named Kral, who had shipped as a Hollander on the Margam Abbey at Seattle, where the flour was taken on board, got into a fight with the chief engineer over the war. He had long been suspected as a German. The Captain ordered his effects to be searched, and discovered two magazine pistols and papers of discharge from the Hamburg-American Line. For two days Kral was kept in irons. In the harbor of Pernambuco the Captain signaled for a police boat and went ashore with him, and that was the last I ever heard of him.

We left Pernambuco on March 5, bound for the Canary Islands, and in the middle of the Atlantic we got in touch with an English second-class cruiser by wireless and supplied her with flour and

canned beef. The Captain gave us news of the German raider M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e} , which had captured the Appam about a month before, advising us to take a southerly route, keep our lights out, and paint everything black. At 5 o'clock in the morning, on March 12, the Captain called me to the bridge and said we had been followed all night by what he supposed was a British war vessel. I looked through the glass and told him I thought it was a cargo vessel. Then the pursuer began to speed up. The Captain signaled for all steam, and we made about 14½ knots, but the other boat kept gaining. Half an hour later she fired a shot across our bow. Whether she was the M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e} or not I do not know, but probably not, as it was reported that the German raider returned safely to Germany about March 5. Fortunately for us the weather grew foggy, we changed our course, and in two hours the pursuing vessel was out of sight.

Two days later we reached Madeira, and after staying four days went to Bordeaux, where we landed a big cargo of flour for Verdun. We received orders

to proceed to Cardiff, Wales, where were the offices of the owners of the vessel. Two days after leaving Bordeaux, while we were at the head of the Bay of Biscay, the first mate, at 3 o'clock in the morning of April 10, sighted a submarine off the starboard bow. We immediately put on steam. The German boat was about two miles off. She chased us and began firing explosive shells, and one rendered us helpless by carrying away half of the propeller. Before that, however, we were in a sinking condition, for fully fifty shots were fired and many struck us below the water line. We carried no guns. The only man on board to be hit was the Chief Engineer. His right shoulder was torn away with a shot as he was putting some provisions in a lifeboat, and he died from his wounds.

We carried two lifeboats. One had twelve holes shot through it, but they were plugged up. The Captain ordered them launched, and we left the ship. One boat pulled toward the Island of Ushant, France, about sixty miles off, while the Captain's boat, in which I was a passenger, turned toward the coast of England, about eighty miles away. After rowing for about two miles, the submarine disappeared. The Margam Abbey was half submerged, but the Captain suggested that we go back, believing we might stand a better chance to be picked up. The Captain and I went aboard to get some medicines from the cabin, when the submarine emerged 300 yards away and fired two more shots, one passing over my head in the cabin. I ran out on the port side and jumped into the water, while the Captain jumped in on the starboard side, where the boat was, and was picked up, and the sailors rowed away, but not before the German commander had called out that he would pick me up. I had on a life belt and was supported by some planks. I was in the water twenty minutes when the submarine came alongside and pulled me in.

The first thing I told the submarine commander was that I was an American. He asked me a lot of questions about the ship, where we were bound, what our cargo was. Then he took me down the conning tower and told the steward to

give me some breakfast. I had hot coffee, ham, and bread, and it surely tasted good. I never saw so much machinery in so small a compass before as in that submarine. She was a big boat, 300 feet long, carrying two six-pound guns, fore and aft, and with two torpedo tubes. The crew numbered about thirty men, all young, fine-looking fellows. I asked the commander if I could take off my clothes to dry them, and he ordered some dry ones to be given to me. I was surely treated very well, and everything about the submarine was in the neatest and cleanest order.

The submarine had in some manner picked up our liferaft and was towing it. The commander and his officers held a consultation, and I was asked to go on deck. It was then that we saw the Margam Abbey sink. We stayed around the place about an hour, and then the commander said he was going to set me adrift on the liferaft. He said I would soon be picked up by one of the English patrol boats, for he said they had been hunting for him for a week, "but tell them from me," he added, "that we are still here."

Well, they put me on the raft in my dry German suit. Half of the crew were on top of the submarine watching me, and they waved their caps and all shouted in English, "Good-bye!" The submarine moved off and soon submerged, and that was the last I saw of her.

The sea was very calm, and I waited, all alone on the raft, to be rescued. About two hours later the patrol boat Kinalde, a Scotch vessel from Aberdeen, hove in sight and took me aboard. I told them that the two boats with the Margam Abbey's crew were not far distant. We found the Captain's boat in three hours with the body of the engineer. His body was carried to England and sent to his home at Sunderland. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we picked up the other boat, and at night we got to Falmouth and I slept in the hospital. There was great excitement when we told our story, but we learned afterward that this same German submarine had sunk seven boats within a week.

How I Entered Germany

By a Russian Newspaper Correspondent

A correspondent of the Retch, a Russian newspaper, recently managed to pass the German boundary on a false passport, on his way to Berlin. Following is a sample of his cross-examination by German officials:

WITHOUT saying a word the Lieutenant hands to the Captain a few Baedekers. I recognize their red bindings.

"You say you have lived so many years at N.? Can you tell me where you lived there?"

I name a street and the number of a house which I know to exist in N., but where I have never lived.

"You know of course the street Y.? Can you tell me how the square at the end of it is called?"

I give the necessary reply and submit to a further string of such questions. I have to tell the whereabouts of the Post Office, the palace, such and such a theatre, shops, statues, &c. In short, I had to give such information as the Captain could easily check by his Baedeker. I passed the examination with honors.

"You say you lived constantly at—" he does not finish his sentence, as if wishing to trip me up. I repeat the name of a little town in a small, neutral country, and I cannot help laughing inwardly at the perplexity in which the German officer will soon find himself, because I know that a description of this little town will not be found in any of the Baedekers. He searches his Baedeker for the place, and, having found only a tiny dot on the map, angrily gives up the game.

"Now will you follow me," says one of the Lieutenants, and guides me to a corridor, along both sides of which run cubicles like cloak rooms in a miniature theatre in some provincial town. We enter one of the cubicles.

"Will you have the goodness to undress, but, first of all, please take off your boots." The Lieutenant takes the boots and hands them over to the soldier who accompanies us.

"Have no fear. We shall rip them open and take off the heels, but we will sew them up again and return in good condition."

Of course, it is useless to protest; I take off everything. All my body, right down to my feet and nails, is carefully inspected by means of an electric lamp. The lining of my suit is all ripped open, but is not sewn up again. The contents of my pockets are carefully examined. Needless to say, I have no letters, books, papers, nor documents, except my passport. The Lieutenant takes his glasses and looks through my passport, opens my watch, looks at its mechanism, reads the trade mark of the manufacturers, and then takes my fountain pen, with which I never part, pours out the ink, and is busy probing its inside with a hatpin.

"What can one hide there?" I ask inquisitively.

"Have you never seen pendants, rings, and other things? You hold them up to the light, and through a tiny little point you see highly magnified views of cathedrals, of mountains, or of towns, &c. You can do the same with any document—reduce it photographically and carry it at the bottom of your fountain pen."

I had to agree that this was quite possible. The Lieutenant is chatting freely with me, at the same time, of course, trying to catch me unawares. But I am on my guard. My boots were brought in, and, indeed, on the soles one could see new, neat stitches.

I dress, and at last the final stage is reached. A fifth officer haggles with me about the time I should spend in Germany, and I obtain permission to stay ten days in Berlin and four in Dresden.

I breathe freely once more and go on the platform. I look at my watch; all these investigations and searches have taken up altogether fifty-five minutes. I find my place in the train and make myself comfortable. Four hours hence I shall be in Berlin.

Somehow I cannot believe it, and it seems to me that it is all a dream.

What the British Are Doing

By Count Alexei H. Tolstoy

Eminent Russian Journalist

I KNOW not in what manner our Russian views of certain national types are being formed. The English, for instance, we always thought cold, calculating, sly. At the beginning of the war Sir Edward Grey, speaking for an entire nation, seemed almost sphinx-like in his baffling manner. Kitchener seemed the personification of the severe ruler, who will not know human weakness. John Bull is pictured by the cartoonists of all countries as a fat, slyly-winking glutton. And all this turned out to be untrue and just about the reverse in reality.

John Bull is generally a thin, tall man, and simple-natured. The austere Kitchener, who speaks only in monosyllables, is in reality but a representative figure, magnificently adapted for advertising purposes on the screen or posters. They are practical and efficient in their task, but neither this task, nor the organization, nor yet the domination of the world is their goal; not even England for the English. It seems to me the English dream now of universal harmony, when all forces shall be strained, all passions free; when no adventure shall disturb the peace and calm reigning on earth; when falsehood, diplomacy, and guns shall become antiquated.

Sir Edward Grey is the most simple and sincere man in England. Having decided to show us, the Russian journalists, the army, works, and fleet, the English have shown us many secrets, in their simplicity, which we should have forgotten instantly. And we were not even told that it was forbidden to write or talk about them, leaving this to our own sense of decency.

For three days, spent at the front, I studied these young and old Englishmen. They are frank, candid, with that ever-present spark of humor somewhere in their eyes. The difference between them is that one commands entire armies while the other has charge of fifty men

in a trench. And every one of them is first of all a man and a gentleman.

Another mistake we make concerning the British army. Some of us say the only things they do there is to play football, eat pudding, and let the Allies bleed to death. But the British army is great. Haig told us that it now occupies a fourth of the entire front. It began with a hundred thousand and is already passed the million mark. But they think that it is not sufficient for a decisive offensive. And so the English are preparing to strike a terrible and crushing blow at Germany. They are accumulating shells and men, they build whole cities of concrete, where food, clothing, and ammunition from all corners of the world are being gathered, and daily there flows from the Isles to the Continent a river of troops and artillery.

On the third day we finally succeeded in getting to the first line trenches and seeing with our own eyes a little part of that impregnable wall, behind which the English are preparing their blow. At 10 o'clock we arrived in the woods, which were but recently in German hands.

It was warm and clear. White clouds slowly swam in the blue of the sky. Naked, the forest was full of the roar of cannon and shrieking of shells. Somewhere in the distance grenades were exploding. And in the intervals of silence one could hear the chirping of birds. Many trees lay uprooted, and many others bore the marks of shrapnel on their trunks. We entered the trenches. Here we could walk in couples only. Mr. Balfour and I passed through a hole to the extreme trench, which is one endless ditch, running from the sea to Switzerland. It has the depth of a man, and zigzags regularly from horizon to horizon, each of its two sides protected by sacks of sand. It is the ditch that has called a halt to the German hordes, defying millions of tons of steel. A Scotsman was lying on bags on

his back, his legs protruding into the air. At his head was his rifle. In his hands were two small mirrors. He had been lying thus since morning, looking into the glasses, awaiting the appearance of a German helmet on the other side of the sand bags. Another one had made a piece of metal his mirror, also awaiting his prey. Some were cleaning their rifles, some repairing the damage done by grenades.

We were returning. Shells were flying and bursting in our direction, and an iron bird was circling above us. And then some shrapnel shrilled over us, on its way to the German trenches. I looked at

Balfour. His nose was all covered with mud. "The d—d Boches!" he said; "a grenade exploded, and then I suddenly felt something wet on my face."

We went to the famous hill, from where the enormous panorama of the battle-field unfolds itself to the observer's eye. It is a high and abrupt hill. There stretches before one's view an infinite space, in the background of which, far, far in the distance, one could discern the white tower of unfortunate Ypres. Ypres, the wonderful capital of Flanders, has been erased from the surface of the earth. Only by some miracle has the tower escaped.

Flying Across Mount Ararat

By a Russian Airman

Aeroplanes are now being made in New England which will be able, it is said, to fly to Europe under their own power. An English aeroplane has recently made the flight from the Gulf of Saros to Constantinople and back, incidentally dropping bombs on the powder factory in the Pera quarter north of the Golden Horn. But perhaps the most picturesque story of flight that has yet come to hand is this—in the Russkoe Slovo—of a Russian airman flying among the peaks of the "frosty Caucasus," where the valleys are already more than a mile in the air, Erzerum being about level with the summit of Mount Washington.

YOU know what an airman generally looks like, if he is getting ready to do a pretty big climb, under the regulation circumstances of war work; warm clothing, fur gauntlets, a thickly padded helmet; everybody is probably familiar with these attributes of the airman, at least from pictures.

Here, beyond the Caucasus, we dress differently. We do not enjoy the comparative comforts with which the aviation squads carry on their work on the other war fronts, where they have warm quarters and repair shops within easy reach. We have to fit out under an ordinary service tent, and how much it protects you from the icy cold you can easily imagine!

Picture to yourself a human form in underwear, which other human beings are leisurely and effectively wrapping in—newspapers! Oh, paper keeps out the cold splendidly! Any florist at home will tell you that. And here, where we see flowers only in our dreams, we have only one prayer to address to you: Send us

newspapers, more newspapers! We not only read them, we wear them!

The paper packing is the first part of the airman's toilet. Next comes an undervest, then the uniform, a fur jacket or cloak and trousers. Sometimes these latter are fur-covered above, when the aviator ready for flight is hardly distinguished in appearance from a bear. Warm felt shoes; huge fur gloves, in which you have difficulty at first in wiggling your fingers. A warm helmet with holes only for the eyes and mouth. The last detail of the toilet is the "make-up"; the airman's face, as much of it as remains uncovered, is thickly smeared with vaseline as a protection against the icy cold.

In the aerodrome the motor of the aeroplane, set at low speed, is already humming. Human figures are bustling about it. They clothe and warm it also—into the radiator they pour almost boiling water; the oil cylinders are filled with lubricating oil heated over wood fires. These are the ordinary Winter measures.

We have a lot of "special" tricks. In our spare time, we ourselves, our mechanics and motormen are busy trying to find out ways to warm our aeroplanes during flights, so that the oil may not freeze, cakes of ice form in the radiators, and so on. And we have accomplished a great deal in that direction. At least, in our work, cases of motor failure owing to cold have been very rare.

Now for flight. I have had experience in flying over the Eastern European battle front. I have had to be on the lookout for upsets and descents into forests and marshes. I am well acquainted with shrapnel fire. More than once I have looked down upon the picture of massed movements, of separate actions, of big battles. Flights here, beyond the Caucasus, have their peculiar danger, their special difficulties. But nowhere do they give such fascinating beauty as they give here.

You remember how we said that aviation, making such enormous progress during the war, would, after the war, open up new horizons for mankind, not only technical, but also philosophical and psychological horizons; some one, I remember, insisted on new moral horizons also. I want to expand even these prospects. Now more than ever I am convinced that aviation will open new chapters in the art of painting.

Oh, if the late Vrubel could seek and create his colors here, up aloft, above the summits of the highest mountains and passes! And that first flight was far from being the richest in an artistic sense.

Below, it was cold, monotonous. Heavy flakes of snow were falling. In the narrow ravines the wind howled and whirled about. You only know that to the spurs of the mountains on the right or on the left, it is so far; to the cliffs before and behind you, it is so far. You define, so to say, only the frame, within the limits of which you are to climb upward. And later, in flight, you do not observe these limits by sight—snow blinds your eyes—but only by inner feeling and by catching the gusts of wind that rock your plane.

The motor roars rather hoarsely. It

quivers with a strange note in the avalanche of white, icy cold crystals and fatal butterflies that have their birth in the ice zone above the clouds. You stretch your hand out over the edge of the "gondola," and instantly it is white; the white "butterflies" cling about it. The unfortunate observer is still worse off. The gusts of wind whirl around him more violently. Swarms of white "butterflies" unceremoniously settle on his helmet, filling up the eyeholes. A whole carpet of them, dead but as icy cold, lie on the floor of the gondola between the observer's back and the oil and benzine reservoirs.

And now the whirling "butterflies" grow fewer. It is becoming lighter. The motor roars louder, as if rejoicing in its victory over the elements. The aeroplane goes more evenly. A few minutes more and the clouds of the snowstorm are below us. For an instant—but this is only from the unexpectedness, from the brilliant sun rays suddenly striking my tired eyes—the aeroplane pitches downward. The cloud we have just come out of seems unwilling to let us escape from its clutches.

But that is only for an instant. The effort to turn sooner in the direction of the sun, of the expanse, of something infinitely beautiful, which I have not yet had time to become fully conscious of, is transmitted instinctively to my hands, which control the rudders, and the apparatus is once more above the clouds in the cherishing sunlight and the limitless blue sky.

Not only I myself, but all of us who are working here, feel only a single wish in such minutes of "outbreak toward the sun"—to let go the handles of the rudder and give one's self up wholly to the observation of the kingdom of beauty opening out before us.

All about us, in tints of blue or rose, the silent, unpeopled hills, the deep precipices, spread out their gamut of soft or menacing, gentle or repellent tones. There are now glistening, now dull patches of undulating glaciers. There are deceptively near or deceptively distant fields of white, untouched, eternal snow in its inviolable virginity. There are dark blue,

black, green patches of secular forests, a setting, as it were, to bring out these effects of beauty.

The aeroplane goes still higher, still wider prospects open out around us, bathed in sunlight, and everything below, about, above us seems to be molded of crystal and mother of pearl. * * *

Speaking generally, flying is a tranquil enough thing. It is true that, after flying across the plains, you feel that here your attention is more keenly fixed, you become more a single organism with your aeroplane. But it is possible that this only seems to be so, because you have to struggle all the time to tear yourself away from this fascinating beauty and fix your thought on "business." Probably this struggle creates the illusion of general psychological and physical concentration.

The machine "wabbles" generally only over precipices and when approaching passes. This is intelligible. In the first case, there are strong ascending currents, and, in the second, the stream of air rolling over the peaks forms something like a waterfall—you meet with an "airfall" and you only need to guess its near proximity in time and to divine its "rapids" in order to be able to rise higher, where flying is once more tranquil and smooth.

It is much worse when you fall into a "basin." That is our name for a moderate-sized level space surrounded by broken mountains. Here the wind blows as if "from all corners at once." The air strata are in the highest degree uneven, and often, after flying through a dense layer, the apparatus suddenly plunges downward; then, seeming to strike with all its weight against a denser layer, it again flies evenly, and then plunges again. And so sometimes, after a long time, by mere accident, by feeling out your way, you find a layer of even density and get out of the basin through one of the ravines. These plunges and blows are very dangerous; many a time, in the case of a blow

against a dense air layer, we have broken a stay from the sharp change of air pressure on the wings.

Is it cold? Cold as the arctic, ferociously cold! When you are flying over a big glacier you feel that the cold not only wraps itself around your whole body, however well you may be protected by all possible means, but it gets inside you and begins to stop your breathing. Your hands suffer most of all. I and others of my colleagues have had to pick out some safe spot and "land," just because our hands had been frozen into blocks of ice. To "land" among the mountains is something that has happened to me more than once.

Sometimes, though very rarely, the motors have begun to play tricks on account of the cold. Sometimes there have been repairs to make after a course of plunges and bumps in some treacherous "basin." So far, these landings have come off safely; probably because, when you are flying, you instinctively notice some level spot in case of need. You fly on ahead, you leave your landing place behind, but without fail you look out for another and take note of it. This is the way it always is in our work.

Once my machine wobbled badly and began to plunge downward. The elevation was very considerable, there were no sharp peaks, and it seemed that it would be easy to land. And we landed, but—on a billowy glacier which, from above, had seemed a smooth and level stretch. We descended, landed, and began to roll forward. The aeroplane glided with ever-increasing velocity. And we could not take to flight because, on descending, we noticed that one of the wire stays was broken.

Only with great difficulty, with the help of the observer, who slid down to the bottom of the frame and there operated the release handles of the motor, did we succeed in turning the aeroplane sideways and stopping it—not very far from a precipice, bottomless, as all the precipices are here. * * *

Only a Dog

The following sketch, giving a concrete example of the work done by thousands of hospital dogs in the Germany Army, was written for The New York Volkszeitung by a soldier recently returned from the front.

IT was growing dusk. The last ray of sunlight gilded the broad expanse of snow. The ice crystals sparkled like diamonds. The blue shadow of the mountains lay like a veil over the snow and the crevasses.

Franz Böhnke was unconscious of all this beauty. He lay wounded under a bush. The snowshoes that he still had on his feet made his position still more uncomfortable, but he was not able to take them off, because every movement hurt the wound in his right leg, from which the red blood was trickling over the white snow.

There he lay, quite alone. Not a man in sight. Not even an animal, or a bird. The shooting of men had naturally frightened them from their quarters.

Then the horrible thought came to him that it would soon be night and that, because of his wound, which was not dangerous in itself, he would be obliged to lie there and perish from cold or exhaustion.

Then he heard the distant barking of a dog. Were the hospital dogs looking for him? Then he would be saved. He listened breathlessly. The animal would surely bring him aid.

How strange it was, thought he, that man, blessed with reason, crippled and killed his fellow-man, while the dumb brute brought him aid and salvation! If I heard human beings approaching me now I should be filled with terror, for they might be Serbian volunteers who would wickedly attack me, a helpless man. The dog that is barking over there

will not hurt me. He will whine joyously and call loudly for help. Haven't we men something to learn from the animal?

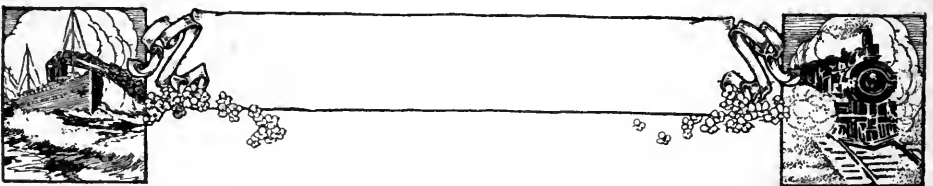
He sank back exhausted. The barking had ceased. It was becoming quite dark. He had been separated from his comrades for three hours. The ski patrol had scattered at the edge of the forest in order to search the neighborhood for the enemy. The members were to reunite in an hour at the old post. They certainly must miss him by this time.

Again he heard the barking of a dog. Perhaps it was only a hallucination caused by the fever that was beginning to grip him.

He thought of the poor, hard-working dogs in the city that pantingly drag their wagons, rest their heated bodies on the cold stones, and welcome every little caress of their masters with such grateful looks. When he was in the city he had never thought much about that. Why, it was only a dog. But now in the solitude he could not understand how men could be so indifferent.

Now he plainly heard the panting of a dog. Something woolly and shaggy brushed against his face. It was the fur of a dog. The animal barked loud and long, so as to attract the men of the hospital corps to the spot.

Franz put both arms around the neck of the shepherd dog, half out of thankfulness. The dog, which up to then had been capering about him, now held still and barked lightly, as if not to shock the wounded man. And so the hospital men found him.



Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of current thought in all the warring countries, as represented by their leading writers and more influential periodicals.

Germany's Changed Attitude

By Arnold Bennett

In the course of a recent article in The London Daily News the famous English novelist says:

WE are not simply drifting, and we most certainly are making progress. To perceive that this is so, surely one has only to compare the attitude of Germany eighteen months ago, twelve months ago, even three months ago, with her attitude today. How long is it since Germany was determined to annex Belgium? How long is it since she was determined to stick to Northern France and to take and keep Calais for a menace to Britain? How long is it since she was counting on indemnities to recoup her for the damage of war? Not long ago. Less than two months ago she had arranged to be in Paris at Easter. The recent speech of Bethmann Hollweg, though a proud oratorical effort that had its reward in the cheers of the Reichstag, sang a very different tune from the tune of last year. And it may be prophesied that, if the majority of Britons show anything like the grit that Mr. Asquith consistently displays, the tune six months hence will be a very different tune still—a third tune!

Certain persons say to me in accents of pained and superior incredulity: "But do you really think that we shall defeat Germany in the field?" I'm quite sure we shall if we stick to it. Why not? To hear certain persons talk one would think that there was some magic protection over Germany, and that she had never been defeated before. To this day there are people in this island who believe in Germany as they believe in a first cause. It is strange in face of the facts. Some of their arguments, as that if Germany

could not push the French back from Verdun we cannot push Germany back, absolutely silence rejoinder. What, indeed, is one to say to a man who reasons that because A tries to defeat B and fails, therefore B cannot defeat A? Anyhow, the allied armies, and the mass of the allied nations, believe that we can defeat Germany. And that is what we are now fighting for.

We are fighting, not for terms, but to defeat Germany for the sake of defeating her. It is an instinct, and I think it is a good instinct. It may be an instinct of brute force, but the reign of force is not yet finished on this planet. The exercise of force, and nothing else, has saved Europe from German domination. Physical pluck, ruthless homicide—not arguments nor the enunciation of broad principles—have kept the Germans out of Paris and out of Calais, and the menace of force alone keeps them out of Britain.

It is, of course, not a certainty that we shall defeat Germany in the field. There are factors working against this consummation—irresponsible and venal mischief-makers in Britain, the limits of population in France, and the unshakable traditions which govern Russian administration. But these factors, in my opinion, are immensely outweighed by the obstinate, slow-learning, imperturbable perseverance and the proved financial power of Britain, the magnificent military genius and valor of France, and the vastness of the Russian machine, together with the individual qualities of the Russian soldier. And, be it remembered, that though ourselves and Russia have made disastrous mistakes in the field, and may make more, Joffre has not made

mistakes. Further, though I expect a German defeat in the field, I do not count on it as an essential for a win. The British Navy, the limits of the enemy population and the limits of the enemy wealth, could satisfactorily finish this war even if the armies never conquered a foot of ground. Nor at best do I anticipate a sensational German collapse, with the Kaiser handing over his sword in the manner of Napoleon the Little, and German statesmen on their knees to our envoys.

A writer in "War and Peace" says confidently: "Be the time long or short,

peace will be made in the end as they [the pacifists] say it will." Well, I am inclined to think that on the surface peace will be so made—that is, by argument, successive presentations of terms, and compromises. But only on the surface. At the bottom of the affair, controlling the affair, will be the profound, unspoken German conviction that Germany is beaten, and the compromises will be spectacular rather than real. We are all now satisfactorily engaged in knocking the said conviction into the German skull, and our method of penetrating the skull is the sole efficacious method.

Discontent in Germany and Austria

By M. Likiardopoulo

M. Likiardopoulo is a Russian journalist and connected with the management of the famous Moscow Art Theatre. Being a Greek by birth and an accomplished linguist, he was able to avoid suspicion when he made a trip through Germany and Austria a few months ago. The extracts given below are from an article in the *Mercure de France*.

THE first impression of a traveler who, like myself, has made several previous sojourns in Berlin, is thoroughly depressing. It is a different Berlin, a dirty Berlin, without movement and without life. * * * I have witnessed street scenes which showed an irritable temper ready to burst into clamor. At the approach of people of wealth or authority threats are often to be heard, while expression is loudly given to the discontent over the duration of the war. A crowd gathers on the sidewalk; some talk and others listen; a man exhorts a woman with a little girl to be calm. "It is necessary to suffer," he says, "since Germany is on the way to conquering her enemies, whom she has already beaten." "Yes," replies the woman, "that is what is said, but we do not see this victory. What is the good of victory to me if I have nothing to eat, and even with money and food cards nothing is to be had? And if it is victory, why don't our men return?"

Neither in Berlin nor in Dresden have I been able to find the "Hymn of Hate." I learned that the authorities had confiscated all the placards and post cards and

that police circulars had stopped the rising flood of hate. Another proof that German jingoism has subsided is that in the cafés and public places patriotic songs become rarer. Even at the movies when the portrait of the Kaiser appears on the screen there are no longer cries of "Hoch!" and "Hurrah!" The people remain perfectly calm and quiet. The famous "Eiserne Hindenburg" (the Hindenburg in iron) has remained "in wood." In spite of all efforts to stimulate the public to drive in iron nails at a mark apiece, silver nails at ten marks, and golden nails at a hundred marks, the Field Marshal is still in wood with the exception of his boots and a small part of the tail of his tunic.

Germany is now only thinking peace, talking peace, and working for peace. The dominating word is "Friede," (peace.) In the populous districts there are to be met with from time to time long processions of women with a flag on which is inscribed "Brot und Frieden," (bread and peace.) So as not to rouse the crowd too much the authorities deal indulgently with these demonstrations and disperse the paraders without hav-

ing recourse to arms. Nevertheless, great care is taken not to let them reach the centre of the city where they would be seen by the foreigners. The reports of shooting and slaughter to put down these demonstrations, which appear in allied and neutral newspapers, are therefore exaggerated; but, on the other hand, one cannot believe the German press when it pretends that there have never been any demonstrations against the war and the famine.

"We know," I was told, "that all the newspapers are lying, the foreign ones like our own. At the Café Victoria I have often heard the Daily Liar asked for, and without hesitation the waiter brought The Daily Mail of London. Germany has generally entered on a period of doubt. Even the most reliable official news is received with mistrust."

No one thinks of the territorial gains except perhaps a few junkers. Every German knows the Latin phrase, "Status quo ante bellum," and quotes it when peace is spoken of. An influential majority is ready even to give up Alsace-Lorraine. In Dresden I went to see an old friend. "Even if we conquer," he said, "how many decades must it be before we cease to be pariahs and outlaws in the eyes of the whole world? After this war I shall never leave Germany. I would be ashamed to admit that I am a German."

In Vienna the cost of living has gone up by 200 to 250 per cent. Although externally relations are excellent, the traveler who stays some time in Germany and in Austria soon notices that

the Germans despise the Austrians, while the Austrians hate the Germans. The further one gets from the German frontier, especially toward Hungary, the more noticeable is the hatred of the German. The cost of living in Berlin and Vienna appears excessively cheap in comparison with what it is in Budapest, but in spite of all that, there, as in Vienna, there is no thought of economy. All classes of society have been seized by a kind of frenzy. In the restaurants, from the humblest to the most elegant, wine flows in streams to the music of Hungarian bands from 6 in the evening till 2 in the morning. A swarm of disreputable girls has thrown itself on the city, and it is they with the military of all arms and ranks who are in evidence everywhere. Sympathy with the French is openly professed, but on the other hand there is no love for the Slavs, whether Russians, Poles, Serbs, or Rumanians.

After leaving Budapest and crossing the Rumanian border, I had as companion a customs officer. When he learned of the trip I had just made, he brought in four of his colleagues. I had to tell them my story; and then from the mouths of these men I heard such an explosion of hatred against Germany and Austria and such strong assurances that all Rumania is thinking as they that to my mind there is no doubt that Rumania will join the side of the Entente. They told me of the German spies who swarm in Bucharest, of the stream of German gold to buy up public opinion, and of the plots against Take Jonescu, Filipesco, and other representatives of the Entente Party.

The German Chancellor's Speech

By Gilbert K. Chesterton

Noted English Essayist

Analyzing the German Chancellor's Reichstag address of April 5, Mr. Chesterton says, in the course of an article in Land and Water, London:

ALL that the Chancellor has here really succeeded in doing is making by implication three rather important admissions, which he would probably rather

not make. First, he admits that, in spite of all the talk about the earth-devouring British ogre, Britain really desired all powers to remain powerful and on a sort of equality. Second, he admits that, in spite of the talk about the decadence and disappearance of France, that country has still a considerable chance of playing

the first part in Europe. And third, in the case of Russia and Poland, he admits that the one consistent and conspicuous piece of advice that Prussia ever gave to Russia was uncommonly bad advice, which was indeed the case. Prussia first proposed and pressed the partition of Poland. She afterward prevented the emancipation of Poland. She has since incessantly bragged of the natural inferiority of Poland and the complete subjugation of Poland. She now says, with an unsmiling visage, that she will not give poor Poland to shocking, improper Russia; though it was only by her own wish that Poland was ever given to anybody. Much might be said in a gay and pleasurable spirit about this attitude, or antic, but for practical purposes a simple and sober fact will suffice; and that is the fact that nobody ever heard, or dreamed of hearing, a Prussian talk in such a tone until after the battle of the Marne.

Here I merely remark on the advantage of hearing the Imperial Chancellor publicly repudiate the chief work of Frederick the Great. It is not the only confession of somewhat the same kind. It is worth while to note one other implied admission, which may have been more intentional, the contrast made between Germany's present aims and her aims in 1870, "when Germany was dreaming of Alsace and empire." No German would deliberately dissociate himself from any imitation of Moltke and the example of Alsace, if he were not bidding cautiously for peace. Truly, Germany is not now thinking of Alsace—in that sense. She has become magnanimous. She is not troubled about getting her neighbor's goods, but only about keeping them.

The first stamp of this sort of stuff is an illogical vanity. The second is an utterly dead and disembodied pedantry. The best summary of it is Rousseau's "*nier ce qui est, et expliquer ce qui n'est pas.*" The Prussian is an outlaw and the enemy of everything in existence; but he is very careful in preserving the things which do not exist. Thus, there was and is a compact, unmistakable, independent kingdom called Belgium, which he and every one else not only recognized but

guaranteed. He has suddenly and savagely overpowered it, and now says there must be a new Belgium, by which he means, of course, a German Belgium. That is, we are to declare to all future ages that any Prince who chooses to invade a weaker country shall be rewarded with that country even if he is conquered.

So far the thing, though a joke, might be held to be an old joke. This is not the first, though it might well be the worst, case of a kind of impudence which, being also impenitence, may quite properly be called damned impudence. But what is unique and German, what would only be conceivable in a German, is the fact that the Chancellor covers up this moral tragedy with a sort of scientific fairy tale. He suddenly becomes very much excited on behalf of something which he calls "the long suppressed Flemish race," which must have something which he calls "a sound evolution" based on its national character. The Flemish race would seem to have been so long and so successfully suppressed that the Flemings have forgotten all about it, and are all fighting tooth and nail for a country which they call Belgium. No doubt if the Germans were still in a position to do so, they would invade England to provide a sound evolution for the Jutish race; but I will not speculate, for even in answering such words one wanders out of the land of the living. It is as if a man who had just cut my mother into small pieces told me he had been very careful of her astral body.

The Chancellor remarks that Germany is the only State threatened with destruction. If we may take this as meaning that Prussia is the only country that the Allies, or any other people in the civilized world, have any reason for putting under lock and key, it may be true. If it means that the Allies and the civilized world will probably be in a position at the end of the war to put Prussia under lock and key, this also we may concede to the eager intelligence of the Imperial Chancellor. But it might be noted, as a preliminary point of fact, that whatever nation may be threatened with destruction at the end of the war, at least

two nations were threatened with destruction at the beginning of the war, and were actually visited with practical destruction in the course of the war. The independence of these two nations was threatened by Germans alone, and was destroyed by Germans alone. The sovereignty of Serbia and the neutrality of Belgium were abolished at a blow by the Teutonic Powers, not as part of a difficult settlement of Europe, but as part of a perfectly wanton unsettlement of it. Whether or no any sort of annexation would be Europe's last word to Germany, it was certainly Germany's first act against Europe.

The Chancellor seems to suppose that because he has behaved like an anarchist, he has turned the world into an anarchy. He thinks that the mere fact, which we are ready to concede to him, that Germany has broken the civilization of the

world into pieces, means that we have entirely forgotten how it was put together, and shall be content with any patchwork he may pick and choose for us. In short, he thinks that his bravoes have not only knocked us on the head, but knocked us silly; so that we have forgotten our father's name and our baptism and even the wrong that he has done us. He is mistaken. The story of the German adventure has been dreadful; but we do not find it in the least dubious. It is the character of a crime to shock, but it need not of necessity bewilder; and in this we do not see any particular mystery except the mystery of iniquity. At the end of it the Prussian will not find himself picking up whatever he can get in a scramble; he will find himself more and more separated from his dupes and tools, and punished impartially, and punished alone.

America's Opportunity

By H. G. Wells

In the course of a long article in The London Chronicle entitled "Looking Ahead," Mr. Wells says:

SO far as I can judge, the American mind is eminently free from any sentimental leaning toward the British. Americans have a traditional hatred of the Hanoverian monarchy and a democratic disbelief in autocracy. They are far more acutely aware of differences than resemblances. They suspect every Englishman of being a bit of a gentleman and a bit of a flunky. There is nothing to reciprocate the sympathy and pride that English and Irish republicans and radicals feel for the State. Few Americans realize that there are such beings as English republicans. What has linked them with the British hitherto has been very largely the common language and literature; it is only since the war began that there seems to have been any appreciable development of fraternal feeling. And that has been not so much discovery of a mutual affection as the realization of a far closer community of essential

thought and purpose than has hitherto been suspected.

The Americans, after thinking the matter out with great frankness and vigor, do believe that Britain is, on the whole, fighting against aggression and not for profit; that she is honestly backing France and Belgium against an intolerable attack, and that the Hohenzollern empire is a thing that needs discrediting and, if possible, destroying, in the interests of all humanity, Germany included. And they find that, allowing for their greater nearness, the British are thinking about these things almost exactly as they think about them. * * *

The war and the great occasions that must follow the war will tax the mind and the intellectual and moral forces of the pledged Allies enormously. How far is this new but very great and growing system of thought and learning in the United States capable of that propaganda of ideas and language, that progressive expression of a developing ideal of community * * * which must neces-

sarily take the place of the organized authoritative Kultur of the Teutonic type of State? As an undisguisedly patriotic Englishman I would like to see the lead in this intellectual synthesis of the nations, that must be achieved if wars are to cease, undertaken by Great Britain. But I am bound to confess that in Great Britain I see neither the imaginative courage of France nor the brisk enterprise of the Americans. I see this matter as a question of peace and civilization; but there are other baser, but quite as effective, reasons why America, France, and Great Britain should exert themselves to create confidence and un-

derstandings between their populations and the Russian population. There is the immediate business opportunity in Russia.

There is the secondary business opportunity in China that can best be developed as the partners rather than as the rivals of the Russians. Since the Americans are nearest, by way of the Pacific, since they are likely to have more capital and more free energy to play with than the pledged Allies, I do, on the whole, incline to the belief that it is they who will yet do the pioneer work and the leading work that this opportunity demands.

Origin and Meaning of the War

By Professor N. Kareyev

Leading Russian Scholar, Member of Academy of Sciences

[Written in Russian and translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THERE exists already, a whole literature on the origin and meaning of the present great struggle. Properly speaking, it is yet too early to write about the meaning of the war to humanity, as this meaning will be made clear only at the end, which still lies in the future, and the subject can therefore be only a matter of guessing, based on one's hopes and wishes, as well as one's doubts and fears. The war has put forward a series of questions, which can receive different answers, depending upon the course which the history of tomorrow may take; and not only different answers, but also unexpected ones, for, after all, the war itself was a great surprise. Even though we take into consideration the fact that the war was predicted by many, there was no knowing when and on what occasion it would commence.

The Governments of the warring countries have all issued collections of diplomatic documents in book form, under colored covers, and they contain enough material for rendering the decision as to who was responsible for the war and in what quarters the guilt is to be locat-

ed. Many details of the historic week which preceded the declaration of war may remain unknown to us; but whatever revelations may be made in the future, whatever historians may dig out of the archives, there will hardly be any essential change in the present indictment of the originators of the war.

Guilty are they who placed a burning match to the tinder that had accumulated in a long period of time. It is true that history, not the originators of the explosion, had created and accumulated that mass of inflammable material. But it was possible to handle it in various ways, not to throw into it burning matches, or to permit similar acts by others. Of itself automatically nothing happens in history. A historical process is a personal process, and not an impersonal evolution. And whatever appears to be impersonal in history is really the result of individual efforts. Each generation of humanity has to deal with a certain aggregation of conditions created by its predecessor, but how the inheritance of the past will be regarded by its heir, and what will become of it, that, in the last analysis, will be found

to depend upon the work of separate individuals or social groups. History ties some very hard knots, which people either entangle still more or try to untie, or simply sever by sword without attempting another solution.

The twentieth century inherited from the past three difficult knots, which could have been let alone, could have been made the object of a concerted effort at disentanglement, could have been more entangled, or could have been severed by sword. Whoever refused to preserve the status quo, or to attempt a peaceful solution, is responsible for the war. The matter certainly was in the hands of one or more individuals for decision. There is little support for those publicists who make general causes responsible for the war, as if "general causes," without individual volition, could accomplish anything in history. Of course, I am infinitely distant from the Carlylean thesis that all history is the product of one will, of the so-called hero or great man. But I am just as distant from the Tolstoyan doctrine, claiming that history is the result of all, minus those persons generally called great.

Much as we may seek the cause for current events in the collective psychology of the German Nation, we shall find that the frame of mind of that nation cannot be held responsible directly for the conflagration. Figuratively, one may speak of guns discharging themselves. In life it never happens. That the mental attitude of the German public was different from the Russian, French, or English, that it was more militant and aggressive, cannot be doubted. But though it constituted a menacing atmosphere, it cannot be held directly responsible for the war, as it in itself was the creation of the real originators of the war.

If, from the question of responsibility, which could be answered in a judicial manner as it has already been done by the American jurist Beck, we pass to the more historical question of the genesis of the war, the collective frame of mind of the German public cannot be left out of consideration. Their military, economic, political, and cultural successes turned

the heads of the Germans, and it is impossible not to bear this in mind while considering the origin of the war. But also some purely materialistic, economic conditions were responsible, though the problems born of these conditions could have been solved peacefully as well. Another cause of the war was the conviction among the German people that earlier or later it would have to take place. Other peoples shared this conviction to some degree.

The great war, if we regard it from all concrete sides, was a surprise. But war, nevertheless, was expected. For a long time its possibility, and even inevitability, was discussed. And to a higher or lesser degree all nations were preparing for war. These very preparations have to a considerable measure prepared the war itself. Growing militarism was justified on the plea of insuring peace, but it contained itself the danger of war.

If it is comparatively easy to locate the causes of the war, it is because long before it broke out the antagonisms on whose foundations the possibility of war rested became clear to all. Past history has formed three complicated major knots in international relations, which, combined with some others of minor importance, constitute the great political tangle of the world war.

The first knot came into existence in 1871, when Germany appropriated Alsace-Lorraine. This was the Franco-German knot, which has been a menace to the peace of the world ever since.

The second may be called the Austro-Russian or Balkan knot. Its beginning in modern history goes back to 1875, when the Herzegovina uprising occurred. Squeezed out from Italy and Germany, Austria turned to the Balkans, where her policies came into conflict with those of Russia. The Hapsburg monarchy found support for its Balkan policies in Germany, which soon began to seek expansion in the same direction, having for its ultimate objective Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia's opponent in the Balkans was not only Austria-Hungary, but also Germany.

The last circumstance served as a tie between the two knots, Franco-German and Austro-Russian; but a third soon joined them, more recent in origin, but very important at that.

At the opening of the present century the Anglo-German knot entered history, forcing England to make friends of her antagonists, Russia and France. So long as Germany remained an agricultural, Continental State, and purely European, England had little to do with her. But the development of German industry and commerce, the creation of Germany's mercantile and naval fleets, the acquisition of colonies, and her movements in Asia to the Persian Gulf, compelled England to modify her attitude toward Germany. The Anglo-German knot became interlocked with the first two, forming a Gordian knot in international politics, which had grown still more complicated, owing to a series of secondary knots connected with each major one. But, grave as the situation was, it was still capable of a peaceful disentanglement. There was no lack of plans for such a happy

solution. It was left for the powers to choose between war and peace. And we know now which side was desirous of avoiding war and which was resolved to draw the sword.

As soon as the great war was declared a flood of new problems rushed before the public eye, demanding solutions. This in itself proves the import of the struggle and the meaning attached to it. In each of the two camps these problems are being offered for solution in different ways, and each of the warring countries wishes to solve them in its own way. Each puts its own meaning into the struggle, according to the efforts exerted by each. Quite frequently the wildest chimeras are suggested, but not infrequently practical problems are advanced which cannot remain unanswered, the Polish question, for example.

The true meaning of the war will appear only when these problems that are clamoring for solution shall have been solved, once for all, definitely and sanely. That can come only after the close of hostilities.

The Pope and the Peace Conference

An interesting glimpse of the Italian attitude regarding the status of the Pope is given in these excerpts from the *Nuova Antologia*.

I.

ANSWER TO ERNESTO NATHAN

BY FILIPPO CRISPOTTI

SIR: You write that "the spectacle presented by Italy today is wonderful; we are all united, parties have virtually disappeared." And, so far as concerns the military and civil contribution to the war, you are right. Then you add: "It is not advisable to raise questions apt to disturb this 'Truce of God,' to sow discord in anticipation." And to a great degree you are right once more. But he who, like the Hon. Soderini and myself, and many others, opposes the a priori exclusion of the Pope from an eventual Peace Conference, is not sowing discord.

We have not proposed to the powers,

much less to Italy, to invite the Pope. The possibility of this invitation was suggested by many voices, on all hands. We have opposed ourselves to those who, having heard these voices, proposed to Italy that she should place herself antecedently and absolutely "in the negative," the first in authority among these being Senator Rolandi Ricci and Deputy Tommaso Mosca. To them we said, very temperately, that it was not right in this way to cause a disturbance of the Truce of God. At the same time I permit myself to say to you, now that you, not from a fear of injuring the Guarantees, like Deputy Mosca, but because of a supposed lack of title in the Pope—a thesis sufficiently general, and one touching the character of the Congress itself, and not only Italy's interest—in part follow Ro-

landi Ricci, as he in his turn follows the thought of Zanichelli on The Hague Congress, and affirm that the Pope would have no title to be admitted to the Peace Conference, and would find nothing to do there.

To controvert these arguments of yours is not to raise unsuitable or untimely questions, or to sow discord. It is to restore the question, which has already been brought before the world, to its natural development, to disencumber it from obstacles which seem to me to be out of place, and to make room for certain truths which, like every truth, are not tares of discord, but elements of concord. You ask: "Is it possible to know on what grounds the Pontiff should take his place in the contemplated Synedron, and not delegates of the Anglican or Lutheran Church, or of the Mohammedan or Buddhist religions, the latter dear to the Japanese?" And the interrogation is stated thus, in order to remain within the limits of State religions, without taking into account the representatives of the Israelites, the Baptists, and those who embrace different forms of philosophic thought, and, fighting in the armies, freely give their lives in battle, even though not enrolled under a State religion.

The reply is simple. If the Pope were invited because of his spiritual title, or because of his just title, no obligation of consistency would constrain the State to issue similar invitations to others, nor to change the Peace Conference into a Conference of Religions, for the reason that it is inaccurate to say that there are other personages having titles equal to those of the Pope. And I affirm this, quite apart from the divine origin of the Pope's mission, which is incommunicable to the ministers of other confessions. Since I have to discuss the question with you, I must remain on ground that is common to us both, and I know that you would not follow me on theological ground. I confine myself to purely palpable facts.

To begin with, what religion has, like the Catholic, a life and organization so distinct from the life and organization of

States, nations, races, upheld by its moral force alone? Where are the heads of religions who, like the Pope, have throughout the world so great importance due solely to a religious title? In the second place, in what religion has the office of head the significance, the scope, which it has in the Catholic religion? In the confessions which you have enumerated the place left for liberty of individual conscience is so great, and the variety of local customs is so large, as to render impossible either a genuine body of doctrine, with a single authority, or a true organism, apt for discipline, worship, hierarchy. The head, when there is one, far from being the master, the legislator, the governor, as the Pope is, in our religion, has a much more restricted authority, sometimes merely an honorary primacy. And I say, "when there is one," because, especially in the aberrant Christian sects, the supremacy is exercised in part, as it is in theory, by the temporal sovereign, in the other part, and in practical details, by a sacerdotal body or person.

Finally, to all these reasons why the spiritual figure of the Pope is unique, even in an earthly sense, it is to be added that infidels and heretics themselves recognize this unique position. Have Governors and Kings, of whatever belief, ever been seen to send Ambassadors to the Chief Rabbis, or to the Chief Priests of Brahma and Buddha, respectfully visiting them in their sees, and considering them, at least in the formality of precedence, as superior to themselves; treating them, that is, as they treat the Pope?

II.

HEADS OF MANY CHURCHES

BY MONSIGNOR UMBERTO BRIGNI

* * * Another capital proof is this: that, at the future Peace Conference, at which the presence of the Roman Catholic Pope is not desired, other Popes will be present. * * * And this undeniable fact will suffice to prove the reality of certain objections—namely: In the coming Peace Conference, an active and decisive part will be taken by the official heads of different Churches: the King of England, head of the Anglican Es-

tablished Church; the King of Prussia, summus episcopus of the Evangelical Church of his kingdom; the Czar of Russia, head of the Orthodox Church of his empire and religious protector of the other Orthodox Christians; the Sultan of Turkey, Padishah, Vicar of Allah for Islam; the Mikado of Japan, son of the gods and head of the religion of his nation.

Italians are so little familiar with such facts that their minds refuse to see in these sovereigns real heads of Churches. Confusing ecclesiastic supremacy with the ecclesiastical function, Italians are led to consider these sovereigns not as the heads of the respective confessions or religions, but, at the most, as exercising civil control over religious life, in the same manner as the Italian Government gives or refuses the exequatur or the placet to the Bishops and parishes of the Kingdom of

Italy. Yet the former view is true, not the latter. The fact that the King of England does not distribute the sacrament to his faithful, and that the Czar does not officiate in the Orthodox Cathedral at Petrograd, does not contravene the fact that the one and the other are the heads, the true heads, of their Churches, since, to be the head of a Church, it is enough to be the direct superior of its hierarchy and its functioning. * * *

How then? It was proclaimed by well known thinkers and politicians, before 1870, that it was necessary to liberate the Pope from the bonds of temporal power in order that he might be able better to occupy himself with the spiritual interests of the Catholic world; now it is proclaimed that, to occupy himself with them, like the other "Popes" in Congress, he should be a temporal sovereign!

Cadorna: Italy's Idol

By Luigi Barzini

In a long and enthusiastic article in the Corriere della Sera of Milan the author thus sketches the chief commander of the Italian Army:

THE great spirit of General Luigi Cadorna is really the moral fulcrum of our army. His person, bony but square of build, solid, full of a vigor that seems to belie his age, quickly reveals his energy and simplicity. None of the trappings of pomp supports his prestige. One who has never seen Cadorna and who enters his office for the first time has no conception of the modest appearance of the old gentleman soldier who awaits him, erect, dressed in the rough uniform of the field, on which glistens the insignia of his rank. The frank cordiality of his salutation, his courteous gesture of invitation, his open smile, the bright expression of his proud, thin, tormented, genial face immediately dispel the slight disquietude of one who approaches a personage in power, which is perhaps merely a putting one's self on guard. And before speaking you have

a certain ineffable sense of confidence that opens the way to your fullest sincerity.

His thick mustache is white, his sparse, straight hair rises from a forehead lined by thought, his whole face has the wrinkles that the cares of life print, but a verdant youth looks out of his clear eyes. They flash, they laugh, those eyes of his, and from them shines the freshness of a spirit that is unalterable because it is perhaps the freshness of a whole soldierly race descended to him with an atavistic confidence in war.

He is not, like Joffre, a silent man, but he is not one who wastes words. He economizes them like ammunition; he saves them up to attain an object, to which they go straight as a cannon shot. Often he is silent for a long time, and seems distraught, but he is listening; and if, in the conversation there comes up an error to be destroyed or a truth to be demonstrated, then he will let go a sentence. It is a blaze of ideas, a brief gust, but the whole web of conjectures, of ra-

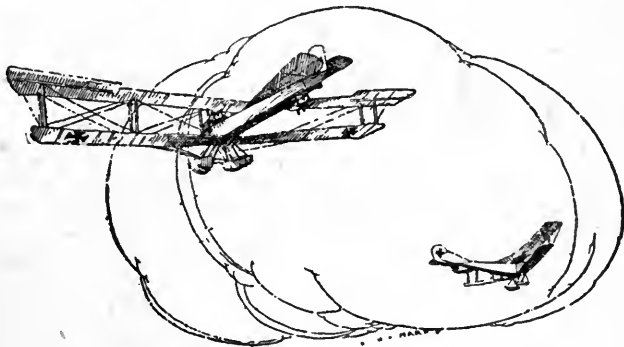
tiocinations and of hypotheses that had been spun about him is broken and thrown into disorder, the truth appears. For Cadorna has made of common sense the fundamental law of his thought. "The art of warfare," he has written, "should inspire itself from pure and simple common sense." In this maxim is the whole science of life.

Cadorna understood that to wait meant getting a trench war in our own country; he felt the absolute necessity of using every disposable means at once for a bold attack, even if a dangerous one—both to carry the struggle out of Italy at one blow and to push the front out and have its roots enter as deeply as possible, correcting the most dangerous weaknesses of the frontiers, taking away from the enemy the passes that threatened us the most. He made his demands, and when Cadorna demands he is inflexible, because he does not get the strength of his reasoning from the consensus of other men's opinion. He is sure. He has in himself all the elements of certainty. No objection can move him, for he has made them all to himself already. His will draws things along just through the intuition that every one has of his logic. When he does not draw, he overturns.

Thus the sparse covering troops went outside their limits and little by little became an army, they knit together during the offensive action, broadening out gradually through the arrival of the mobilized forces that were coming from the arteries

of the country. It was a technical prodigy.

Behind the field of military operations which are burning, tangible, there went on for a long time an intense work of creation, of formation, of strengthening—obscure, vast, marvelous. Let us not forget that when Italy felt the need of its army there was no army. Political evils had reduced it to an appearance. In nine months it was called up out of nothing. During that long vigil of waiting, while Europe was on fire, Cadorna improvised the work of decades with an activity that would seem superhuman if one were not acquainted with the iron calm of this man, who knows with preciseness and order what is to be done, and who knows it without knowing fatigue. He deserves the name of the Father of the Army. But even performing miracles, the preparation could only be maintained by a constant effort equal to that demanded by events. And necessity made ever greater demands. The instrument of the struggle had to continue renewing itself right through the struggle. This work of Cadorna's, necessarily the least known, is not the least splendid. It was constantly and urgently his task to face the peril of disproportion between his needs and his means. All the organisms were brought to the extreme of efficiency, were raised to the maximum of their yield, by a veritable wave of energy and will, of enthusiasm and faith that came down from the General in Chief.



Defense of the British Blockade

Great Britain's Reply to Protests of the United States on Interference with Neutral Trade

The State Department at Washington made public on April 24 Sir Edward Grey's official answer to the protest of the United States Government—a protest sent last November—in regard to allied interference with neutral trade. The note contains 13,000 words and has several appendices. All its essential portions are reproduced in full in the following pages of CURRENT HISTORY, with the section numbers of the original. The document is of lasting historical importance. It has not been published in so complete a form elsewhere in the United States.

THE communication addressed by the United States Ambassador in London to Sir E. Grey on Nov. 5, 1915, has received the careful attention of his Majesty's Government in consultation with their allies, the French Government, and his Majesty's Government have now the honor to make the following reply:

2. The first section (Paragraphs 3-15) of the United States note relates to cargoes detained by the British authorities in order to prevent them from reaching an enemy destination, and the complaint of the United States Government is summarized in Paragraph 33, to the effect that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification.

3. The wording of this summary suggests that the basis of the complaint of the United States Government is not so much that the shipments intercepted by the naval forces were really intended for use in the neutral countries to which they were dispatched, as that the dispatch of goods to the enemy countries has been frustrated by methods which have not been employed by belligerent nations in the past. It would seem to be a fair reply to such a contention that new devices for dispatching goods to the enemy must be met by new methods of applying the fundamental and acknowledged principle of the right to intercept such trade.

4. The question whether the exercise of the right to search can be restricted to search at sea was dealt with in Sir E. Grey's note of Jan. 7, 1915, and his Majesty's Government would again draw attention to the facts that information has constantly reached them of attempts to conceal contraband intended for the enemy in innocent packages, and that these attempts can only be frustrated by examination of the ship and cargo in port. Similarly, in Sir E. Grey's note of Feb. 10,

1915, it was pointed out that the size of modern steamships and their capacity to navigate the waters where the allied patrols have to operate whatever the conditions of the weather, frequently render it a matter of extreme danger, if not of impossibility, even to board the vessels unless they are taken into calm water for the purpose. It is unnecessary to repeat what was said in that note. There is nothing that his Majesty's Government could withdraw, or that the experience of the officers of the allied fleets has tended to show was inaccurate.

5. When visit and search at sea are possible, and when a search can be made there which is sufficient to secure belligerent rights, it may be admitted that it would be an unreasonable hardship on merchant vessels to compel them to come into port, and it may well be believed that maritime nations have hesitated to modify the instructions to their naval officers that it is at sea that these operations should be carried out, and that undue deviation of the vessel from her course must be avoided. That, however, does not affect the fact that it would be impossible under the conditions of modern warfare to confine the rights of visit and search to an examination of the ship at the place where she is encountered without surrendering a fundamental belligerent right.

ADMIRAL JELlicoe's VIEWS

6. The effect of the size and seaworthiness of merchant vessels upon their search at sea is essentially a technical question, and accordingly his Majesty's Government have thought it well to submit the report of the board of naval experts, quoted by the United States Ambassador in Paragraph 7 of this note, to Admiral Sir John Jellicoe for his observations. The unique experience which this officer has gained as the result of more than eighteen months in command of the Grand Fleet renders his opinion of peculiar value. His report is as follows:

"It is undoubtedly the case that the size of modern vessels is one of the factors which renders search at sea far more difficult than

in the days of smaller vessels. So far as I know it has never been contended that it is necessary to remove every package of a ship's cargo to establish the character and nature of her trace, &c.; but it must be obvious that the larger the vessel and the greater the amount of cargo, the more difficult does examination at sea become, because more packages must be removed.

"This difficulty is much enhanced by the practice of concealing contraband in bales of hay and passengers' luggage, casks, &c.; and this procedure, which has undoubtedly been carried out, necessitates the actual removal of a good deal of cargo for examination in suspected cases. This removal cannot be carried out at sea except in the very finest weather.

"Further, in a large ship the greater bulk of the cargo renders it easier to conceal contraband, especially such valuable metals as nickel, quantities of which can easily be stowed in places other than the holds of a large ship.

"I entirely dispute the contention, therefore, advanced in the American note that there is no difference between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons. I am sure that the fallacy of the statement must be apparent to any one who has ever carried out such a search at sea.

"There are other facts, however, which render it necessary to bring vessels into port for search. The most important is the manner in which those in command of German submarines, in entire disregard of international law and of their own prize regulations, attack and sink merchant vessels on the high seas, neutral as well as British, without visiting the ship, and therefore without any examination of the cargo. This procedure renders it unsafe for a neutral vessel which is being examined by officers from a British ship to remain stopped on the high seas, and it is therefore in the interests of the neutrals themselves that the examination should be conducted in port.

"The German practice of misusing United States passports in order to procure a safe conduct for military persons and agents of enemy nationality makes it necessary to examine closely all suspect persons, and to do this effectively necessitates bringing the ship into harbor."

7. Sir John Jellicoe goes on to say:

"The difference between the British and the German procedure is that we have acted in the way which causes the least discomfort to neutrals. Instead of sinking neutral ships engaged in trade with the enemy, as the Germans have done in so many cases in direct contravention of Article 113 of their own Naval Prize Regulations, 1909, in which it is laid down that the commander is only justified in destroying a neutral ship which has been captured if

(a) She is liable to condemnation, and

(b) The bringing in might expose the warship to danger or imperil the success of the

operations in which she is engaged at the time

we examine them, giving as little inconvenience as modern naval conditions will allow, sending them into port only where this becomes necessary.

"It must be remembered, however, that it is not the Allies alone who send a percentage of neutral vessels into port for examination, for it is common knowledge that German naval vessels, as stated in Paragraph 19 of the American note, 'seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports.'

"As cases in point, the interception by the Germans of the American oil-tankers *Llama* and *Platuria* in August last may be mentioned. Both were bound to America from Sweden, and were taken into Swinemünde for examination."

FRENCH MINISTRY OF MARINE

8. The French Ministry of Marine shares the views expressed by Sir J. Jellicoe on the question of search at sea, and has added the following statement:

"La pratique navale, telle qu'elle existait autrefois et consistant à visiter les navires en mer, méthode que nous a léguée l'ancienne marine, ne s'adapte plus aux conditions de la navigation actuelle. Les Américains ont pressenti son insuffisance et ont prévu la nécessité de lui en substituer une plus efficace. Dans les Instructions données par le Département de la Marine américaine, du 20 juin, 1898, aux croiseurs des Etats-Unis, on trouve déjà la prescription suivante:

"Si ces derniers (les papiers de bord) indiquent de la contrebande de guerre, le navire devra être saisi; sinon, il sera laissé libre, *a moins qu'en raison de puissants motifs de suspicion, une visite plus minutieuse paraisse devoir être exigée.*"

"Toute méthode doit se modifier en tenant compte des transformations subies par le matériel que les hommes ont à leur disposition à la condition de rester une méthode humaine et civilisée. (Navy Department, General, No. 492, 'Instruction to Blockading Vessels and Cruisers.' Paragraph 13.)

"L'Amirauté française estime qu'aujourd'hui un navire, pour être visité, doit être dérouteré sur un port toutes les fois que l'état de la mer, la nature, le poids, le volume, l'arrimage de la cargaison suspecte, en même temps que l'obscurité et l'absence de précision des papiers de bord, rendent la visite en mer pratiquement impossible ou dangereuse pour le navire visité.

"Au contraire, lorsque les circonstances inverses existent, la visite doit être faite en mer.

"Le déroutement est également nécessaire et justifié, lorsque, le navire neutre entrant dans la zone ou le voisinage des hostilités, (1) il importe, dans l'intérêt même du navire neutre, d'éviter à ce dernier une série d'arrêts et de visites successives et de faire

établir, une fois pour toutes, son caractère inoffensif et de lui permettre ainsi de continuer librement sa route sans être molesté; et (2) le belligérant, dans son droit de légitime défense, est fondé à exercer une surveillance particulière sur les navires inconnus qui circulent dans ces parages."

9. The question of the locality of the search is, however, one of secondary importance. In the view of his Majesty's Government the right of a belligerent to intercept contraband on its way to his enemy is fundamental and incontestable, and ought not to be restricted to intercepting contraband which happens to be accompanied on board the ship by proof sufficient to condemn it. What is essential is to determine whether or not the goods were on their way to the enemy. If they were a belligerent is entitled to detain them, and having regard to the nature of the struggle in which the Allies are engaged they are compelled to take the most effectual steps to exercise that right.

In Paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 13 Sir Edward Grey's reply deals with various objections raised to British prize court procedure, and points out that rules formerly governing such procedure are no longer applicable. The note goes on:

14. It may be doubted whether any belligerent Government would be ready to forego the right of capture of goods on their way to an enemy in every case where such destination was not disclosed by the ship's papers or the evidence of those on board the ship. The difficulty which the United States naval officers found even as early as 1862 in complying with the old rule is illustrated by the quotation from Lord Lyons's note of April 22, 1863, in connection with the case of the *Magicienne*, one of the cases which is dealt with in the appendix to this note, in which he drew attention to the habit of the United States cruisers of seizing vessels on the chance that something might possibly be discovered *ex post facto* which would prevent the captors from being condemned to pay damages.

TRADERS' RISKS

15. The contention advanced by the United States Government in Paragraph 9 of their note, that the effect of this new procedure is to subject traders to risk of loss, delay, and expense so great and so burdensome as practically to destroy much of the export trade of the United States, to neutral countries in Europe is not borne out by the official statistics published in the United States, nor by the reports of the Department of Commerce. The first nine months of 1915 may be taken as a period when the war conditions must have been known to all those engaged in commerce in the United States of America, and when any injurious effects of the prize court procedure would have been recognized. During that period the exports

from the United States of America to the three Scandinavian countries and Holland, the group of neutral countries whose imports have been most affected by the naval operations of the Allies and by the procedure adopted in their prize courts, amounted to \$274,037,000, as compared with \$126,763,000 in the corresponding period of 1913. It is useless to take into account the corresponding figures of 1914 because of the dislocation of trade caused by the outbreak of war, but taking the pre-war months of 1914, the figures for 1913, 1914, and 1915 were as follows:

| | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1913 | \$97,480,000 |
| 1914 | 88,132,000 |
| 1915 | 234,960 |

16. In the face of such figures it seems impossible to accept the contention that the new prize court procedure in Great Britain has practically destroyed much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries in Europe, and the inference is suggested that if complaints have been made to the Administration at Washington by would-be exporters, they emanated not from persons who desired to engage in genuine commerce with the neutral countries, but from those who desired to dispatch goods to the enemy under cover of a neutral destination, and who found it more difficult to conceal the real facts from the Prize Courts under the new procedure.

17. At this point it would have been opportune to introduce a reply to the contention that appears at first sight to be advanced in Paragraph 13 of the United States note that Great Britain, while interfering with foreign trade, has increased her own with neutral countries adjacent to Germany, but this is rendered unnecessary by the explanation given by Mr. Page at the time that he presented the note, and since confirmed by a statement given out to the press at Washington, that no such meaning is to be attributed to the paragraph. Moreover, the subject has been dealt with in the note which Sir E. Grey sent to Mr. Page on the 13th August last, and again in the note given to the State Department by the British Ambassador at Washington on the 27th December.

The questions of non-interference with goods intended for the "common stock" of a neutral country, and discrimination between bona fide neutral commerce and that intended for the enemy, are dealt with in Paragraphs 18, 19, and 20, and some illuminating examples are given of the way in which efforts were made to get goods through to Germany on the "common stock" excuse, as, for example, the fact that while the quays of Gothenburg were congested for cotton, none was available for the use of Swedish spinners. The note proceeds:

BOGUS CONSIGNEES

21. However sound the principle that goods intended for incorporation in the common stock of a neutral country should not be treated as contraband may be in theory, it is one that can have but little application to the present imports of the Scandinavian countries. The circumstances of a large number of these shipments negative any conclusion that they are bona fide shipments for the importing countries. Many of them are made to persons who are apparently nominees of enemy agents, and who never figured before as importers of such articles. Consignments of meat products are addressed to lightermen and dock laborers. Several thousands of tons of such goods have been found documented for a neutral port and addressed to firms which do not exist there. Large consignments of similar goods were addressed to a baker, to the keeper of a small private hotel, or to a maker of musical instruments. Will it be contended that such imports ought to be regarded as bona fide shipments intended to become part of the common stock of the country?

22. Similarly several of the shipments which the allied naval forces are now obliged to intercept consist of goods for which there is in normal circumstances no sale in the importing country, and it has already been pointed out in a recent decision in the British Prize Court that the rule about incorporation in the common stock of a neutral country cannot apply to such goods. The same line was taken in some of the decisions in the United States Prize Courts during the civil war.

23. In the presence of facts such as those indicated above the United States Government will, it is believed, agree with his Majesty's Government that no belligerent could in modern times submit to be bound by a rule that no goods could be seized unless they were accompanied by papers which established their destination to an enemy country, and that all detentions of ships and goods must be uniformly based on proofs obtained at the time of seizure. To press any such theory is tantamount to asking that all trade between neutral ports shall be free, and would thus render nugatory the exercise of sea power and destroy the pressure which the command of the sea enables the Allies to impose upon their enemy.

24. It is, of course, inevitable that the exercise of belligerent rights at sea, however reasonably exercised, must inconvenience neutral trade, and great pressure is being put upon the United States Government to urge the technical theory that there should be no interference at all with goods passing between neutral ports, and thus to frustrate the measures which the Allies have taken to intercept commerce on its way to or from the enemy. It may not be out of place to recall that the position is somewhat similar to that which arose in the United States in the war between the North and the South.

All students of international law and of military history are aware that the blockade of the Southern States was the most important engine of pressure possessed by the North, and that it was on the point of being rendered ineffective through the use by blockade runners of neutral ports of access. It is well known that the United States Government took immediate steps to stop such trade, and that the United States Supreme Court extended the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases where there was an intention to break the blockade by whatever means, direct or indirect.

CIVIL WAR EXAMPLES

25. The configuration of the European coast is such as to render neutral ports the most convenient for the passage of German commerce, and just as it was essential to the United States in the civil war to prevent their blockade from being nullified by the use of neutral ports of access, so it is essential to the allied powers today to see that the measures which they are taking to intercept enemy commerce shall not be rendered illusory by the use of similar ports. The instructions issued by Mr. Seward during the civil war show that he regarded the continuance of the blockade against the Southern States as absolutely vital, and he repeatedly instructed American representatives abroad to assure foreign Governments that, while he was fully alive to the great inconveniences caused by the cutting off of the supplies of cotton from Europe, yet he could not, as American Secretary of State, "sacrifice the Union for cotton." The American representatives in Europe in their published reports again and again expressed the opinion that, whatever might be the policy of the Government, the peoples of Europe would never consent to side with the power that upheld slavery against the power which represented freedom. Their opinion was entirely justified by the result, and in fact neither the French nor the English Government took any decided steps toward breaking the blockade, in spite of the tremendous pressure which was brought to bear upon them, and the terrible suffering of the cotton operatives of this country. Indeed, President Lincoln himself acknowledged in a message to the laboring classes of Manchester his high sense of the spirit of self-sacrifice which they had exhibited in their policy toward America. His Majesty's Government has, of course, no desire to enter upon any examination of the issues involved in that historic conflict, but no one will question the respect which is due to the determination then shown by the French and British peoples not to range themselves on what they believed to be the side of slavery or consent to action which they held might be fatal to the democratic principle of Government, however great the pressure, exerted by commercial interests might be.

NEUTRAL TRADE

26. His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that every effort is being made to distinguish between *bona fide* neutral commerce and that which is really intended for the enemy. The task is one of exceptional difficulty, and the statistics show that a great volume of imports intended for the enemy must have passed through adjacent neutral countries during the war. As an instance, the imports of lard into Sweden during the year 1915 may be taken. In that year the total import of lard into Sweden from all sources was 9,318 tons, of which no less than 9,029 tons came from the United States. In the three years before the war, 1911-13, the annual average import of the same article was only 888, of which 638 tons came from the United States. It is difficult to believe that the requirements of Sweden in respect of lard, even when every allowance is made for possible diversions of trade due to the war, could suddenly have increased more than tenfold in 1915. The inference, indeed, is irresistible that the greater part of these imports must have had another and an enemy destination.

27. It may readily be conceded that the efforts to intercept enemy commerce passing through neutral countries cannot fail to produce some soreness and dissatisfaction. His Majesty's Government have therefore spared no pains in their endeavor to mitigate the inconvenience which must inevitably be occasioned to neutral traders. In pursuance of this object they are resorting to the policy of ascertaining the total requirements of the country concerned, and intercepting such imports as may be presumed, because they are in excess of those requirements, to form no part of the normal trade of the country, and therefore to be destined for the enemy.

28. The total net imports of a particular commodity by any country in normal times give a satisfactory index to its requirements, and where these are provided for on a generous scale, suitable allowance being made for the commercial dislocation inseparable from a state of war, it is not unfair, after eighteen months of war and in the light of the experience which has now been gained, to invite the prize court to regard with suspicion further consignments of any kind of goods of which the imports have already exceeded a figure ample to satisfy the country's requirements.

29. It ought not to be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with all parties on the subject, as the official statistics afford information not only as to the quantities of particular commodities required by neutral countries, but also of the sources from which they are usually obtained. Arrangements of this nature will be of great service in removing the friction and misunderstanding which now arise, as it will help the commercial classes in the neutral coun-

tries to form an idea of the limits within which their trading operations are not likely to encounter difficulty.

30. The adoption of such a system, although not unattended by difficulty, has been greatly facilitated by agreements made with the organizations which control imports in the neutral countries, as well as by arrangements with some of the shipping lines, and with several of the interests concerned in the import of particular commodities from neutral countries. His Majesty's Government intend to avail themselves of every opportunity which may present itself in order to bring about a more extended adoption of this equitable system.

31. Moreover, the fact that a neutral country adjacent to the enemy territory is importing an abnormal quantity of supplies or commodities, of which her usual imports are relatively small, of which the enemy stands in need, and which are known to pass from that neutral country to the enemy, is by itself an element of proof on which the prize court would be justified in acting, unless it is rebutted by evidence to the contrary. Hostile destination being a question of fact, the court should take all the relevant circumstances into consideration in arriving at its decision, and there seems to be no reason in principle for limiting the facts at which the court is entitled to look in a case of this kind.

EFFECTIVE BLOCKADE.

32. The second section of the United States note (Paragraphs 16-24) deals with the validity of the measures against enemy commerce which were embodied in the British Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and in the French Decree of March 13, and maintains that these measures are invalid because they do not comply with the rules which have been gradually evolved in the past for regulating a blockade of enemy ports, and which were summarized in concrete form in Articles 1-21 of the Declaration of London.

33. These rules can only be applied to their full extent to a blockade in the sense of the term as used in the Declaration of London. His Majesty's Government have already pointed out that a blockade which was limited to the direct traffic with enemy ports would in this case have but little if any effect on enemy commerce, Germany being so placed geographically that her imports and exports can pass through neutral ports of access as easily as through her own. However, with the spirit of the rules, his Majesty's Government and their allies have loyally complied in the measures they have taken to intercept German imports and exports. Due notice has been given by the Allies of the measures they have taken, and goods which were shipped or contracted for before the announcement of the intention of the Allies to detain all commerce on its way to or from the enemy countries have been treated with great liberality. The objects with which the usual declaration and notification of blockade

are issued have therefore been fully achieved. Again, the effectiveness of the work of the allied fleets under the orders referred to is shown by the small number of vessels which escape the allied patrols. It is doubtful whether there has ever been a blockade where the ships which slipped through bore so small a proportion to those which were intercepted.

34. The measures taken by the Allies are aimed at preventing commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, and not merely at preventing ships from reaching or leaving German ports. His Majesty's Government do not feel, therefore, that the rules set out in the United States note need be discussed in detail. The basis and the justification of the measures which the Allies have taken were dealt with at length in Sir E. Grey's note of July 23, and there is no need to repeat what was there said. It need only be added that the rules applicable to a blockade of enemy ports are strictly followed by the Allies in cases where they apply, as, for instance, in the blockades which have been declared of the Turkish coast of Asia Minor or of the coastline of German East Africa.

TEST OF RESULTS

35. Some further comment is perhaps necessary upon the statements made in Paragraph 19 of the United States note, where it is said that because German coasts are open to trade with Scandinavian countries the measures of the Allies fail to comply with the rule that a blockade must be effective. It is no doubt true that commerce from Sweden and Norway reaches German ports in the Baltic in the same way that commerce still passes to and from Germany across the land frontiers of adjacent States, but this fact does not render the measures which France and Great Britain are taking against German trade the less justifiable. Even if these measures were judged with strict reference to the rules applicable to blockades, a standard by which, in their view, the measures of the Allies ought not to be judged, it must be remembered that the passage of commerce to a blockaded area across a land frontier or across an inland sea has never been held to interfere with the effectiveness of the blockade. If the right to intercept commerce on its way to or from a belligerent country, even though it may enter that country through a neutral port, be granted, it is difficult to see why the interposition of a few miles of sea as well should make any difference. If the doctrine of continuous voyage may rightly be applied to goods going to Germany through Rotterdam, on what ground can it be contended that it is not equally applicable to goods with a similar destination passing through some Swedish port and across the Baltic, or even through neutral waters only? In any case, it must be remembered that the number of ships reaching a blockaded area is not the only test as to whether it is maintained effectively. The best proof of the

thoroughness of a blockade is to be found in its results. This is the test which Mr. Seward, in 1863, when Secretary of State, maintained should be applied to the blockade of the Confederate States. Writing to Mr. Dayton, the United States Minister in Paris, on March 8, he said: "But the true test of the efficiency of the blockade will be found in its results. Cotton commands a price in Manchester, and in Rouen and Lowell four times greater than in New Orleans. * * * Judged by this test of results, I am satisfied that there never was a more effective blockade." Similar language was used in a dispatch to Mr. Adams in London. The great rise in price in Germany of many articles, most necessary to the enemy in the prosecution of the present war, must be well known to the United States Government.

COTTON AS CONTRABAND

36. Attention is drawn in the same paragraph to the fact that cotton has since the measures announced on March 11 been declared to be contraband, and this is quoted as an admission that the blockade is ineffective to prevent shipments of cotton from reaching the enemy countries. The reason for which cotton was declared to be contraband is quite simple. Goods with an enemy destination are not, under the Order in Council, subject to condemnation; they are restored to the owner. Evidence accumulated that it was only for military purposes that cotton was being employed in Germany. All cotton was laid under embargo, and its use in textile factories was prohibited except in very special cases or by military permission. In these circumstances it was right and proper that cotton with an enemy destination should be subjected to condemnation and not merely prevented from passing, and it was for this reason that it was declared to be contraband. The amount of cotton reaching the enemy country has probably not been affected in the least by its being made contraband on Aug. 20, as supplies from overseas had been cut off effectually before that date. Even the Konfektionär, a German technical paper dealing with the textile industry, admitted in its issue of July 1 that not a gram of cotton had found its way into Germany for the preceding four weeks.

37. Before leaving the question of the validity of the measures which France and Great Britain have taken against enemy commerce, reference must be made to the statement made in the thirty-third paragraph of the United States note that "the curtailment of neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory and therefore illegal, * * * cannot be admitted." His Majesty's Government are quite unable to admit the principle that to the extent that these measures are retaliatory they are illegal. It is true that these measures were occasioned and necessitated by the illegal and unjustifiable proclamation issued by the German Government on Feb. 4, 1915, constituting the waters

surrounding Great Britain, including the whole English Channel, a "war zone," into which neutral vessels would penetrate at their peril and in which they were liable to be sunk at sight. This proclamation was accompanied by a memorandum alleging that the violation of international law by Great Britain justified the retaliatory measures of the German Government owing to the acquiescence of neutrals in the action of this country. The legitimacy of the use of retaliatory measures was thus admitted by the Germans, although his Majesty's Government and their allies strongly deny the facts upon which their arguments were based. But although these measures may have been provoked by the illegal conduct of the enemy, they do not, in reality, conflict with any general principle of international law, of humanity, or civilization; they are enforced with consideration against neutral countries, and are therefore juridically sound and valid.

On the more abstract question of the legitimacy of measures of retaliation adopted by one belligerent against his opponent, but affecting neutrals only, Sir Edward Grey (in Paragraph 38) observes that such a discussion might well be deferred, but he takes his stand on the principle of equal liberty of action. The note continues:

LEGAL REMEDIES

39. The third section of the United States note deals with the question of the means of redress which are open to United States citizens for any injury or loss which they suffer as the consequence of an unjustifiable exercise of the belligerent rights of the Allies. The contention put forward in these paragraphs appears to be that there is no obligation on neutral individuals, who maintain that they have been damnified by the naval operations of the belligerents to appeal to the prize courts for redress, because the prize courts are fettered by municipal enactments which are binding upon them, whereas the very question which those individuals wish to raise is the validity of such enactments when tested by the canons of international law.

40. These arguments seem to be founded on a misunderstanding of the situation, and to overlook all that was said, in Sir E. Grey's note of July 23 on this subject. The extract there quoted from the decisions given by Lord Stowell shows that in Great Britain the prize court has jurisdiction to pronounce a decision on the very point which the United States note indicates, viz., whether an order or instruction to the naval forces issued by his Majesty's Government is inconsistent with those principles of international law which the court is bound to apply

in deciding cases between captors and claimants, and is entitled, if satisfied that the order is not consistent with those principles, to decline to enforce it. The jurisdiction of the prize court in Great Britain, therefore, affords every facility to a United States citizen, whose goods are detained and dealt with under the Order in Council of March 11, to take his case to the prize court and there claim that the order under which the naval authorities have acted is invalid, and that its enforcement entitles him to redress and compensation.

41. In some matters it is true that the prize court is bound by the municipal enactments of its own country. It is the territorial sovereign who sets up the court, and who, therefore, determines the matters which are incidental to its establishment. His Majesty's Government have already pointed out that each country determines for itself the procedure which its prize court shall adopt, but certainly under the British system—and his Majesty's Government were under the impression that, in this matter, the United States had taken the same course—the substantive law, which the court applies as between captor and claimant, consists of the rules and principles of international law, and not the municipal legislation of the country. If reference is made to the case of the *Recovery*, (6 C. Rob. 341,) it will be seen that Lord Stowell refused to enforce in the prize court against a neutral the British navigation laws.

42. Sir E. Grey's note of July 23 was intended to make this point clear, and so far from having intended to "give the impression that his Majesty's Government do not rely upon its soundness or strength," his Majesty's Government wish to lay stress on the fact that the principle that no encroachment should be made upon the jurisdiction and the competence of the prize court is one which they regard as vital.

In subsequent paragraphs dealing with claims made by shippers for compensation, Sir Edward Grey outlines the procedure to be followed by England, and incidentally he touches upon the cases of the *Magicienne*, the *Don José*, the *Labuan*, and the *Saxon*, as cited in the American note. These cases, Sir Edward Grey says, establish the very principle for which his Majesty's Government is now contending—that where the prize court has powers to grant relief no recourse should be had to diplomatic channels.

Full details of the cases in question are contained in an appendix to the note. Sir Edward Grey's concluding remarks in the note itself are as follows:

CONSIDERATION FOR NEUTRALS

49. Finally, his Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that they will continue their efforts to make the exercise of what they conceive to be their belligerent rights as little burdensome to neutrals as possible. Some suggestions have already been referred to in this note which, it is believed, would have that effect, and they are quite ready to consider others. For instance, they have already appointed an impartial and influential commission to examine whether any further steps could be taken to minimize the delays involved in the present methods of dealing with neutral vessels. Again, it has been suggested that it would be a great commercial convenience if neutral shippers knew, before they made arrangements for ship space and for financing their consignments, whether they would be held up by belligerent patrols. A scheme is already in operation which ought to succeed in accomplishing this object. Other suggestions of a like nature might perhaps be made, and the Allied Government would be prepared to give favorable consideration to any proposal for the alleviation of the position of neutrals provided that the substantial effectiveness of the measures now in force against enemy commerce would not be thereby impaired.

50. His Majesty's Government are of opinion that it is to such mitigations that the Allies and the neutrals concerned should look for the removal of the difficulties now encountered, rather than to abrupt changes either in the theory or application of a policy based upon admitted principles of international law carefully adjusted to the altered conditions of modern warfare. Some of the changes which have been advocated would, indeed, if adopted in their entirety, render it impossible for the Allies to persist with effect in their endeavors to deprive the enemy of the resources upon which he depends for the prosecution of operations carried on both by land

and sea with complete disregard of the claims of humanity; for instance, the practice of visiting exclusively at sea, instead of in port, vessels reasonably suspected of carrying supplies to the enemy; or, again, the adoption of the principle that goods notoriously destined for the enemy may not be intercepted if they happen to be carried by a neutral vessel and addressed to a neutral consignee, could not fail to have this result.

51. His Majesty's Government have noted with sincere satisfaction the intimation contained in the concluding passages of the United States note, of the intention of the United States to undertake the task of championing the integrity of neutral rights. The first act of this war was the unprovoked invasion by the enemy of neutral territory—that of Belgium—which he was solemnly pledged by treaty to protect; the occupation of this territory was accompanied by abominable acts of cruelty and oppression in violation of all the accepted rules of war, atrocities the record of which is available in published documents; the disregard of neutral rights has since been extended to naval warfare by the wanton destruction of neutral merchant ships on the high seas, regardless of the lives of those on board. In every theatre and in each phase of the war has been visible the same shocking disregard by the enemy of the rights of innocent persons and neutral peoples. His Majesty's Government would welcome any combination of neutral nations under the lead of the United States which would exert an effective influence to prevent the violation of neutral rights, and they cannot believe that they or their allies have much to fear from any combination for the protection of those rights which takes an impartial and comprehensive view of the conduct of this war, and judges it by a reasonable interpretation of the generally accepted provisions of international law and by the rules of humanity that have hitherto been approved by the civilized world.

Complete List of Contraband Articles

A BRITISH WHITE PAPER issued in April gives an alphabetical list of the articles declared contraband by proclamations now in force. As the former distinction between absolute and conditional contraband has been abolished, the list of absolutely prohibited articles is the most sweeping in the history of wars and commerce. So long as the exceptional conditions in Germany continue, says the British Foreign Office, Great Britain's belligerent rights with regard to the two kinds of contraband

are the same, and the treatment of them will be identical. The articles that will be seized if shipped, directly or through neutral ports, to the Central Powers, are these:

Acetic acid and acetates, acetic ether; acetones, and raw and finished materials, usable for their preparation; aircraft of all kinds, including aeroplanes, airships, balloons, and their component parts, together with accessories and articles suitable for use in connection with aircraft; aluminium, alumina, and salts of aluminium; ammonia liquor, ammonium salts, aniline and its derivatives; animals, saddle, draught, or pack, suitable,

or which may become suitable, for use in war; antimony, together with the sulphides and oxides of antimony; apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea; armor plates; arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their component parts; arsenic and its compounds, arsenical ore, articles especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires, asbestos.

Barbed wire, barium chlorate and perchlorate, bauxite, benzol and its mixtures and derivatives; bladders, guts, casings, and sausage skins; bones in any form, whole or crushed, and bone ash; boots and shoes suitable for use in war; borax, boric acid, and other boron compounds; bromine.

Calcium acetate, calcium nitrate, and calcium carbide; camp equipments, articles of, and their component parts; camphor, capsicum, carbon disulphide; carbon, halogen compounds of; carbonyl chloride, carborundum in all forms, casein, caustic potash and caustic soda, celluloid, charges and cartridges of all kinds and their component parts; chlorides, metallic (except chloride of sodium) and metalloidal; chlorine, chrome ore, chronometers, clothing and fabrics for clothing suitable for use in war, clothing of a distinctively military character; cobalt, copper pyrites and other copper ores; copper unwrought and part wrought, copper wire, alloys and compounds of copper; cork, including cork dust; corundum, natural and artificial, (alundum,) in all forms; cotton, raw, linters, cotton waste, cotton yarns, cotton piece goods, and other cotton products capable of being used in the manufacture of explosives; cresol and its mixtures and derivatives, cyanamide.

Docks, parts of.

Emery in all forms, equipment of a distinctively military character, ethyl alcohol, explosives, whether specially prepared for use in war or not.

Ferro alloys, including ferro-tungsten, ferromolybdenum, ferro-manganese, ferro-vanadium, and ferro-chrome; field forges and their component parts; field glasses, flax; floating docks and their component parts; foodstuffs, forage, and feeding stuffs for animals; formic ether; fuel, other than mineral oils; fuming sulphuric acid, furs utilizable for clothing suitable for use in war.

Glycerine, gold, gun mountings and their component parts.

Hair, animal of all kinds, and tops, noils, and yarns of animal hair; harness and saddlery, harness of a distinctively military character, all kinds of; hemp, hides of cattle, buffalos, and horses, horseshoes and shoeing material, hydrochloric acid.

Implements designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea; implements for fixing and cutting barbed wire, iodine and its compounds; iron, electrolytic; iron

hematite, and hematite iron ore; iron pyrites. Kapok.

Lathes capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war; lead and lead ore, leather belting, hydraulic leather, pump leather; leather, undressed or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, military boots, or military clothing; limbers and limber boxes and their component parts, lubricants.

Machines capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war, manganese and manganese ore, manganese dioxide, maps and plans of any place within the territory of any belligerent, or within the area of military operations, on a scale of four miles to one inch or any larger scale, and reproductions on any scale, by photography or otherwise, of such maps or plans; materials especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires, materials used in the manufacture of explosives, mercury, methyl alcohol, military wagons and their component parts; mineral oils, including benzine and motor spirit; molybdenum and molybdenite, motor vehicles of all kinds and their component parts and accessories.

Naphthalene and its mixtures and derivatives; nautical instruments, all kinds of negotiable instruments, nickel and nickel ore, nitric acid and nitrates of all kinds.

Oils and fats, animal, fish, and vegetable, other than those capable of use as lubricants, and not including essential oils; oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels; oleum.

Paper money, paraffin wax, peppers, phenol (carbolic acid) and its mixtures and derivatives; phosphorus and its compounds, phosphate, potassium salts, powders, whether specially prepared for use in war or not; projectiles of all kinds and their component parts, prussiate of soda.

Railway materials, both fixed and rolling stock; ramie, rangefinders and their component parts; rattans, realizable securities, resinous products; rubber, (including raw, waste, and reclaimed rubber, solutions and jellies containing rubber, or any other preparations containing rubber, balata, and gutta-percha, and the following varieties of rubber, viz.: Borneo, Guayule, Jelutong, Palembang, Pontianac, and all other substances containing caoutchouc,) and goods made wholly or partly of rubber.

Sabadilla seeds and preparations therefrom, scheelite, searchlights and their component parts, selenium, silver, skins of calves, pigs, sheep, goats, and deer, skins utilizable for clothing suitable for use in war, soap, sodium, sodium chloride and perchlorate, sodium cyanide, solvent naphtha and its mixtures and derivatives, starch, steel containing tungsten or molybdenum, submarine sound signaling apparatus, sulphur, sulphur dioxide, sulphuric acid, sulphuric ether.

Tanning substances of all kinds, including quebracho wood and extracts for use in tanning; telegraphs, materials for; telephones, materials for; telescopes, tin, chloride of tin and tin ore; toluol, and its mixtures and de-

rivatives; tools capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war; tungsten, turpentine, (oil and spirit,) tires for motor vehicles and for cycles.

Urea.

Vanadium, vegetable fibres and yarns made therefrom; vehicles of all kinds, other than motor vehicles, available for use in war, and their component parts; vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds.

Warships, including boats and their component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war; wireless telegraphs, materials for; wolframite, wool tar and wood tar oil; wool, raw, combed, or

carded; wool waste, wool tops and noils; woolen or worsted yarns.

Xylol and its mixtures and derivatives.

Zinc ore.

A supplementary order announced on May 4 that the following articles would be added to the contraband list:

Brooms and brushes; bulbs, flower roots, plants, trees, and shrubs; canned, bottled, dried, and preserved vegetables and pickles; horns and hoofs, ice, animal and vegetable ivory; moss, rubber tires, tubes for motor cars and motor cycles; salt, starch, dextrine, farina, and potato flour.

Origin of the Word "Boche"

By DOUGLAS L. BUFFUM

Since the beginning of the European war numerous attempts have been made to explain the origin of the word "boche," which is now almost universally used by the French soldiers when speaking of the Germans. The correct explanation is probably as follows:

Boche is an abbreviation of caboche, (compare bochon, an abbreviation of cabochon.) This is a recognized French word used familiarly for "head," especially a big, thick head, ("slow-pate.") It is derived from the Latin word caput and the suffix "oecus." Boche seems to have been used first in the under-world of Paris about 1860, with the meaning of a disagreeable, troublesome fellow. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 it was not applied to the Germans, but soon afterward it was applied by the Parisian printers to their German assistants because of the reputed slowness of comprehension of these foreign printers. The epithet then used was tête de boche, which had the meaning of tête carrée d'Allemand. The next step was to apply boche to Germans in general.



BUTTER AND POTATO CARDS USED BY RESIDENTS OF BERLIN

How the Great War Began

Official Narrative of the Momentous Scenes Which Led to the Invasion of Belgium

By Albert de Bassompierre

Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Belgium

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from *Revue des Deux Mondes*]

ON July 23, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia burst like a thunderclap in the European sky, which had seemed to recover its serenity during the month that had passed since the drama at Sarajevo. From that moment acute distress reigned in the Chancelleries of all the States threatened by the impending catastrophe. At Brussels the strain was intense, for we knew that, although the political crisis of the last few years had not led to war between the great European powers, they had more than once come very near it; and we instantly realized the grave danger of a general conflagration which the Austrian note to Serbia had abruptly laid bare. The Central Empires evidently desired war, since they imposed upon the Ministers at Belgrade conditions that were impossible of acceptance by a proud and independent nation, and since it was certain, on the other hand, that Russia would be morally forced to uphold Serbia's resistance.

The understanding between Berlin and Vienna touching the terms of the note did not for a moment seem to us susceptible of doubt. The reports of Baron Beyens and the Comte de Dudzele, our Ministers at Berlin and Vienna, hardly allowed us to entertain any illusions in that regard. It was becoming evident, or at least infinitely probable, that it seemed to Germany and Austria-Hungary a favorable opportunity to utilize the formidable engine of destruction which had been in preparation, with meticulous care, for forty years; and to crush Russia and France before the military su-

periority of the Germanic Empires could be challenged.

It was therefore in an atmosphere of depression that we passed the last days of July.

For years past the problem which was destined to confront Belgium at the outbreak of a European war in which her powerful neighbors—guarantors one and all of her neutrality—should be belligerents, had been carefully studied at the Foreign Office. We had tried to imagine all the attacks on our neutrality which might conceivably be made, and to scrutinize each one of them, always asking ourselves the question: "In this particular case, what attitude would our duty to ourselves and to Europe command us to assume?"

Notes had been drawn up to summarize the results of these studies. They presupposed, purely *ex hypothesi*, violations of our neutrality by all our neighbors, including the loyal guarantors who are fighting by our side today. They aimed to mark out lines of conduct for the Government on the day of peril.

If these notes, which were read and reread eagerly during the last week of July, 1914, are published some day, they will demonstrate the absolute good faith, the perfectly honorable attitude of Belgium, even in the eyes of those—if any such there shall still be—whom the Germans have succeeded in inducing to believe that we had in advance abandoned our neutrality in favor of France or England; even in the eyes of the Germans themselves, I would say, if it were not certain that our enemies have never had the slightest doubt in that regard,



MOLDERS OF RUSSIA'S DESTINIES

Emperor Nicholas II. and General Alexeieff at Staff Headquarters
in Petrograd



ARCHDUKE EUGENIUS OF AUSTRIA

Commander in Chief of Austrian Troops on Italian Front: In Costume of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

and that they have knowingly been guilty of the evil action called calumny in bringing against us the accusation of having been false to our duty as neutrals. This calumny, no less, and perhaps even more, than all the blood that has been shed has dug a chasm between Germany and Belgium which will never be bridged over.

The notes that are still on file in the Foreign Office show that there might have happened cases of violation of our neutrality in which the correct attitude for us to assume would have been very hard to decide unhesitatingly and speedily. (For instance, the case of simultaneous or almost simultaneous violations by several belligerents, each accusing his adversary of having been the first offender and ascribing to his own entry upon our territory the character of an act in support of the guarantee.) But, I say again, they prove conclusively the firm resolution on the part of the Government to acquit itself, in every possible conjuncture, with scrupulous rectitude and without regard to what the cost to the country might be, of the duties imposed upon Belgium by the treaties of 1839.

The status of guaranteed neutrality was intended, in the collective purpose of Europe, to place us outside of all contentions and, if that result could not be secured, to furnish our weakness with aid against a possible aggressor: Today the world can judge whether, when the supreme test came, guaranteed neutrality met the hopes that had been based upon it; and the Belgian people are in a position to determine whether this gift of the great powers has been, when all is said, a benefaction to them.

Among the powers that neighbor Belgium are there any which constitute a menace to her existence? And are there others upon which she can rely to safeguard her? Would not the defeat, the humiliation, or the diminished strength of these last, at whatsoever time it might happen, be likely to be the signal for her disappearance as an autonomous nation? Consequently, is there good reason to base the future policy of the kingdom on these consider-

ations, or is it possible to recover a sentiment of equal tranquillity and confidence with respect to all the powers which were formerly set over us? That is the problem with which the war has brought the Belgian people and Government face to face.

But on Aug. 2, 1914, a single fact controlled the situation—Belgium had the status of guaranteed conventional neutrality,* and we must allow ourselves to be guided only by the anxious desire to fulfill its obligations.

To be perfectly frank, we must admit that the eventuality which confronted us that day was that which had appeared to us beforehand most improbable, because it was too brutal and too simple—that of a power which was one of the guarantors of our neutrality requesting us directly and formally to renounce in its favor the neutrality guaranteed by itself, and threatening us with all its destroying wrath if we dared to confine ourselves to the performance pure and simple of a duty which, under those conditions, was so manifest that there was really no need of specialists in the law of nations to point it out to the country!

The German ultimatum* attempted, it is true, to justify the action of the Imperial Government by a labored and awkward insinuation against the adverse party. It began by declaring that "the Imperial Government knew from an unquestionable source the intention of France to march upon Germany over Belgian territory." But this was so manifestly a pretext, it was so outrageously contrary to the truth, it was in such flagrant contradiction with the solemn declaration that France had made to us the day before—as we shall see further on—and with the assurances that the authorities of the republic had repeated so often in the course of recent years, and with what was known of the movements of French troops, that the German Government cannot have been deceived for an instant as to the degree

*The official text of the ultimatum and the reply, together with the treaty articles guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality, appear at the end of this article.

of credence with which its declaration would be met in Belgium.

Between July 23 and Aug. 2, amid the confused mass of news that reached us from every direction, amid the feverish readings and re-readings to which we had to resort to fix accurately in our minds the studies we had made in view of a possible war, the measures of every sort which must be taken in haste—telegrams, diplomatic visits, and telephone calls—a few facts stand out in my memory as being of most importance in that period of excitement.

In the first place, on July 28 we learned by a telegram from the Comte de Duzeele, our Minister at Vienna, of the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on Serbia. That same evening the Council of Ministers met under the presidency of the King. In face of the warlike preparations that were being made on all sides, the question was raised whether prudence did not demand the mobilization of the Belgian Army.

The Council decided to take a step provided for by the law, the first stage of mobilization; that is to say, to put the army on the reinforced peace footing.

On the next day, July 29, the *Moniteur* Belge published, in connection with the Austro-Serbian war, the declaration calling attention to the statute of Belgian neutrality, which was a formal performance at the beginning of every war.

On Friday, July 31, we learned that the German Government had proclaimed the *Kriegzustand*, that is to say, the measure preliminary to general mobilization of the land and naval forces of the empire. Holland having, for her part, placed her army on a war footing during the day, the Belgian Council of Ministers likewise, at 6 in the evening, decreed a general mobilization. Aug. 1, at midnight, was fixed as the time when it was to begin. It was to be completed, so to speak, in the evening of the 2d.

In the evening of the 31st, about 10 o'clock, the English Minister called to inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs that, in view of the possibility of a European war, Sir Edward Grey had inquired of the French and German Gov-

ernments if each of them was prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium, provided that no other power should violate it. Sir Edward Grey, Sir Francis Villiers added, assumed that Belgium would do everything in her power to maintain her neutrality, and that it was her wish that the other powers should observe it and maintain it.

M. Davignon made haste to assure the English Minister of our determination to omit nothing to maintain the neutrality of the country. He begged his Excellency to note the evidence of this determination in the decision to place the army on a war footing, and he warmly thanked Sir Francis Villiers for the important communication that he had made on the part of the British Government.

This proceeding was, in truth, a proof that England still regarded the neutrality of Belgium as an essential matter. It justified the belief—although Sir Francis Villiers did not say it in so many words—that Great Britain, loyal to the Treaty of 1839, would intervene to defend us against any power that should undertake to violate our neutrality.

On Aug. 1, in the morning, M. Klobukowski, the French Minister, called to communicate to M. Davignon the categorical declaration reproduced in the *First Gray Book* as No. 15: "I am authorized to declare that, in the event of an international conflict, the Government of the republic will, as it has always promised, respect the neutrality of Belgium. In the event that such neutrality should not be respected by another power, the French Government, to safeguard its own defense, might be led to modify its attitude."

Such was the response, clear and unequivocal, of France to the question asked by the British Government on the preceding day. France did not leave to Great Britain the duty of communicating it to us.

The silence of Germany was becoming alarming. On the day before, July 31, Baron von der Elst had tried to sound Herr von Below-Saleske, the Minister of that country. He had reminded him of

a conversation that he had had in 1911 with his predecessor, Herr von Flotow—a conversation which had drawn from the Imperial Chancellor a message reassuring to Belgium. Germany, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg had said, had no intention, whatever any one might say, of violating Belgian neutrality in case of war; but the Chancellor considered that a public declaration to that effect would impair the military situation of the empire in respect to France, who, being relieved from anxiety as to her northern frontier, would concentrate her full strength on the east.

Baron von der Elst also reminded Herr von Below-Saleske of the declarations of Herr von Jagow to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag in 1913, as to the recognition by Germany of the treaties guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. The German Minister confined himself to replying that he remembered those declarations, and that he was sure that the sentiments expressed by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg in 1911, and by Herr von Jagow in 1913, had not changed.

On Aug. 1, after M. Klobukowski's declaration in the name of France, I was instructed by M. Davignon to go to Herr von Below and inform him of this declaration as well as of the measure taken by the British Government at Berlin and at Paris, which Sir F. Villiers had brought to our knowledge the day before.

The Foreign Minister intended by this means to give the representative of Germany an opportunity to tell us whether his Government had replied in the same sense as France to Great Britain's inquiry concerning respect for our neutrality.

I was to go at first to Sir F. Villiers to ask him if he had any objection to my informing Herr von Below of what he had said to us the day before. The English Minister, who had people in his office, came into the reception room where he received me at once with his usual amiability. He reflected a moment concerning the question I put to him and replied: "The communication that I was instructed to make to the King's Government was made without reservation or condition; it belongs to them, therefore,

and they can make such use of it as they deem proper."

I hastened to the German Legation, where I arrived about 12:30 o'clock. I placed before Herr von Below the inquiry made by Great Britain at Berlin and Paris. I repeated to him the unequivocal and loyal declaration made to us that morning by M. Klobukowski in the name of the French Republic. Lastly, in accordance with M. Davignon's instructions, I told him that the French Legation had requested the press to publish a communiqué making known the attitude of its Government. That communiqué would appear that same evening.

Herr von Below, when I had finished, threw himself back in his chair, and, looking up at the ceiling, with his eyes half closed, he repeated with phonographic accuracy everything that I had first said to him, using the very words that I had used—until I began to wonder whether it was simply a proof of a good memory or whether he was already cognizant of the whole affair before my visit. But when he had finished repeating my communication, he paused a moment, then added: "You will be good enough, I beg, to say to M. Davignon that I am deeply obliged to him for his message, and that I shall inform my Government of it." Thereupon he indicated to me, in the clearest fashion, by rising and offering me a cigarette, that he had nothing more to say to me officially. But he went on almost immediately, in a familiar, conversational tone, to say that personally he was fully convinced that Belgium had nothing to fear from Germany, and that his Government would doubtless consider it unnecessary to amplify or even to repeat its earlier declarations to that effect.

This same language Herr von Below repeated to M. Davignon in the morning of Aug. 2—the very day when he was to deliver the ultimatum of his Government! And he made—always in his individual name—analogous reassuring declarations to the representatives of the press. "Your neighbor's roof may burn, perhaps, but your house will be safe," he said to one of the editors of *Le Soir*, who published the interview at 3 in the

afternoon. Moreover, Captain Brinckmann, the German Military Attaché, said, at 11 in the morning, to one of the editors of the *XX^e Siècle* who questioned him by telephone, "It is not true that Germany has declared war. Our troops have not occupied the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. These are all false reports put forth by persons hostile to the German Empire." The *XX^e Siècle* published these statements of the Military Attaché in its 3 o'clock edition.

Aug. 2 was a Sunday. In the morning we learned by a telegram from the Belgian Minister at St. Petersburg, sent on the previous evening, of the declaration of war by Germany against Russia and the general mobilization of the German armies. In the afternoon a telegram from M. Eyschen, Minister of State of Luxemburg, advised us of the contemptuous invasion of the Grand Duchy by the imperial forces.

Thus the day was full of excitement; about 7 in the evening, having finished my work, I left the office with Baron de Gaiffier. Before reaching the main door of the department, on the Rue de la Loi, we went into the Secretary General's office. With Baron von der Elst we went over the news that had come since morning. It was no longer possible to foster illusions; the operation of the alliances was drawing the powers one after another into the whirlpool. Russia was already at war with Germany. The invasion of Luxemburg indicated clearly that a Franco-German state of war was a question of hours. Were we destined to be engulfed in the catastrophe, or would the miracle of 1870 be repeated? The loyalty of France was manifest. Germany said nothing, and that fact seemed of evil augury, but Herr von Below was so reassuring! Moreover, the step taken by England and the threat which it implied—were not they calculated to make Berlin think twice? In view of the late telegrams, might we not suppose that the German forces assembled along the frontier would move toward the Moselle and would avoid encroaching upon Belgian territory? Was not this hypothesis warranted by the fact that the motives alleged for the

violation of Luxemburg did not exist with respect to Belgium?

We were trying to cling fast to this hope, as shipwrecked men cling to a bunch of straw, when an usher opened the door and, with a perturbed air, announced hastily and unceremoniously: "The German Minister has just gone into M. Davignon's Cabinet."

We realized, all three of us, that at that fateful moment the destiny of our dear little country was about to be decided.

Ten minutes passed, which seemed to us like hours. Then, at 7:30, the haughty figure of Herr von Below appeared on the other side of the courtyard, and the German Emperor's representative, quite impassive, passed out to the street, where his motor car awaited him.

In an instant we were in M. Davignon's office. It was empty, but at the same moment the Minister, who had gone into the adjoining room to summon Comte Leo d'Ursel, his chief clerk, came in with a paper* in his hand, and followed by the Count and by M. Costermans, the second clerk. All three seemed deeply moved.

"This is bad, very bad," said the Minister, who was extremely pale. "Here is the German note, of which Herr von Below gave me a résumé. They demand that we allow the German army to pass over our territory."

"And what reply did you make, Monsieur le Ministre?"

"I took the paper and said that I would go over it with the King and my colleagues. We have twelve hours to reply. But I could not contain my indignation! I told Herr von Below that we could have expected anything save this! Germany, claiming to be our devoted friend, yet proposing to us such a dishonorable course! Let us translate it quickly and send for M. de Broqueville."

I took my pen and seated myself at the Minister's desk, while Comte Leo d'Ursel and Baron de Gaiffier took possession of the German note and immediately set about translating it. I wrote

*Text of note reprinted at end of this article.

as they dictated. M. Davignon and the Secretary General followed the work anxiously, seated at the right and left of the fireplace, facing the desk. The whole scene is indelibly engraved on my memory: the faces of the auditors, the thoughts that jostled each other in my mind—even the look of the paper on which I transcribed in French the words of the ultimatum; I believe that I shall never forget a single one of these details.

The translation was not simple, certain German phrases admitting of diverse interpretations. There were discussions as to the meaning of more than one such phrase, and the first French draft of that historic document bears many erasures and interlineations. Doubtless, too, an expert would detect in the handwriting signs of the extreme nervous tension of the man who held the pen, although outwardly I remained perfectly calm, as did the Minister and most of those present.

We had done about a third of the note when the Prime Minister entered. He saluted us hurriedly and seated himself beside M. Davignon. I read to him the sentences already translated, after M. Davignon had in two words told him of his interview with Herr von Below. M. de Broqueville folded his arms and sat absorbed in thought until the translation was finished. Then he asked me to read the note in French, which I did with deep emotion, striving to maintain my usual tone.

A silence, a tragic silence of several minutes' duration, followed the reading. We had just heard for the first time the infamous ultimatum, and we were reflecting. In the mind of each one of us the passionate memory of our adored, peaceful, blessed country gave place, it may be, to a vague premonition of the horrors that were moving swiftly toward her; but the predominant element in our thoughts was, beyond question, the firm determination to show ourselves worthy of our ancestors in the great days of trial.

It was evident that the German Government put forward the purpose of France to march upon the Meuse solely as a pretext, and that the ultimatum was

a pure and simple demand that we abandon our neutrality in favor of Germany the formidable. They who drafted it did not think for an instant that Belgium, that tiny country that fills so little space on the map of Europe, would dare to refuse to submit without parley to the will of her all-powerful neighbor! They who read it, having a different sort of mentality, were, on the contrary, immediately, spontaneously, without discussion, without hesitation, without even making their thoughts known to one another, filled with the conviction that but one reply was possible—an indignant and peremptory No!

The Secretary General, Baron von der Elst, broke the silence by asking the War Minister:

"But, Monsieur le Ministre, are we ready?"

There was another silence, shorter than the first but no less impressive. Then M. de Broqueville, very calm and self-controlled, speaking slowly, with measured words, replied:

"Yes, we are ready. Mobilization is going forward under extraordinarily favorable conditions. Though begun yesterday morning, it is almost completed. Tomorrow evening the army will be in condition to march—tomorrow morning, indeed, if it should be absolutely necessary. But—there is a 'but'—we have not yet got our heavy artillery."

A few more brief sentences were exchanged. Then M. de Broqueville abruptly pulled out his watch. "It is ten minutes past 8," he said; "we must notify the King at once and ask his Majesty's permission to summon the Council to meet at the Palace at 9, the Ministers of State at 10."

He started almost immediately for the Palace, where he gave the King full information as to the situation. M. Davignon and Baron von der Elst were left alone. The chief clerk went to arrange with M. Costermans for summoning the Council.

I found quite a large party assembled in Comte d'Ursel's office. The report that something was going on had spread

through the department like a train of powder. A few officials and diplomats, who had remained late at their work, were present, watching for those who were closeted with the Ministers to come out. M. de Gaiffier and I posted them as to what was happening. It is with a thrill of genuine pride that I declare that not a man there dreamed for an instant that the reply to the German note could be anything other than an indignant refusal. Some were dismayed, but the great majority were all a-quiver with the patriotic emotion that was to convulse the entire nation on the morrow.

"It is better that Germany has put her cards on the table. We know where we are. There is no possible excuse for hesitation now, whereas we might well have dreaded the most painful uncertainty as to what we ought to do. The army will know at once where the enemy is, and will fight with enthusiasm. And, after all, we shall be supported by France. England will come in. She can't allow Belgium to be sacrificed. Her honor and her self-interest forbid it. And then, if we are crushed, we shall be crushed gloriously, and our fate will be no worse, in the last analysis, than if we did what they demand. If we should yield, we could never again look a Frenchman or an Englishman in the face."

Such were the sentiments that passed from mouth to mouth. There were very few references to the shocking consequences which our reply—it seemed as if it had already been sent—was likely to bring upon our dear and ill-fated land.

About 8:30 o'clock I went out and dined hurriedly, alone, in a restaurant on Place Royale. I remember the strange impression that that brilliantly lighted room produced upon me, and the sort of distress with which I watched the diners at nearby tables. They knew nothing; they had read the afternoon papers containing the reassuring statements made to the reporters during the morning by von Below; they were light-hearted and heedless. And I—I was borne down by the weight of what I knew; of the secret which would be revealed the next day and would bring such a cruel awakening

to everybody about me. I asked myself if I were the plaything of a nightmare or if I were really awake.

A little after 9 I returned to the department. M. Davignon had gone to the Palace, and Baron von der Elst with him. The latter was present at the two councils that were held during the night.

The Baron de Gaiffier was at work in the Minister's office, where I joined him. He had already begun to prepare the draft of a reply to the German ultimatum.

"You see," he said, "the Minister will return very soon and ask us to prepare the reply; and, as there is no possible doubt as to the tenor of it, I have begun it, to save time."

Doubtless some day the details will be written of the meeting of the Council of Ministers which, beginning at 9 o'clock under the Presidency of the King, and being joined at 10 by those Ministers of State when they had succeeded in getting together, continued without interruption until midnight, and was resumed at 2 A. M., to last until nearly 4.

During the early part of that long session the general principles of the reply were agreed upon. About midnight a drafting committee was named and instructed to go to the Foreign Office to prepare a draft of a note. MM. de Broqueville, Minister for War; Davignon, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Carton de Wiart, Minister of Justice; von der Henvel and Hymans, Ministers of State, and Baron von der Elst returned to Rue de la Loi. There they found Baron de Gaiffier, who had completed his draft. Without knowing what decision was being reached at the Palace, he had written exactly what it had been there agreed to reply to Germany. So true is it that all Belgians were absolutely one in thought and feeling on perusal of the German ultimatum. A few sentences only were rewritten by the drafting committee.*

While this work was being done, at 1:30 A. M. the German Minister appeared and asked to see Baron von der Elst. Everything goes to show that his Excellency's purpose was to surprise on the faces of such persons as he might meet

*Text of Belgium's reply will be found at the end of this article.

telltale indications of the tenor of our final decision. The Secretary General received him in his office.

The German Minister must have noticed the chilliness of the welcome accorded him. This is how a memorandum printed in the Gray Book (No. 21) describes this nocturnal call:

"At 1:30 A. M. the German Minister asked to see Baron von der Elst. He told him that he was under instructions from his Government to inform us that French dirigibles had dropped bombs, and that a patrol of French cavalry, in violation of the law of nations, since war was not declared, had crossed the frontier.

"The Secretary General asked Herr von Below where these things had taken place. 'In Germany,' was the reply. Baron von der Elst observed that in that case he could not understand the purpose of the communication. Herr von Below said that those acts, contrary to the law of nations, were calculated to arouse suspicion that France would commit other acts contrary to that law."

Half an hour later the draft of the reply to Germany was taken to the Palace and definitively approved by the Council presided over by the King.

About 3:30 o'clock in the morning Comte d'Ursel was called to the telephone by M. Klobukowski, who declared that he had seen distinctly in the sky intermittent flashes which unquestionably came from the searchlights of a German dirigible, proceeding toward France. Several persons had told M. Klobukowski that they had seen the same lights.

Shortly after this incident I left the department. The mobilization was still causing some excitement in the neighboring streets. All the windows in the War Department, at the corner of the Avenue des Arts and Rue de la Loi, were brightly lighted, and several motor cars were standing at the door.

At 8 in the morning of Aug. 3 I returned to the department. M. de Gaiffier arrived at the same time; he told me that he had waited till the end of the Cabinet Council, and that M. Davignon, returning from the Palace at 4 o'clock,

had instructed him to deliver personally to Herr von Below-Saleske the reply to the German ultimatum. M. de Gaiffier had had it copied quickly, had gone home about 5 o'clock, and, after trying to get a moment's rest, had gone on foot to the German Embassy on Rue Belliard, where he arrived at exactly 7 o'clock. Admitted to the study of the Minister, who was awaiting him, he handed him the note. Herr von Below read it with an air of detachment, and asked if there was anything else to be said. Baron de Gaiffier replied in the negative, saluted the Minister, and returned to Rue de la Loi.

The legations of France and England were advised without delay of what had taken place. About the same hour the Etoile Belge published the news of the German ultimatum.

At 9:30 Mr. Webber, attaché at the English Legation, in a state of excitement which he did not attempt to conceal, appeared at my office, where, at that moment, I happened to be alone. He came from Sir Francis Villiers to take copies of the German note and of our reply. He knew the general tenor of the documents but not the precise words. I read them both to him. When I came to the sentence, "The Belgian Government, by accepting the proposals that are made to it, would sacrifice the honor of the nation, at the same time that it would be false to its duties toward Europe," I felt my throat swell, and my emotion almost mastered me. I succeeded, however, in reading to the end.

Webber had not moved a muscle; he remained on his feet in front of me. He took my two hands, and, having gazed at me a moment in silence, "Bravo, Belgians!" he said simply, in a voice that was not quite steady. Then he swiftly copied the two notes in shorthand and hurried off with them to his chief.

After he had gone, about 10 o'clock, my attention was attracted by the increasing noise which came up from the city, across the courtyards of the Government buildings, to my open window. It was composed of the cries of the newsboys selling the papers with the news of the ultimatum, of exclamations of surprise and wrath, and of the rapidly in-

creasing agitation aroused in the streets by the terrible intelligence.

On that day, Aug. 3, the Council of Ministers, which sat from 10 o'clock till noon, decided to request the diplomatic support of the powers that had guaranteed our neutrality—other than Germany and Austria-Hungary, of course. The request for military support was designedly, and after mature consideration, postponed until Germany should have consummated her criminal purpose by sending her soldiers upon our territory. We did not propose to give her, until then, any pretext which she could allege for saying that we had broken our neutrality in favor of her enemies. One chance still remained—pitifully slight, it is true, but sufficient to keep hope alive in some persons among us: that Germany, disappointed by our reply to her ultimatum, would hold back at the last moment and countermand the orders to her troops.

M. Arendt, who had preceded Baron de Gaiffier as Directeur Général, (1896-1912,) called upon me in the afternoon about 4 o'clock. He read the ultimatum and our reply, and even he, who had made so profound a study of the guaranteed neutrality which the powers had imposed upon us, and who was the principal author of the memoranda mentioned at the beginning of this paper, actually thought for a moment that our attitude, so decided and so entirely in line with our duty, would cause the German colossus to hesitate. The political blunder that Germany would commit in beginning a world war by an absolutely unjustifiable violation of the neutrality of a friendly country seemed to him so enormous, and the universal reprobation which must inevitably follow it seemed to him so certain to weigh heavily in the final adjustment of accounts, that he was still inclined to doubt.

The Germans had expected to intimidate us. They had reckoned on a consent due to our knowledge of our weakness. The tone of our reply could not leave them in any doubt as to the blunder they had committed. As they knew now that they would have to overcome the desperate resistance of an army which, though

far from numerous, was brave and supported by strong fortresses, would they not fear that all their calculations, that their whole plan, based upon a swift passage across Belgium, would be endangered? Would they not consequently adopt an alternative plan which they probably had in readiness for that eventuality?

Such were the questions which were asked, even at that supreme moment, by the one man of all living Belgians who had undoubtedly meditated most frequently upon the day of anguish that we were now living through.

May we not believe that his clear vision was unerring, and that if Germany had, at the last moment, decided to keep off our soil, she would have given proof of wisdom from the military, and even more from the political, standpoint?

One thing is certain, at all events, because it has been demonstrated by results, and that is that the "crushing" offensive against France through Belgium was an ill-advised operation. It resulted in a fatal failure for Germany. The battle about Liège thwarted it irremediably by causing the imperial army to lose nearly three weeks. The battles of the Marne, the Yser, and Ypres definitively checkmated it.

However that may be, on Aug. 3 there was still some slight doubt as to what Germany would really do, since she had not as yet actually violated our territory; and that doubt seemed to the Belgian Ministers, in their determination to act as men of honor to the end, a sufficient reason why they should not call to their succor, on that day, the armies of the other guarantors of our neutrality and independence. It is proper to remark that at the hour when the Ministers were deliberating, Germany was not officially in a state of war with France or with Great Britain.

On Aug. 4, at 6 A. M., Herr von Below handed M. Davignon a note which put an end to all uncertainty in the minds of those who had still been able to hope. It informed the Belgian Government that Germany, in consequence of Belgium's refusal to accept the "well-intentioned" offers that had been made to her, found

herself compelled, if need be by force of arms, to take such measures of security as she deemed indispensable in face of the French manoeuvres."

At 9:30 a telegram informed us that Belgian territory had been violated by German troops at Gemmenich, a village very near the frontier, a few kilometers from Aix-la-Chapelle. (The German vanguard crossed the frontier at precisely two minutes past 8 in the morning of Aug. 4.) On the north it touches Dutch Limbourg. The first shots of the war were fired by Belgian gendarmes on guard at that frontier post! Blood had flowed—the irremediable act was committed!

On the day before the King had ordered the Legislative Chambers to be summoned to meet on this 4th of August, at 10 o'clock. Although the news had had so short a time to become known, and despite the early hour, a dense crowd filled the streets about the park through which the royal procession would pass. The Foreign Office stands beside the Palace of the Nation, where the Chambers hold their sessions. One of its fronts is on the little square before the Palace, the other on Rue de la Loi, at right angles to the first.

Just before 10 o'clock I went into the Secretary General's office on the ground floor, the windows of which look on Rue de la Loi. The city had taken on the festal aspect which it retained until after the arrival of the Germans. On the day before every house had spontaneously hoisted the national flag. By this proud gesture the people had given expression to the satisfaction they felt in knowing that the Government, in its reply to Germany, had faithfully interpreted the deep-rooted sentiment of the whole nation.

At 10 o'clock the first thrill of enthusiasm ran through the crowd, when an open Court carriage brought the Queen and her children to attend the session of Parliament. The whole journey from the Palace was one long and touching ovation.

Three minutes later a tremendous outburst of applause reached my ears across the park. The King had left the Palace;

he was coming along Rue Royale; his arrival was announced by the tempest of excitement and outcries that shook the multitude in the streets, on balconies, even on housetops. The procession turned the corner of the park; preceded by an escort of cavalry of the Civic Guard, and followed by the officers of the royal household, our sovereign approached on horseback, booted and spurred and in campaign uniform, outwardly calm, but visibly controlling his emotion. With an expression of grave solemnity he replied slowly with his hand to the heartfelt, ringing acclamations of the crowd: "Vive, vive le Roi! Vive, vive la Belgique!" It seemed as if the people would never be done with repeating those cries, which blended in a magnificent ovation.

When the King reached the centre of the square before the Palace of the Nation he dismounted, and I saw him, amid a tremendous, unrestrained clamor from the multitude, walk toward the entrance where a deputation of Senators and Representatives awaited him. Their emotion was no less intense and profound than that of everybody else. With arms outstretched, the country's spokesmen seemed to long to embrace the King, to tell him—for the last time, perhaps—how the nation worshipped its independence and the institutions which she had freely bestowed upon herself eighty-four years before.

Those who were present at the scene will never forget it, and very, very few are they who, having witnessed it, could honestly deny that they shed tears as the King passed, while they voiced their love of the fatherland in frenzied shrieks of "Vive le Roi!"

At the window at which I was then standing, and at the others in the same room, were most of the higher officials of the department. Clerks and ushers were mingled with them, and a few ladies had found their way in and added their acclamations to ours. The Comtesse X., wife of a young officer in the Guides, who was to meet a glorious death before the foe a few days later, was among the most agitated. In the middle of the room, a little apart from the rest, stood the counselor of the Austro-Hungarian Le-

gation. His presence there was accidental; he had come with some communication from his Government, altogether foreign, it may be, to the dramatic events of the moment. He was unable to withstand the universal emotion that encompassed him. I did not see him until I turned away from the window after the King had entered; he was wiping the tears from his eyes.

Outside the tumult continued unabated. Beside the park, General de Coune, who commanded the Civic Guard, rose in his stirrups and revived the acclamations of the crowd by his enthusiastic vivats, punctuated by windmill-like wavings of his sword, long after the King had disappeared.

Oh, the sacred and unforgettable emotion that those Belgians lived through on that morning who were privileged to assist at that triumphant apotheosis of the plighted faith, that superb affirmation of the will to live, of a whole people!

I was not present at the historic joint session of the Chambers, but an eyewitness told me that it would be impossible to describe its grandeur.

In that deeply moved assemblage, where the King could declare that there was but one party, that of the fatherland, many military uniforms stood out in relief. That of M. Hubin was espe-

cially remarked—a Socialist Deputy, formerly Sergeant of Carabineers, who had re-entered the service—and that of the Duc d'Ursel, a Catholic Senator, who had enlisted the day before as a private in the Guides, at the age of 41!

Customarily, and very naturally, the diplomatic gallery of a Parliament is not a place where the sentiments of the legislative body find a very distinct echo. On that day, when the King declared that a country which defends itself compels universal respect and cannot perish; when M. de Broqueville hurled at Germany his admirable defiance, "We may be conquered—but submit, never!" when the whole hall seemed likely to fall in under the frenzied acclamations of the hemi-cycle and the galleries, the epic grandeurs of the spectacle drew tears from the eyes of more than one foreign diplomat. Those tears did honor to those who shed them no less than to those whose splendid courage caused them to flow.

On the following day Brussels learned of the first battles at Visé, and the successful resistance of the Liège forts to the formidable onrush of five corps d'élite of the German Army.

By resolutely carrying political honor to its extremest consequences, Belgium had, at a single stroke, entered into glory.

Official Text of the German Ultimatum to Belgium

Note handed in on Aug. 2, 1914, at 7 o'clock P. M. by Herr von Below-Saleske, German Minister, to M. Davignon, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Brussels, 2d August, 1914.

Imperial German Legation in Belgium.
[Highly Confidential.]

The German Government has received reliable information according to which the French forces intend to march on the Meuse, by way of Givet and Namur. This information leaves no doubt as to the intention of France of marching on Germany through Belgian territory. The Imperial German Government cannot avoid the fear that Belgium, in spite of its best will, will be in no position to repulse such a largely developed French march

without aid. In this fact there is sufficient certainty of a threat directed against Germany.

It is an imperative duty for the preservation of Germany to forestall this attack of the enemy.

The German Government would feel keen regret if Belgium should regard as an act of hostility against herself the fact that the measures of the enemies of Germany oblige her on her part to violate Belgian territory.

In order to dissipate any misunderstanding the German Government declares as follows:

1. Germany does not contemplate any act of hostility against Belgium. If Belgium consents in the war about to commence to take up an attitude of friendly neutrality toward

Germany, the German Government on its part undertakes, on the declaration of peace, to guarantee the kingdom and its possessions in their whole extent.

2. Germany undertakes under the conditions laid down to evacuate Belgian territory as soon as peace is concluded.

3. If Belgium preserves a friendly attitude, Germany is prepared, in agreement with the authorities of the Belgian Government, to buy against cash all that is required by her troops, and to give indemnity for the damages caused in Belgium.

4. If Belgium behaves in a hostile manner toward the German troops, and in particular

raises difficulties against their advance by the opposition of the fortifications of the Meuse, or by destroying roads, railways, tunnels, or other engineering works, Germany will be compelled to consider Belgium as an enemy.

In this case Germany will take no engagements toward Belgium, but she will leave the later settlement of relations of the two States toward one another to the decision of arms. The German Government has a justified hope that this contingency will not arise and that the Belgian Government will know how to take suitable measures to hinder its taking place. In this case the friendly relations which unite the two neighboring States will become closer and more lasting.

The Reply by Belgium

Note handed in by M. Davignon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Herr von Below-Saleske, German Minister.

Brussels, 3d August, 1914.
(7 o'clock in the morning.)

By the note of the 2d August, 1914, the German Government has made known that according to certain intelligence the French forces intend to march on the Meuse via Givet and Namur and that Belgium, in spite of her good-will, would not be able without help to beat off, an advance of the French troops.

The German Government felt it to be its duty to forestall this attack and to violate Belgian territory. Under these conditions Germany proposes to the King's Government to take up a friendly attitude, and undertakes at the moment of peace to guarantee the integrity of the kingdom and of her possessions in their whole extent. The note adds that if Belgium raises difficulties to the forward march of the German troops Germany will be compelled to consider her as an enemy and to leave the later settlement of the two States toward one another to the decision of arms.

This note caused profound and painful surprise to the King's Government.

The intentions which it attributed to France are in contradiction with the express declarations which were made to us on the 1st of August, in the name of the Government of the republic.

Moreover, if, contrary to our expectation,

a violation of Belgian neutrality were to be committed by France, Belgium would fulfill all her international duties and her army would offer the most vigorous opposition to the invader.

The treaties of 1839, confirmed by the treaties of 1870, establish the independence and the neutrality of Belgium under the guarantee of the powers, and particularly of the Government of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Belgium has always been faithful to her international obligations; she has fulfilled her duties in a spirit of loyal impartiality; she has neglected no effort to maintain her neutrality or to make it respected.

The attempt against her independence with which the German Government threatens her would constitute a flagrant violation of international law. No strategic interest justifies the violation of that law.

The Belgian Government would, by accepting the propositions which are notified to her, sacrifice the honor of the nation while at the same time betraying her duties toward Europe.

Conscious of the part Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, she refuses to believe that the independence of Belgium can be preserved only at the expense of the violation of her neutrality.

If this hope were disappointed the Belgian Government has firmly resolved to repulse by every means in her power any attack upon her rights.

[See Text of Belgian Neutrality Treaty on following page.]



Text of Treaty Guaranteeing Belgium's Neutrality

The following summary of the treaty stipulations which Germany violated when invading Belgium is taken from a Belgian official statement:

THE peculiarity about Belgian neutrality is that it has been imposed upon her by the powers as the one condition upon which they recognized her national existence. No sooner had the Belgians proclaimed their independence than the five powers—England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—met in conference in London. There they signed, on June 26, 1831, the document known as "The Treaty of 18 Articles." The text of Articles 9 and 10 of the said treaty is as follows:

"Article 9. Belgium, within the limits traced in conformity with the principles laid down in the present preliminaries, shall form a perpetually neutral State. The five powers, without wishing to intervene in the internal affairs of Belgium, guarantee her that perpetual neutrality as well as the integrity and

invulnerability of her territory in the limits mentioned in the present article.

"Article 10. By just reciprocity Belgium shall be held to observe this same neutrality toward all the other States and to make no attack on their internal or external tranquillity while always preserving the right to defend herself against any foreign aggression."

This agreement was followed up, on Jan. 23, 1839, by a definitive treaty, accepted by Belgium and by the Netherlands, which treaty regulates Belgium's neutrality as follows:

"Article 7. Belgium, within the limits defined in Articles 1, 2, and 4, shall form an independent and perpetually neutral State. She is obligated to preserve this neutrality against all the other States."

All the articles of this treaty were placed under the guarantee of the powers. Belgium has always loyally and strictly fulfilled her duties inherent in this neutrality.

German Claims That Belgium's Neutrality Was Forfeited

DR. KARL RATHGEN, Director of the College of Political Economy and Colonial Politics at the University of Hamburg, and one of Germany's chief authorities in his field, devotes an article in No. 162 of the "Preussische Jahrbücher" to an investigation of the motives which induced Belgium, years before the war, to enter into a military agreement with Great Britain. That this agreement invalidated Belgium's claim to be considered a "guaranteed neutral State" is the German contention. Dr. Rathgen thus defines the reason: "The fear of losing its Congo possessions was one of the chief motives of the Belgian Government before the war. This led to the military plans."

"As soon as the idea of transferring the Congo State from the possession of Leopold II. to the Belgian State, clear-sighted politicians," says Dr. Rathgen, "expressed the fear that Belgium's

secure position was forfeited by this step. Through its neutralization the Belgian State was exempt from the opposition of the groups of powers in Europe; the Congo State, which was not neutralized, was exposed to it, however, since the European rivals, England, France, and Germany, as well as the Portuguese African possessions and South African Rhodesia, surrounded it and gave free rein to their rivalry within its territory. From the day of its incorporation, Nov. 15, 1908, anxiety in regard to the Congo State drove Belgium from the secure position which it had formerly occupied.

"Fear of British lust for expansion assumed especial significance. This fear existed while King Leopold II. had exercised despotic control of the territory. The State had been called into life against England's opposition, and the vehemence with which all King Leopold's plans of expansion to the northeast toward the Nile were greeted showed that

this opposition was implacable. The English peril seemed to become especially dangerous because of the claims which the South African Union was making more and more openly on the southeastern corner of the State, the district of Catanga. The protection of the mixed breeds in the mining districts here furnished the English with the pretext of intervening in the independence of the Transvaal. In Brussels a repetition of a Jameson raid on Catanga was feared daily. Added to this was the open British threat to segregate Southern Catanga entirely from the rest of the Congo State 'to prevent the sleeping sickness from spreading.' Every discovery of gold and diamonds was carefully reported in order to increase English greed.

"Smuts, the South African Minister of War and Finance, declared at Pretoria on Oct. 22, 1913: 'The day is not far off on which all or almost all the territory south of the equator will belong to the South African colony.'

"Botha, in an address a few days later at Nigilstrom, emphasized these words by declaring that 'the highest goal of South Africa is a union which shall extend as far as possible to the north.'

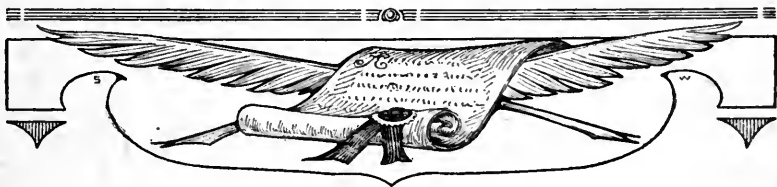
"Excitement over these utterances was rife in Belgium. When the Belgian Consul General in Johannesburg still pointed out the danger of the South Africans 'trekking' to Catanga and the Vice Governor of Catanga officially discussed the danger of an invasion, the Belgian Government greatly feared, as Waxweiler states in his work, 'Belgium Neutral and Loyal,' a British menace to its colony in case of a European war.

"This anxiety was increased by the indignation of the British from 1900 on at the atrocities of the Belgian system of exploitation in the Congo, which were reported from authoritative sources. The

Government endeavored to quell this indignation, it is true, but it spread further and further. The importance of public opinion was shown in the attitude of the British Government. The alarm in Belgium was great. Fears were also awakened by the fact that the British Government postponed from month to month the official recognition of the annexation of the Congo State by Belgium on Nov. 15, 1908, although it had before this, in the Spring of 1906, urged this step, even forced it by its threats of intervention in the Congo.

"When the French press, however, with an unequaled wealth of slanderous vituperation, began, from the Summer of 1911 on, its campaign against Germany, one of its most potent slogans was 'German greed wants to have the Congo State.' The Belgian Government of King Albert ceased to exercise that calm of deliberation which it had shown at the time of Leopold II., to the chagrin of Edward VII. Despite the friendly attitude of Germany, which it had always enjoyed since the establishment of the Congo State, harried and nervous from fear of German attack, scourged by the goading French press, held in suspense by England's delay in recognizing the incorporation of the Congo, it flung itself into the latter's arms for protection. On April 30, 1913, it forced the Belgian Chamber to accept the great Belgian military law demanded by the British negotiators, and on May 29 of the same year Sir Edward Grey announced in the House of Commons the recognition of the incorporation of the Congo in the Belgian State, with the refusal of which the country had been frightened and goaded for five years."

Dr. Rathgen concludes: "With the halter of fear for the Congo, Belgium was driven into the stable of the Entente."



The Self-Revelation of the German War Party Before the War

By E. W. Hallifax

The significance of this remarkable article, here summarized from *The Hibbert Journal*, lies in the completeness with which the German war party's object was perceived and denounced in a German book that appeared in 1913.

THE most complete and crushing ex post facto indictment of Germany and Austria that has been formulated was published last Spring in Lausanne—and from a German pen. With merciless persistency and acuteness the author of "J'Accuse" unravels the web of fiction, distortion, and suppression which German and Austrian diplomacy wove around its plot to bring about the world war, and succeeded at least in deluding a large part, if not the majority, of the German Nation. For the delusion of a defensive war was beyond doubt necessary even in the degenerate Germany of today, in order to still the surviving conscience and weld the whole people into one.

But there had not been wanting in Germany even before the war men who perceived the dangerous character of the influences that were at work, and raised warning voices against the war crusade that was being preached. Such, among the books which appeared in 1913, were the anonymous "German World Policy Without War" and Professor Dr. Nippold's "German Chauvinism." The antecedent indictment of the latter volume and the evidence, alluded to by the author of "J'Accuse," which it adduces, throw a searchlight on the mind of Germany during the period 1912-14, and form a striking pendant and supplement to the reasoning of that remarkable book. To readers who have not access to the original some account of it may therefore be of interest.

"German Chauvinism," one of a series of publications of the Union for the Promotion of International Understanding, consists mainly of a selection, from a mass of material "which would fill vol-

umes," of 109 closely printed pages taken from reports of speeches and newspaper articles dealing with the coming war. In his preface Dr. Nippold remarks: "There is no doubt that chauvinism has prodigiously increased in Germany, especially in the last decade. This fact strikes those most who have lived a considerable number of years abroad and now return to Germany. Many Germans in this position have expressed to me their surprise at the fundamental change which has taken place in the soul of the German people in recent years. I, too, can state that I was astonished at this psychological change, when after many years I returned to Germany." The author then allows the war party to reveal themselves in their own speeches and writings, some specimens of which are printed below, and sums up the evidence in a concluding essay, of which the following is a condensed paraphrase:

The chauvinism or fanatical nationalism of which these pages give proofs [thus wrote Dr. Nippold in 1913] not only combines exaggerated self-exaltation with contempt and hostility for foreign nations, thus relapsing into the barbarian notions of antiquity, but, supported by Pan-German ambitions on the one side and the agitation of the Armaments League on the other, it glorifies war as an end in itself and incites the German people to war in a way that a few years ago would have been considered impossible. Still worse, a deliberate system is revealed, whose object is by every means, whether it be distortion of facts or malicious calumny, to win over the nation and, if possible, the Government to the aims of the chauvinists. These people, who dislike a long peace, no matter whether a

reason for war exists or not, are systematically educating the German people to desire war, teaching it that it needs war, and endeavoring in any event to bring war about. They begin by inculcating the longing for war in the youth of the nation as the thing most to be desired in life, and work upon the students in the universities, while such organizations as the Pan-German Union and the Armaments League seek to gain the present generation. Here is a typical specimen:

From the Jungdeutschland Post, a weekly periodical for the youth of Germany, published by the League of Young Germany. No. 4, Jan. 25, 1913. "War," by Otto von Gottberg.

Honor and duty teach even us Germans and Christians that the souls of the dead and the living are without rest until a contest has ended with the victory and triumph of our arms. * * * Therefore war is the sublimest and most sacred expression of human action. It affords opportunity of sacrificing the highest possessions for one's brethren according to God's command, and bestows eternal life on the brave. We see this when we go on Sunday to the military church of our town. From our hymn books our eyes fall involuntarily on tablets on the walls. Above long, long lists of names are the words: "These died the hero's death with God for King and Fatherland." Let us desire each Sunday to be registered some day upon those tablets. Then we shall live forever and be envied centuries hence. * * * For us, too, the great and joyous hour of conflict will one day strike. * * * Into the street where we walk today with merry chatter and laughter there will soon fall, still moist, a printed sheet, and from the lips of the first German who reads it there will burst, strong and confident: "A call like echoing thunder sounds." A genuine battle choral is this song, and yet it is thrilled through with the German's exultant joy in war and heroic death. * * * Yes, that will be a great and glad hour, which we may secretly wish for ourselves.

The wish for war when uttered aloud often becomes vain boasting and ludicrous rattling of the sword. But deep and still in the German heart there must live joy in war and a longing for war, because we have enemies enough, and victory comes only to a nation that with music and song goes to war as to a festival. Honor to our lord and ruler who unweariedly guards the world's peace, because he one day has to give account before God's throne not only for Germany's power, honor, and renown, but for every drop of blood shed at his bidding. On his shoulders the anxieties of a conflict will rest with terrific responsibility. We, however, may at his call seize our weapons with light and glad hearts and rejoice in the war. Let us,

then, laugh with all our might at the old women in men's clothes who fear war, and therefore bewail it as dreadful and hateful. No! War is grand. Its august greatness lifts men's hearts high above earthly and commonplace things.

For us, too, such hours are waiting. We will meet them with the manly knowledge that it is grander and nobler after they have passed to live forever on the roll of honor in the church than to die a nameless and common death in our beds. On the world's round antheap we are of importance only as members of a community, of a Fatherland. What becomes of us must and ought to be indifferent to us. Thus did our fathers think, who were able to create the empire only because, along with the resolute will for victory and death, they carried with them to battle their firm, pious faith. A soldier's song tells us how they conceived of their heaven and their reward. Up there in the Hall of Clouds are seated hero Frederick, hero Blücher, the men of the deed, (but not the stay-at-homes who want to make us dislike war.) The great Kaiser, his Moltke, his Roon, his Bismarck, are there. And when a battle is fought on the earth with German weapons, and the faithful slain mount to heaven, a Lance Corporal from Potsdam calls out the guard. Old Fritz leaps from his golden chair, gives the order to present arms, and in imperious tones harangues the Kings and heroes: "Attention, gentlemen! Heroes, too, are they whom I now introduce, and at their head the King's Grenadiers."

Such be Young Germany's Kingdom of Heaven. Thus let it yearn to knock at our doors."

The quintessence of their teaching is that a European war is not merely an eventuality against which it is necessary to be prepared, but a necessity, which in its own interests should be a cause of rejoicing to the German people. The method employed is to set up as an unimpeachable dogma the inevitableness of a war, and then to urge that the time most favorable to Germany should be chosen, in other words, that Germany should bring about war when it best suits her, and, above all, as soon as possible. The German people are believed to be ready, not as of old for a merely defensive war with compelling cause, but for an aggressive war without cause. No longer is it a question of *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, because German national interests require a war; and then, too, what a pity if the splendidly prepared army should be put to no use!

If it is asked to what extent these ideas

have been adopted and assimilated by the nation at large, the answer is that, while the claim of the chauvinists to have the whole nation behind them is false, a great part of the German people has already been infected; and unless the systematic efforts, the arrogant claims, and misrepresentations of the chauvinists are opposed, there is a danger that this movement will gain the upper hand in the near future. The driving forces in this direction are, as the extracts show, organizations like the Pan-German Union and the Armaments League; the nationalistic press; Generals such as Keim, Liebert, Bernhardt, Eichhorn, Wrochem, and others who meddle with politics; and politicians like Harden, Bassermann, and their fellows. "When the political situation has cooled down, and causes of war cannot be discerned on the European horizon, they fan the war flame artificially. And they are never so much in their element as when the political situation seems in any way critical, as has frequently happened in recent months. But they would at no time admit that real material for a conflict was wanting. In the absence of any other material as an incitement, the chauvinism in other countries has to serve the purpose. * * * Incidents are of course exploited to the full and exaggerated, no matter whether they are important or not."

Many of these chauvinists [wrote Dr. Nippold] have lost all touch with modern civilization, and indeed with any kind of reality. "Morality and right are conceptions which, as they admit, have little value for them. They set them aside just as they do all the other results that humanity has achieved. * * * Consciously or unconsciously, these gentlemen preach to the German Nation nothing else than barbarism, the mediaeval right of the strongest, as the sole object worth striving for. For what else is it when a predatory war is urged upon the German people, when with this grand purpose it is pressed simply to disregard international law and the limits which morality imposes?"

"That the Pan-German political visionaries are out for the acquisition of colonial territory suits these war Gen-

erals excellently, but they regard it only as means to an end. * * * For, according to their theory, however many colonies Germany acquired, it would need another war after a few decades, since the nation would once more be in danger of moral degeneration. War is to them merely a normal institution in the life of nations, and not simply a means of solving great conflicts to which recourse is had only in case of real necessity. * * * They brand as weak what is said by Governments as to defensive war and the world's need of peace. While other chauvinists at least assume a war to be forced upon Germany—although in fact no one wants to force a war on Germany, this idea being part of the means of suggestion employed by the Pan-Germans—the war Generals have no need of this motive. They are fully prepared to force a war on others. * * * Germany is far more threatened today with danger from itself than from abroad. The Balkan war seemed at last to give the lovers of war their longed-for opportunity. Now they are the more disappointed that even this occasion, which seemed to hold the last great material for a European conflict, has apparently passed by without one."

Dr. Nippold finds grave reason for concern in the fact that these preachers of war have secured so numerous a public, and one so ready to give ear to and blindly to follow them, and that their influence is extending over ever-widening circles. Especially are the educated classes infected, and that this infection is general is proved by the small number of the younger historians who have escaped it.

The political as distinct from the moral danger which threatens from these influences becomes grave as soon as they have the power to affect the decisions of the Government. This may soon come about under the pretense that the chauvinists represent and are identical with the nation. Further, they do mischief abroad and are taken as typical of German feeling, thus earning for Germany the reputation of being the chief disturber of European peace. "But this is certain. If there is anything that could really en-



NICHOLAS PASHITCH

Serbian Prime Minister, Who, Though an Exile in Italy. Still Helps
to Direct Serbia's Destinies



KING GUSTAV V. OF SWEDEN

Whose Country Is Disturbed by Reports That Russia Is Fortifying
the Aland Islands in the Baltic
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

danger the German Empire, it is solely and exclusively the chauvinistic movement and the risk of its gaining the upper hand. This, and not the Triple Entente, is the enemy of Germany. * * * Chauvinism is a political danger against which the country cannot be warned with sufficient speed and energy."

How is the sudden growth of chauvinism in Germany to be explained? The nation has failed to see the new and great international tasks in which since its union it has been called upon to share. Its gaze has been turned backward to the deeds which founded the empire instead of forward to its mission in co-operation with other nations, which mission, together with internal development, would have offered a worthy field for the energies of a rising State. "Conscious of its strength, it has yearned for great deeds, and, missing the true ideal, has given ear to those whose ideal is war. The 'deed' about which the chauvinistic papers are always writing, what is it but 'a gay and festive war,' equivalent to a predatory expedition? Such a predatory policy may have been an ideal of the Middle Ages, but it is one for which there is not and never will be room in the modern civilized world." But Germany disregarded the tasks in behalf of civilization which called for her help, and even set herself in opposition to them, e. g., to the labors of The Hague Conferences. With the catchword "internationalism" she thrust them away. For her feeling of nationhood was too youthful, and she feared it might suffer harm. "Thus Germany failed to recognize the true goal, * * * and threw herself into the arms of the chauvinists who preach * * * war, notwithstanding that today the interests which the nations possess in common far preponderate, and that national tasks have therefore no need of war for their fulfillment." This is shown even for those who advocate an "expansion policy" in the recent publication, "German World Policy Without War."

Thus does a German, more than a year before the outbreak of war, describe the efforts made in Germany to provoke a

war. That Dr. Nippold and the members of his society do not stand alone in their fears and warnings is shown by sixteen extracts in which other writers, and such journals as the Frankfurter Zeitung, the Vossische Zeitung, and the Strassburger Neue Zeitung, bear similar witness.

An article in März by Ludwig Thoma, entitled "Poisoners," on March 29, 1913, tells the same tale: For a moment quiet reigns after the furious strife, and calm voices are heard declaring the instigation to war of the last few weeks to be criminal folly. In reality the noise is all about nothing. The German and French Governments are agreed about the questions in dispute, (viz., the Lunéville and Nancy incidents,) both swear they are armed only for defense; the two peoples have no cause of quarrel nor any intention of adventuring their lives and their well-being in war. Whence, then, the distrust, rage, hatred, the shrieks and threats? Not from events, deeds, or desires of conquest. No! render to the chauvinistic press its due. It has conquered. This is its work. A public speech is incomplete without an allusion to the time when we must stake all we hold dear. Interest in scientific inventions is concentrated on them as means of destruction, and is shown by calculating how many hundredweights of dynamite can be hurled down by a Zeppelin. "Everything is poisoned, and this we owe to the nationalistic press. Honor to whom honor is due." It should be noted that the 110 militant extracts, taken from nearly fifty different newspapers, are selected by Dr. Nippold from thousands of speeches and articles of similar tenor. He adds that the worst of them are far exceeded in warlike tone by many recent pamphlets, of which only the titles are quoted, e. g., "The End of France in 19??: a Forecast." * * *

With the aid of the captured Government the Pan-German faction accomplished in the last days of July, 1914, the capture of the remnant of the nation. How completely it has mastered both, recent history makes all too plain.

The Bagdad Railway and a Remarkable Arabian Sultan

[WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY]

WHERE will the Bagdad Railway end? That is the chief question the war will decide, so far as German *Weltpolitik* is concerned.

Before the war, Berlin, by long and determined negotiations, induced Constantinople and London to allow the extension of the railroad to Busrah, the port of Mesopotamia, on the Shatt Al Arab, the Arab River, sixty miles from the Persian Gulf. If Germany determines the terms of peace after the present war, there is no doubt that the *Bagdadbahn* will have its terminus at Kuwait, 100 miles south of Busrah and right on the Persian Gulf. That would give Germany a base from which, in the next war, she could seize India from the British.

In November, 1899, the Kaiser got his concession for the Bagdad Railway from the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. In 1900 he tried to get a concession for the terminus of that railway at Kuwait from Sheik Mubarak, the ruler of that town. He was one year too late. In January of 1899 Sheik Mubarak had cast in his lot with the British. He had agreed to follow their advice in all his dealings with foreigners. In return they gave him their protection. He needed it, for in 1901 a Turkish corvette came to Kuwait to carry him off to Constantinople. A British warship arrived just then and drove the Turks

away. When the Germans came to lease twenty square miles of his land, Sheik Mubarak refused to have anything to do with them. It was because Sheik Mubarak so effectually blocked the German plans for a port on the gulf that the British were able to hold up the full

development of German ambitions in the Orient.

In is only in the light of these facts that the importance of the approaching battle of Bagdad can be appreciated. The Germans will have to help the Turks to drive the British from the whole Mesopotamian valley before they will be able to get by war what they could not gain by negotiation. That they are determined to succeed there is evident. One of the first measures introduced into the present Turkish Parliament was a bill for a loan of £2,-

112,000 (\$10,000,000) to be raised in Germany for the *completion* of the Bagdad Railway.

Now one of the chief characters in this Near East drama has passed away. Sheik Mubarak has died at Kuwait. Whether this introduces any new element into the situation remains to be seen. But the Germans will probably have no more success in dealing with Sheik Jabir, the son and successor, than they had with Sheik Mubarak himself. The latter was nearly 80 years old, and the British, in their treaties with him, planned for his heir as well as himself.



SHEIK MUBARAK

Sheik Mubarak was a most interesting personality. He was a typical Oriental ruler. In many ways he reminded one of Haroun al-Raschid. In all his dealings with the British, however completely he was guided by them in his foreign relations, he never allowed them to interfere in the least in his domestic affairs. He was absolutely independent, as far as his own subjects were concerned. He showed his power in ways that Western rulers use only in times of war. The result was that he was known as a "strong" governor. But as only evildoers had to fear his punishment, his dominion prospered. Life and property were so safe that Kuwait imitated America in attracting immigrants from Turkey, Persia, and other places where disturbances were too frequent for business prosperity. During the twenty years of Mubarak's reign, Kuwait's population continually increased until it now numbers 50,000 persons. It was always hard to find an empty house in the town, although new ones were constantly being built.

Some months before his death Sheik Mubarak received the decoration of K. C. S. I., (Knight Commander of the Star of India.) On that occasion Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, then Viceroy of India, made a formal visit to Kuwait while on his way to Busrah, which had been captured from the Turks. The form of address had some significant elements that showed that the position of Kuwait was no longer anomalous, nominally Turkish but practically British. Lord Hardinge, in making the presentation,

said: "This is a token of regard from the King-Emperor in grateful recognition of your loyal co-operation and efforts to preserve order and quiet in his dominions." Kuwait is now in the India postal system, to show that it is a British protectorate. But it has its own flag, with the word Al Kuwait in Arabic in white on a red field, to show that it is independent.

Mubarak's dominion included the town of Kuwait itself and about 100 miles of territory to the south and west and fifty miles to the north. His influence extended much further. Partly because of his age, always a matter of regard among the Arabs, and partly because of the strategic position of his town as the best harbor on the gulf and the seaport for Central Arabia, he maintained a strong place in the politics of all the Arab tribes from Mecca in the



KUWAIT IS A CENTRE OF THE PEARLING INDUSTRY AND OF CARAVAN TRADE.

west to Ahwaz in Persia, and from Nasaria on the Euphrates to Katif in El Hassa. He aided his friend Sheik Khazal in subduing the rebellious Baktiari Arabs in Western Persia, and he induced Abd al Aziz, the Emir of Nejd, to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan over El Hassa. His native counsel will be missed and his influence over the Arabs will be longed for in settling the affairs of that increasingly important part of the world.

Sheik Mubarak was practically illiterate. He could read nothing but the handwriting of his own secretaries. But it would be a great mistake to infer that he was ignorant. While ability to read and write would have been invaluable to him, still he was wise beyond the fathom-

ing of his few educated subjects. Nor would a Westerner, after a conversation with him, think of calling him unenlightened and uninteresting. His portrait shows the shrewd, strong character of the man. When Mubarak came to the throne, on the death of his father and older brother, Kuwait was an Arab town out of contact with the world and untouched by modern influence. Not a white man lived in the place. But the new Sheik encouraged ships to come there. He welcomed a British political

agent. He invited American missionaries to establish a dispensary and bookstore there. He introduced the first telephone, automobile, and electric light in the town. Old as he was, he was more progressive than most of his subjects cared to be. He modernized his kingdom as rapidly as he could. It is to be hoped that his successor will follow in his father's footsteps.

If the Germans win the war, the town will be Europeanized in short order, whether the present ruler desires it or not.

With the Russians in Persia

By E. Simais

L'Illustration, which has from the very beginning of the war been distinguished by the excellence of its first-hand material, not only describing events in France, but also covering the Russian and Serbian fields, and going as far from home as the Cameroons and China, now gives what is the first intelligible account of Russia's startlingly dramatic campaign in Persia, the importance of which in world politics is greatly increased by the collapse of the English campaign in Mesopotamia. Russia's victory in the East, not only over Germany, but over her old rival and present ally, seems to be complete.

Germany's plan, intrusted to her representative in Persia, Prince Henry of Reuss, was to make the Shah's realm a bridge between the Turkish Empire and India over which would sweep the wave of the Holy War against the "infidel" Allies; the proclamation of the Holy War against Christians having been obtained by Kaiser Wilhelm from the Sheik ul Islam, as the Kaiser's published telegram to the Crown Prince shows. Russia's plan was, in part, to break down this bridge, thus helping her ally, England; in part, to provide a strong left flank movement for her advance from the Caucasus into Armenia and down the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. She has brilliantly succeeded in both these objects, and her prestige is now further increased by the surrender of General Townshend's army at Kut-el-Amara.

THE Germans, in their plan to involve Persia in the war, had reckoned on the following elements in their favor: An ir-resolute sovereign, and Government internally divided between the two tendencies which just now divide the world, a vast country almost devoid of all organized means of communication, the absence of a regular army that might serve as the basis of authority, and, so far, no means of assuring the collection of taxes with any regularity. In these troubled waters Germany fished.

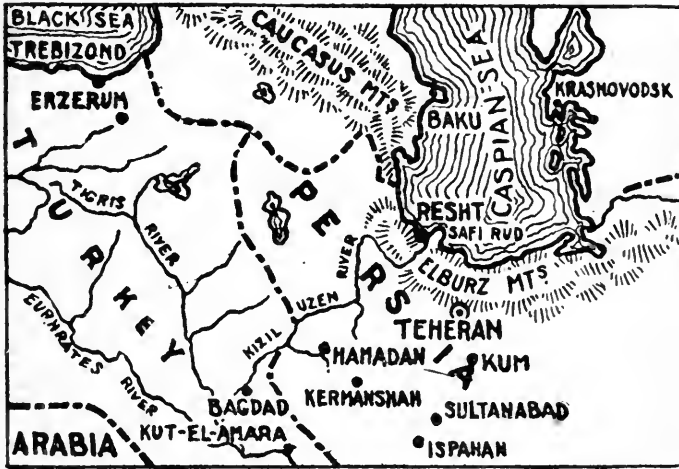
Their first incitement to revolt against Russian influence had at least a partial success in the interior of Persia, notably at Ispahan, where, after the assassination of M. Vonkaver, the Russian Consul, and the attempted assassination of the English Consul, every European who was

not a German was forced to flee from the city and take refuge at Teheran. The same thing happened at Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Shiraz. At this point the Russian Government, in conjunction with England, addressed a note to the Persian Government, demanding that the Persian troops who had entered German service should be disarmed. In his reply the Shah declared his inability to compel this disarming, and in consequence his powerlessness to answer for the lives of Europeans belonging to the allied nations.

Russia, therefore, sent a force of 24,000 men who, at the end of last October, disembarked at Enseli, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea, some seventy or eighty miles from the nearest seaport in the Russian Caucasus, and at the head of the caravan road through Resht to Teheran.

From this point the Russian force advanced along the road as far as Kasbin. The effect of this move was soon felt. As soon as it was officially announced that 4,000 Russian soldiers had left Kasbin for Yeng-Iman, a considerable village about fifty miles from Teheran, the Germans became seriously alarmed, and with them their Persian supporters and armed

Henry of Reuss and his accomplices had established an ascendancy over the Shah who, at their instance, and terrified by the picture which they painted for him of the Russian invasion, had decided to transfer the Persian Government from Teheran to Ispahan. The Shah therefore ordered preparations for departure to be made. On Nov. 14, at 11 A. M., every



RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN PERSIA

forces. Alarm became panic, when, on Nov. 14, they learned that 1,000 Russians, who had arrived that morning at Herej, twenty-five miles from Teheran, were marching on the capital.

All the furniture and archives of the German Legation were transported during the night to the American Legation, which was forced to hire a large building to store them in. The Austrian Legation turned its effects over to the Spanish Minister. As for Turkey, her representatives loaded all their possessions on carts drawn by an odd assortment of animals, and fled with them to Shah Abdul Azim. The German Minister betook himself to Kum, the second holy city in Persia after Meshed, between eighty and ninety miles south of Teheran; and there he organized a pretended Committee of Defense, as against the influence of Russia. Shortly after this the Russian advance in Central Persia forced the Germans and their committee to evacuate Kum, and to go first to Kashan and then to Ispahan.

Before these later developments Prince

hired vehicle in Teheran, to the number of 300, was requisitioned, as well as all available horses, donkeys, mules, and camels. The Teheran police and the Persian gendarmes, under the orders of their Swedish instructors, left the city to take up posts along the road from Teheran to Kum, which the Shah was to take.

But the Shah had not finally made up his mind. For five days he gave audiences alternately to the Ministers of Austria and Turkey, who were persuading him to depart, and to the representatives of Russia and England, who wished to keep him. The last won. Like a skillful diplomat, the Russian Minister promised the Shah that the Czar's troops would not pass Yeng-Iman if he remained in Teheran; the Shah remained. Then followed what the Germans have not hesitated to call a grand transformation scene, and what was in reality a bit of comedy shameful enough for its pitiable actors; the Swedish officers, Major Fric, Major de Mare, and Major Helstroem, and Captain Hellemare, who was in com-

mand of the Second Regiment of Gendarmes, refused to return with the First Regiment and the police, which adhered to the Government, and went over, bag and baggage, to the Germans. The Swedish Government later disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of these Swedish officers.

Relying on the promise of the Russians not to enter the capital, the Germans recommenced, directly or by their agents, their campaign of propaganda in Teheran itself.

To triumph over the influence of Russia, they counted especially on arousing a fever of fanaticism among the Persians, worked up by their priests on the day of the Ashura, (the tenth day of the month of Mohurram, the first month of their year.) On that day certain fanatics, wearing long shirts of white cloth and armed with swords, slashed their shaven heads, crying out "Hassan-Hussein!—Death to the Russians and the English!" In this fashion they passed through the principal districts of the city, sprinkling with red the streets and the passersby, some of whom, infected by their fever, distributed among themselves pieces torn from the blood-stained shirts. Leaders pronounced orations to disturb the populace. Groups discussed the "Russian menace," which was problematical, and the "German promises," which were even more so.

Very fortunately, there was more idle trifling than genuine emotion in all this. The arrival of the Russian troops had the effect of a stone fung into a flock of sparrows. The leaders fled without thought of coming back, and the people of Teheran, coming to their senses, recovered the calm which befits peaceable Orientals, whose only enemy is adventure.

The Russian Government, or rather the Grand Duke Nicholas, Viceroy of the Caucasus, whose spirit of energy and decision are so widely recognized, had not hesitated, in presence of the German bravado, which was tolerated, if not actually encouraged by the weakness of the Persian Government, to push forward an imposing force into the heart of Persia. It should be added at once that

this was to render the Shah the greatest service by putting at his disposal, or at least at the disposal of the forces of order, a powerful army. And it was thus that, on Jan. 8, 1916, General Baratoff in person, the Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies in Persia, accompanied by his staff, was in a position to review the "Cossack Brigade" on the Teheran review ground.

The history of this brigade is odd enough. In 1878 the Shah Nasr ed Din, on a visit to St. Petersburg, was so strongly impressed by the martial bearing of the Cossacks of the Imperial Guard that he forthwith arranged with certain officers of the Czar to organize a similar bodyguard for him at Teheran. Since then, the Cossack Brigade of the Shahs has always been supplied with Russian officers. It forms the only military body in Persia which is composed of clean, disciplined, well clothed, well armed, and regularly paid soldiers. Besides these Cossacks the Government forces consisted of police and gendarmes, placed under the order of Swedish officers. We have seen what German money effected among them.

There is also, it is true, a Persian "army." But certain explanations are necessary to make clear the exact meaning which is to be given to that expression. Faithful supporters of his Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, these soldiers pay no attention to politics, and consider their bayonettes as handy cleavers to chop wood or to cut up a sheep. The cities are not called on to furnish recruits; the human tribute is drawn from the villages. The number of men whom they must supply to the State is proportional to the amount of taxes that they pay, and is calculated at the rate of 100 tomans per head. In other words, in obedience to the "Bonitche" law, a village paying 500 tomans in taxes must, in addition, furnish five soldiers—at least if called upon to do so. And in this case the money will serve to maintain the men in the army, to which the proprietor of the village must send them. As the law lays down no limits of age or strength, the proprietor sends whom he pleases, and unless he himself hap-

pens to be a regimental General, is very careful not to deprive himself of men who are really fit for agricultural work. The same thing happens where the village belongs to several small proprietors. We must not forget that, in Persia, we are still in the epoch of feudalism, and that every peasant is the serf of a lord of the manor.

The number of intermediate ranks in the Persian Army is insignificant. The organization consists chiefly of Generals. Of these, there are four ranks—the Sarpit, a General commanding theoretically 100 men; the Mirpench, with 500 men; the Amir Toman, with 1,000 men, and, finally, the Sidar, the General over 5,000 men, who is a sort of Field Marshal. Their principal revenue is drawn from the exploitation of the right conferred on them by their commissions to raise a number of men corresponding to their rank. As every soldier must offer a sheep to his officer each year, the latter's only concern is to count his sheep, leaving his men to their own devices, and every one is happy.

In the last forty years the Persian Government has several times tried European instructors, of many nationalities. Their efforts are immediately confronted by an insurmountable difficulty, as the most insignificant European Corporal cannot, for the reasons already indicated, hold a rank inferior to that of General—save for the sheep tribute, be it understood. But where do Generals drill recruits? No prestige could stand it. The only memory the old Persian soldiers have preserved of these attempts is that the officers tried to make them march, and that no one ever succeeded in so doing.

The Shah's Government decided, late in the day, to dismiss the army, and to consecrate the money it cost to the formation of a body of gendarmes under Swedish officers. We have seen that the experiment did not succeed, and that the sole support of the Government, except for the Russian expeditionary corps, was the Cossack brigade. The effective force of the latter, which began with 1,000 men, has just been raised to 10,000.

THE RUSSIAN FORCE

Two facts, in themselves unimportant enough, made an impression on the Persians.

The first was the arrival at Kazer Kadjar, the camp of the Cossack brigade, of the first aeroplane, piloted by a Russian aviator—the machine was a Blériot. The excitement was so great that the Shah himself went to the landing place. The officers strongly insisted that his Majesty should enter the machine and be photographed. Their prayers were in vain. The Shah, overcome by misgivings, was in dread that the machine might suddenly take flight and carry off its precious passenger. He would only consent to mount on a bench, placed behind the pilot, convinced that in this way the illusion would be complete. But, when the proof was printed, the imperial legs were visible below! * * *

But the impression caused by the aeroplane was a small thing compared with the effect produced by the first Russian armor-clad automobile which passed through Teheran on its way to Kum, in pursuit of the rebels. This auto, with the very latest improvements, was armed with two machine guns at the sides and a three-inch quick-firing gun behind, and provided also with a searchlight and a periscope. With its guns, and without the men needed to work it, this war auto weighs 8,400 kilograms, and can do forty-five kilometers an hour, (twenty-eight miles.) Two inscriptions in Arabic adorn its sides; one is the word of the Prophet Mohammed: "All that has been created will perish; all that man builds shall fall." The Moslems must, of necessity, feel a profound respect for the men who are masters of such a mechanism as this! The other inscription reads thus: "I give death only to my enemies, while I protect my friends."

But the real discovery was the painting of death's heads at the four corners of the auto. The mere sight of this motor-fort produced a complete right-about in the minds of the local Russophobes; every one became, or declared himself to be, Russophile. Such is Persian character; for four months the Germans had been promising two Prussian

army corps, the first battalion of which had not appeared, while the power of Russia had become visible.

As may be seen, the Russians did not neglect any of the refinements of diplomacy. But they knew how to back it up by military force, the only kind that counts. As early as Dec. 21, at Rabat Karim, situated 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the south of Teheran, 300 Cossacks completely defeated 1,400 gendarmes and volunteers, commanded by the celebrated Swedes, killing 218 men. This was only a skirmish.

On Jan. 2, Russian scouts fell in with a Turkish army 14,000 strong, at Sanj-Bulak, in the province of Azerbaijan, to the south of Tauris. At Mian-do-Ab they rejoined the Russian advance guard which, in face of the numerical superiority of the enemy, retired on Maraga, where the bulk of the Russian force, numbering 18,000, was. The Turks, by forced marches, rushed into the jaws of the wolf, and after five days' fighting left their artillery and 10,000 prisoners in the hands of the Russians. Never before had the Sultan's troops suffered such a defeat in Persia. The tribes that were hostile to Russia fled instantly to their mountains.

The Grand Duke Nicholas on Jan. 6 visited Julfa, a town on the Russo-Persian frontier, to learn the result of the battle of Maraga. He went

back to Tiflis as soon as he knew that victory was won.

The Russian army operating in the province of Azerbaijan, on the Turkish frontier, was under General Chernozuloff, who had been for three years Colonel of the Cossack brigade at Teheran. By the end of January the Russian forces occupied the towns of Kum, Kashan, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Kengaver, in Central Persia. The bands of rebels and the German officers were massed at Sahneh, between Kengaver and Kermanshah, supported by Turkish regulars. The Czar's force, well supplied with artillery, advanced slowly but surely. Its losses were insignificant compared with those of the Persian bands. The latter, recruited from the tribes of Luristan and Kurdistan, levy taxes for their own purposes, oppress the inhabitants, pillage the villages. The rôle of the Germans, who have ceased to command in the military sense of the word, consists in organizing brigandage to supply the want of money which is already felt; for the attempt to issue paper money guaranteed by the German Government was a fiasco. Not a day passes without the inhabitants of the villages thus maltreated coming to implore the protection of the nearest Russian troops. General Baratoff's energy and strategic ability are rapidly clearing Persia of these German officers who are brigand chiefs, unworthy of the name of soldiers.



British Disaster at Kut-el-Amara

General Townshend's Surrender

MAJOR GEN. CHARLES V. TOWNSHEND'S Anglo-Indian expeditionary force, which started out a year ago to capture Bagdad, and which had been besieged since the 8th of last December at Kut-el-Amara, surrendered unconditionally to superior Turkish forces on April 28, after a heroic resistance of 143 days. According to British official figures, the surrendered army consisted of 2,970 English and 6,000 Indian troops; the Turkish figures, which probably include servants and followers of Indian troops, place the total at 13,300. General Townshend destroyed his guns and munitions before yielding, but Khalil Bey, the Turkish commander, captured much booty, including a large sum of money.

The Turkish official report adds:

In addition to General Townshend, we captured at Kut-el-Amara General Povna, Commander of the Sixth Infantry Division; General Dabmack, Commander of the Sixteenth Brigade; General Hamilton, Commander of the Seventeenth Brigade; Colonel Evans, Commander of the Eighteenth Brigade, and an officer named Smith, Commander of Artillery. The number of officers made prisoners is 551, of whom half are Europeans and half Hindus. Of the soldiers captured 25 per cent. are Europeans and the remainder Hindus.

Although the enemy destroyed a large quantity of arms before the fall of Kut-el-Amara and dropped others into the Tigris, we have found up to the present time forty cannon, twenty machine guns, and nearly 5,000 rifles, which will be ready for use after slight repairs have been made. We also took a large amount of ammunition, one large ship, one small ship, four automobiles and three aeroplanes. Arms and ammunition which were dropped into the Tigris are being recovered by us.

This new and dramatic disaster to British arms, second only to that at the Dardanelles, is again a result of underestimating the strength of the enemy. General Townshend and his men have received only praise for the heroic tenacity with which they maintained an impossible position so many months.

The initial blunder is laid at the door of the India Office, which set too large a task for so small a force. The original expedition was under the direction of General Sir John Nixon; after the failure to reach Bagdad he was superseded by General Sir Percy Lake, who is still in general command of the Mesopotamian operations. The fighting, however, has been led throughout by Townshend, Gorringe, and Aylmer. The relief force under Aylmer is still hemmed in a few miles below Kut.

The story of this attempt to capture the legendary location of the Garden of Eden from the Turks and Germans is long and romantic, as well as tragic. It begins with a series of brilliant successes, among the most notable of which was General Townshend's victory over the Turks at Kut-el-Amara in September, 1915, on his way up the Tigris Valley to Bagdad. All the earlier operations have been described in detail by General Nixon in an official report issued April 5, 1916, part of which is reproduced verbatim after the close of the present article. General Nixon's operations to clear Mesopotamia of Turkish resistance were carried on chiefly by collaborating forces under Townshend and Gorringe, consisting of two divisions of Anglo-Indian troops, or a few over 40,000 men. His report covers the six months from April to September, 1915, and includes the following achievements of British troops:

Clearing Persian Arabistan and securing and repairing the pipe line to the oil fields.

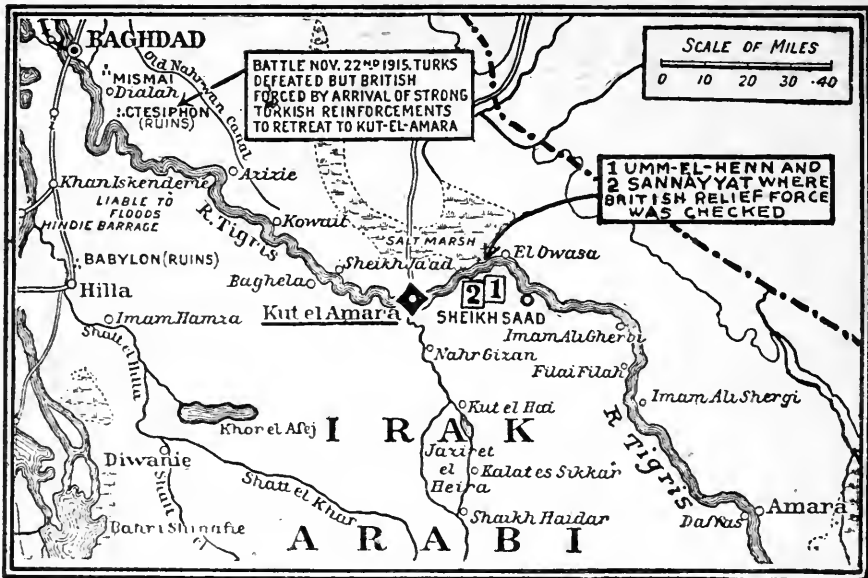
General Townshend's advance from Basra toward Bagdad—as far as Ctesiphon.

The battle of Kurna and the capture of the town on May 31 by General Townshend.

The battle of Amara and the taking of that town by General Townshend on June 3, with 740 Turkish prisoners.

The capture of the Arab stronghold of Nasiriyah, on the Euphrates, July 24, with 1,000 prisoners and many rifles and stores.

General Townshend's victory at Kut-el-Amara on Sept. 28, where a strong army



BRITISH CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA

under Nur-ed-Din Bey was defeated, thus clearing the way for an advance toward Bagdad.

From Kut-el-Amara General Townshend pushed northward, part of his force following the old caravan trail and part the river, where his troops were transported by boats, most of which had been brought from India and were as primitive as those which the Turks and Arabs brought to oppose them. By Nov. 22 he had fought his way nearly 100 miles northward to Ctesiphon, within eighteen miles of Bagdad. There he was attacked by an overwhelming force and suffered a severe defeat. Though he regained the lost ground the next day, he saw nothing but a siege before him. His water supply gave out, and he decided to retrace his steps and await reinforcements. This retirement, accomplished under extraordinary disadvantages, was hailed in England as a remarkable achievement. Not only did General Townshend ward off the pursuing Turks with comparatively small losses, but he succeeded in taking with him all his wounded.

The main body pushed ahead, but on Dec. 5 Townshend determined to make a stand with the rear guards, at the scene of his previous victory, Kut-el-Amara.

This guard, consisting of something over 10,000 men, made an intrenched camp around the place, while the remainder of his force passed on down the Tigris.

Kut-el-Amara is nothing but a mud collection of ramshackle houses on somewhat raised ground. Behind the river front are a mosque and a collection of one or two storied Arab houses.

Three days after he began to intrench, (that is, on Dec. 8,) Townshend's communications with the main body of troops were cut off, and ever since then he has been besieged. Almost daily attacks were made by the Turks. Townshend is said to have captured over 3,000 Turks and Arabs by sorties.

When it became evident that Townshend was so beset that he could not fight his way out, steps were taken to send a relief expedition. Thirty thousand Indian troops were dispatched, and two Anglo-Indian divisions, which had been fighting in France, were transported to the head of the Persian Gulf, making, with the remnants of Townshend's main expedition, a relief force of 90,000 men. General Sir Percy Lake was placed in command of the entire forces, in succession to Sir John Nixon, and com-

mand of the relief expedition itself was given to Major Gen. Aylmer.

This expedition was poorly supplied in regard to transport and river gunboat service, and Aylmer's march up the river again turned to a retreat after the first dash. The march began on Jan. 6, when the advanced guard left Gherbi, about eighty miles by river southeast of Kut-el-Amara. By Jan. 8 he had reached Sheikh Saad, forty miles to the north, where he defeated the Turks in two pitched battles. Between Jan. 15 and 19 he reached Orah, and on Jan. 21 he was at El Gussa, only eight miles from Kut-el-Amara. On the following day he attacked the Es Sinn intrenchments, which the Turks had built across the river eight miles from Kut, but failed to take them. Floods came to add to the trouble, due to lack of equipment, so that his position became almost as precarious as was Townshend's at Ctesiphon. Like him, Aylmer retreated.

Up to this time the campaign had been under the direction of the India Office, but the War Office in London now took a hand, and a large body of Colonials, including the Thirteenth Division of Gallipoli fame, with full equipment and supplies, was sent from Egypt, together with a flotilla of gunboats. In February Aylmer again started from his base at Gherbi, and General Lake himself joined the expedition. By the middle of March the expedition was near El Owasa and defeated the Turks there, after having met with a reverse at Felahie.

On April 5 the British force carried by assault the Turkish intrenched position at Umm-el-Henna, twenty-two miles from Kut-el-Amara. The next day the capture of Felahie was officially announced. Even then the relief expedition was about fifteen miles further away from Townshend's beleaguered force than it was on Jan. 21. Formidable masses of Turks were gathered on both sides of the Tigris below the invested town, holding intrenched and strongly fortified posts to contest the further advance.

The fighting in this region has been severe ever since, but the relief force, although gaining some ground, was never able to win a decisive victory.

The losses on both sides recently have been heavy. On April 14 it was admitted that the Tigris army had lost 8,100 men up to that time. Since then there have been several battles between the Turks and the relief expedition. In one engagement alone, according to the Turkish accounts, the British lost 4,000 men.

General Townshend's surrender was brought about by the starvation of his forces. Attempts were made to carry supplies to him by aeroplane, but the location of Kut in a bend of the river made it difficult for airmen to land. A shipload of provisions on its way to him ran aground in the Tigris only four miles from the hungry soldiers. With this final misfortune he decided that surrender was the only course left for his beleaguered army.

The Battle That Won Kut-el-Amara

By General Sir John Nixon

Of Sir John Nixon's detailed report of the Mesopotamian operations under his command, made public on April 5, we give here the most interesting portion, namely, his story of how General Townshend captured Kut-el-Amara on Sept. 28, 1915:

THE defeat of Nur-Ed-Din and the occupation of Kut-el-Amara became my next objective as soon as Nasiriyah was secured, and I commenced the transfer of troops toward Amara on the following day.

By Sept. 12 the force was concentrated

at Ali al Gharbi. Thence the advance was continued by route march along the river bank, accompanied by a naval flotilla and shipping, until Sannaiyat (some eight miles below the enemy's position covering Kut-el-Amara) was reached on Sept. 15. Intense heat prevailed during the period of this march, with temperatures ranging from 110 degrees to 116 degrees in the shade. The column remained halted at Sannaiyat until Sept. 25, receiving reinforcements during this period.

Nur-Ed-Din Bey's army lay astride the river some seven miles northeast of Kut and eight miles from General Townshend's force at Sannaiyat. It occupied a line naturally favorable for defense, which, during three or four months of preparation, had been converted into a formidable position. On the right bank the defenses extended for five miles southward along some mounds which commanded an extensive field of fire. The river was blocked by a boom composed of barges and wire cables commanded at close range by guns and fire trenches. On the left bank the intrenchments extended for seven miles, linking up the gaps between the river and three marshes which stretched away to the north. The defenses were well designed and concealed, commanding flat and open approaches. They were elaborately constructed with a thoroughness that missed no detail. In front of the trenches were barbed wire entanglements, military pits, and land mines. Behind were miles of communication trenches connecting the various works and providing covered outlets to the river, where ramps and landing stages had been made to facilitate the transfer of troops to or from ships, while pumping engines and water channels carried water from the river to the trenches.

Nur-Ed-Din's army held this position, one division being on each bank, with some army troops in reserve on the left bank, near a bridge above the main position. A force of Arab horsemen was posted on the Turkish left flank; most of the Turkish regular cavalry were absent during the battle on a raid against our communications at Sheikh Saad.

On Sept. 26 General Townshend advanced to within four miles of the Turkish position. His plan was to make a decisive attack on the left bank by enveloping the Turkish left with his main force, but in order to deceive the enemy as to the direction of the real attack, preliminary dispositions and preparatory attacks were made, with the object of inducing the Turks to expect the principal attack on the right bank.

On the morning of the 27th our troops advanced by both banks. The principal force, on the right bank, made a feint attack on the trenches south of the river, while the left bank detachment intrenched itself within 3,000 yards of the enemy. Meanwhile a bridge had been constructed, and under cover of night the main force crossed from the right bank and deployed opposite the enemy's left flank. On the morning of Sept. 28 a general attack was made against the enemy on the left bank. The Eighteenth Infantry Brigade, under Major Gen. Fry, with its left on the line of the river, made a pinning attack, while Brig. Gen. Delamain, commanding the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Infantry Brigades, advanced in two columns against the enemy's left, one column being directed frontally against the flank intrenchments, while the other moved wide around the flank and attacked in the rear. General Delamain's right flank was protected by the cavalry brigade.

The first troops to enter the enemy trenches were the First Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment, One Hundred and Seventeenth Mahrattas, and Twenty-second Company Sappers and Miners, who made a brilliant assault, well supported by the artillery, and soon after 10 A. M. captured a redoubt and trenches on the enemy's extreme left, inflicting heavy losses and taking 135 prisoners. A combined attack by the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Infantry Brigades was then made, and after hard fighting, during which the enemy made several unsuccessful counterattacks, the whole of the northern part of the enemy's position was in our hands by 2 P. M.

General Delamain reorganized his troops on the captured position and gave

them a much-needed rest, as they were exhausted by the great heat, the long march, and hard fighting. After a brief rest General Delamain moved his column southward to assist the Eighteenth Infantry Brigade, by attacking the enemy opposed to it in rear. Before this attack could develop strong hostile reserves appeared from the southwest, in the direction of the bridge. General Delamain immediately changed his objective, and attacked the new troops, supported by his guns firing at a range of 1,700 yards.

The sight of the approaching enemy and the prospect of getting at him in the open with the bayonet put new life into our infantry, who were suffering from weariness and exhaustion after their long and trying exertions under the tropical sun. For the time thirst and fatigue were forgotten. The attack was made in a most gallant manner with great dash. The enemy were routed with one magnificent rush, which captured four guns and inflicted heavy losses on the Turks. The enemy fought stubbornly, and were saved from complete destruction by the approach of night.

General Delamain's troops bivouacked for the night on the scene of their victory, about two miles from the river, both men and horses suffering severely from want of water, as the brackish water of the marshes is undrinkable. In the morning the column reached the river, and the horses got their first water for forty hours.

Throughout the battle the naval flotilla co-operated with the land attack from positions on the river. Late in the evening of the 28th, led by the Comet, (Lieut. Commander E. C. Cookson, R. N., acting senior naval officer,) the flotilla advanced upstream and endeavored to force a passage through the boom obstruction. The ships came under a terrific fire from both banks at close range. The Comet rammed the boom, but it withstood the shock. Lieut. Commander Cookson was shot dead while most gallantly attempting to cut a wire cable securing the barges.

The Turks evacuated their remaining trenches during the night and escaped

along the bank of the Tigris. On the morning of the 29th a pursuit was organized, troops moving in ships preceded by cavalry on land. The cavalry, consisting of four weak squadrons, overtook the enemy on Oct. 1, but had to wait for the support of the river column, as the Turks were making an orderly retreat, covered by a strong rearguard with infantry and guns. The progress of the river column was so delayed by the difficulties of navigation due to the constantly shifting shallows in the river that it was unable to overtake the retreating enemy. When the ships reached Aziziyah on Oct. 5 the enemy had reached their prepared defensive position at Ctesiphon, covering the road to Bagdad, where they were reinforced.

The Turks lost some 4,000 men in casualties, of whom 1,153 were prisoners captured by us. In addition, we took fourteen guns and a quantity of rifles; ammunition, and stores. Considering the severity of the fighting, our casualties were comparatively small. They amounted to 1,233, including a large proportion of men only slightly wounded.

The defeat of Nur-Ed-Din Bey completed the expulsion of Turkish troops from the Basrah Vilayet. Apart from material gains won at Kut-el-Amara, our troops once again proved their irresistible gallantry in attack, and added another victory to British arms in Mesopotamia.

I am glad to place on record my appreciation of the ability and generalship displayed by Major Gen. C. V. F. Townshend, C. B., D. S. O., throughout these operations. His plan for turning the Turkish left was the manoeuvre whereby the position could best be captured without incurring very heavy losses.

Brig. Gen. Delamain, who commanded the main attack, showed himself to be a resolute and resourceful commander. His leadership during the battle was admirable.

The troops under the command of Major Gen. Townshend displayed high soldierly qualities, and upheld the reputation they have earned during this arduous campaign.

How the British Left Gallipoli

By General Sir Charles C. Monro

Commander of Mediterranean Expeditionary Force

This graphic report, dated March 6, 1916, is addressed to Lord Kitchener, head of the British War Office. General Monro, who is now fighting in France, took command at Gallipoli on Oct. 28, 1915, and shortly afterward recommended immediate evacuation. All the essential and historic portions of the document appear below.

ON Oct. 20, in London, I received your Lordship's instructions to proceed as soon as possible to the Near East and take over the command of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force.

My duty on arrival was in broad outline:

(a) To report on the military situation on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

(b) To express an opinion whether on purely military grounds the Peninsula should be evacuated or another attempt made to carry it.

(c) The number of troops that would be required—

(1) To carry the Peninsula.

(2) To keep the strait open, and

(3) To take Constantinople.

The positions occupied by our troops presented a military situation unique in history. The mere fringe of the coast line had been secured. The beaches and piers upon which they depended for all requirements in personnel and material were exposed to registered and observed artillery fire. Our intrenchments were dominated almost throughout by the Turks. The possible artillery positions were insufficient and defective. The force, in short, held a line possessing every possible military defect. The position was without depth,

the communications were insecure and dependent on the weather. No means existed for the concealment and deployment of fresh troops destined for the offensive—while the Turks enjoyed full

powers of observation, abundant artillery positions, and they had been given the time to supplement the natural advantages which the position presented by all the devices at the disposal of the field engineer.

Another material factor came prominently before me. The troops on the Peninsula had suffered much from various causes—exposure to shell fire, disease, the dearth of competent officers owing to earlier losses, and "make-shifts" due to the attachment of Yeomanry and Mounted Brigades to the Territorial Divisions. Other arguments, irrefutable in

their conclusions, convinced me that a complete evacuation was the only wise course to pursue.

On Nov. 21 the Peninsula was visited by a storm said to be nearly unprecedented for the time of the year. The storm was accompanied by torrential rain, which lasted for twenty-four hours. This was followed by hard frost and a heavy blizzard. In the areas of the Eighth Corps and the Anzac Corps the effects were



GENERAL MONRO

not felt to a very marked degree owing to the protection offered by the surrounding hills. The Ninth Corps was less favorably situated, the water courses in this area became converted into surging rivers, which carried all before them. The water rose in many places to the height of the parapets and all means of communications were prevented. The men, drenched as they were by the rain, suffered from the subsequent blizzard most severely. Large numbers collapsed from exposure and exhaustion, and in spite of untiring efforts that were made to mitigate the suffering I regret to announce that there were 200 deaths from exposure and over 10,000 sick evacuated during the first few days of December.

From reports given by deserters it is probable that the Turks suffered even to a greater degree.

The problem with which we were confronted was the withdrawal of an army of a considerable size from positions in no cases more than 300 yards from the enemy's trenches, and its embarkation on open beaches, every part of which were within effective range of Turkish guns, and from which in winds from the south or southwest, the withdrawal of troops was not possible.

I came to the conclusion that our chances of success were infinitely more probable if we made no departure of any kind from the normal life which we were following both on sea and on land. A feint which did not fully fulfill its purpose would have been worse than useless, and there was the obvious danger that the suspicions of the Turks would be aroused by our adoption of a course the real purport of which could not have been long disguised.

Rapidity of action was imperative, having in view the unsettled weather which might be expected in the Aegean. The success of our operations was entirely dependent on weather conditions. Even a mild wind from the south or southwest was found to raise such a ground swell as to greatly impede communication with the beaches, while anything in the nature of a gale from this direction could not fail to break up the piers, wreck the small

craft, and thus definitely prevent any steps being taken toward withdrawal.

Throughout the period Dec. 10 to 18 the withdrawal proceeded under the most auspicious conditions, and the morning of Dec. 18 found the positions both at Anzac and Suvla reduced to the numbers determined, while the evacuation of guns, animals, stores, and supplies had continued most satisfactorily.

It was imperative, of course, that the front-line trenches should be held, however lightly, until the very last moment and that the withdrawal from these trenches should be simultaneous throughout the line.

The good fortune which had attended the evacuation continued during the night of the 19th-20th. The night was perfectly calm with a slight haze over the moon, an additional stroke of good luck, as there was a full moon on that night.

Soon after dark the covering ships were all in position, and the final withdrawal began. At 1:30 A. M. the withdrawal of the rear parties commenced from the front trenches at Suvla and the left of Anzac. Those on the right of Anzac who were nearer the beach remained in position until 2 A. M. By 5:30 A. M. the last man had quit the trenches.

At Anzac, four 18-pounder guns, two 5-inch howitzers, one 4.7 naval gun, one anti-air craft, and two 3-pounder Hotchkiss guns were left, but they were destroyed before the troops finally embarked. In addition, fifty-six mules, a certain number of carts, mostly stripped of their wheels, and some supplies which were set on fire, were also abandoned.

At Suvla every gun, vehicle and animal was embarked, and all that remained was a small stock of supplies, which were burned.

On Dec. 28 your Lordship's telegram ordering the evacuation of Helles was received, whereupon, in view of the possibility of bad weather intervening, I instructed the General Officer Commanding Dardanelles Army to complete the operation as rapidly as possible. He was reminded that every effort conditional on not exposing the personnel to undue risk should be made to save all 60-pounder and 18-pounder guns, 6-inch and 4.5 howitzers,

with their ammunition and other accessories, such as mules, and A. T. carts, limbered wagons, &c.

At a meeting which was attended by the Vice Admiral and the General Officer Commanding Dardanelles Army I explained the course which I thought we should adopt to again deceive the Turks as to our intentions. The situation on the Peninsula had not materially changed owing to our withdrawal from Suvla and Anzac, except that there was a marked increase in aerial reconnaissance over our positions, and the islands of Mudros and Imbros, and that hostile patrolling of our trenches was more frequent and daring. The most apparent factor was that the number of heavy guns on the European and Asiatic shores had been considerably augmented, and that these guns were more liberally supplied with German ammunition, the result of which was that our beaches were continuously shelled, especially from the Asiatic shore. I gave it as my opinion that in my judgment I did not regard a feint as an operation offering any prospect of success; and it was decided the navy should do their utmost to pursue a course of retaliation against the Turkish batteries, but to refrain from any unusually aggressive attitude should the Turkish guns remain quiescent.

General Sir W. Birdwood had, in anticipation of being ordered to evacuate Helles, made such complete and far-seeing arrangements that he was able to proceed without delay to the issue of the comprehensive orders which the consummation of such a delicate operation in war requires.

The evacuation, following the same system as was practiced at Suvla and Anzac, proceeded without delay. The French infantry remaining on the Peninsula were relieved on the night of Jan. 1-2, and were embarked by the French navy on the following nights. Progress, however, was slower than had been hoped, owing to delays caused by accident and the weather. One of our largest horse ships was sunk by a French battleship, whereby the withdrawal was considerably retarded, and at the same time strong winds sprang up which interfered mate-

rially with work on the beaches. The character of the weather now setting in offered so little hope of a calm period of any duration that General Sir W. Birdwood arranged with Admiral Sir J. de Robeck for the assistance of some destroyers in order to accelerate the progress of re-embarkation.

Meanwhile the Eighth Corps had maintained the offensive spirit in bombing and minor operations with which they had established the moral superiority they enjoyed over the enemy. On Dec. 29 the Fifty-second Division completed the excellent work which they had been carrying out for so long by capturing a considerable portion of the Turkish trenches, and by successfully holding these in the face of repeated counterattacks. The shelling of our trenches and beaches, however, increased in frequency and intensity, and the average daily casualties continued to increase.

On Jan. 7 the enemy developed heavy artillery fire on the trenches held by the Thirteenth Division, while the Asiatic guns shelled those occupied by the Royal Naval Division. The bombardment, which was reported to be the heaviest experienced since we landed in April, lasted from noon until 5 P. M., and was intensive between 3 and 3:30 P. M.

Jan. 8 was a bright, calm day, with a light breeze from the south. There was every indication of the continuance of favorable conditions, and, in the opinion of the meteorological officer, no important change was to be expected for at least twenty-four hours. The Turkish artillery was unusually inactive. All preparations for the execution of the final stage were complete.

About 7 P. M. the breeze freshened considerably from the southwest, the most unfavorable quarter, but the first trip, timed for 8 P. M., was dispatched without difficulty. The wind, however, continued to rise until, by 11 P. M., the connecting pier between the hulks and the shore at "W" Beach was washed away by heavy seas, and further embarkation into destroyers from these hulks became impracticable. In spite of these difficulties the second trips, which commenced at 11:30 P. M., were carried

out well up to time, and the embarkation of guns continued uninterruptedly. Early in the evening reports had been received from the right flank that a hostile submarine was believed to be moving down the strait, and about midnight H. M. S. Prince George, which had embarked 2,000 men, and was sailing for Mudros, reported she was struck by a torpedo which failed to explode. The indications of the presence of a submarine added considerably to the anxiety for the safety of the troop carriers, and made it necessary for the Vice Admiral to modify the arrangements made for the subsequent bombardment of the evacuated positions.

At 1:50 A. M., Gully Beach reported that the embarkation at that beach was complete, and that the lighters were about to push off, but at 2:10 A. M. a telephone message was received that one of the lighters was aground and could not be refloated. The N. T. O. at once took all possible steps to have another lighter sent in to Gully Beach, and this was, as a matter of fact, done within an hour, but in the meantime, at 2:30 A. M., it was decided to move the 160 men who had been relanded from the grounded lighter to "W" Beach and embark them there.

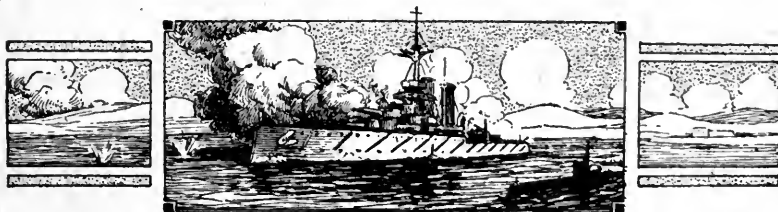
At 3:30 A. M. the evacuation was complete, and abandoned heaps of stores and supplies were successfully set on fire by time fuses after the last man had embarked. Two magazines of ammunition and explosives were also successfully blown up at 4 A. M. These conflagrations were apparently the first intimation received by the Turks that we had withdrawn. Red lights were immediately dis-

charged from the enemy's trenches, and heavy artillery fire opened on our trenches and beaches. This shelling was maintained until about 6:30 A. M.

Apart from four unserviceable fifteen-pounders which had been destroyed earlier in the month, ten worn-out fifteen-pounders, one six-inch Mark VII. gun, and six old heavy French guns, all of which were previously blown up, were left on the Peninsula. In addition to the above, 508 animals, most of which were destroyed, and a number of vehicles and considerable quantities of stores, material, and supplies, all of which were destroyed by burning, had to be abandoned.

The entire evacuation of the Peninsula had now been completed. It demanded for its successful realization two important military essentials, viz., good luck and skilled disciplined organization, and they were both forthcoming to a marked degree at the hour needed. Our luck was in the ascendant by the marvelous spell of calm weather which prevailed. But we were able to turn to the fullest advantage these accidents of fortune.

Lieut. General Sir W. Birdwood and his corps commanders elaborated and prepared the orders in reference to the evacuation with a skill, competence, and courage which could not have been surpassed, and we had a further stroke of good fortune in being associated with Vice Admiral Sir J. de Robeck, K. C. B., Vice Admiral Wemyss, and a body of naval officers whose work remained throughout this anxious period at that standard of accuracy and professional ability which is beyond the power of criticism or cavil.



Why Italy Went Into the War

By G. F. Guerrazzi

In this second and concluding installment of his monograph on Italy's relations with Austria and Germany Signor Guerrazzi discusses the evil political effects of Germany's commercial activities in Italy, the Teutonic betrayal of Italian interests, and the popular uprising that turned the scales for war.

II.

THE extraordinarily rapid progress of Germany had impressed even those Italians who were least inclined to admire it, and German influences had permeated our universities and scientific bodies. All this, together with the ill-concealed hostility of the French and the somewhat cool friendship of the English, favored the development of our relations with Germany.

It must be remembered that our country is comparatively poor in natural resources. We have very little iron, no coal, practically no mineral wealth; a large portion of our soil consists of rocky, unwooded mountains; even our seas are poor in fish. For these and other reasons the accumulation of wealth is laborious and slow, and modern industrial organization, which can perform such miracles, is still in its infancy with us, and is perhaps not well suited to the Italian temperament. For all these reasons foreign economic influences were bound to react powerfully on Italian life, especially during a period of national depression.

UNWHOLESOME POLITICS

With the completion of our national unity, the chief political questions before us were those of internal liberty and the right to the suffrage. Every now and again an economic question, such as the abolition of the duty on milling, the State control of the railways, &c., would react on politics, and little by little Parliamentary majorities were formed for the protection of special interests of persons and districts. The divergent conditions and needs of Northern and Southern Italy, the defective political education of the southern electorate, socially

subject to a middle class neither wealthy nor active, led to a struggle between two warring sets of interests, resulting in an unwise system of industrial and agrarian protectionism.

As has more than once occurred in conflicts between agriculture and industry, the former sold its best interests for a mess of pottage, obtaining a protective tariff of seven lire on every 100 kilograms of wheat and other illusory benefits, while manufacturers secured a large measure of protection, more especially for steel, cotton fabrics, and sugar refineries. This policy, the result of compromises between hostile groups of interests, was injurious to agriculture, but it was vastly more injurious to the country as a whole in view of the political consequences to which it gave rise.

One of these was the rapid rise of socialism, which secured a firm hold on the imagination of the proletariat and extended its influence to almost all classes of Government and municipal employes. The idealistic programs of the old democratic parties lost their hold on the nation; the attention of the masses was centred exclusively on material advantage; even the Catholic Party had to enter the economic arena in order to keep its hold on its adepts.

RULE OF SPECIAL INTERESTS

All this led to great political confusion, and "special interests" began to rule supreme. The clear vision of their own needs gave them the power to domineer over the Government. Little by little political influence passed, in fact if not in semblance, into the hands of a group of interests, incredibly petty when compared to those of the nation as a whole,

but which succeeded in dominating the country for a series of years.

These interests were mostly centred in men who had but recently emerged from obscurity, who had grown rich rapidly and not always honorably at the cost of the country by building railways or harbors, contracting for military and naval supplies, and so forth. These were the people mainly interested in those industries which clamored for and obtained an excessive measure of protection. Around them were formed those multitudinous currents of interests which succeeded in establishing under a Parliamentary régime a virtual dictatorship, and which paved the path along which Germany, by making use of banking influences, came to exercise political as well as economic power in Italy. Of this unclean coalition of interests the political dictator was Giovanni Giolitti, and the central economic organ the Banca Commerciale Italiana.

GIOVANNI GIOLITTI

Giovanni Giolitti has been a really harmful man to Italy. He not only submitted to, but favored and promoted in a shameless manner this coalition of special interests, serving and being served by them in his political ambitions. Though an adult in the memorable days of our national revival, he was absent from the battlefields and took no part in the conspiracies and labors which led to national unity. He rose from the ranks of the bureaucracy, and his name was never associated with any movement for the realization of high political ideals. He entered Parliament in middle age and was raised to power by intrigue to serve the special interests of his supporters and their friends. Devoid of culture, of idealism, of breadth of views, his strength was based on his lack of scruple, which allowed him to favor the baser elements in the political life of the country and to raise to power men of mediocre character and intellect, of dubious political and often personal morality.

Lacking in civic courage, when corruption, intimidation, and other means worthy only of the abominable traditions of the police under the old tyrannical régimes seemed inadequate to overcome

the difficulties arising from his unsound policy, he deserted his post and withdrew from the Government, waiting to seize the reins of power once more by threats and lobby intrigues when the difficulties from which he had fled should have blown over, or when his successor for the time being seemed likely to acquire a solid footing in Parliament.

CORRUPTING PUBLIC LIFE

Giolitti was in power, with but brief intervals, for more than thirteen years, and unfortunately he was at the head of the Government on the four occasions on which a general election was held. He was thus enabled to secure a Chamber to his own liking, giving his support to those candidates who were loyal to him personally, preferring nonentities or tarnished reputations as being more easily held in hand. His electioneering policy was one of corruption with Government funds or with money provided by banks or business men whom he compensated at the nation's expense by concessions for public works and yet more costly favors. He did not hesitate to have recourse to the most unheard-of police violence and the most brazen-faced trickery to fight those candidates who had the courage to withstand him. His supporters were rewarded with all the favors at the disposal of a Prime Minister; his adversaries were never forgotten. By similar means he secured control over the Senate and over all the branches of the public administration, weeding out those who were not his creatures.

By such means Giolitti succeeded in corrupting Italian public life in all its branches, creating an atmosphere unbreathable to the best men of all parties and rendering unsound the most delicate springs and wheels in the machinery of State. Placed in power by Court intrigue, the banking scandals in which he was involved during his first tenure of the Premiership reacted adversely on the estimation in which the monarchy was held, and during the recent tremendous political crisis which he brought on the country he came within an ace of involving the monarchy in his own downfall.

EVIL POLITICAL RESULTS

Such a man and such a policy should have met with strenuous opposition, especially in the ranks of the democracy. But the men who succeeded the leaders of our national revival were unable to resist the temptations set in their path by Giolitti, and were faithful to him rather than to the parties they were supposed to represent. The political corruption which he had sown soon spread. The more noisy section of the democracy was bought at the price of unheard-of concessions and favors granted to Socialist and Republican co-operative associations to the detriment of the State, and with disastrous effects on the political morality of the country. Finally, the support of the advanced parties was purchased by the promise of universal suffrage and payment of members, reforms which should have been conquered and not purchased by submission. As it is they have indeed been costly to the country and to democracy, which by this compact helped to consolidate a political régime which may well be described as the triumph of parasitism in finance, in industry, in the ranks of the proletariat and of the bureaucracy, all united to protect their petty special interests to the injury of the real interests of the nation as a whole, conspiring to form a régime of plutocrats and demagogues capable of disintegrating even the most solidly constituted body politic.

GERMANY FINDS A TOOL

It was this inexhaustible flood of greed and personal ambition which broke down all barriers and made it possible for foreign influences to gain a footing in the State. The chief instrument at the service of this execrable coalition of parasites has been the Banca Commerciale Italiana.

When the Bank of France ceased to support Italian commerce on the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, German financial circles waited to come to our assistance until our leading banks had failed, leaving our commerce and industry an easy prey. They then came forward and founded the Banca Commerciale Italiana. The amount of Ger-

man capital invested in this enterprise was limited, but the management was German. Germans were strongly represented on the Board of Directors, and a large number of the secondary positions were filled by them. Those banks which had survived the financial shipwreck were soon absorbed. Then the industries and businesses which still existed were attacked. They were supplied with abundant credit, which, when the opportune moment came, was curtailed and then withdrawn, and the debt toward the bank compulsorily converted into part ownership at the cost of heavy depreciation. Germans were appointed as managers of such concerns or on their Directorate, thus insuring the Banca Commerciale a preponderating influence. At the same time new industries were started under its patronage, and here again the plant and the management had always to be German, and preference was given to Germany in the purchase of raw material. All this was done at a very small outlay, but with great ability in selecting the right moment for action.

MILITARY DESIGNS

Now, all this, if limited strictly to the economic sphere, may be regrettable from the standpoint of Italian interests, but would not deserve the censure of business men. Unfortunately, however, this financial activity served as a cloak to political aims. As in France and in Belgium, so in Italy many of these factories installed by German capital were organized to serve military purposes; land was acquired at places which could be used as signaling stations and to assist the enemy in case of an armed invasion by Austria-Germany, and many German business houses in Italy became centres of a well-organized system of espionage.

Fortunately for us, we have been able to take the offensive on the enemy's territory in the present war, or we should have had to pay dearly for our unsuspecting confidence in our former allies. The preponderating influence which the Banca Commerciale acquired in all our more important steel and metal works, and engineering and naval industries,

secured for it a most noxious influence over our military armaments, and was certainly one of the reasons why Italy found herself unprovided with artillery when the European war broke out.

The connection between Giolitti's Cabinet and the Banca Commerciale became so intimate that high political and administrative posts were conferred exclusively on people who met with the approval of the bank, and well-known manipulators and brokers in its service were even raised to the dignity of Senators. But it was the Lybian war which brought most clearly into light the political influence of the Banca Commerciale in Italy.

THE LYBIAN WAR

The agreements we had come to with France and England regarding Morocco and the Mediterranean had set our minds at rest about Lybia. No one in Italy dreamed of annexing that country; all we wanted was to be certain that no other great power would establish itself there, precluding us from future expansion and curtailing our safety. It was, however, desirable that we should build up commercial relations with that country, and these were always hindered by the Banca Commerciale, which severely abstained from all activity in those regions.

At last the Banco di Roma undertook the task of commercial penetration, in spite of the undisguised hostility of the Turkish authorities. It would have been easy for Germany, then all powerful at Constantinople, to have favored her ally in this modest attempt at pacific penetration in North Africa. But just as she had never consented to say a word on our behalf at Vienna, so she now abstained from befriending us at Constantinople.

Italy was celebrating in 1911 the jubilee of her national unity. Giolitti was at the head of the Government; a cholera epidemic was threatening; no one had any idea of going to war. Suddenly, in September, one of the constantly recurring incidents with Turkey arose; our reasonable requests were flouted; Germany, as usual, abstained

from using her good offices; and Italy declared war.

DUE TO GERMAN AIMS

What on earth had occurred to drive peace-loving and Giolitti-governed Italy to such a decision? The inside history of these events is not yet known, but it would seem that Germany, after her failures at Agadir and in Morocco, was preparing virtually to annex Tripoli. It would have been easy for the German Ambassador at Constantinople to induce the Sultan to intrust to a German protectorate the remainder of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa. Italy's claims to consideration could, it was thought, be set aside, and, anyhow, what could Italy have done if Germany had decided to act?

Indications show that something of this sort was being discussed between Berlin and Constantinople when a power, friendly to Italy and unwilling to see Germany installed on the Mediterranean, got wind of the matter, and Giolitti was faced with the alternative of going to Tripoli or seeing this other power go there. Had Tripoli been lost to Italy, as Tunis had been, there could be no doubt as to the outburst of popular indignation which would have ensued. Giolitti declared war on Turkey.

GERMANY AND THE TURK

The displeasure of Austria and Germany was shown in no uncertain terms. Giolitti conducted the war hat in hand, almost asking leave of our irate allies before daring to have a shot fired. Time was given to the slow Turkish Navy to take safe refuge in the Dardanelles because such was the good pleasure of Berlin. When the Duke of the Abruzzi directed his cannon against Prevesa, Austria immediately opposed her veto; Italy must attack neither Saloniki, nor the Epirus, nor Smyrna, nor any really vital part of the Ottoman Empire.

All this is clearly shown in the Green Book, in Salandra's speech, and in Sonnino's statements. Consequently we had to drag out a most costly war, while Italian subjects and interests in Turkey were neglected by the German Ambassador to whom they had been intrusted, and Mar-

shal von der Goltz openly assisted the Turkish officers in preparing their plans of campaign.

AN UNFAVORABLE PEACE

In the Summer of 1912 peace negotiations were opened with Turkey on the initiative of a certain Volpi who had been the leading spirit in the organization of the so-called Italian companies founded by the Banca Commerciale in Montenegro and at Constantinople. This same Volpi, under the pretext of acting as "technical agent," and the ex-Ministers Bertolini and Fusinato were appointed as plenipotentiaries to negotiate peace, and the son of the leading German member of the Directorate of the Banca Commerciale was named Secretary.

Meantime the first Balkan war was declared, but the Italian Government shut its eyes to the favorable possibilities which the formation of the Balkan League offered to Italy, nor did it avail itself thereof to secure favorable terms. After all our heavy loss of life and money, peace was made when it suited Turkey and on conditions entirely to her advantage. In face of all this, can any one deny that our allies, and more especially Germany, did all in their power on this occasion to injure our interests?

AUSTRIA IN THE BALKANS

Not only the positive but also the negative advantages of the alliance were denied us. The main purpose of the treaty was to safeguard Italy against the danger of Austria's upsetting the equilibrium in the Balkans and the Adriatic, while guaranteeing Austria against Italian nationalist movements in territories subject to her rule. Now, the Green Book, Salandra's speech in the Capitol, the address recently delivered by our Ambassador in Paris, and the well-known actions of Austria all clearly show that the Dual Monarchy was constantly seeking to attack the rights of the Balkan States which she was pledged to respect. To say nothing of minor incidents, it will suffice to recall the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, the diabolical policy which led to the

destruction of the Balkan League, and the threatened Austrian occupation of Montenegro in April, 1913.

In July of the same year it was only the stubborn opposition of Italy which prevented Austria from attacking Serbia with the assistance of Germany, while all the time she was carrying on criminal intrigues in Albania. It is thus clear that the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which occurred toward the end of June, 1914, was a mere pretext for the brutal and unheard-of ultimatum which Austria sent to Serbia on June 23 of that year.

ITALIAN NEUTRALITY

It would be superfluous for me to waste time in convincing you that Austria and Germany, but more especially the latter, were determined to bring about the present war. Italy had no hesitation in following the course of action left open to her by the terms of the alliance, and consonant to her position in the European concert and to her traditions. Austria had left Italy completely in the dark as to her intentions with regard to Serbia, thus committing a flagrant violation of her treaty obligations. This being the case, no one could claim that we were obliged to assist her when she took, without our consent, a course of action diametrically opposed to our interests, interests which we had entered the alliance to protect.

It is not difficult to show that Italy might have derived material advantages by joining Germany and Austria in their attack on France. We should certainly have been able to claim ample compensation in the shape of a share in France's African colonies and in the indemnity which would have been extorted from the French Treasury. Indeed, a current of opinion in Italy favored such a course, and rightly held that the military equipment of Italy, though it left much to be desired, was yet quite adequate to insure the success of the German plans for occupying Paris. By such a policy Italy could have secured a share in a rich booty at the cost of much smaller sacrifices than those which she is now making.

ITALY'S REAL MOTIVES

But the Italian Nation would never have consented at such a grave crisis in the history of Europe to a policy inspired purely by selfish motives. Even had the Government wished, the Italian people would have refused to march against France and England. In the case of France the affinity of race and civilization is too strongly felt, while in England we have always admired the cradle of civil liberties. Moreover, the Italians have a keen sense of honor and of the respect due to treaties, and the brutal Austrian aggression on Serbia, the disloyal way in which Germany began the war by violating the neutrality of Belgium, the cynical manner in which the German Chancellor tried to excuse that action, aroused our deep indignation.

While the ever-present desire to free our brothers from thralldom to Austria has contributed to make the war popular, this was not the foremost consideration in determining our action. You may be sure that if we had not had a foot of national soil to redeem from subjection our feelings would not have been different. Always and under all circumstances the Italians would have felt an irresistible repugnance to fighting side by side with the authors of the Belgian massacres, with the oppressors of Serbia; they would have considered it an unspeakable crime to assist in extinguishing those splendid beacons of civilization, France and England.

TRIPLE ALLIANCE BROKEN.

Such was the feeling of the country, shared from the first by the Government. At the very outbreak of the conflict, as we now know, Salandra and San Giuliano informed the German Ambassador (July 25) that the Austrian ultimatum was a breach of the treaty of alliance, and similar statements were made through Italian Ambassadors at Vienna and Berlin. But how could the remonstrances of Italy hold back the two empires from their premeditated assault?

Perhaps if we had been in a position to send our armies to the front our voice might have been listened to; but Italy was practically unarmed. The Giolitti

Government had mismanaged the Lybian war, depleting the military stores and never replenishing them, although the enormous cost of the campaign had been justified to the Chamber by asserting that this had been done. * * * Under the circumstances the only course open to us was to proclaim our neutrality, and from that moment the alliance was virtually at an end. Austria and Germany had taken the initiative in breaking it, and our place was henceforth beside the powers of the Triple Entente.

A NATIONAL AWAKENING

The laborious negotiations which ensued between the Italian Government and the Central Empires can be studied in the Green Book, which will be a lasting monument to the rectitude and firmness of our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sonnino. During this long period of alternating hopes and fears those who clearly saw that the only path of safety and honor open to Italy was to fight by the side of France and England carried on uninterruptedly their work of national education and preparation toward this end. The thicker grew the intrigues and conspiracies of Giolitti and his followers, the more active the policy of corruption and alternating threats and blandishments of the German Ambassador von Bülow, the harder we worked. And little by little the good seed fructified. When on Jan. 6 the body of Bruno Garibaldi, the grandson of our national hero, was brought back from the battlefields of France to be buried in Rome the impressive spectacle offered by the vast crowds which lined the streets of the Eternal City clearly indicated that the Romans realized and accepted the necessity of war.

A factor which had contributed powerfully toward this end was the constantly recurring atrocities committed by the Germans. We Italians have a strong sense of humanity and justice, and, being largely a nation of seafarers and emigrants, the sinking of merchant ships and harmless passengers so systematically carried out by the German submarines aroused our profound indignation. The sinking of the Lusitania had no small share in determining the

current in favor of armed intervention. The events which took place here from the end of April to May 20 deserve the close attention of all who wish to understand the forces which moved Italy during the most critical period of her history since national unity was attained.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH AUSTRIA

Negotiations with the Austrian Government, initiated with a view to finding a new basis for an understanding with Austria now that her action had rendered the Triple Alliance null and void as far as we were concerned, had been carried on slowly and with difficulty during the whole Winter. Sonnino, with his usual straightforwardness, had followed the path to which circumstances had limited his diplomatic action, clearly realizing his responsibilities toward the country and our real interests. The Green Book shows that Austria had no serious intention of giving us satisfaction, but aimed at killing time. In urging Austria to make concessions Germany was half-hearted, due undoubtedly to the confidence which Bülow felt that he would be able to insure the permanent neutrality of Italy by getting his Italian friends to defeat the Salandra Ministry.

Sonnino's firmness at last induced the Austrian Chancellor to state the concessions which he was prepared to make to Italy, concessions in themselves so small and hedged in with so many conditions as to be entirely unacceptable. Mindful of the Parliamentary situation and of the need of making it clear to the Chamber and to the country that every honorable means of avoiding war had been tried, Sonnino submitted counter-proposals drawn up in a spirit of great moderation. Our claim on Trieste was relinquished, and Austrian interests in the Adriatic duly respected.

PEOPLE DEMAND WAR

Meantime our military preparations had been carried on with ceaseless energy; men had been recalled to the colors; the officers of the reserve, the students, and the thousands on thousands of volunteers who had enlisted brought to the army new faith and enthusiasm.

The universities, the independent press, and the public demanded war. In vain the official section of the Socialist Party and German and neutralist gold, assisted by the underhand working of the Giolittiani and of the venal press, made a final effort to falsify public opinion and to intimidate the Government. Protestant Germany even went the length of sending a special envoy to win over the Vatican to its point of view, and through it to act on the Italian people, but all was in vain.

Twice the Salandra Ministry had been intrusted by the unanimous vote of the Chamber with the guardianship of the supreme interests of the nation. It had carried out this arduous duty with due regard to what it knew to be the wishes of the Parliamentary majority. Faithful to the mandate received, when it saw that it would be impossible to attain our ends without recourse to arms it had felt in duty bound to look not only to the Chamber but still more to the country, and had directed its efforts resolutely to prepare for war.

On the 5th of May a monument to Garibaldi and the Thousand was to be unveiled at Quarto, near Genoa. On this occasion, when Italy was to commemorate the fifty-fifth anniversary of that culminating episode in her struggle for national unity, the King had consented to accompany the Ministers who were to be present at the ceremony. For reasons not yet known Victor Emmanuel was unable at the last moment to attend, but he sent a message which electrified the nation and echoed far and wide throughout the land. Who now could hinder Italy in her march toward new and more glorious destinies?

THE CONSPIRATORS

The attempt was made by Giolitti and his partisans. They still hoped by a Parliamentary intrigue to defeat the Ministry, thus compromising the future of Italy. Soon after the arrival of Prince von Bülow in Rome, Giolitti had conferred with him and had published through the press a letter to one of his partisans in which he tried to revive the hopes of the neutralists by giving them

to understand that "much" could be obtained by diplomatic action, thus attempting to undermine the confidence of the country in Salandra, while hampering and circumscribing the negotiations which were then going on between Austria and Italy. He had then retired once more to the country, relying on the activity of his followers in the capital. When the decisive moment came, just before the reopening of the Chamber, he returned to Rome.

Giolitti called on Salandra and had from him full particulars as to the diplomatic and military situation, and it might have been supposed that the grave reasons which induced men of prudence and acumen, such as the Prime Minister and Sonnino, to conclude for the necessity of war would have convinced Giolitti also, and that he would have imposed silence on the indecent carplings of his Parliamentary majority. Yet in spite of all he declared himself resolutely opposed to war and favored an agreement with Austria. Nor was he deterred by the fact (of which he was apprised) that the safety of the country had made it desirable to come to a preliminary understanding with the Triple Entente, and that military secrets had been confided to the Italian General Staff which made the understanding binding in honor on the nation, even though it had not yet received final official sanction.

PARIAMENTARY CRISIS

Giolitti's next step was to go to the King. According to his own statement he was summoned, but he failed to say whether the summons had been requested and by whom. It has been openly stated that Prince von Bülow secured the audience. He went armed with a legal opinion prepared by one of his partisans to demonstrate that the pledges made to the powers of the Entente were not binding, although they had already led to action, on the ground that they had not yet received the royal sanction; as though pledges which involve the honor of a nation could be set aside by legal quibbles! Giolitti felt that he had the large majority of the Chamber in his hands, and believed that all things were

permitted to him. What he said to the King is not known. It is said that he stated that the movement in favor of intervention was only superficial and that the vast majority of the country was adverse to war; that little confidence could be placed in the army, while the struggle would be a long and exhausting one. This man who for so many years had been at the head of the Government knew the temper of the country so little that he really thought he could play with its destinities at a critical moment just as he had played in the past the game of Parliamentary intrigues.

The attitude of the leader of the Parliamentary majority convinced Salandra that his Cabinet would be defeated in the Chamber. Such a defeat would have been interpreted by the world at large as proof that the Italian Parliament was deaf to our national aspirations. To save the country from such a disaster the Ministry handed in its resignation to the King.

ITALY'S "PASSION WEEK"

The resignation of Salandra and his colleagues gave a shock to the whole of Italy, including those who until then had held aloof from the struggle. All had the clear sensation that the country was in danger, and grief gave place to desperation and to magnanimous anger. The interventionists feared for a moment that all was up and felt that the time had come for supreme resolutions and grave responsibilities, and they prepared themselves resolutely for action.

But the whole country rose unanimously in a great burst of indignation. You know what Rome was like during those sixty hours of the Ministerial crisis. The people, including representatives of every class, realized that foreign influences were deciding the fate of Italy, and they protested in no uncertain terms. If on the Sunday morning which closed what had veritably been a "Passion Week" for the whole Italian Nation, the announcement had been made that Giolitti or one of his satellites had been called to the Government, there is no doubt that Rome, and with Rome the whole of Italy, would have arisen and the

army would certainly not have been on the side of Giolitti!

Thus the Italian people resolutely carried out a revolution which will be memorable in history. I use the word revolution advisedly, for the movement of those memorable days of May overthrew a régime which had held sway over the country for many years. The political power, detained by a small minority of persons and of interests, was revindicated by the nation as a whole, and used for the defense of its supreme national interests. And the Italian people, having overthrown the barriers which had been set up between it and its King, resolutely faced the task before it. It faced with full knowledge and grim determination the tremendous sacrifices of a fierce and lengthy war. History tells us that wars have generally been decreed by the few. This war was decreed by the people. I do not know of any other instance in which a whole nation has realized the need of a war and has forced its representatives to declare it.

CHAMPION OF RIGHT

I wish that the American people would clearly realize that the Italians have not entered on this war, as some have said, to come to the assistance of the victors. After overcoming internal difficulties of all sorts, we entered the field when the final outcome of the struggle was still uncertain and far off. The Italian people did not desert its allies of thirty years' standing; those allies deserted us secretly, and in a way and for a purpose which amounted to betrayal. The Triple Alliance, the result of political intrigues which caused irreparable injury to Italy, had never been considered by the Central Empires as forming a bond of friendship between them and us, but had always been used by them to exploit Italy economically and politically. Consequently, when Austria acted in flagrant violation of the treaty on which it was based we were no longer bound by it.

To protect her very existence, to safeguard her prestige, to preserve those principles in the name of which we reasserted our national existence, and on which the whole of modern civilization is based, Italy has entered the

field to defend the cause of progress threatened by the German desire of universal dominion. And in so doing our country is taking the position assigned her by her whole history in a struggle between two hostile tendencies, two hostile races, two hostile civilizations.

When the time comes to discuss the terms of peace Italy will range herself with those who respect the principle of nationalities; her influence will be on the side of moderation. She will labor to secure an enduring peace by eliminating the causes of future conflicts. If, as we hope, the arrogant militarism of Prussia will be undone, Italy will unite with England in opposing a policy aimed at humiliating or oppressing the German peoples. They should in the future have all the liberty to expand and develop compatible with the similar needs of other nations.

A MEMORABLE EVENING

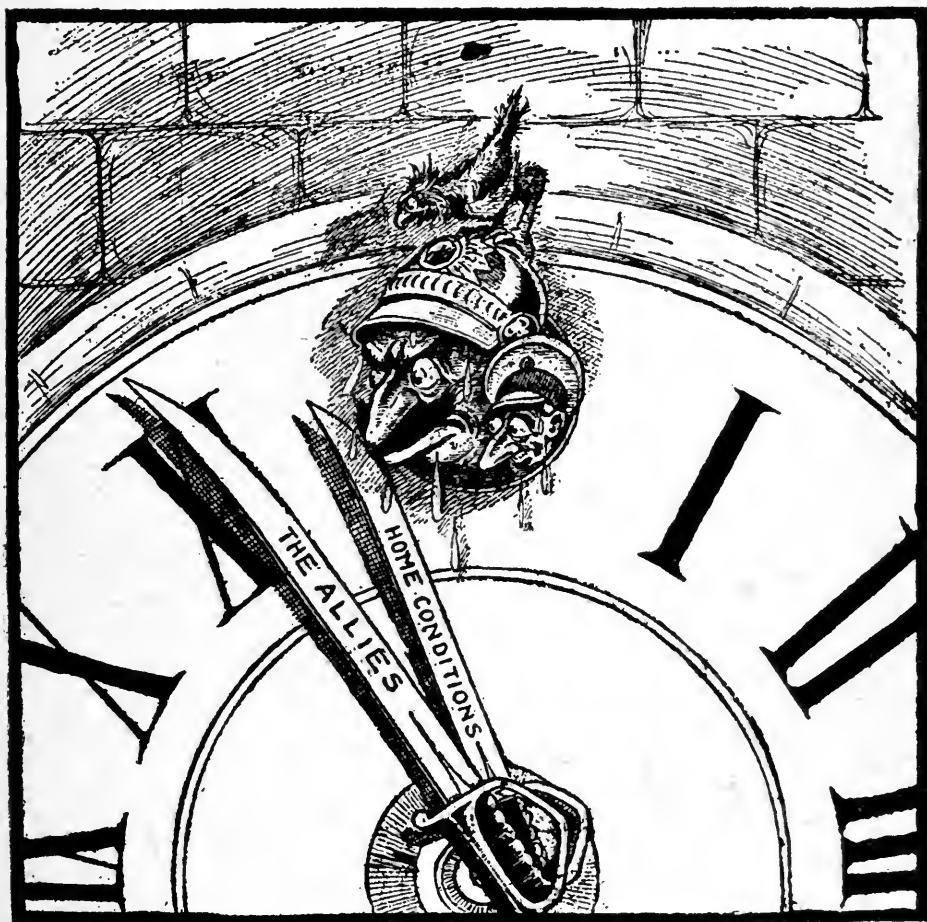
On the memorable evening on which I went with the citizens of Rome to the Capitol, the starting point of so much of the history of the human race, to celebrate the initiation and draw the auspices for the future of our war, I had an almost mystic intuition of happier destinies yet reserved for the nations of the earth. Our national poet, d'Annunzio, had evoked in a moving speech the virtues of our forefathers. The sun had set. The ground on which I stood was historic, most solemn the hour and the occasion. Just then the great bell of the Capitol filled the evening air with its sonorous vibrations. A great silence fell over the vast crowd which had gathered there, and all heads were reverently uncovered as though the voices of past centuries were announcing to the peoples of the earth that a new and better epoch was dawning for them.

And I, in the name of my country, and of all that is good and noble, conclude with the wish that this sensation which came over me, the result of patriotic exaltation and of the inspiration of the place and the occasion, may be justified by events, and that the nations which are now grappling in a death struggle may one day be bound together by the ties of love.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Canadian Cartoon]

Twelve o'Clock Rapidly Approaches



—From *The Montreal Star*.

THE TIME OF DAY FOR GERMANY: What will happen when the hour and minute hands come together?

The Assassins



—Maurice Neumont in *L'Esprit Satirique en France*.

Setting forth to murder the peace of Europe.

[German Cartoon]

Out of an Anguished Soul



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

“Oh, Lord on High, how couldst thou permit these barbarians, and not us Englishmen, to discover the Zeppelins!”

In the Submarine Zone



—Louis Raemackers in *Land and Water*, London.

VOICE ON THE U-BOAT: "Seems to be neutral; send him down."

Joffre's Explanation



"The Germans are at the end of their rope. They have no way out except victory."

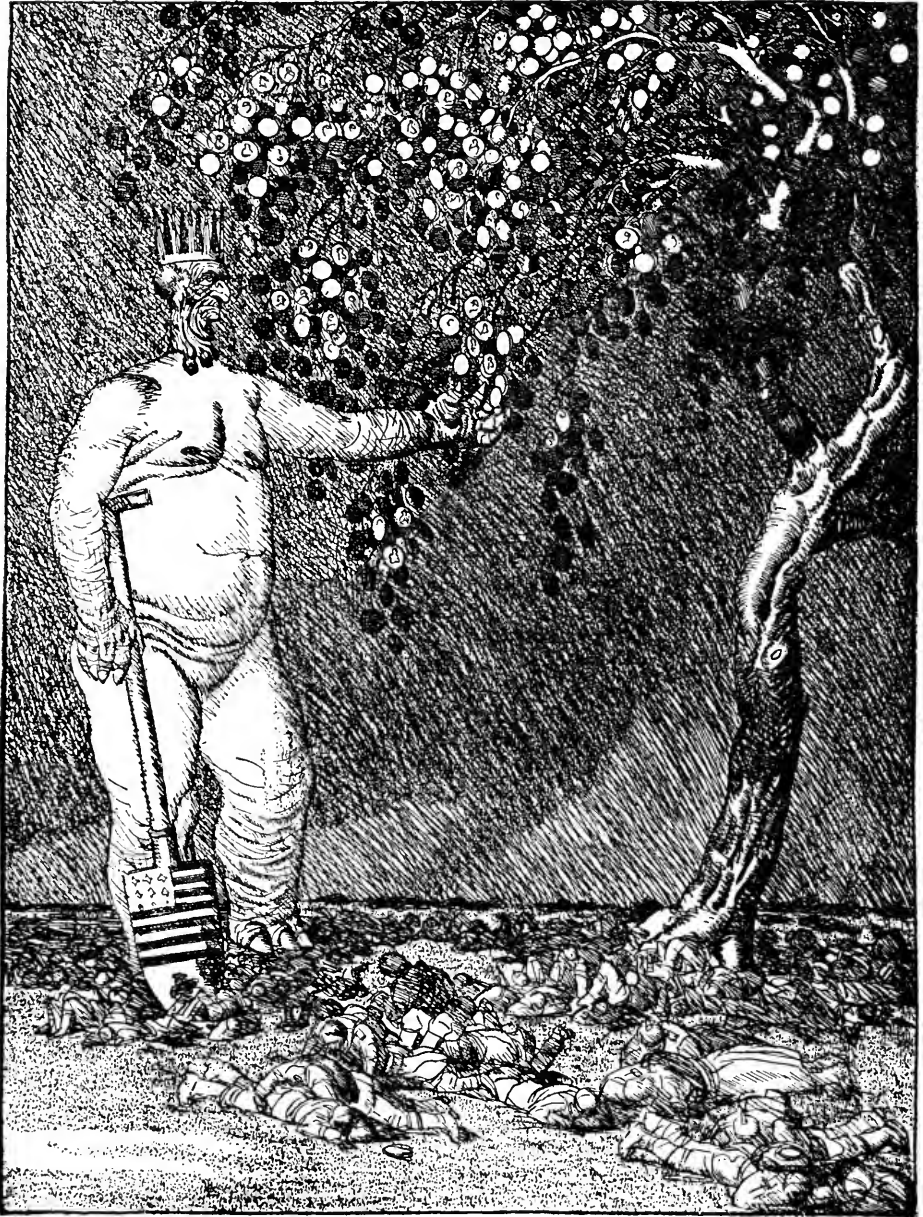
French War News



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

"The situation gives no cause for uneasiness."

Mammon, King of America



—© Jugend, Munich.

“Blood, after all, is the best fertilizer for the dollar crop!”

[English Cartoon]

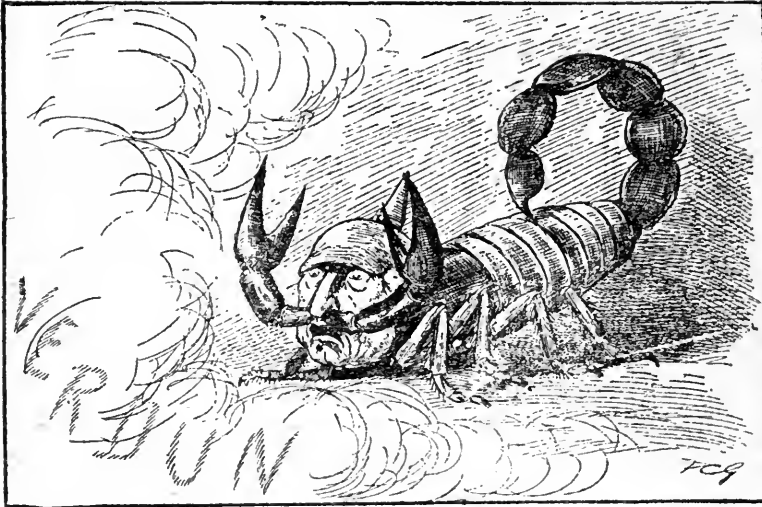
After a Zeppelin Raid



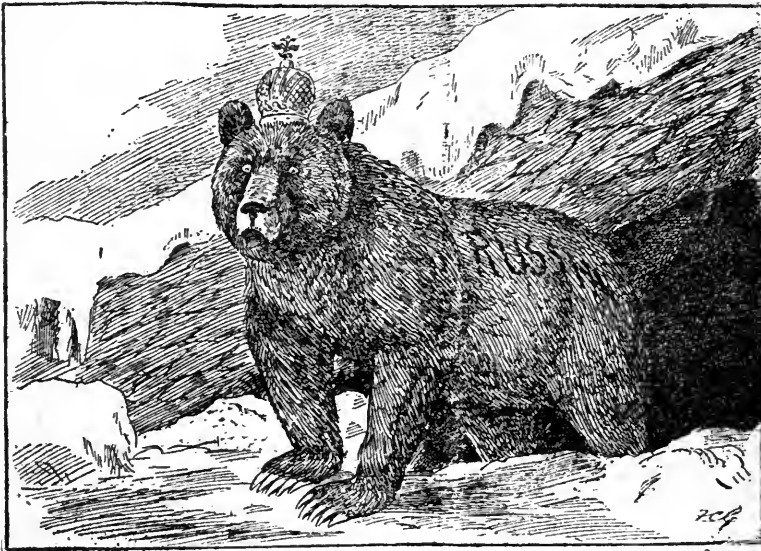
—Louis Raemackers in *Land and Water*, London.

The Kaiser Counts the Bag.

Stinging Himself



The scorpion is said to sting itself to death when it cannot get through a ring of fire.



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

Wide Awake After the Winter.

Russia Returns From the Hindenburg Jubilee



—© Kladderadutch, Berlin.

“Kuropatkin, my son, you look pretty badly off.”

“Oh, father, if I had known that Hindenburg was just celebrating his fiftieth year as a soldier, I would have postponed my visit.”

Italy's Predicament



—© Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

The Roman She-Wolf is trying hard to escape being sucked dry, but the English-French twins will not let go.

[Polish Cartoon]

Egypt Germanized



—From the Mucha, Warsaw.

How Egypt Would Appear if Ruled
From Berlin.

[French Cartoon]

Voices From the Deep



—From Le Matin, Paris.

“Pirate! What was our crime?”

[Rumanian Cartoon]

Bouquets for the Kaiser



—From the Veselia, Bucharest.

His Victims “Strafing” Him With
Thistles.

[Russian Cartoon]

Turkish Delights



—From the Novi Satiricon, Petrograd.

“Our present position is very comfort-
able, indeed.”

[German Cartoon]

In Mesopotamia



—© *Lustige Blätter, Berlin.*

History repeats itself! Six thousand years after Adam and Eve, two other sinners have been driven from the Garden of Eden.

[French Cartoon]

German Courage



—Maurice Neumont in *L'Esprit Satirique en France*.

Killing civilians in Belgium.

[German Cartoon]

The British Lion

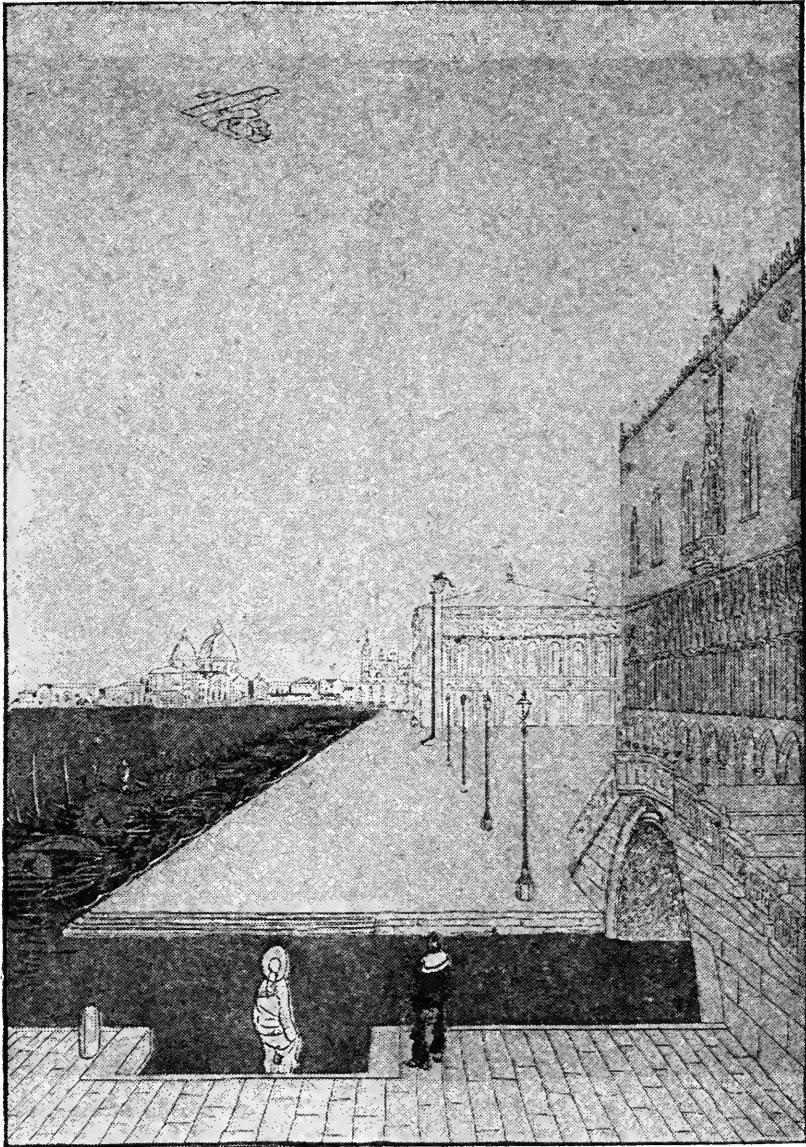


—© *Lustige Blätter, Berlin.*

“Heavens, the beast is flying right over me!”

[German Cartoon]

An Austrian Visits Venice



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

“That is the only stranger we have seen this year!”

[Russian War Loan Poster]

Help the Defenders!



“Whoever is not repelling the enemy with his own breast should buy the 5½ per cent. war loan bonds.”

Helpful Suggestions for German Church Architects



A Death's-Head Willie Window.



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

A Sainly-Sultan Window.

[American Cartoon]

“Everybody’s Doing It”

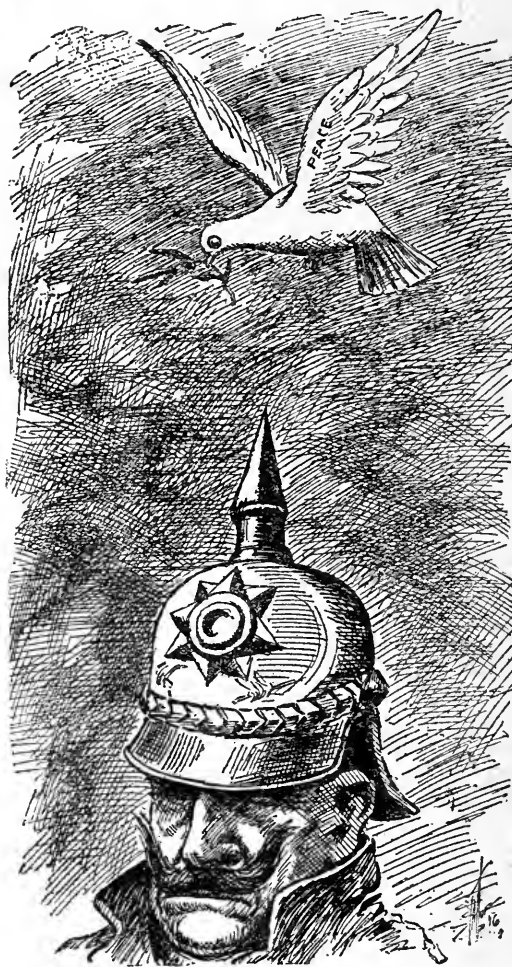


—From *The New York Times*.

Isn't it about time to stop the favorite sport?

The Bogey Man

Fluttering Again



—From *La Vie Parisienne*, Paris.

—From *The Los Angeles Times*.

A Nightmare of Springtime, 1916.

Not a Good Place to Alight.

[Austrian Cartoon]

Diogenes Skouloudis of Greece



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna.

GENERAL SARRAIL: "And now, my dear friend, is there anything else you desire?"

PRIME MINISTER SKOULOUDIS: "Only a quiet spot somewhere in the shade."

Irish Patriots



—From *The New York Evening Sun*.

An Old Tune by a New Orchestra.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events

From April 12 Up to and Including

May 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

April 13—German artillery bombards Hill 304 and lines from Le Mort Homme to Cumières.

April 15—Berlin reports defeat of French in fight at Le Mort Homme; British repel German bombing attacks at St. Eloi.

April 17—Germans resume furious assault on French lines between the Meuse and Douaumont and gain footing in Chauffour Wood.

April 19—German guns pound Hill 304, Le Mort Homme, Cumières, and the region of Douaumont and Vaux.

April 20—Russians land large force at Marseilles; Germans capture 600 meters of French trenches in Ypres-Langemarck road.

April 22—Russian troops move toward Verdun; Germans make vain assaults on Le Mort Homme positions.

April 25—Second Russian force arrives in France; Germans pound Hill 304 and Moulainville in the Woevre.

May 1—Germans shell Hill 304, and are repulsed in heavy assault on Le Mort Homme.

May 2—French offensives carry German trenches on 500-meter front near Douaumont and gain ground at Le Mort Homme.

May 4—French have thrown back Germans on the northwest side of Le Mort Homme beyond the line held at the beginning of March.

May 5-6—Germans win foothold in advanced French trenches north of Hill 304.

May 7—Germans gain a footing in first French line west of the Meuse, between Haudromont Wood and Fort Douaumont.

May 8—French drive Germans out of captured trench at Hill 304.

May 9—French repulse heavy attacks at Hill 304.

May 10—French repulse strong attack at Hill 287.

May 11—Violent bombardment of French positions in the Caillette Wood.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

April 15—Russians take the offensive in sector comprising village of Garbunovka and wrest two hills from the Germans.

April 21—Germans repulsed near Olyka and Mourivatza; Russians silence Ikskull batteries.

April 29—Germans take Russian positions south of Lake Narocz, together with more than 5,600 prisoners.

May 1—Russians check three German attacks southeast of Olyka.

May 6—Germans direct violent bombardment on Dvina front against Ikskull and region east of Friedrichstadt.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

April 14—Italians capture Austrian positions on the crest of Lobbia Alta in the Adamezza zone.

April 18—Austro-Hungarians repulse attacks in the Sugana Valley and capture many prisoners.

April 19—Italians occupy Monte Fume Pass.

April 26—Austrian troops reoccupy part of Col di Lana.

May 1—Italians destroy village of Pannone, south of Mori, and carry a strong mountain position on the Upper Aviso.

May 2—Italians take Covento Pass and Lares Pass and positions at Crozzon and Crozzon di Sares.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

April 14—Russians report repulse of Turks west of Erzerum.

April 15—Russians defeat Turkish division near Bitlis.

April 16—Turks ejected by Russians from a position seventeen miles east of Trebizond.

April 17—Russians enter area of Trebizond fortifications; British defeated in battle on the right bank of the Tigris, more than 4,000 killed or wounded.

April 18—Russians take Trebizond, with the aid of the fleet, putting a garrison of from 50,000 to 60,000 Turks to flight.

April 20—Russians press on toward Baiburt and Erzincan; position of British army, besieged in Kut-el-Amara, becomes critical because of food shortage.

April 23—British repulsed after entering Turkish trenches on the Tigris; British in Egypt attacked in village of Quatia and compelled to withdraw, but beat off hostile force at Dueldar.

April 24—British bombard Sannayyat on the Tigris; Russians stop Turkish offensive in the direction of Kharput on the Caucasus front.

April 29—British army at Kut-el-Amara under General Townshend surrenders to the Turks because of exhaustion of supplies; 8,970 troops, 514 British officers, including four Generals, and \$5,000,000 in cash taken.

May 1-4—Three Russian army groups make steady progress toward Baiburt, Erzincan, and Diarbekr.

- May 10—Turks report Russians checked in region of Kirvaz.
 May 11—Turks drive Russians out of positions nearly ten miles in length in the Mount Kope sector.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

- April 22—British capture Umbugive and Salanga, in German East Africa.
 April 24—British occupy Kondoia, in the district of Irangi.

AERIAL RECORD

- On the Austro-Italian front, an Austrian air squadron raided Ravenna, May 4, and engaged in a running fight with Italian destroyers southwest of the mouth of the Po. Italians, on several occasions, dropped bombs on Trieste.
 Russian positions on the Gulf of Riga were raided by German aircraft.
 Constantinople was raided on April 14 by British naval aeroplanes, which dropped bombs on the Zeitung powder factory and aeroplane hangars. On April 27 the city was again attacked by Russian hydroaeroplanes.
 On the western front, twenty-six aeroplanes were shot down by German aviators during the month of April. The Germans lost twenty-two machines.
 A Zeppelin was destroyed by a British light cruiser off the German coast near Schleswig and another was destroyed at Saloniki.
 Raids on the east coast of England and Scotland continued. For three successive nights, April 24-April 26, Zeppelins were active, but no casualties resulted and they were driven off by British aeroplanes. On May 2 five German airships attacked the northeast coast of England and the southeast coast of Scotland, killing thirty-six people. The Zeppelin L-20 was destroyed on the Norwegian coast after the raid and later was blown up by the Norwegians. The following day bombs were dropped on Deal. One man was injured and several houses damaged.

NAVAL RECORD

- On April 25 German warships bombarded Lowestoft and Yarmouth on the east coast of England, but were driven off in twenty minutes by British ships and aeroplanes. Four persons were killed and twelve wounded in Lowestoft, and several British vessels were hit. British warships attacked German positions on the Belgian coast and inflicted heavy damage on Zeebrugge.
 In the Mediterranean Sea the British battleship Russell, the mine sweeper Nasturtium, and the armed yacht Aegusa, formerly Sir Thomas Lipton's Erin, were sunk by mines.
 About forty vessels, belligerent and neutral, were sunk in the war zone. These included two ships under charter by the American Commission for Relief in Bel-

gium—the British ship Hendonhall and the Swedish ship Fridland. The Brazilian Government ordered an inquiry into the sinking of the steamer Rio Branco on May 2. A German submarine was sunk off the east coast of England on April 28. On May 8 the White Star liner Cymric, engaged in freight service, was torpedoed without warning. Five members of the crew were killed and many injured. There were no Americans on board.

MISCELLANEOUS

- On April 21 Sir Roger Casement and two Irish confederates, with twenty-two Germans, were captured from a German ship that attempted to land arms in Ireland. Coincident with this occurred a revolutionary outbreak in Ireland, fostered by the Sinn Fein Society, and an Irish republic was proclaimed with Patrick H. Pearse as "Provisional President." This was promptly suppressed by British troops, but not without heavy casualties. On May 11 Premier Asquith announced in Parliament that 180 rebels or civilian noncombatants were killed and 614 wounded, besides 124 soldiers or policemen killed and 388 wounded. Fourteen persons were executed, seventy-three sentenced to penal servitude, six to hard labor, and 1,706 deported.

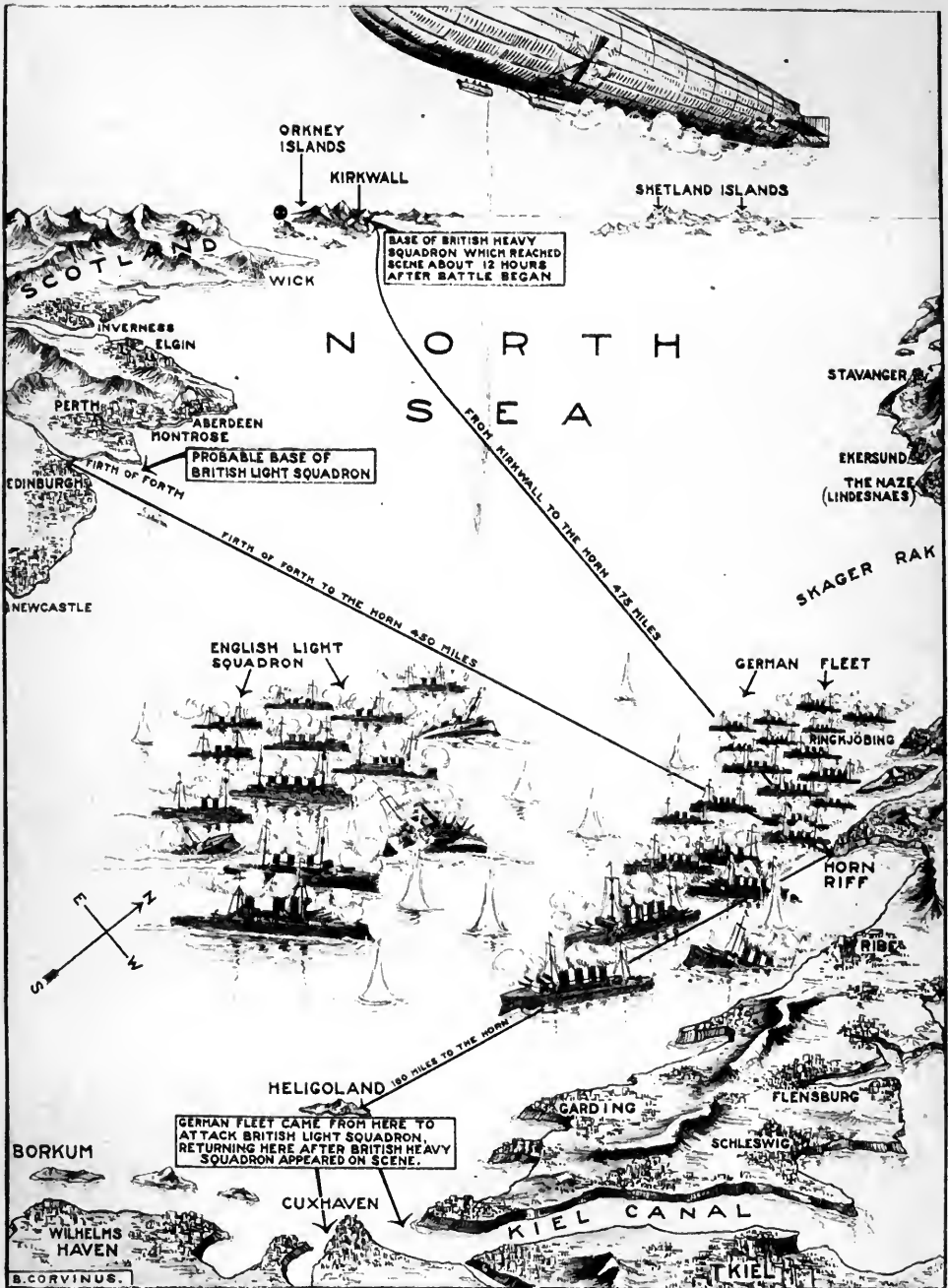
There has been a further interchange of notes between the United States and Germany concerning submarine warfare. On April 18 Secretary Lansing sent a note to Germany declaring that "unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether." With the note was sent an appendix containing a statement of facts concerning the attack on the Sussex. On April 19 President Wilson addressed a joint session of Congress on the subject. The German reply, dated May 4, admitted the possibility that the Sussex had been torpedoed and said that German submarine commanders had been ordered to apply the principles of visit and search, due warning, and provision for the safety of those on board, both within and without the war zone, but it demanded that the United States insist that the British Government observe the rules of international law concerning blockade. On May 8 Secretary Lansing replied, accepting Germany's promise of a new submarine policy, but rejecting any condition as to the British blockade. On the same day Germany sent another note on the Sussex case, admitting that the ship was torpedoed, expressing regret, offering indemnity, and saying that the commander of the attacking submarine had been punished.

EARL KITCHENER OF KHARTUM



Britain's Famous War Secretary, Who Perished With His Staff on the
Cruiser Hampshire, June 5, When on His Way to Russia
(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)

GREAT NORTH SEA BATTLE, MAY 31, 1916



This Perspective Diagram, Drawn From Cabled Data, Is Intended to Show the Locale of the Battle Rather Than to Picture Its Events. The Cross Near the Orkneys Marks the Place Where Lord Kitchener Perished

(© 1916 New York Times Company.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

JULY, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

THE MEXICAN CRISIS

THE relations between the United States and Mexico are strained almost to the point of warfare as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press, (June 20.) On Sunday, June 18, President Wilson called out substantially all the State militia of the United States, to be sent to the Mexican border, "wherever and as fully as General Funston determines them to be needed." The Secretary of War, in transmitting the President's call, states that it "is wholly unrelated to General Pershing's expedition, and contemplates no additional entry into Mexico." At the same time the Secretary of the Navy has ordered additional warships, gunboats, and other craft on both the east and west coasts of America to Mexican waters.

On June 20 our reply to the request of General Carranza for the withdrawal of American troops from Mexico went forward. The note was a refusal to withdraw the troops. The message is long, containing about 6,000 words. It states that our armed forces will remain in Mexico until the Mexican Government so thoroughly polices the border that bandit raids into American territory become impossible; but it contains a reaffirmation of the friendly intentions of the United States toward the de facto Government of Mexico.

It is estimated that approximately 100,000 National Guardsmen will be mustered into the Federal service and be speedily sent to the frontier for patrol duty. The entire force at the disposal of General Funston will consist of about 35,000 regulars and 100,000 Guardsmen.

It is not likely that General Carranza will deliberately precipitate war, and the United States gives definite assurances that its forces are not being mobilized for aggression, but will be utilized for defense only. The danger, however, arises from the increasing excitement among the Mexicans. There is strong likelihood that their resentment will burst forth into some seriously hostile outbreak before the deliberate processes of diplomacy can adjust the crisis. It is evident that the patience of the United States Government is about exhausted, and little hope is felt that Carranza can restore order and maintain it. The firm steps that are now being taken by President Wilson will bring matters to a head, and before this magazine reaches its readers the question of forcible intervention (which will mean war) or of a permanent basis of friendly co-operation for the suppression of disorders will have been settled between the two countries.

* * *

PEACE PROSPECTS

PROSPECTS of peace were encouraging in April and early May, owing to the apparently pacific words of the German Chancellor and the evident latitude given by the censors to German newspapers in discussions of the subject. So definite did the possibilities appear that President Wilson's address at Washington before the League to Enforce Peace was expected by many to open the way for a formal offer of mediation. That tentative utterance, however, evoked positive opposition from the chief spokesmen of the Entente powers, which, in

turn produced emphatic protests from influential groups in Germany.

Then came the German advances at Verdun, the Austrian successes in the Trentino, and, most important of all, the great naval battle off the coast of Jutland, which was hailed by all Germany as a German victory. Assuming a new and defiant tone, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg withdrew his former overtures and declared unqualifiedly that future proffers of peace must come from the Entente and would be entertained by Germany only on the basis of the "war map." In other words, Germany must be acknowledged to be in legal possession of the conquered territory of Belgium, France, Poland, Russia, and Serbia. Since then a great Russian offensive has swept westward into Austria, but all talk of peace is stilled for the present.

All the official utterances of this episode are printed in the present issue of CURRENT HISTORY. They throw an interesting light upon the very heart of the war situation. Since that indecisive naval battle both sides are more fiercely determined than ever to win. The unbridgeable chasm between them is indicated in the semi-official Cologne Gazette's comment upon the allied statement that the duration of the war depends on the will of the German and Austrian Emperors:

They (the English and French) do not know that, universally honored and loved though Emperor William and Emperor Francis Joseph are in their countries, their disappearance from the stage would have no influence at all upon the course of the war. * * * The two Central Powers are fighting for their lives against a limited liability company of robbers, assembled on a scale never previously known. They know that all that is dearest to them, the soil and the future of their Fatherland, is at stake, and so they will go on fighting until a result in accordance with their ideas has been reached.

* * *

THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

THE naval battle off Jutland near the entrance to the Skagerrak is the outstanding maritime event of the entire war. Both belligerents claim a victory. The Germans acclaimed the battle as an overwhelming triumph, and the Kaiser sent congratulatory telegrams to the com-

manding officers and boasted that all the honors rested with the German fleet—that the entire Grand Fleet of Great Britain had been encountered and badly worsted. "The first big blow," he declared, "has been dealt the English fleet, whose tyrannical supremacy is shattered."

The German Chancellor declared that the battle was "a great victory," denied that the German fleet had fled, and asserted that the Germans, in greatly inferior numbers, had "defeated the entire Grand Fleet of Great Britain." In his first statement he said the German losses were 24,000 tons against 114,000 by the English, with a like proportionate loss of life, but the German losses were subsequently conceded by the Government to be in excess of 60,000 tons.

The British admiralty in the first official announcement specified its own losses and understated the German losses, (for which it was criticised at home,) but subsequently supplemented the first announcement with an official statement that the German losses had been greatly underrated in the first reports and that from the best information then obtainable they exceeded in weight and numbers the British losses. It is persistently insisted by England that two new battleships of the Hindenburg class and two dreadnought battle cruisers (one, the Lützow, is conceded by the Germans) were lost, notwithstanding the Imperial Admiralty's claims to the contrary. Germany, indeed, has been very reticent in giving details of its losses—in announcing the death of high naval officials the names of the vessels on which they served are omitted.

The relative strength of the two navies at the beginning of 1916 was as follows:

| | —England— | | —Germany— | |
|----------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | Built. | B'd'g. | Built. | B'd'g. |
| Battleships | 53 | 14 | 35 | 6 |
| Battle cruisers. . . | 9 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Cruisers | 47 | .. | 9 | .. |
| Light cruisers. . . | 65 | 20 | 43 | 6 |
| Torpedo vessels. . . | 25 | 1 | .. | .. |
| Destroyers | 201 | 36 | 133 | 12 |
| Torpedo boats. . . . | 106 | .. | 80 | .. |
| Submarines | 69 | 27 | 24 | 14 |

Since these figures were compiled a

number of new ships have been added to both navies, and others have been laid down, probably a small percentage in excess by England.

There are 150,000 men in the English Navy, hence a loss of 6,104 dead or missing, 513 wounded—the latest British estimate—represents a trifle over 4 per cent.; the German casualties are given as 2,414 dead, 449 wounded, showing that the actual loss of men on both sides, compared to the whole, will make no difference in relative strength. As respects the tonnage loss, if the present English and German official claims are anywhere near the truth, it is about an even break, so far as the relative strength of the two navies is concerned.

The most important deduction to be drawn from the battle, without debating which was victor or which suffered the greater loss, is the fact that since the battle the English blockade of the North Sea has not relaxed—on the contrary, has tightened—and that the English fleet is again endeavoring to draw the Germans from their harbor.

* * *

A REMARKABLE HUMAN DOCUMENT FROM THE TRENCHES

CURRENT HISTORY surrenders considerable space to the narrative of an American barber who enlisted with the Canadian troops and spent over a year on the firing line in France and Belgium. His history has been investigated and the authenticity of all his service claims is officially confirmed, while his reputation in his home city entitles his personal statements to fullest credence. It is a bitter, gruesome tale he unfolds; war is stripped of its imagery and pomp; the depressing life within the trenches, the terrifying surroundings, the inevitable darkening of the spirit, the lust for human sacrifice—these reveal the abyss into which war hurls its victims. One turns from Roméo Houle's horrifying chapter with a sense of woe, which is only partly relieved by a corresponding surge of thankfulness that our nation has thus far avoided this frightful maelstrom.

AN ACCUSATION DISPROVED

ON Aug. 3, 1914, Herr de Schoen, the German Ambassador to France, handed the following document to M. Viviani, the French Premier:

The German military and administrative authorities have ascertained that a number of hostile acts have been committed on German territory by French military aviators. Some of the latter have violated the neutrality of Belgium, invading its territory. One sought to destroy works in progress at Wesel, others were perceived in the vicinity of Eiffel, and one threw bombs on the railroad station near Karlsruhe and at Nuremberg. I am directed and have the honor to inform your Excellency that in consequence of these aggressions the German Empire considers itself at war with France, due to the acts of this latter power.

Now comes a distinguished German, Professor Schwalde, director and editor in chief of the German Weekly Review of Medicine, who writes in that important German periodical, twenty-two months after this momentous charge was made by the German Government, the following words:

It is false that French aviators threw on Aug. 2, 1914, any bombs on Nuremberg. The Mayor of the city recently wrote to the General commanding the Third Bavarian Army Corps that he never had any knowledge of any bombardment of the stations of Nuremberg, Kissingen, or of Nuremberg-Ansbach before or after the declaration of war.

* * *

GENERAL HAIG'S WORK

THERE are definite signs, as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press, that a great English offensive in Flanders and France is about to begin. This fact makes interesting the official report for the five months, ended May 19, 1916, by General Sir Douglas Haig, British Commander in Chief in France. In this report engagements which in the press were designated as "fierce drives" are called "sharp local actions"—near Hooze, the Bluff, St. Eloi, Wulverghem, Hulluch, the Hohenzollern Redoubt, Kink, and Vermelles. The Canadians had several bloody encounters near Zillebeke, east of Ypres, which at first went against them, but they subsequently recovered much of the lost ground.

General Haig's report indicates that the English at that time defended a sec-

tor ninety miles long, reaching from the Belgian front, ten miles north of Ypres, down through La Bassée to the Roye Railway, south of the Somme, on a line opposite Amiens. There were 450,000 British soldiers on the firing line, fronted by 500,000 Germans. The English and French do not keep more than one-third of their forces exposed on a normally dormant front, hence it is safe to estimate the British at 1,350,000 men in the ninety miles on May 19, and they doubtless have since been reinforced. Opposite them are 800,000 Germans of all ranks, with 500,000 rifles and 3,000 guns, and with heavy reserves behind. It has been observed that the Germans have rebuilt the fortifications at Lille. Rochambeau, Maubeuge, Herson, La Fere, and Laon, while in the south they have three lines of defense to meet a possible offensive by the French in Champagne.

The heavy Russian drive in Russia is thought to have been timed for the long-expected advance by the British in France, and by the allied army from Saloniki. June and early July bid fair to be the bloodiest period of the war.

* * *

CHINA'S NEW PRESIDENT

THE death of Yuan Shih-kai, President of the Chinese Republic, which occurred on June 6, promises to be a blessing instead of a disaster to China. When Yuan Shih-kai was chosen President of the new Government in Peking his demonstrated abilities had earned him the title of the "strong man of China." His strength, however, began to wane as soon as his personal ambitions began to wax. When last year he metamorphosed the republic into a monarchy, declaring himself Emperor, a revolution broke out in the southern provinces of the country.

For nearly a year Yuan Shih-kai tried to subdue the rebellion, but its tide was irresistible, and province after province seceded from the Peking Government. Yuan then thought it wise to return to the republican form of government, which he did three months ago in a manifesto extraordinary in its self-humiliating tone. But it was already too late. The revolutionary leaders of the

South would have no more of him, and a conference called in Nanking for the purpose of effecting a compromise between the South and the North ended, without achieving its aim, on May 27.

All the members of the Cabinet then tendered their resignations to the President, but Yuan Shih-kai would not accept them. He offered to resign himself as soon as a new Government had been perfected. But before the world could test his sincerity death overtook him, and Li Yuan-hung, Vice President, succeeded him as President. Li Yuan-hung has the complete confidence of the South. As soon as he assumed office the rebel provinces began to come back to the Central Government, and peace in a reunited China seems now to be assured.

* * *

LESS DRINKING IN LONDON

WAR has brought a remarkable decline in drunkenness in London, due to the restricted hours and the anti-treating regulations. The following figures compiled by The London Telegraph show a wonderful change in the weekly average of convictions for drunkenness in the London district, containing a population of 7,000,000:

| | | |
|--------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1909 | 881 | 1916—4 weeks' aver- |
| 1910 | 946 | age ending: |
| 1911 | 1,075 | January 30..... |
| 1912 | 1,152 | February 27..... |
| 1913 | 1,259 | March 26..... |
| 1914 | 1,301 | April 23..... |
| 1915 (6 months) .. | 1,084 | May 21..... |
| | | 497.5 |

The natural explanation would be that the falling off is due to the absence at the front of so large a proportion of men, but this is offset by the extra spending power of those at home; moreover, there has been a steady and perceptible increase in the sale of non-intoxicating ales at licensed premises.

* * *

THE FUTURE OF POLAND

SINCE the famous proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas, then Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, in regard to the restoration of Poland after the war, little has been said by Russian Government officials on the subject. This silence has added to the anxiety of the Poles and their friends

throughout the world. Recently, however, there is to be noticed a marked change in the attitude of the Russian Government toward the Polish question. Thus, a short time after M. Sturmer became Premier of Russia he declared to the Petrograd correspondent of *Le Journal*, Paris, that the program outlined by the Grand Duke will be executed in its entirety after peace is concluded in Europe. Sergius Sazonoff, Russia's Foreign Minister, in an interview with the correspondent of *The London Times*, has now spoken with his habitual fire on the Government's intentions as to the future of Poland. "That Poland will receive a just and equitable autonomy in the greatest degree, adjusted to its future life and its economic and industrial development," says M. Sazonoff, "is certain. The Poles and the friends of the Poles may, therefore, look to the Russians for the dawn of a new era and a period of unexampled development which will follow the inevitable successful conclusion of the war."

* * *

WAR A CURE FOR STRIKES

THERE is abundant evidence in Germany that war is the most efficient solvent of labor disputes yet known. The official figures of the Imperial Statistical Bureau at Berlin show that the year 1915 witnessed the smallest number of strikes and lockouts ever recorded. Only 11,639 persons took part in strikes, and only 1,227 were affected by lockouts in all Germany during that year, and the disputes were of very brief duration. The total time lost during seventeen months of war by 14,950 strikers was 930 5-6 working days, or an average of 5.57 days for each of the 167 disputes which occurred between employer and employe; during the twelve months of 1915 the average time lost per disagreement was 3.45 working days; the average in five years before the war was 34.16 days lost in each dispute. These data prove the close supervision over labor and industry maintained by the German authorities, a state of rigorous regulation not approached in any other belligerent or neutral country.

RANK AND FILE IN WAR

ARNOLD F. GRAVES, an English librettist, has reduced to doggerel a stirring narrative of British deeds in Flanders, which voices the spirit of the rank and file. A few extracts will indicate the attitude of the English fighting man toward the grimmest aspects of war. Of battle strategy he says:

A battle is a jumble-jumble,
A mixem-gatherum, rough and tumble;
And while you're fighting like a cat,
You don't know what the deuce they're at.

In describing the British advance after the German retreat from Paris, he says:

And now I'll tell you what we did
Old Cock-a-doodle-do to kid—
With one French army we changed places;
And when he found no longer traces
Of English troops upon his right,
He thought he'd licked us out of sight,
And clean across our front was trekking,
The country like a pirate wrecking.
He was a goose not to detain
The British troops behind the Seine,
Till he had joined his Forces so
As he could strike a knockout blow.

He pays his respects to the Kaiser in these words:

Satan himself to roast his soul
Forever in a sulphur bowl.
I'd like to stand beside t'ould joker
And stir him with a red-hot poker.

His "Soldier's Funeral" has a strong note all its own:

A soldier's Funeral is brave;
And when he's carried to the grave,
How fine you'd feel to be his son!
His bier borne stately on a gun:
No coaches, plumes, or hearses black,
He sleeps beneath the Union Jack,
Beneath the Flag for which he fought:
An honor never to be bought.
The gunners' nags their proud necks arch,
The band strikes up the funeral march,
And as they draw him down the street,
Wrapped in his royal winding-sheet,
Each passer stands and bares his head,
And says a prayer for him that's dead.

* * *

On May 23 the British Parliament voted its eleventh credit since the war began, the sum this time authorized being \$1,500,000,000. The following have been the votes since August, 1914: Three votes in the first year, aggregating \$1,810,000,000; six votes in the second year, (1915-16,) aggregating \$7,100,000,000; two votes in 1916, (Feb. 21 and May 23,) aggregating \$3,000,000,000; total during the war, \$11,910,000,000. In the fifty days ended May 23 the average rate of expenditure was \$24,100,000 a day. The new vote will meet the requirements only until the first week in August. The daily expenses have slightly declined, and are now estimated at \$23,750,000 a day.

Interpretations of World Events

Kitchener of Khartum

THE British Empire, as we know it, is extremely young. Only in 1858 did the wide realm of India come directly under the crown; a decade later the Dominion of Canada came into being; then came large spaces in East and West Africa. With the twentieth century came the constitution of the Australian Commonwealth. Almost at the same time the Boer republics were added to the empire, and, within a few years, incorporated in the Union of South Africa—like Canada and Australia, a splendid modern piece of constitution building. Since the beginning of the war there have been great accessions—Egypt, Southwest Africa, Eastern New Guinea, with further gains in sight. (Togoland and the Cameroons may go, it appears, to the huge colonial empire of France.)

Within the life-span of Kitchener, every change above recorded has taken place. Born in 1850, he was eight years old when modern India came into being, superseding the old East India Company. He saw the constitution-building of Canada when he was preparing to enter the army as an engineer. The whole development has taken place before his eyes. And at every point of the vast empire, at every point, at least, where disaster threatened, Kitchener's hand was felt, Kitchener's power was decisively shown. After early work in Palestine and then in Cyprus (just added by Disraeli to the empire) he cast in his lot with Egypt, which, with its huge back country, the Sudan, is now practically within the empire. From Egypt he went to South Africa, which has so proudly proved its reconciliation and its loyalty. From Africa he went to India, where likewise devotion to England has triumphed over all temptations to revolt; from India he went again to Egypt; then, in the last act of his imperial life, he undertook the defense, not of outlying possessions of the empire, but of the heart of the empire itself—

of that ancient England from which all the rest has sprung.

And this defense he prepared and perfected by calling for unprecedented sacrifices, asking England to give up the cherished tradition of a volunteer army; asking from the manhood of England the heavy sacrifice of long months of arduous military training, with the prospect of foreign service, of death on foreign soil, as the end of it. In some sense, and in a deep sense, England is paying this high price for the sake of France, since the British Isles and the wide spaces of the empire seem very well protected by the fleet; but, in the last analysis, the fate of England is bound up with the principles for which France is staking her life, and the future life of England requires the future power and liberty of France. It is the highest honor of Kitchener—the final honor added to many high honors—that he from the first saw the danger to the empire in the white light of reality, and that he had both the courage to call for the great sacrifices which that danger rendered necessary and the authority to inspire his countrymen with the will to sacrifice. No man can be compared with him in achievement for the empire, and therefore for the wide and ordered liberty that is the life-breath of the empire.

A Ruse of War

A STORY which reminds us of the battles of earlier centuries comes from the Galician front. The first successful blow against the Austrian lines, we are told, was made sure of success by a ruse. The Russians opened up a bombardment of the Austrians, of considerable violence, but not much more so than on previous occasions. After maintaining this for several hours, they suddenly stopped. The Austrians, expecting an attack, moved up their machine guns and bomb throwers and assembled their troops in the forward trenches. At some points even cavalry was concentrated close to the front. When the Rus-

sian aeroplane observers reported that the enemy positions were crowded with troops, the artillery opened again, this time with a destructive fire such as the Austrians had seldom been called upon to withstand. This storm of shells caused such slaughter and demoralization that when the attack by the Russians began they swept forward with comparatively little difficulty. We ought to be grateful for a story like that. It reminds us of more romantic, more imaginative days; of all the feints and ruses recorded by the annalists of old. It lets us see, too, that the Russians use in war the same powers of imagination and invention which went to the making of Turgenieff and Dostoevski and Tolstoy, to mention creators in one field alone. The outstanding thing about the English commanders, to take a point of contrast still among the Allies, seems to be that they lack imagination, and this seems to synchronize with a period of dry streams in English poetry and other writing. The only two men of imagination in England seem to be Lloyd George and Winston Churchill; and it seems impossible to keep Churchill at the front. But how refreshing to read of that Russian ruse, after plodding through the dull, mechanical, battering-ram strategy of the attack against Verdun!

Galicia and Bukowina

WHILE at Verdun the German Crown Prince is beating out the life of the Teutonic army against the impregnable defenses of the French, the eastern battle front has been the most brilliant and spectacular event of the last twelve months of the war, in the overwhelmingly swift advance of Russia through Volhynia toward Poland, through Podolia toward Galician Lemberg, and through the northern half of the Austrian crownland of Bukowina.

The southern two-thirds of the field of Russia's advance—Galicia with Bukowina—form a single geographical region, walled off from the rest of Austria and from Hungary by the high Carpathian Mountains. The division between Galicia and Bukowina is merely a line on the map; there is no natural or ethnical

boundary. This whole region, then, is in reality the drainage-valley of the great River Dniester, which flows across it from northwest to southeast. From the Carpathian valleys rivers flow down into it on the right; from Russian Podolia and Northern Galicia rivers flow (almost due south) into the Dniester on the left side. With its tributaries, the Dniester valley is an exact picture of a beech-leaf, the Dniester being the midrib of the leaf, while the tributaries are the veins. Hence, with the perpetual crossing of parallel streams—the Zlota Lipa, the Stripa, and the rest, each of which has its own rich life and its traditions—this is a hard field to fight over; it is a heartbreaking field to retreat over, with shaken and dislocated armies.

Consider the position of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina. Close to the west bank of the Pruth, it is reached, from the world beyond the Carpathians, by one railroad only, which comes down from the northwest, following the trend of the river valley. And now, while the Austrians have been stubbornly defending the outposts of Czernowitz to the east, the Russians, passing northwest of the city, have crossed the main stream of the Pruth some miles higher up, and have cut the railroad at Sniatyn, the one way of retreat for the Czernowitz garrison. This garrison, which had proclaimed the delaying strategy of the Russian force to the east of the city an Austrian triumph and a Russian "check," now finds itself bottled up by the cutting of the railroad, and faced with three alternatives: either to remain and be slowly pounded to pieces between two Russian forces, knowing that relief is hopeless; or to flee to the west, up the steep Carpathian valleys and passes, with Cossack horsemen at their heels, or to surrender, and join the growing Austrian "colony" within the Czar's dominions. A choice between disasters, with the added knowledge of the threatened revolt of Rumania from Teutonic leading, with the probable crushing of Bulgaria—which is already hastily shifting forces from Saloniki to the Danube—the possible surrender of bankrupt Turkey, and the breakdown of

the painfully built bridge to Bagdad and India. All together, an unpleasant outlook for the garrison of Czernowitz.

Two Points of Naval Tactics

IN the admirable narrative of the Battle of Jutland, published in Glasgow and included in this issue, two points stand out in a startling way. The first is this: The Germans could see the British distinctly outlined against a light yellow sky. The Germans, covered by a haze, could be very indistinctly made out by the English gunners. The hour accounts for that. It was nearly 5 in the afternoon, and the British ships, to the west of their adversaries, were sharply silhouetted against the sunset. The east was already gathering the evening gloom. It is a picturesque touch, a graphic word picture, and would be a fine point of color for a chiaroscuro battle painting. But it is something more. It is a revelation to us that, in these days of long-range guns (and the firing at Jutland began at twelve miles) it is as important to "get the light" of your adversary as it used to be, in the days of "wooden walls" and sailing warships, to "get the wind" of him.

Clearly, it is sound tactics for the English fleet, which will naturally hold the western station, to engage the German fleet in the early morning only, when the sky over the low coast-line of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein is lit up with the sunrise. Equally clearly, it is to the interest of the Germans to bring on a naval fight in the late afternoon. This they in fact did; showing that, as was pointed out in an article in a former issue, they pay close heed to "the psychology of the weather." Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty should learn by heart the German proverb: "Morgen Stunde hat Gold in Munde"—"Morning hour hath gold in mouth," and should insist on having the German warships clear cut against the gold of sunrise.

The second point we wish to call attention to has a strong and somewhat sinister significance. It is indicated in the following passage of the Glasgow narrative: Beatty immediately also turned right round sixteen points so as to bring

his ships parallel to the German battle-cruisers and facing in the same direction. Just before the turning point was reached, the *Indefatigable* sank, and the *Queen Mary* and the *Invincible* also were lost at the turning point, where, of course, the (German) High Seas Fleet concentrated their fire. The turning point—it is an astonishing phrase. So the English battle cruisers steamed around a fixed point, just as if they had been racing yachts rounding a buoy. And, "of course," the Germans were acute enough to notice this extraordinary fact, and "concentrate their fire" in the neighborhood of the imaginary buoy, in this way alone bringing about the high losses of the British fleet.

One calls to mind other facts. First, that the *Lusitania* was submarined while going over the identical course that she had habitually followed in time of peace; apparently fifty yards or so from the point she invariably passed, so that a fixed mine with a time-clock might almost have replaced the submarine, which had only to go to the "lane" the *Lusitania* always followed, and quietly wait for her. Second, that the *Hampshire*, on the fatal voyage which cost England the life of her greatest soldier, was announced as following the same course she had taken on several earlier trips between the Orkney Islands and the White Sea. Here, once again, it was simply a question of waiting by the roadside for the inevitable coming of the traveler.

There is, however, one compensating fact; for, in the Glasgow dispatch we are told that the *Barham*, *Valiant*, and *Malaya* turned short so as to avoid the danger spot where the *Queen Mary* and the *Invincible* had been lost. So far, good: but it irresistibly follows that, had the *Queen Mary* and the *Invincible* also turned short, they also would have been saved. The point deserves prayerful consideration by our own Admirals.

Beginning of the Austrian Debacle

FALLEN on evil days: on evil days fallen, and evil tongues"—some such phrase may well characterize the present fate of the aged Kaiser Franz Josef, now nearly 90, who, reigning since

1848, has suffered every dire disaster that can befall humanity. The proudest and haughtiest of men, he saw his age-old empire first beaten in war by upstart Prussia, then practically torn in two by the uprising of Hungary, then overshadowed by the brand-new Hohenzollern Empire, and finally tied to the chariot-wheel of the young, forceful power to the north. In his personal life he might stand as a central figure of the Greek drama of Nemesis, another Oedipus or Priam. His favorite brother was shot under the walls of Mexico; his favorite sister was burned to death in the dreadful fire at the Charity Bazaar in Paris; his son met a mysterious death, probably by his own hand; his wife was murdered. His grandnephew and heir was killed at Serajevo—and still the old man's pride was unbroken; haughtily, he sent his orders to the independent Kingdom of Serbia, haughtily he plunged all Europe into war, in satisfaction of that pride. And now comes the time to pay. In spite of famine and national bankruptcy, a supreme effort was made to smash the resistance of Italy, so long the victim of Austrian oppression; and it seemed, for a few days, that victory was coming there. From the Trentino, from the Cadore and Carnia sectors, came favorable news, only to be broken upon—as calamity came thick upon Job—by the news of ride disaster in the east, at the hands of Russia, whom Franz Josef defied in July, 1914. One-half of his army, it is announced, already destroyed or captured, surrendering in whole battalions and regiments at a time; and now, in the Trentino, also, fatal reverses. It is impossible not to feel a certain pity for the decrepit, hard, implacable old man whose pride is bringing his empire and himself to ruin.

The Sorrows of King Constantine

CABLES from Athens reveal the position of King Constantine of Greece as being in the last degree difficult, not to say perilous. The course in which he has steered the Hellenic ship of state, under the inspiration, it is supposed, of the Hohenzollern Princess whom he married, is showing itself to be pregnant

with disaster. On May 27, as a result of a "deal" with the Teutonic Powers—that is, with his brother-in-law, Kaiser Wilhelm—King Constantine directed the officers of his army to give up to the Bulgarians, led by German officers, Forts Rupel, Dragotin and Spatovo, in the Struma valley, due north of the centre of the British position at Saloniki. In two directions came an instant reaction: the Allies blockaded his ports, and the Athenian population rose against him, openly protesting that he had sold Greek interests to the Germans, and had allowed the detested Bulgarians to occupy the sacred soil of Greece. For the act of his officers, the King is immediately responsible, since he is Commander in Chief of the army, and his Minister, Skouloudis, is governing without a Parliament and without the pretense of holding a Parliamentary majority. It is openly charged that the party in Athens which is supporting "the right of the crown" thus to deal with the fate of the Greek Nation is directed and paid by Germany. But the woes of Constantine do not end here. The blockade of the Allies was accompanied by the request that he should at once demobilize his army, and this he has been compelled to do, while it was in fact through the army that he had maintained his unconstitutional position for many months. He is now left in the air. Naturally, the only course left open was to fly; so he has fled to Larissa; never, perhaps, to return. Finally, the cost of keeping the army mobilized has bankrupted Greece, and the Teutons cannot help her, while the Allies, in view of Constantine's ambiguous policy, will not.

Russia's Naval Force in the Black Sea

THE rapidity with which Russia can drive westward toward her historic goal, Constantinople, from her Erzerum-Trebizond base very largely depends on her naval force in the Black Sea. In the approach to Trebizond, and in the taking of Trebizond itself, the land forces were effectively supported by the navy; and, as the road westward to Constantinople practically runs along the sea shore, the navy can co-operate at

every step of the way, besides keeping the water route open for the arrival of supplies and munitions from Southern Russia. It is, therefore, important to know just what naval forces Russia disposes of there. At the outbreak of the war Russia had, in the Black Sea, (and locked up in the Black Sea, by a treaty which forbade them to pass the Bosphorus,) seven battleships of a certain age, five of which were in sufficiently good shape to engage in active, offensive operations; these five, running from 9,000 to 13,000 tons displacement, have a primary battery of 12-inch guns; there are also two protected cruisers, displacing 6,700 tons, and with a speed of twenty-two knots; these larger ships were supplemented by two dozen destroyers, ranging from 350 to 1,100 tons, and from twenty-six to thirty-one knots; and there were, in addition, a dozen torpedo boats of from 100 to 250 tons; to these should be added eight or ten submarines, some of which were fitted out for minelaying. Besides these somewhat antiquated boats, the larger of which date from before the Russo-Japanese war, there were in construction, at Sebastopol or Nikolaieff, a group of much more modern and powerful ships; three dreadnoughts of the type of the Imperatritsa Mariya, displacing 23,000 tons, making twenty-one knots, and carrying twelve 12-inch guns; two swift cruisers displacing 6,800 tons, of the Admiral Lazareff type; nine new torpedo-boat destroyers and six submarines. It seems certain that two of these new dreadnoughts, the Imperatritsa Mariya and the Emperor Alexander III. or the Imperatritsa Ekaterina, are already in commission, and probably also one of the new cruisers; very probably also the five destroyers, and two or three of the new submarines. Russia is also well equipped with scout ships and hydro-aeroplanes in the Black Sea. It is evident, then, that the Russian land forces, marching by way of Sinope to Constantinople, along the very road traversed by Xenophon's Ten Thousand, will have effective backing so far as sea power is concerned.

Problem of the Austrian Generals

PETROGRAD dispatches announced, in the middle of June, that in the preceding fortnight the Russian troops had captured some 160,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers "and one General." There is something mysterious in the combination. For the captures are equivalent to four full army corps, which would have, to begin with, four Generals commanding corps; then twice as many Generals commanding divisions, (half corps;) and yet twice as many Generals of brigade, (half divisions;) or twenty-eight Generals in all. One was captured. Where are the twenty-seven? It will be remembered that, when Przemysl capitulated, in the early Spring of 1915, several Generals were captured, besides the commander of the fort; practically the full complement of division and brigade commanders. A dispatch from Petrograd suggests a solution: The small number of commanding officers captured in proportion to the number of soldiers is attributed by military experts to the confusion existing in the Austrian armies, due to the suddenness and energy of the Russian drive. It shows, it is argued, that the officers lost control of the men and abandoned them to their fate at critical moments. If this be so, and otherwise the mystery remains insoluble, then the name of the "one General captured," who did not "leave his men to their fate," should be given to the world, and added to the war's roll of honor. For anything more unsoldierly than the conduct of a general officer (or, indeed, any officer) who abandoned his men to their fate, while he himself made a "strategical withdrawal," it would be difficult to imagine. If there be in reality any such spirit in the Austro-Hungarian Army, the extraordinary totals announced by the Russian General Staff become more explicable. It will be remembered that, when Przemysl surrendered, there were stories of officers lounging in hotels, while their men starved in the trenches. Let the name of the "one General" be given to the world.

The Greatest Naval Battle

Narrative of the Historic Engagement in the North Sea Between German and British Fleets

WHETHER the North Sea battle of May 31 shall go down in history as the Battle of Jutland or as the Battle of the Skagerrak may depend upon the outcome of the war and the nationality of the dominant historian, but under any name it will be known to future generations as the greatest naval engagement thus far in modern history, as judged by lives lost, tonnage engaged, and values destroyed. Yet it was an indecisive battle, calling, perhaps, for a still greater one to follow.

For nearly two years the British Grand Fleet had been watching in the mists of the North Sea for a chance to engage the German High Seas Fleet, which lay secure in the Baltic behind the mine fields and coast defenses of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal. The world had almost ceased to expect the great naval battle which had been looked for daily in the early weeks of the war. Suddenly, in the afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, a British battle cruiser squadron under Admiral Sir David Beatty, scouting about seventy-five miles off the Danish coast and the entrance to the Skagerrak, sighted a part of the German High Seas Fleet approaching in battle array. It was in command of Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, with Vice Admiral Hipper in charge of the German cruiser squadron.

BOTH EAGER TO FIGHT

Without hesitation on either side the titanic struggle was joined, the first shots being exchanged at a distance of twelve miles. Soon the whole German fleet came in sight, and the British cruiser squadron, built for speed, and not intended for direct conflict with the heavier battleships, found itself for a time out-matched, but did not flinch.

Calling by wireless for Admiral Jellicoe's Grand Fleet, then several hundred miles away to the northwest, Admiral Beatty on his flagship *Lion* and Admiral H. A. L. Hood on his flagship *Invincible*

led the attack upon the enemy. Fortunately for them, they were supported by four new superdreadnoughts, which figure in the dispatches as "the Elizabeths." They were the *Queen Elizabeth*, *Warspite*, *Barham*, and *Malaya*, four of the five monsters launched last year, ships of 27,500 tons displacement, heavily armed, and carrying fifteen-inch guns. Being only a few miles away, they were soon in the fight, and played an important part in it, though greatly outnumbered by the dreadnoughts of the German fleet.

A TEMPEST OF DEATH

Throughout the waning afternoon and the long northern evening the battle raged amid a hurricane of sound, as the two fleets steamed swiftly in battle formation past each other, most of the time at a distance of eight miles—a comparatively short range for high-power guns—each vessel pouring forth an endless stream of great explosive shells aimed with the deadly skill of modern instruments of precision. A shell plunged through the steel armor of the swift battle cruiser *Queen Mary*, her magazine exploded, and the splendid ship, almost the latest of its class, buckled up and sank like a stone with its thousand men. The *Indefatigable* went next, in much the same way, and a little later the *Invincible*, with gallant Admiral Hood and his crew of 750 men, was sent to the bottom.

The armored cruiser *Warrior* was helpless and rapidly being pounded to pieces by the concentrated fire of several heavy German ships when the *Warspite* dashed in, circled around it, took the brunt of the attack, and saved the crew of the *Warrior*, though that vessel sank on the way to port. It is not strange that the Germans refused later to believe that the *Warspite* itself escaped after what it passed through.

In the German fleet also brave men were giving up their lives. The battle

cruiser Lützow, a match for the Queen Mary in size and power, was among those that never returned to Kiel. So were the battleship Pommern and three smaller cruisers. The Frauenlob, struck by a torpedo in the night, went down in ten minutes with all but eight of its crew.

The tide of battle favored the Germans until 6 o'clock in the evening, when Admiral Jellicoe and the heavy dreadnoughts of the Grand Fleet arrived and turned the odds of weight and metal in favor of the British. For nearly four hours the British battle cruisers had held their own against superior strength.

With the arrival of the main British fleet the Germans gradually withdrew toward their base, keeping up a running fight, until Admiral Jellicoe thought it unwise to follow further in the direction of the enemy's mine fields. Through the remainder of the night the "mosquito fleets" of both navies—the frail but deadly little destroyers whose stings are torpedoes—harassed the enemy and did further damage by dint of heroic risks and lavish sacrifice of their own lives.

The next day the German fleet returned to its base claiming a victory, and the British fleet returned to its station near the Orkneys, also claiming a virtual victory, holding that its loss of fourteen vessels and 6,000 men was counterbalanced by a corresponding amount of damage done to the enemy. The battle of words that followed is thus far as indecisive as the fight off the Skagerrak, as it is impossible to tell whether one or both sides may not still be concealing losses. The damage admitted in official reports at the present writing is as follows:

ADMITTED LOSSES—BRITISH

| Name. | Ton-nage. | Per-sonnel.* |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Queen Mary (battle cruiser)..... | 27,000 | 1,000 |
| Indefatigable (battle cruiser)..... | 18,750 | 800 |
| Invincible (battle cruiser)..... | 17,250 | 750 |
| Defense (armored cruiser)..... | 14,600 | 753 |
| Warrior (armored cruiser)..... | 13,550 | 704 |
| Black Prince (armored cruiser)..... | 13,550 | 704 |
| Tipperary (destroyer)..... | 1,850 | 150 |
| Turbulent (destroyer)..... | 1,850 | 150 |
| Shark (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |
| Sparrowhawk (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |
| Ardent (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |
| Fortune (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |

| Name. | Ton-nage. | Per-sonnel.* |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Nomad (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |
| Nestor (destroyer)..... | 950 | 100 |
| BRITISH TOTALS | | |
| Battle cruisers..... | 63,000 | 2,550 |
| Armored cruisers..... | 41,700 | 2,163 |
| Destroyers..... | 9,400 | 900 |
| Fourteen ships..... | | |
| | 114,100 | 5,613 |

ADMITTED LOSSES—GERMAN

| Name. | Ton-nage. | Per-sonnel.† |
|------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Lützow (battle cruiser)..... | 26,600 | 11,200 |
| Pommern (battleship)..... | 13,200 | 729 |
| Wiesbaden (cruiser)..... | 5,600 | 1,450 |
| Frauenlob (cruiser)..... | 2,715 | 264 |
| Elbing (cruiser)..... | 5,000 | 1,450 |
| Rostock (cruiser)..... | 4,900 | 373 |
| Five destroyers..... | 5,000 | 1,500 |
| GERMAN TOTALS | | |
| Battle cruisers..... | 39,800 | 1,929 |
| Cruisers..... | 18,215 | 1,537 |
| Destroyers..... | 5,000 | 500 |
| Eleven ships..... | | |
| | 63,015 | 3,966 |

*Few survivors. †Many survivors. ‡Estimated.

The Germans reported the destruction of the British superdreadnought Warspite and battleship Marlborough, but these vessels, though damaged, were later announced by the British Admiralty to be safe in port. The British insisted, on the other hand, that the German dreadnoughts Hindenburg and Westfalen were sunk, besides one submarine and several additional destroyers. These losses are denied by the Germans. The official reports on both sides, given below, contain many irreconcilable statements, and are largely concerned with attempts to estimate the losses of the enemy. The German official figures for the human losses on both sides are as follows:

TOTAL LOSSES OF MEN

| BRITISH | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Dead or missing..... | 6,104 |
| Wounded..... | 513 |
| Total..... | 6,617 |
| GERMAN | |
| Dead or missing..... | 2,414 |
| Wounded..... | 449 |
| Total..... | 2,863 |
| LOSS IN MONEY VALUE | |
| (Rough estimate.) | |
| British..... | \$115,000,000 |
| German..... | 63,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$178,000,000 |

GERMAN OFFICIAL REPORT

The first German Admiralty report of the battle was issued on Thursday, June 1, and reads as follows:

Berlin, June 1, 1916.

During an enterprise directed to the northward our high sea fleet on May 31 encountered the main part of the English fighting fleet, which was considerably superior to our forces.

During the afternoon, between Skagerrak and Horn Riff, a heavy engagement developed, which was successful to us, and which continued during the whole night.

In this engagement, so far as known up to the present, there were destroyed by us the large battleship Warspite, the battle cruisers Queen Mary and Indefatigable, two armored cruisers, apparently of the Achilles type; one small cruiser, the new flagships of destroyer squadrons, the Turbulent, Nestor, and Alcaster, a large number of torpedo-boat destroyers, and one submarine.

By observation, which was free and clear of objects, it was stated that a large number of English battleships suffered damage from our ships and the attacks of our torpedo-boat flotilla during the day engagement and throughout the night. Among others, the large battleship Marlborough was hit by a torpedo. This was confirmed by prisoners.

Several of our ships rescued parts of the crews of the sunken English ships, among them being two and the only survivors of the Indefatigable.

On our side the small cruiser Wiesbaden, by hostile gunfire during the day engagement, and his Majesty's ship Pommern, during the night, as the result of a torpedo, were sunk.

The fate of his Majesty's ship Frauenlob, which is missing, and of some torpedo boats, which have not returned yet, is unknown.

The High Sea Fleet returned today (Thursday) into our port.

BRITISH OFFICIAL REPORT

The first report of the British Admiralty was issued a day later, and is as follows:

London, June 2, 1916.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 31st of May, a naval engagement took place off the coast of Jutland.

The British ships on which the brunt of the fighting fell were the battle cruiser fleet and some cruisers and light cruisers, supported by four fast battleships. Among these the losses were heavy.

The German battle fleet, aided by low visibility, avoided a prolonged action with our main forces. As soon as these appeared on the scene the enemy returned to port, though not before receiving severe damage from our battleships.

The battle cruisers Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible, and the cruisers Defense and Black Prince were sunk.

The Warrior was disabled, and after being towed for some time had to be abandoned by her crew.

It is also known that the destroyers Tipperary, Turbulent, Fortune, Sparrowhawk, and Ardent were lost, and six others are not yet accounted for.

No British battleships or light cruisers were sunk.

The enemy's losses were serious. At least one battle cruiser was destroyed and one was severely damaged. One battleship is reported to have been sunk by our destroyers.

During the night attack two light cruisers were disabled and probably sunk.

The exact number of enemy destroyers disposed of during the action cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but must have been large.

Later this further statement was published:

Since the foregoing communication was issued a further report has been received from the Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet stating that it has now been ascertained that our total losses in destroyers amount to eight boats in all.

The Commander in Chief also reports that it is now possible to form a closer estimate of the losses and the damage sustained by the enemy fleet.

One dreadnought battleship of the Kaiser class was blown up in an attack by British destroyers and another dreadnought battleship of the Kaiser class is believed to have been sunk by gunfire. Of three German battle cruisers, two of which are believed were the Derfflinger and the Lützow, one was blown up, another was heavily engaged by our battle fleet and was seen to be disabled and stopping, and the third was observed to be seriously damaged.

One German light cruiser and six German destroyers were sunk, and at least two more German light cruisers were seen to be disabled. Further repeated hits were observed on three other German battleships that were engaged.

Finally, a German submarine was rammed and sunk.

A SECOND STATEMENT

The Chief of the German Admiralty Staff issued this secondary statement on June 3:

In order to prevent fabulous reports, it is again stated that in the battle off Skagerrak on May 31 the German high sea forces were in battle with the entire modern English fleet.

To the already published statements it must be added that, according to the official British report, the battle cruiser Invincible and the armored cruiser Warrior were also destroyed.

We were obliged to blow up the small cruiser Elbing, which, on the night of May 31-June 1, owing to a collision with other German war vessels, was heavily damaged, and

It was impossible to take her to port. The crew was rescued by torpedo boats, with the exception of the commander, two other officers, and eighteen men, who remained aboard in order to blow up the vessel. According to Dutch reports they were later brought to Ymuiden on a tug and landed there.

"GERMAN ACCOUNTS FALSE"

The British Admiralty's next statement, dated June 4, impugns the truth of the German report in these terms:

The Grand Fleet came in touch with the German High Seas Fleet at 3:30 on the afternoon of May 31. The leading ships of the two fleets carried on a vigorous fight, in which the battle cruisers, fast battleships, and subsidiary craft all took an active part.

The losses were severe on both sides, but when the main body of the British fleet came into contact with the German High Seas Fleet, a very brief period sufficed to compel the latter, who had been severely punished, to seek refuge in their protected waters. This manoeuvre was rendered possible by low visibility and mist, and, although the Grand Fleet were now and then able to get in momentary contact with their opponents, no continuous action was possible. They continued the pursuit until the light had wholly failed, while the British destroyers were able to make a successful attack upon the enemy during the night.

Meanwhile, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, having driven the enemy into port, returned to the main scene of the action and scoured the sea in search of disabled vessels. By noon the next day, June 1, it became evident that there was nothing more to be done. He returned, therefore, to his bases, 400 miles away, refueled his fleet, and in the evening of June 2 was again ready to put to sea.

The British losses have already been fully stated. There is nothing to add to or subtract from the latest account published by the Admiralty. The enemy losses are less easy to determine. That the accounts they have given to the world are false is certain, and we cannot yet be sure of the exact truth. But from such evidence as has come to our knowledge, the Admiralty entertains no doubt that the German losses are heavier than the British, not merely relatively to the strength of the two fleets, but absolutely.

There seems to be the strongest ground for supposing that included in the German losses are two battleships, two dreadnought battle cruisers of the most powerful type, two of the latest light cruisers, the Wiesbaden and Elbing; a light cruiser of the Rostock type, the light cruiser Frauenlob, nine destroyers, and a submarine.

To this was added the following on June 6:

An official statement given out in Berlin today, signed "Fleet Command," claims the British lost the Warspite, Princess Royal,

Birmingham, and Acasta in the action of May 31. This is claimed on the evidence of British sailors picked up by German ships.

This is false. The complete list of British losses is as published.

The German Admiralty, in an official statement issued on June 2, stated that, among other casualties, a British submarine was sunk in the course of the battle during the afternoon and night of May 31.

All British submarines at sea on that date have now returned. It must, therefore, be assumed, if any importance is to be attached to the German official statement, that the submarine sunk was an enemy submarine. This vessel should be added to the list of German losses stated in the British Admiralty communiqué of June 4.

LUETZOW AND ROSTOCK

An official German statement admitting the loss of the Lützow and Rostock was issued June 8. The losses of the British are again said to have been heavier than admitted by them. The official writer continues:

It is asserted, for instance, that the German fleet left the battlefield and that the English fleet remained master of the battlefield. With regard to this it is stated that by repeated, effective attacks of our torpedo-boat flotillas during the battle on the evening of May 31 the English main fleet was forced to turn around, and it never again came within sight of our forces. In spite of its superior speed and reinforcement by an English squadron of twelve vessels, which came up from the southern North Sea, it never attempted to come again into touch with our forces to continue the battle or attempt in conjunction with the above-mentioned squadron to bring about the desired destruction of the German fleet.

The English assertion that the English fleet in vain attempted to reach the fleeing German fleet in order to defeat it before reaching its home points of support is contradicted by the alleged official English statement that Admiral Jellicoe, with his Grand Fleet, already had reached the basin of Scalpa Flow, in the Orkneys, 300 miles from the battlefield, on June 1.

Numerous German torpedo-boat flotillas sent out after the day battle for a night attack toward the north, and beyond the theatre of the day battle, did not find the English main fleet in spite of a keen search. Moreover, our torpedo boats had an opportunity of rescuing a great number of English survivors of the various sunken vessels.

As further proof of the fact, contested by the English, of the participation of their entire battle fleet in the battle of May 31, it is pointed out that the British Admiralty report too announced that the Marlborough had been disabled. Furthermore, one of our submarines on June 1 sighted another of the Iron

Duke class heavily damaged steering toward the English coast. Both mentioned vessels belonged to the English main fleet.

In order to belittle the great German success the English press also traces the loss of numerous English vessels largely to the effect of German mines, submarines, and airships. Regarding this, it is especially pointed out that neither mines, which, by the way, would have been just as dangerous to our own fleet as to that of the enemy, nor submarines were employed by our High Seas Fleet. German airships were used exclusively for reconnaissance on June 1.

The German victory was gained by able leadership and by the effect of our artillery and torpedo weapons.

Until now we have refrained from contradicting many of the alleged official English assertions regarding the German losses. The latest assertion, again and again repeated, is that the German fleet lost not less than two vessels of the Kaiser class, the Westfalen, two battle cruisers, four small cruisers, and a great number of torpedo-boat destroyers. Moreover, the British indicate that the Pommern, which we reported lost, is not the ship of the line of 13,000 tons from the year 1905, but a modern dreadnought of the same name. We state that the total loss of the German high sea forces during the battle of May 31-June 1 and the following time are: One battle cruiser, one ship of the line of older construction, four small cruisers, and five torpedo boats. Of these losses, the Pommern, launched in 1905; the Wiesbaden, Elbing, Frauenlob, and five torpedo boats already have been reported in official statements. For military reasons, we refrained until now from making public the losses of the vessels Lützow and Rostock.

In view of the wrong interpretation of this measure, and, moreover, in order to frustrate English legends about gigantic losses on our side, these reasons must no longer be regarded. Both ships were lost on the way to the harbor, to be repaired after attempts to keep the badly damaged vessels afloat had failed. The crews of both, including all the severely wounded, are safe.

While the German list of losses is herewith closed, there are positive indications at hand that the actual British losses were materially higher than admitted. It has been established by us on the basis of our own observations and of what has been made public, as well as from statements of British prisoners, that, in addition to the Warspite, the Princess Royal and Birmingham were destroyed. According to reliable reports, the dreadnought Marlborough also sank before reaching harbor.

The high sea battle of the Skagerrak remains a German victory, which it already was even if the conclusions were based solely on the losses of ships admitted officially by the British. The total loss of 69,720 tons of German warships stands against that of 117,750 tons for the British.

CHIEF OF THE ADMIRALTY STAFF.

JELlicoe TO HIS MEN

In a message to the men of the British fleet, given out officially on June 12, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe declared that the glorious traditions handed down by generations of gallant British seamen had been most worthily upheld, and that he was more proud than ever of commanding a navy manned by such officers and men. He added:

Weather conditions that were highly unfavorable robbed the fleet of the complete victory expected by all ranks. Our losses were heavy. We miss many most gallant comrades. But although it is difficult to obtain accurate information as to the enemy's losses, I have no doubt we shall find they certainly were not less than our own. Sufficient information already has been received for me to make that statement with confidence.

Mr. Asquith also spoke in a similar vein on June 14 in an address celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of his election to the House of Commons:

Owing to the rashness of the enemy we were allowed to see another and more stirring, dramatic aspect of the navy's qualities a fortnight ago. The naval action of May 31 was worthy of the best and most treasured traditions of the British Navy. The Germans were driven back into their ports without so much as making an effort to grapple with the main body of our Grand Fleet, and had the temerity to claim what really was a rout as a complete victory. A couple more such victories and there will be nothing left of the German Navy worth speaking about. The truth is slowly leaking out, and its full extent is not yet realized or appreciated. Our command of the seas, so far from being impaired, has been more firmly and unshakably established.

GERMANY'S REPLY

To Jellicoe's assertion that Germany's losses were as great as those of Britain the Admiralty at Berlin retorted on June 15 with the following definite figures:

Against this we point out the comparison of losses officially published on the 7th, showing a total loss in tonnage of German war vessels of 60,720, against the British loss of 117,150, where only those English vessels and destroyers were taken into account whose losses until now have been officially admitted on the English side.

According to statements of English prisoners, further vessels were sunk, among them the dreadnought Warspite.

No other German vessels were lost than those made public. They are the Lützow,

Pommern, Wiesbaden, Frauenlob, Elbing, Rostock, and five torpedo boats. This shows that the human losses to the English in the battle were considerably greater than the German.

While from the English side the officer losses announced were 343 dead or missing and 51 wounded, our losses in officers, engineers, sanitary officers, paymasters, ensigns, and petty officers, are 172 dead or missing and 41 wounded.

The total losses among the English crews as far as published by the Admiralty are 6,104 dead or missing, 513 wounded. On the German side the losses are 2,414 dead or missing, 449 wounded.

During and after the battle our vessels rescued 177 English, while up to now no German prisoners from this battle are known to be in English hands. The names of the English prisoners will be communicated to the British Government in the usual manner.

British Semi-Official Story of Great Sea Fight

Thus far the best informal British account of the battle of Jutland in detail is that which appeared in *The Glasgow Herald* and which evidently has official authority behind it.

FIRST PHASE, 3:30 P. M., May 31.—Beatty's battle cruisers, consisting of the *Lion*, *Princess Royal*, *Queen Mary*, *Tiger*, *Inflexible*, *Indomitable*, *Invincible*, *Indefatigable*, and *New Zealand*, were on a southeasterly course, followed at about two miles distance by the four *Queen Elizabeths*.

Enemy light cruisers were sighted and shortly afterward the head of the German battle cruiser squadron, consisting of the new cruiser *Hindenburg*, the *Seydlitz*, *Derfflinger*, *Lützow*, *Moltke*, and possibly the *Salamis*.

Beatty at once began firing at a range of about 20,000 yards, (twelve miles,) which shortened to 16,000 yards (nine miles) as the fleets closed. The Germans could see the British distinctly outlined against the light yellow sky. The Germans, covered by a haze, could be very indistinctly made out by our gunners.

The *Queen Elizabeths* opened fire on one after another as they came within range. The German battle cruisers turned to port and drew away to about 20,000 yards.

Second Phase, 4:40 P. M.—A destroyer screen then appeared beyond the German battle cruisers. The whole German High Seas Fleet could be seen approaching on the northeastern horizon in three divisions, coming to the support of their battle cruisers.

The German battle cruisers now turned right round 16 points and took station in front of the battleships of the high fleet.

Beatty with his battle cruisers and sup-

porting battleships, therefore, had before him the whole of the German battle fleet, and Jellicoe was still some distance away.

The opposing fleets were now moving parallel to one another in opposite directions, and but for a master manoeuvre on the part of Beatty the British advance ships would have been cut off from Jellicoe's grand fleet. In order to avoid this and at the same time prepare the way so that Jellicoe might envelop his adversary, Beatty immediately also turned right around 16 points, so as to bring his ships parallel to the German battle cruisers and facing in the same direction.

As soon as he was around he increased to full speed to get ahead of the Germans and take up a tactical position in advance of their line. He was able to do this owing to the superior speed of our battle cruisers.

Just before the turning point was reached, the *Indefatigable* sank, and the *Queen Mary* and the *Invincible* also were lost at the turning point, where, of course, the High Seas Fleet concentrated their fire.

A little earlier, as the German battle cruisers were turning, the *Queen Elizabeths* had in similar manner concentrated their fire on the turning point and destroyed a new German battle cruiser, believed to be the *Hindenburg*.

Beatty had now got around and headed away with the loss of three ships, racing parallel to the German battle cruisers. The *Queen Elizabeths* followed behind, engaging the main High Seas Fleet.

COMMANDERS IN NORTH SEA BATTLE



Admiral Horace Hood, Who
Went Down With the Invincible
(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)



Admiral Sir David Beatty, Com-
mander of Squadron That Bore
the Brunt of the Fighting
(© American Press Association.)



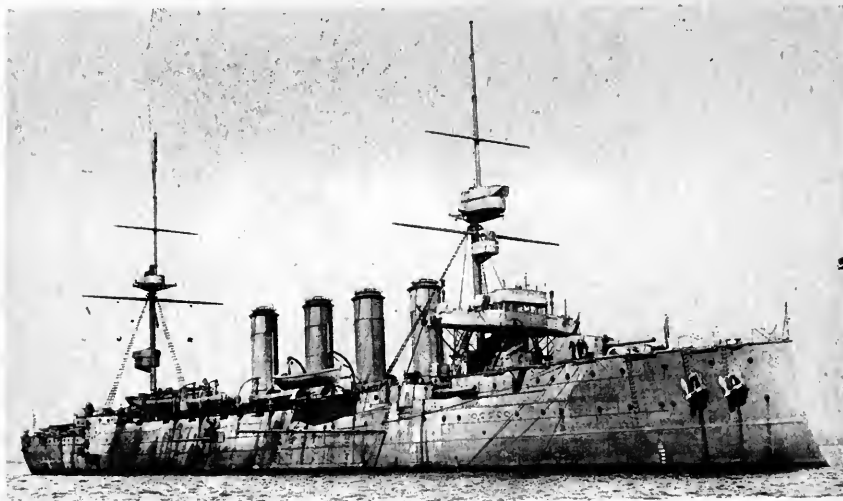
Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Com-
mander in Chief of the British
Fleet

(© Elliott & Fry.)



Admiral von Capelle, Successor
to Admiral von Tirpitz as Head
of the German Navy

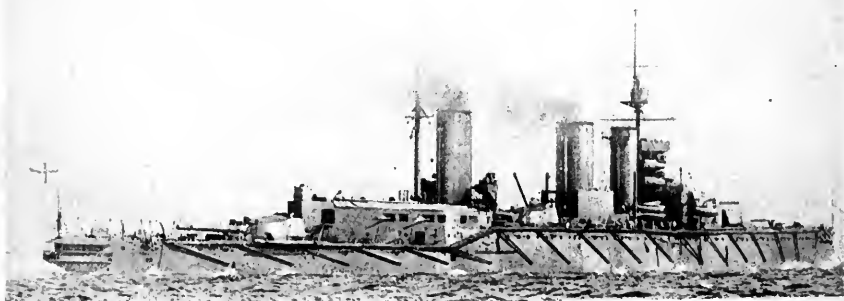
WARSHIPS SENT TO THE BOTTOM



The Hampshire, British Armored Cruiser, Sunk by a Mine Off the Orkneys
With Lord Kitchener and Staff
(Photos from Underwood & Underwood.)



The Pommern, German Battleship, 13,200 Tons



The Queen Mary, British Battle Cruiser, 27,000 Tons

Third Phase, 5 P. M.—The Queen Elizabeths now turned short to port 16 points in order to follow Beatty. The Warspite jammed her steering gear, failed to get around, and drew the fire of six of the enemy, who closed in upon her.

I am not surprised that the Germans claim her as a loss, since on paper she ought to have been lost, but as a matter of fact, though repeatedly straddled by shell fire with the water boiling up all around her, she was not seriously hit, and was able to sink one of her opponents. Her Captain recovered control of the vessel, brought her around, and followed her consorts.

In the meantime the Barham, Valiant, and Malaya turned short so as to avoid the danger spot where the Queen Mary and the Invincible had been lost, and for an hour until Jellicoe arrived fought a delaying action against the High Seas Fleet.

The Warspite joined them at about 5:15 o'clock, and all four ships were so successfully manoeuvred in order to upset the spotting corrections of their opponents that no hits of a seriously disabling character were suffered. They had the speed over their opponents by fully four knots, and were able to draw away from part of the long line of German battle-ships, which almost filled up the horizon.

At this time the Queen Elizabeths were steadily firing at the flashes of German guns at a range which varied between 12,000 and 15,000 yards, especially against those ships which were nearest them. The Germans were enveloped in a mist, and only smoke and flashes were visible.

By 5:45 half of the High Seas Fleet had been left out of range, and the Queen Elizabeths were steaming fast to join hands with Jellicoe.

I must now return to Beatty's battle cruisers. They had succeeded in out-flanking the German battle cruisers, which were, therefore, obliged to turn a full right angle to starboard to avoid being headed.

Heavy fighting was renewed between the opposing battle cruiser squadrons, during which the Derfflinger was sunk;

but toward 6 o'clock the German fire slackened very considerably, showing that Beatty's battle cruisers and the Queen Elizabeths had inflicted serious damage on their immediate opponents.

Fourth Phase, 6 P. M.—The Grand Fleet was now in sight, and, coming up fast in three directions, the Queen Elizabeths altered their course four points to the starboard and drew in toward the enemy to allow Jellicoe room to deploy into line.

The Grand Fleet was perfectly manoeuvred and the very difficult operation of deploying between the battle cruisers and the Queen Elizabeths was perfectly timed.

Jellicoe came up, fell in behind Beatty's cruisers, and, followed by the damaged but still serviceable Queen Elizabeths, steamed right across the head of the German fleet.

The first of the ships to come into action were the Revenue and the Royal Oak with their fifteen-inch guns, and the Agincourt, which fired from her seven turrets with the speed almost of a Maxim gun.

The whole British fleet had now become concentrated. They had been perfectly manoeuvred, so as to "cross the T" of the High Seas Fleet, and, indeed, only decent light was necessary to complete their work of destroying the Germans in detail. The light did improve for a few minutes, and the conditions were favorable to the British fleet, which was now in line approximately north and south across the head of the Germans.

During the few minutes of good light Jellicoe smashed up the first three German ships, but the mist came down, visibility suddenly failed, and the defeated High Seas Fleet was able to draw off in ragged divisions.

Fifth Phase, Night.—The Germans were followed by the British, who still had them enveloped between Jellicoe on the west, Beatty on the north, and Evan Thomas with his three Queen Elizabeths on the south. The Warspite had been sent back to her base.

During the night our torpedo boat destroyers heavily attacked the German

ships, and, although they lost seriously themselves, succeeded in sinking two of the enemy.

Co-ordination of the units of the fleet was practically impossible to keep up, and the Germans discovered by the rays of their searchlights the three Queen Elizabeths, not more than 4,000 yards away. Unfortunately they were then able to escape between the battleships and Jellicoe, since we were not able to fire, as our own destroyers were in the way.

So ended the Jutland battle, which was fought as had been planned and very

nearly a great success. It was spoiled by the unfavorable weather conditions, especially at the critical moment, when the whole British fleet was concentrated and engaged in crushing the head of the German line.

It was an action on our part of big guns, except of course for the destroyer work, since at a very early stage our big ships ceased to feel any anxiety from the German destroyers. The German small craft were rounded up by their British opponents and soon ceased to count as an organized body.

German Semi-Official Narrative

A semi-official account of the battle of the Skagerrak, issued in Berlin on June 5, gives a very different version of certain aspects of the fight, especially of the number of vessels engaged on both sides:

THE German High Seas Fleet had pushed out into the North Sea in the hope of engaging portions of the English fleet, which had recently been repeatedly reported off the Norwegian south coast. At 3:15 o'clock in the afternoon, some seventy miles off the Skagerrak, some small cruisers of the Calliope class were sighted. Our cruisers at once pursued the enemy, which fled northward at highest speed.

At 5:20 o'clock our cruisers sighted two enemy columns to the west, consisting of six battle cruisers and a great number of small cruisers. The enemy passed toward the south, and our ships, approaching to nineteen kilometers, opened very effective fire on south-southeastern courses. During the battle two English battle cruisers and one destroyer were sunk.

After half an hour's fighting heavy enemy reinforcements, later observed to be five vessels of the Queen Elizabeth class, were sighted to the north. Soon afterward the German main force entered the fight, and the enemy at once turned north.

The British commander, driving his ships at full speed, attempted to evade

our extremely effective fire by taking an echelon formation. Our fleet followed at top speed the movements of the enemy. In the course of this period of the fighting one cruiser of the Achilles or Shannon class and two destroyers were sunk, while a number of other vessels suffered heavy damage.

The battle against superior forces lasted until darkness fell. Besides numerous light detachments, at least twenty-five British battleships, six battle cruisers, and four armored cruisers engaged sixteen German battleships, five battle cruisers, six older ships of the line, and no armored cruisers.

After dark our flotillas opened a night attack. During this attack several cruiser and torpedo boat engagements occurred, resulting in the destruction of one battle cruiser, one cruiser of the Achilles class, probably two small cruisers, and at least ten destroyers. Six of the latter, including the new destroyer leaders, the Turbulent and the Tipperary, were destroyed by the leading vessels of our High Seas Fleet.

The British squadron of older battleships, which hurried up from the south, did not arrive until Thursday morning, after the conclusion of the battle, and returned without taking any part in the fighting or coming within sight of our main force.

Kaiser and King Thank Their Naval Fighters

In an address at Wilhelmshaven on June 6 Emperor William congratulated the sailors of the German Navy on their achievement in the North Sea in the following terms:

WHENEVER in past years I visited my fleet at Wilhelmshaven I always rejoiced from the depths of my heart at the sight of the growing fleet and the growing harbor. I looked with satisfaction upon the young crews drawn up in the drill shed, ready to take the oath. Many thousands of you I have seen eye to eye with your supreme commander when taking the oath. He reminded you of your duty, your task, but above all of the fact that when the German fleet went to war it would have to fight against gigantic odds.

This consciousness has become a tradition with the fleet, as it has been with the army from the time of Frederick the Great. Prussia, as well as Germany, has always been surrounded by superior enemies. Therefore it was possible to forge our nation into one mass, which hoarded up in itself endless forces ready to let loose when necessity demanded.

When the great war came envious enemies suddenly attacked the Fatherland. The army, by desperate fighting against powerful foes, slowly conquered them one after another. But the fleet waited in vain for a real fight. In numerous individual encounters the navy clearly demonstrated its heroic spirit, but was forced to wait month after month for a general battle.

Repeated efforts were made to bring the enemy out, but they proved fruitless until the day finally came last week when the gigantic fleet of Albion, ruler of the seas since Trafalgar was fought 100 years ago, appeared in the open, surrounded by a nimbus. Instantly our fleet engaged this superior British armada, and with what result? The English fleet was beaten. The first big blow was dealt the English fleet, whose tyrannical supremacy was shattered.

The news electrified the world and caused unprecedented jubilation every-

where that German hearts beat. Your success in the North Sea fight means that you have added a new chapter to the history of the world. God Almighty steeled your arm and gave you clear eyes to accomplish this.

I, standing here today as your supreme War Lord, thank you from the bottom of my heart. As the representative of the Fatherland I thank you, and in the name of my army I bring you its greetings because you have done your duty unselfishly and only with the one thought that the enemy must be beaten.

At a time when the enemy is slowly being crushed before Verdun and when our allies have driven the Italians from mountain to mountain, you add new glories to our cause. The world was prepared for everything, but not for the victory of the German fleet over the English. The start which you have made will cause fear to creep into the bones of the enemy. What you have done you did for the Fatherland, that in the future it may have freedom of the seas for its commerce. Therefore I ask you to join me in three cheers for our dearly beloved Fatherland.

On the occasion of King George's birthday, June 3, Admiral Jellicoe sent him the heartfelt good wishes of the Grand Fleet, to which the English King replied:

I am deeply touched by the message you have sent in behalf of the Grand Fleet. It reaches me on the morrow of a battle which once more displayed the splendid gallantry of the officers and men under your command.

I mourn the loss of the brave men, many of them personal friends of my own, who have fallen in their country's cause. Yet even more do I regret that the German High Seas Fleet, in spite of its heavy losses, was enabled by misty weather to evade the full consequences of the encounter.

They always professed a desire for a battle, for which, when the opportunity arrived, they showed no inclination. Though the retirement of the enemy im-

mediately after the opening of a general engagement robbed us of the opportunity of gaining a decisive victory, the events of last Wednesday amply justify my confidence in the valor and efficiency of the fleet under your command.

GEORGE R. I.

The German Emperor sent this message to Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, former Minister of the Navy (recently succeeded by von Capelle):

After visiting my fleet, which returned victoriously from a heavy battle, I feel I must again declare to you my imperial thanks for what you have performed in my service in the technical domain and the domain of organization. Our ships and weapons upheld themselves brilliantly in the battle in the North Sea. It is also for you a day of glory.

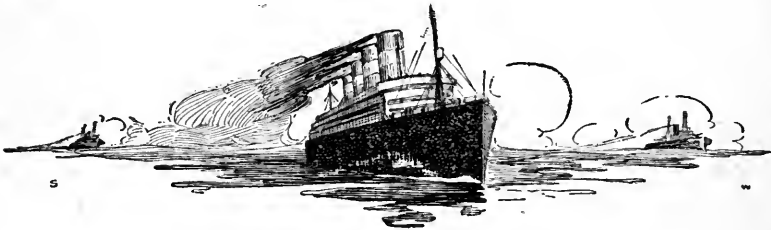
To Grand Admiral von Koester, former commander of the German Navy, the Kaiser sent this message:

From the fleet flagship, the old fleet chief, my imperial salutations. You laid the foundation for the careful employment of all weapons and the tactical training of the fleet. Building on your work and cultivating the spirit implanted by you, your successors have further developed the fleet to a living war instrument that stood so brilliantly its trial fire. The consciousness of having sowed such seed must be a great source of gratification to you.

[The German Emperor has promoted Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, commander of the German fleet in the engagement of May 31, to be a full Admiral. Scheer had assumed temporary command when the late Admiral von Pohl was forced to resign on account of illness. Vice Admiral Hipper has been awarded the Order Pour le Mérite, and war decorations of various kinds have been bestowed upon officers and men who distinguished themselves in the battle.]

Germany's Only Direct News Connection with the American Continents

Since the outbreak of the war, when all German cables were cut, the wireless station at Sayville, L. I., has been the sole means of communication—free from British censorship—between Germany and the United States. The Sayville station works direct with the station at Nauen, just outside of Berlin, daily, except for frequent static interruptions. Since the plant was seized by the Federal Government no commercial business has been permitted. The dispatches are confined to Government and official communications, a portion of which are the German war bulletins furnished daily to The Associated Press. The plant is now inclosed by a great fence with only one gate, and is guarded by a platoon of United States soldiers, and all matter is censored by an American officer, although the operators are Germans.



Fate of Lord Kitchener

FIELD MARSHAL LORD HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER, the British Secretary of State for War, perished with his staff off the West Orkney Islands on June 5 by the sinking of the British cruiser Hampshire, which struck a mine and went down fifteen minutes later. The entire crew was also lost except twelve men—a warrant officer and eleven seamen—who were found half dead from cold and exhaustion on a raft washed ashore the following day.

Earl Kitchener was en route to Russia at the request of the Russian Government. He intended to land at Archangel and visit Petrograd, expecting to be back in London by June 20. He was accompanied by Hugh James O'Beirne, former counselor of the British Embassy at Petrograd; O. A. Fitzgerald, his military secretary; Brigadier Gen. Ellershaw, and Sir Frederick Donaldson, all of whom were lost. Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had taken over the duties of the office during his absence, and at this writing is still in charge. It is reported that the office of Secretary of War has been tendered to David Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions.

The tragic death of Earl Kitchener created a profound sensation throughout the world. It was not until a week later that the details of the tragedy became known. Leading Seaman Rogerson, one of the twelve survivors, described Lord Kitchener's last moments as follows:

Of those who left the ship and have survived I was the one who saw Lord Kitchener last. He went down with the ship. He did not leave her. I saw Captain Savill help his boat's crew to clear away his galley. At the same time the Captain was calling to Lord Kitchener to come to the boat, but owing to the noise made by the wind and sea Lord Kitchener could not hear him, I think.

When the explosion occurred Kitchener walked calmly from the Captain's cabin, went up the ladder and on to the quarterdeck. There I saw him walking quite collectedly, talking to two of the officers. All three were wearing khaki and had no overcoats on.

Kitchener calmly watched the preparations

for abandoning the ship which were going on in a steady and orderly way. The crew just went to their stations, obeyed orders, and did their best to get out the boats, but it was impossible. Owing to the rough weather no boats could be lowered. Those that were got out were smashed up at once. No boats left the ship. What people on the shore thought to be boats leaving were rafts.

Men did get into the boats as these lay in their cradles, thinking that as the ship went under the boats would float. But the ship sank by the head, and when she went she turned a somersault forward, carrying down with her all the boats and those in them.

I do not think Kitchener got into a boat. When I sprang to a raft he was still on the starboard side of the quarterdeck talking with the officers. From the little time that elapsed between my leaving the ship and her sinking, I feel certain Kitchener went down with her and was on deck at the time she sank.

Of the civilian members of his suite I saw nothing. I got away on one of the rafts, and we had a terrible five hours in the water. It was so rough that the seas beat down on us and many men were killed by the buffeting. Many others died from the piercing cold. I was quite numbed, and an overpowering desire to sleep came upon us. To keep this away we thumped each other on the back, for the man who went to sleep never woke again.

When men died it was just as though they were falling asleep. One man stood upright for five hours on the raft with the dead lying all around him. One man died in my arms.

As we got near the shore the situation grew worse. The wind was blowing on shore. The fury of the sea dashed our raft against the rocks with tremendous force. Many were killed in this way, and one raft was thrice overturned. I don't quite know how I got ashore, for all the feeling was gone out of me. We were very kindly treated by the people who picked us up. They said it was the worst storm they had had for years.

The British Admiralty on June 15 issued the following official statement:

From the report of the twelve survivors of the Hampshire the following conclusions were reached:

As the men were going to their stations before abandoning the ship Lord Kitchener, accompanied by a naval officer, appeared. The latter said: "Make way for Lord Kitchener." Both ascended to the quarterdeck. Subsequently four military officers were seen there, walking aft on the port side.

The Captain called Lord Kitchener to the fore bridge near where the Captain's boat was hoisted. The Captain also called Lord

Kitchener to enter the boat. It is unknown if Lord Kitchener entered it or what happened to any boat.

The Hampshire was proceeding along the west coast of the Orkneys. A heavy gale was blowing and seas were breaking over the ship, which necessitated her being partly battened down. Between 7:30 and 7:45 P. M. the vessel struck a mine and began at once to settle by the bows, heeling over to starboard before she finally went down, about fifteen minutes after.

Orders were given by the Captain for all hands to go to their established stations for abandoning ship. Some of the hatches were opened and the ship's company went quickly to their stations. Efforts were made, with-

out success, to lower some of the boats. One of them was broken in half and its occupants were thrown into the water.

Large numbers of the crew used lifesaving belts and waistcoats, which proved effective in keeping them afloat. Three rafts were safely launched and, with about fifty to seventy men on each, got clear. It was daylight up to about 11. Though rafts with these large numbers of men got away, in one case, out of seventy men aboard, only six survived. The survivors all report that the men gradually dropped off, even died aboard the rafts from exhaustion and exposure to cold. Some of the crew must have perished in trying to land on the rocky coast after such a long exposure. Some died after landing.

General Brusiloff's Achievements

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By Charles Johnston

[See map of Russian front on Page 635]

DURING the first week of June General Alexei Brusiloff began and carried forward one of the most brilliant feats of the war, accomplishing something that has been deemed almost impossible, a swift, successful offensive against the strongest modern intrenched lines. He operated on a front over a hundred miles long, against trenches which, at many points, were defended by a dozen or more lines of barbed wire entanglements; trenches which lay one behind the other, sometimes ten or twelve in number, defended by strong Austrian artillery—and all along, the Austrians have had the heaviest guns in the war—and held by six or seven hundred thousand men; lines further strengthened by the two great fortresses of Lutsk and Dubno, which, with Rovno, formed the famous "Volhynia triangle," comparable to the group of French defenses that link Verdun and Toul.

Not only did General Brusiloff sweep these bristling obstacles out of existence, capturing in ten days 115,000 men of the enemy forces, killing or wounding, in all probability, twice as many more, (or 345,000 in all put out of action,) taking enormous quantities of war ma-

terial, (guns, machine guns, shells, cartridges, trench mortars, barbed wire, enough to supply a modern army,) but he further drove the enemy back, at some points as much as thirty miles, along a front of over 100 miles—in striking contrast to the static situation at Verdun, where, to repeat the somewhat grim pleasantry of a French officer, "ground is bought in small lots and the prices are high."

Roughly speaking, General Brusiloff's battle line stretched from the southeast corner of Russian Poland to the northeast corner of Rumania; running, at the beginning of the drive, through the Russian "governments" of Volhynia and Podolia, a thin slice of each having been held by the invaders; but, as the drive progressed, passing forward into Galicia, sweeping around Brody, menacing Tarnopol and Lemberg, and, to the south, enveloping and in all probability effectively occupying Czernowitz, the oft-disputed capital of the Austrian Crownland of Bukowina, "land of the beech trees." As his left wing rests on Rumania it cannot be turned, or even effectively menaced, without involving Rumania in the war; his right wing joins very strong Russian forces under

General Evert, one of the leaders in the first Russian victory over the Austrian army of General Dankl.

Exactly in what way General Brusiloff has accomplished this military miracle, tearing to pieces over a hundred miles of the strongest modern trenches of the "steel and concrete" type, is still his secret. But we can already see this: Like the French attack in Champagne on Sept. 25 last, he first concentrated a tremendous weight of gunfire on selected points, pouring in "hurricanes" of shells; he then followed this up with astonishing infantry rushes, the men being provided with planks and scaling ladders to help them across what the artillery had left of the barbed wire; and then, as soon as a first foothold was won in the enemy trenches, following this up instantly with fresh hurricanes of shells and new infantry drives, keeping this process up without interruption day and night. This he was able to do because he had, first, quite unlimited supplies of shells, and, next, because he had, what the French have not had, unlimited supplies of men. For Russia in the last few months has added to her fighting forces some 4,000,000 young men between the ages of 19 and 22, while there are several millions available in the twenties and early thirties. It is the younger men, it would appear, that General Brusiloff is using in his "rushes"; and in this kind of work no fighting man has ever stood higher than the Russian soldier.

But, after we have counted guns and men, there remains the third factor, and the greatest—military genius reinforced by military science; the power to divine the weak point and the golden hour for attack, (the Austrians were celebrating the Skagerrak fight when he attacked;) the power to co-ordinate, to have ample reserves ready and on the spot at the critical instant, and, most of all, the moral driving force to set the whole machine in motion and to keep it moving at top speed.

Having ripped up the curtain of Teuton defenses, General Brusiloff (who is, by training, a cavalry officer) brought back into modern warfare an element that seemed at one time to have grown

obsolete; he developed widely extended and swiftly executed cavalry movements that seem to have accounted for a very large proportion of the captures, both in men and guns. The details of his strategy remain to be made known, but it seems certain that General Brusiloff has demonstrated that the whole system of modern defensive (developed first along the line of the Aisne, in the second half of September, 1914) can be torn out of the ground, and that cavalry can still attack, sweeping down even on modern artillery and batteries of machine guns; attack with complete success and bring the batteries in as a trophy.

It would be a complete mistake to think of this brilliant achievement of General Brusiloff as a kind of lucky accident or a happy extemporization. It is neither. He is completing work begun in the first week of the war, along lines he had laid down many months earlier; he is doing again now, in the late Spring and early Summer of 1916, practically the same thing that he did, and did brilliantly, in the late Summer and early Autumn of 1914, over the same ground; but he is doing it now with tried and ripened experience, with a high reputation already assured, with supreme command over this whole sector of the war, with immensely greater forces of men and supplies of artillery; and, this must not be forgotten, against a weakened and harassed foe, behind whom, in the home countries, are famine and desperation.

General Brusiloff is now fighting over ground which he very brilliantly covered in the first weeks of the war. Austria had sought war with Serbia already in 1913, and had then been held back by her ally, Italy; Austria had already prejudged the case against the Serbians in July, 1914, determining in advance not to accept any concessions, however complete, from Serbia, but to force the gallant little kingdom into war; Austria, therefore, was the first of the nations to mobilize, not only against Serbia to the south, but also, in Galicia, against Russia. There were three Austrian armies in Galicia at the end of July, each about

300,000 men—two active, under General Dankl and General Auffenberg, and a third, held in reserve, under the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, the heir apparent to the throne of the Hapsburgs. General Dankl struck northward into Russian Poland, toward Lublin and Kholm, where he was held in check by Russian forces under General Ivanoff, General Evert, and General Plehve. General Auffenberg moved northeastward toward the famous Volhynia triangle—Lutsk, Dubno, Rovno. But he did not get across the frontier. Already, on Aug. 11, Russian cavalry made a demonstration against Brody, the first Austrian town across the Galician frontier, and this advance guard was rapidly followed by two Russian armies, under General Ruzsky and General Brusiloff, who began to rain blows on Auffenberg's head.

Shortly before the beginning of the war General Brusiloff had been given command of the Twelfth Army Corps, stationed at Vinnitza in Podolia, a little town on the river Bug, and connected by rail with Tarnopol, Halicz, and Lemberg in Galicia. At that time General Ruzsky was in command of the Kieff military district in which Vinnitza is; General Ruzsky therefore commanded the Russian army of the right, while General Brusiloff commanded the army of the left. Moving practically on the same line, they came into touch with Auffenberg on Aug. 23, and on Aug. 26-27 made a furious, concerted attack against his entire front, General Ruzsky moving against Lemberg, while General Brusiloff advanced toward the ancient historic city of Halicz, some sixty or seventy miles further south. They attacked the two cities about the same time, carrying them by storm on Sept. 2; and thus, since this was a week before the decision at the Marne, winning the first great success for the Entente armies. Both Generals were thanked by the Russian Emperor and decorated.

Then came the forward sweep up to and around Przemysl, the Russians enveloping the enormous fortress and pressing their adversaries back against the Carpathians. It was evident even then that Russia lacked adequate artil-

lery and ammunition; otherwise Przemysl would have been taken by storm. It held out, however, standing a not very vigorous siege, and finally surrendering in the Spring, surrendering only after efforts had been repeatedly made for its relief, Austria sending men up in masses through the Lupka Pass, where the railroad from Hungary crosses the Carpathians.

General Brusiloff had fought his way steadily westward, keeping the centre of his army almost continuously on the same line, due west from where he had crossed the frontier, at Woloczysk. His headquarters were now close to the little town of Baligrad, fifteen or twenty miles from the Lupka Pass. From this point he planned and delivered a killing blow against the Austrian reinforcements that were coming down from the pass, and the smashing of this relieving force was what practically determined the fall of Przemysl, with nearly 120,000 Austrian troops. It was a decisive victory for the Russians, but a victory of bayonets rather than artillery.

During the long months of the white Winter, 1914-15, General Brusiloff fought his way toward and into the three Carpathian passes—the Dukla to the north, the Uzsok in the centre, the Lupka to the south; and his long, fierce contest in the snow against ice-covered precipices and buttresses of rock anticipated many of the most daring exploits of the Italian Alpini in the Trentino, Cadore, and Carnia in the Winter of 1915-16. Both in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus the Russians showed that they are magnificently at home, even up to their breasts in snow.

General Brusiloff was wearing down General von Linsingen's resistance and threatening a descent upon the wide Hungarian plains, when to the north, on his right, came the event which reversed and almost neutralized his whole campaign. General Mackensen, who is apparently a soldier of genius, showing far more ability than any other commander on the Teuton side, made his first famous attack on the Dunayetz River, east of Cracow, with what we are now familiar with as "hurricane

fire." Then, just at the most dangerous moment, it was discovered that Russia was short of shells. Her enormous supply, accumulated before the war, was depleted; difficulties with China made Japan slow in sending forward, along the Manchurian and Siberian Railroad, the shells that she was producing; the White Sea was frozen; the allied fleets had hammered in vain at the gate of the Dardanelles; Russian factories, dislocated, depleted of men by the mobilization, supplied ammunition only in dribbles; but Mackensen's strategy demanded, to counter it, shells in vastly greater quantities.

General Ruzsky, the victim, it was said, of cancer, had been withdrawn to undergo an operation; General Ivanoff, the defender of Lublin, had taken his place. So, with cold steel, the Russians held back, so far as was possible, Mackensen's hurricane attack, with the hottest and heaviest fire the war had yet seen, though it has since been greatly exceeded by both sides at Verdun. And, in times to come, it may appear that this very hammering was the making of the Russian Army. But at the time there was only disastrous

retreat, the giving up of Przemysl, of Lemberg; then of Warsaw, Lublin, Vilna. General Brusiloff retreated, holding his army splendidly together and never for a moment losing his splendidly courageous serenity; retreated, still fighting hard for a foothold on Austrian soil, but at last recrossing the frontier into Russia, still almost on the same east and west line.

And now his tide has turned. He is in supreme command. He has huge, fresh armies of young, exultant troops, who never even consider death; he has enormous supplies of guns and ammunition; he has the enthusiastic trust of his sovereign and his nation; he has military genius, ripe experience, a religious faith in his mission. Behind him lie the inexhaustible resources of the vast Russian Nation. Before him stretch the lands of the enemy—Galicia, with Lemberg and Halicz to be won once more; Bukowina to the south, Russian Poland to the north, and, beyond these, Transylvania, Hungary, Silesia. He has begun magnificently. With magnificent resources and a magnificent opportunity he will, perchance, go far.

What This War Means to France

By E. HENRY LACOMBE.

It would not be surprising to find that in the conglomerate mass of people which has been swept into the United States from every quarter of the globe there is no intelligent appreciation of what this war means to the people of France. What it does mean, to all of them, is best expressed by the farewell of the Breton mother, a sailor's widow, to her only son, a boy of 18. I have read it in no periodical here, but it is known the length and breadth of France.

Théodore Botrel, "*Chansonnier des Armées*," has embalmed it in verse, and it is sung by poilus in the trenches and on the march.

Noticing that her big boy was restless and unhappy, and divining the cause—a conflict of duties—she said to him unasked: "*Embrasse moi et vas-en, pour la France. Elle est ta mère, mon enfant, quand moi, je ne suis que ta p'tite maman.*"

There are millions of people yet in this country who can appreciate what a spirit this signifies and hail it with reverence and sympathy. God grant that should a day of bitter trial come to us there may be enough left of such a spirit here to save us as, please God, it will save France.

Mexico's Threat of War

Events That Have Produced Strained Relations With the Carranza Government

REAL war between Mexico and the United States seems an imminent possibility as this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY** goes to press.

President Wilson has called for the mobilization of the available militia of all the States, totaling about 100,000 men, and the hostile preparations of the Carranza forces, which have been in progress for several weeks, are being accelerated. It is announced that the American militia are to be used at present only to guard the frontier, but their coming will release the regular army regiments on the border for active service in Mexico—and General Carranza has given formal warning that further movements of American troops into Mexico for any purpose will be opposed by armed force!

The situation is serious because each country holds that its fundamental rights are being violated. Mexican bandits continue almost daily to invade American soil and murder or rob our citizens. The de facto Government of Mexico is unable to stop the outrages, yet it resents the presence of American troops on Mexican soil, demands their withdrawal, and threatens war if the raiders are hunted down by our soldiers.

Events have been traveling toward the present crisis for more than a month. During the conference at El Paso between General Scott and General Obregon in the early days of May it seemed as though a satisfactory understanding had been reached, by which order would be maintained through the co-operation of Mexican and American armies on their respective sides of the border. But at that moment came a raid by Mexican bandits upon the citizens and garrison of Glenn Springs, a town in the Big Bend region of Texas, in which several Americans were killed and others carried into captivity. A punitive expedition was sent after them, and the episode became

typical of the events that have since made it impossible to agree on any plan compatible with American responsibility and the demands of the Carranza Government.

Under date of May 22 General Carranza sent a long note to the Washington Government protesting that no agreement had ever been made authorizing the protracted presence of American soldiers on Mexican soil. The presence of our troops at El Pino, sixty miles south of the boundary, was the immediate basis for that protest. The Big Bend raid was the cause of the expedition in question. Since then there have been two other crossings of American troops into Mexican territory, each time for the punishment of a new depredation which the Carranzistas had failed to prevent.

President Wilson answered Carranza's note on June 20, covering its many points in a message of some length. The full text of both notes, reproduced in this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY**, furnishes a fairly complete history of the subject from both points of view.

In the intervening month the situation was steadily growing worse. Every few days it was aggravated by the news that another band of Mexican outlaws had crossed the Rio Grande in the night, attacked and killed citizens or soldiers, and fled after losing one or more of their number. Twice within one week at different points a dead bandit was found to be wearing the uniform of a Carranza soldier. Public sentiment on the American side of the river, along the whole stretch of frontier between Columbus, N. M., and Brownsville, Texas, became deeply stirred, and at the same time anti-American sentiment grew more intense in Mexico.

On the night of June 16 fifty bandits crossed the line at San Benito, Texas, and attacked the town. They were repulsed by a detachment of the Twenty-

sixth Infantry under Colonel Bullard, and were pursued into Mexico by Lieutenant Newman and Major Anderson with troopers of the Third Cavalry. In reporting that these forces had left on a "hot trail" General Funston added: "I anticipate fighting." This expectation was based on the fact that at about the same time Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, at his temporary headquarters near Namiquipa, Chihuahua, had received a telegram from General Jacinto Trevino, commander of the Carranza Army of the North, warning him that if any further movement of the American forces already in Mexico were made toward the south, east, or west it would be regarded as a hostile act and resisted by the forces of the de facto Government. It added that if any more troops crossed the border into Mexico they would be attacked.

The particular fighting which General Funston anticipated for the San Benito expedition was avoided by a compromise. After Major Anderson had dispersed the bandits near San Pedro he returned to the American side, having received the promise of General Alfredo Ricaut, head of the Carranzista garrison at Matamoros, to capture and punish the bandits himself. But while in the act of returning the American troops were fired upon, and one of their assailants—in Carranza's uniform—was killed.

The railways in Mexico have been seized, bridges have been destroyed, and other preparations made by the Carranzista forces to oppose the further passage of American troops. General Obregon, Minister of War, has sent out an order

calling upon all Mexicans to enlist under the flag against foreign invaders.

On June 18 President Wilson called out the militia through the Governors of all the States, and Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, announced the fact in the following words:

In view of the disturbed conditions on the Mexican border, and in order to assure complete protection for all Americans, the President has called out substantially all the State militia, and will send them to the border wherever and as fully as General Funston determines them to be needed for the purpose stated.

If all are not needed an effort will be made to relieve those on duty there from time to time so as to distribute the duty.

This call for militia is wholly unrelated to General Pershing's expedition, and contemplates no additional entry into Mexico, except as may be necessary to pursue bandits who attempt outrages on American soil.

The militia are being called out so as to leave some troops in the several States. They will be mobilized at their home stations, where necessary recruiting can be done.

It is expected that practically 100,000 men, all drilled during the past year by regular army officers, will be fully mobilized by the beginning of July and ready for service on the border. Both Governments meanwhile are trying to hold the difficult situation within the realm of diplomacy. The chief danger of a serious clash is in the impulsive acts of armed Mexicans if they undertake to interfere with General Pershing's scouting operations, which naturally must continue in all directions, despite the threatening telegram in which General Trevino undertook to dictate the movements of American troops.

Full Text of the Carranza Note

Mexico, D. F., May 22, 1916.

Mr. Secretary:

I AM instructed by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of Mexico, to address your Excellency the following note:

1. The Mexican Government has just been informed that a group of American troops, crossing the international boundary, has entered Mexican territory and is at the present time near a place called El Pino, located about sixty miles south of the line.

The crossing of these troops effected again

without the consent of the Mexican Government gravely endangers the harmony and good relations which should exist between the Governments of the United States and Mexico.

This Government must consider the above action as a violation of the sovereignty of Mexico, and therefore it requests in a most urgent manner that the Washington Government should consider the case carefully in order to definitely outline the policy it should follow with regard to the Mexican Nation.

In order to afford a clear understanding of

the basis of the request involved in this note, it becomes necessary to carefully review the incidents which have occurred up to the present time.

REVERTS TO VILLA RAID

2. On account of the incursion at Columbus, N. M., by a band led by Francisco Villa on the morning of March 9, 1916, the Mexican Government, sincerely deploring the occurrence, and for the purpose of affording efficacious protection to the frontier, it advanced its desire that the Governments of the United States and Mexico should enter into an agreement for the pursuit of bandits. The above proposal was made by the Government of Mexico guided by the precedent established under similar conditions obtaining in the years 1880 to 1884, and requested, in concrete, a permission for Mexican forces to cross into American territory in pursuit of bandits, under a condition of reciprocity which would permit American forces to cross into Mexican territory, if the Columbus incident would be repeated in any other point of the frontier line.

As a consequence of this proposal made in the Mexican note of March 10 the Government of the United States, through error or haste, considered that the good disposition shown by the Mexican Government was sufficient to authorize the crossing of the boundary, and to that effect, without awaiting the conclusion of a formal agreement on the matter, ordered that a column of American forces should cross into Mexican territory in pursuit of Villa and his band.

3. The American Government, on this account, made emphatic declarations, assuring the Mexican Government that it was acting with entire good faith and stating that its only purpose in crossing the frontier was to pursue and capture or destroy the Villa band that had assaulted Columbus; that this action did not mean an invasion of our territory, nor any intention to impair Mexican sovereignty, and that as soon as a practical result should be obtained the American troops would withdraw from Mexican territory.

MEXICO NOT NOTIFIED

4. The Mexican Government was not informed that the American troops had crossed the frontier until March 17, at which time it was unofficially known, through private channels from El Paso, that the American troops had entered into Mexican territory. This Government then addressed a note to the Government of the United States stating that, inasmuch as the precise terms and convictions of an agreement which should be formally entered into between both countries for the crossing of troops had not been stipulated, the American Government should not consider itself authorized to send the expedition.

The Washington Government explained the sending of such expedition, expressing its regret that a misinterpretation had occurred in regard to the attitude of the Mexican Gov-

ernment concerning the crossing of American troops over the boundary line in pursuit of Villa, but that this had been done under the impression that the previous exchange of messages implied the full consent of the Mexican Government, without the necessity of further formalities.

The American Government explained also that its attitude was due to the necessity of quick action, and stated that it was disposed to receive any suggestions the Mexican Government would wish to make in regard to the terms of a definite agreement covering the operations of troops on either side of the boundary.

5. Both Governments then began to discuss the terms of an agreement in accordance to which the reciprocal crossing of troops should be arranged, and to this end two projects from the Mexican Government and two counterprojects from the American Government were exchanged. During the discussion of this agreement the Mexican Government constantly insisted that the above-mentioned crossing should be limited within a zone of operations for the troops in foreign territory, that the time the troops should remain within it, the number of soldiers of an expedition and the class of arms they should pertain to should be fixed.

The Government of the United States objected to the above limitations, and when at last the American Government submitted the last counterdraft, accepting them in part, it stated, nevertheless, that while agreeing to sign the agreement, the latter would not apply on the Columbus expedition.

FIRST WITHDRAWAL REQUEST

6. This attitude of the American Government brought forth the Mexican note of April 12, in which, deferring the discussion of the agreement, since the latter was not to apply to the Columbus case, the Mexican Government requested the American Government to withdraw its troops, since the stay of them was not based on any agreement, and the expedition was then unnecessary, inasmuch as the Villa bandits had been dispersed and reduced to impotency.

7. While the American Government was delaying its reply to the aforesaid note of April 12, and took no action to withdraw its troops, it was considered convenient that military commanders of both countries should meet in some point of the frontier to review the military aspect of the situation and endeavor through this channel to arrive at a satisfactory solution, which on the part of Mexico consisted in the withdrawal of American troops from its territory.

To this end Generals Hugh L. Scott and Frederick Funston, representing the American Government, and General Alvaro Obregon, Secretary of War and Marine, representing Mexico, met, at Ciudad Juarez and El Paso, where they held a series of conferences within an open spirit of cordiality. During these conferences full explanations and data

were exchanged concerning the military situation on the frontier.

As a result of these conferences a draft of a memorandum was submitted to the approval of the Washington and Mexican Governments in accordance with which General Scott declared that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band had been completed, and, therefore, the American Government was decided to begin the withdrawal of its troops under the promise that the Mexican Government would endeavor to maintain efficacious guard on the frontier against new incursions similar to that at Columbus.

CONDITION WAS REJECTED

8. The Mexican Government refused to approve that sort of agreement, because it was stated in it, besides, that the American Government could suspend the withdrawal of its troops if any other incident should occur which would serve to change the belief of the Washington Government in the ability of the Mexican Government to protect the frontier.

The Mexican Government could not accept this condition to suspend the withdrawal, because the evacuation of its territory is a matter entirely affecting the sovereignty of the country, which should at no time be subjected to the discretion of the American Government, it being possible on the other hand that another incident might occur which would give the indefinite stay of the American troops in Mexican territory a certain color of legality.

9. General Scott, General Funston, and General Obregon were discussing this point, when on the 5th of the present month of May a band of outlaws assaulted an American garrison at Glenn Springs, on the American side, crossing the Rio Grande immediately after to enter into Mexican territory via Boquillas.

10. On this account, and fearing that the American Government would hasten the crossing of new troops into Mexican territory in pursuit of the outlaws, the Mexican Government instructed General Obregon to notify the United States that the crossing of American soldiers on this new account would not be permitted to enter into Mexico, and that orders had already been given to all military commanders on the frontier to prevent it.

11. When the attitude of the Mexican Government became known Generals Scott and Funston assured General Obregon that no movement of American troops had been ordered to cross the frontier on account of the Boquillas incident, and that no more American soldiers would enter into our territory.

This assurance, which was personally made by Generals Scott and Funston to General Obregon when the conferences were about to be adjourned, was reiterated by General Scott himself in a later private conversation he had with Licenciado Juan Nefalli Amador, Sub-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had had the opportunity to take part in the conferences between the American and the Mexican military commanders.

FEAR OF NEW INCURSION

12. On account of the same incident of Glenn Springs, or Boquillas, fearing that the various bands of outlaws which are organized or armed near the frontier might repeat their incursions, and with a view to procuring an effective military co-operation between American and Mexican forces, this Government suggested through its representative, General Obregon, to Generals Scott and Funston, representing the United States, the convenience of reaching an understanding on a military plan of distribution of troops along the frontier in order that an effective watch could be kept over the whole region, and avoiding in this way, so far as possible, the recurrence of similar assaults. The Mexican Government showed by this action not only its good faith and good wishes, but also its frank willingness to arrive at an effective co-operation with the Government of the United States to avoid all further sense of friction between the two countries.

This plan for the distribution of American and Mexican forces in their respective territories along the frontier was proposed as a means to prevent immediately any new difficulty, and always with the idea of arriving later at the celebration of an agreement for the reciprocal crossing of troops, as long as the abnormal conditions exist in our territory.

13. The conferences between Generals Scott, Funston, and Obregon adjourned on May 11 without reaching any agreement concerning the unconditional withdrawal of the American troops. General Scott insisted in the form of the memorandum concerning the conditional withdrawal of the American forces, but did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by means of detachments along the same.

LEFT TO THE CAPITALS

Under these conditions it was left for the Governments of Washington and Mexico to conclude the arrangements initiated during the conferences of Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. Up to that time no complication had occurred on account of the new Boquillas incident, and all the assurances given by Generals Scott and Funston led us to suppose that the above incident would not bring about new difficulties.

14. The Mexican Government, however, has just been informed that 400 men of the Eighth Regiment of the American Army are in Mexican territory, having crossed the line in the direction of Boquillas approximately between the 10th and 11th of May, and are at present near a place called El Pino, about sixty miles south of the frontier. This fact was brought to the attention of the Mexican authorities by the commander himself of the American troops which crossed the frontier, who gave advice to the Mexican military commander at Esmeraldo, Sierra Mojada, by a communication in which he informed him that he crossed the frontier in pursuit of the

band of outlaws which had assaulted Glenn Springs, and in accordance with an agreement existing between the American and the Mexican Governments regarding the crossing of troops, and with the consent of a Mexican Consular official in Del Rio, Texas, to whom the commander alleged to have informed of the entry of his expedition.

15. The Mexican Government cannot assume that an error has been committed a second time by the American Government ordering the crossing of its troops without the consent of the Government of Mexico. It fails to understand also that a commander of troops of the United States Army would enter into Mexican territory without the due authority from his superiors, and believing that he could secure permission for the crossing of his troops from a Consular agent.

The explanation given by the American Government in regard to the crossing of troops at Columbus has never been satisfactory to the Mexican Government; but the new invasion of our territory is no longer an isolated fact and tends to convince the Mexican Government that something more than a mere error is involved.

16. This latter act of the American forces causes new complications for the Mexican Government in the possibility of a satisfactory solution and increases the tenseness of the international situation between both countries.

CHARGES AN INVASION

The Mexican Government cannot consider this last incident except as an invasion of our territory, made by American forces against the expressed will of the Mexican Government, and it is its duty to request, as it does, the American Government to order the immediate withdrawal of these new forces and to abstain completely from sending any other expedition of a similar character.

17. The Mexican Government understands its obligation to protect the frontier; but this obligation is not exclusively its own, and it expects that the American Government, which is subject to an equal obligation, will appreciate the material difficulties with which this task is met, inasmuch as the American troops themselves, notwithstanding their number and in spite of the fact that their attention is not shared by other military operations, are physically unable to effectively protect the frontier on the American side.

The Mexican Government has made every effort on its part to protect the frontier without disregarding, on the other hand, the considerable task of pacification which is being performed in the rest of the country, and the American Government should understand that if now and then any lamentable incursions into American territory committed by irresponsible bands of outlaws might occur, this should be a case of pecuniary reparation and a reason to adopt a combined

defense, but never a cause for the American authorities to invade our national territory.

The incursion of bands of outlaws into American territory is a deplorable incident, to say the least, but in no way can the Mexican Government be made responsible for them, inasmuch as it is doing everything possible to prevent them. The crossing of regular American troops into Mexican territory, against the express will of the Mexican Government, does constitute an act of which the American Government is responsible.

18. The Mexican Government, therefore, believes that the time has come for it to insist with the American Government that in withdrawing at once the new Boquillas expedition it should abstain in the future from sending new troops. In any case, the Mexican Government after having made clear its unwillingness to permit the crossing of new American troops into Mexican territory, will have to consider the latter as an act of invasion of its territory, and therefore it will be forced to defend itself against any group of American troops which may be found within it.

19. With reference to the troops which are now interned in the State of Chihuahua on account of the Columbus incident, the Mexican Government is compelled to insist on their withdrawal.

The Mexican Government understands that, in the face of the unwillingness of the American Government to withdraw the above forces, it would be left no other recourse than to procure the defense of its territory by means of arms, but it understands at the same time its duty to avoid as far as possible an armed conflict between both countries; and, acting in accordance with Article 21 of the treaty of Feb. 2, 1848, it considers it its duty to resort to all means of a peaceful character to find a solution of the international conflict in which both countries are involved.

20. The Mexican Government considers it necessary to avail itself of this opportunity to request the American Government to give a more categorical explanation of its real intentions toward Mexico. To this end it hopes that in speaking with entire frankness its words may not be interpreted as tending to wound the sensibility of the American Government; but that it finds itself in the condition to set aside all diplomatic euphemism, in order to express its ideas with entire frankness. If in the expression of the grievances hereinafter mentioned the Mexican Government makes use of the most perfect frankness, it is because it considers its duty to convey the most perfect clearness to the mind of the Government and the people of the United States concerning the Mexican point of view.

PROTESTS OF FRIENDSHIP

21. The American Government has for some time been making protests of friendship to Latin-American countries, and it has availed itself of all possible efforts to convince the

same that it is its desire to respect their sovereignty absolutely.

With respect to Mexico especially, the American Government has stated on various occasions that it has no intention to intervene in any way in its internal affairs and that it wishes to leave our country to decide by itself its difficult problems of political and social transformation. It is still reasoned when, on account of the Columbus expedition, the American Government, through the voice of its President, has made the declaration that it does not intend to interfere in the affairs of Mexico nor to invade it, that it does not desire to acquire a single inch of its territory, and that it will in no way impair its sovereignty.

The Washington Government and its representatives on the frontier have also expressly declared that it is not the will of the American people to go into war or have an armed conflict with Mexico.

Summing up all of the above, and judging from the official declarations which have been made for some time past by the Washington Government, there should appear to be an honest purpose on the part of the Government and people of the United States not to launch into a conflict with Mexico.

22. The Mexican Government, however, regrets to remark that the acts of the American military authorities are in absolute conflict with the above statements, and therefore finds itself constrained to appeal to the President, the Department of State, the Senate, the American people to the end that once and for all time the true political tendency of the United States toward Mexico be defined.

23. It is equally necessary that on this account the Government of the United States should define in a precise manner its purposes toward Mexico, in order that the other Latin-American nations may be able to judge the sincerity of such purposes and be able to appreciate the proper value of the protests of amity and fraternity which have been made to them during many years.

24. The American Government, through the voice of its own President, stated that the punitive expedition from Columbus would withdraw from Mexican territory as soon as the bands of the Villa outlaws could have been destroyed or dispersed. More than two months have elapsed since this expedition entered into Mexican territory; Generals Scott and Funston declared in Ciudad Juarez that the Villa band has been entirely dispersed, and, knowing this, the American troops are not withdrawn from the territory of Mexico.

The American Government is convinced and has accepted the fact that no military task is now left for the Columbus expedition, and nevertheless the promise made by President Wilson that the forces would withdraw as soon as the purpose which caused them to go in would have been reached has not been complied with.

The causes of any internal political order which may exist not to withdraw the American troops from Mexican territory, however justified they may appear, cannot justify the above attitude, but on the contrary they accentuate the discrepancy between the protests of respect to the sovereignty of Mexico and the actual fact that on account of reasons of internal policy of the United States a status should be maintained which is utterly unjust with regard to the Mexican Republic.

25. The American Government stated that its purpose in causing the American troops to enter Mexico was only to defend the frontier against probable incursions. This statement, however, is in conflict with the attitude assumed by the same American Government in discussing the agreement concerning the reciprocal crossing of the frontier, because while the Mexican Government maintained that said agreement should limit the zone of operations of the troops of one and the other country, as well as the time which the expeditions should last, the number of soldiers and the arm to which they should belong, the American Government constantly eluded these limitations. This attitude of the American Government, which is the one expecting to have frequent occasion to cross the frontier on account of incursions of outlaws, is clearly indicating the purpose of having power to enter Mexican territory beyond the limit which the necessities of defense could require.

26. The Columbus punitive expedition, as it has been called, had not, according to the statements of President Wilson, any other purpose than to reach and punish the band of outlaws which had committed the outrage, and it was organized under the supposition that the Mexican Government had given its consent to it. Such expedition, however, has had a character of such clear distrust toward Mexico and of such absolute independence, that it cannot justly be considered as anything but an invasion made without the consent, without the knowledge, and without the co-operation of the Mexican authorities.

It was a known fact that the Columbus expedition crossed the frontier without the consent of the Mexican Government. The American military authorities have carried this expedition into effect without awaiting for the consent of the Government of Mexico, and even after they were officially informed that this Government had not given its consent for it, they nevertheless continued it, causing more troops to cross the line without informing the Mexican authorities of this fact.

The expedition has entered and operated within Mexican territory without procuring the co-operation of the Mexican authorities. The American military authorities have always maintained complete secrecy regarding their movements without informing the Mexican Government about them, such as they would have done if they really had tried to obtain co-operation. This lack of advice and

agreement was the cause of the clash which occurred in Parral between American forces and Mexican citizens.

In conclusion, the Columbus expedition has been carried into effect without any spirit of harmony, but, on the contrary, under a spirit of distrust with respect to our authorities, as our co-operation was not only unsought, nor were we informed with regard to military operations affected, besides the expedition was organized, carrying artillery and infantry forces.

Now, then, the protests of friendly co-operation made by the American authorities are not in keeping with the use of infantry and artillery exclusively destined to be employed against the regular Mexican forces.

If the Columbus expedition had taken place with the consent of the Mexican Government and its co-operation had been sought, the use of artillery and infantry would have been considered an insult to the Mexican authorities because of the supposition that they might feloniously assault the American forces which would have entered Mexico in pursuit of a common enemy confiding in the friendship of the former. Nevertheless, it is preferable to interpret this act as a proof that the American forces entered into Mexican territory without the consent of the Mexican Government, and, therefore, ready to repel any aggression on the part of regular Mexican forces who were ignorant of their presence.

"A HOSTILE EXPEDITION"

All of the above facts demonstrate that there has been a great discrepancy between the protests of sincere friendly co-operation on the part of the American authorities and the actual attitude of the expedition, which, on account of its distrust, its secrecy regarding its movements and the arms at its disposal, clearly indicated that it was a hostile expedition and a real invasion of our territory.

27. The American Government has stated on different occasions that the Columbus expedition had no other object than to pursue and destroy the Villa, bandits, and that as soon as this would be accomplished the expedition would be withdrawn. The facts, however, have shown that the intention of the American Government was not the same during the conference at Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. It cannot be explained otherwise that General Scott should have insisted so emphatically on the signing of a memorandum stating that the American forces would not finish their withdrawal, if any other incident occurred which would mortify the belief of the American Government in the ability of the Mexican Government to protect the frontier.

The conclusion to be drawn from this inconsistency of General Scott regarding the signing of this memorandum is that the Columbus expedition entered into Mexico promising to withdraw as soon as it should have destroyed

the Villa band, but that it is the purpose to make use of it afterward as an instrument to guarantee the protection of the frontier.

28. The American Government justly desires that the frontier should be protected. If the frontier should be properly protected against incursions from Mexico there would be no reason then for the existing difficulty. The American Government knows of the difficulties obtaining in the protection of a frontier line in which there are no natural facilities to aid in its defense, and, notwithstanding its immense resources, the American Government itself has not been able to render an effective protection along a line of more than 2,000 kilometers to be guarded.

The Mexican Government proposed that the military chiefs in charge of the troops in one and the other country should discuss a plan of cantonments along the boundary line, and, notwithstanding the protestations of the American Government of its desire to solve its difficulties with Mexico, General Scott did not approve the above plan of cantonments, which is the only thing rational and the only plan that could be carried into effect without involving the sovereignty or territory of one or the other country. The American Government prefers to keep its troops inactive and idle within the territory of Mexico, instead of withdrawing them to post them along the frontier in accord with Mexican authorities who would do likewise on their side. By this action the American Government gives room for the supposition that its true intention is to keep the troops it already has interned in Mexico anticipating that it may make use of them later for future operations.

CHARGES BAD FAITH

29. The American Government has on all occasions declared its desire to help the Constitutional Government to complete the work of pacification and its desire that this task should be carried into effect within the least time possible. The true attitude of the American Government in relation with these desires appears to be entirely incongruous, inasmuch as for some time back it has been doing things indicating that it does not only render any assistance to the work of pacification of Mexico, but that, on the contrary, it appears to place all possible obstacles to the execution of this task. As a matter of fact, without considering the great number of diplomatic representations made under the pretext of protection to American interests in Mexico, which are constantly embarrassing the task of the new Government, whose intention it is to reorganize the political, economic, and social conditions of the country on a new basis, there is a great number of facts which cause the influence of the American Government to be felt against the consolidation of the present Government of Mexico.

The decided support given at one time to Villa by General Scott and the Department of State itself was the principal cause for

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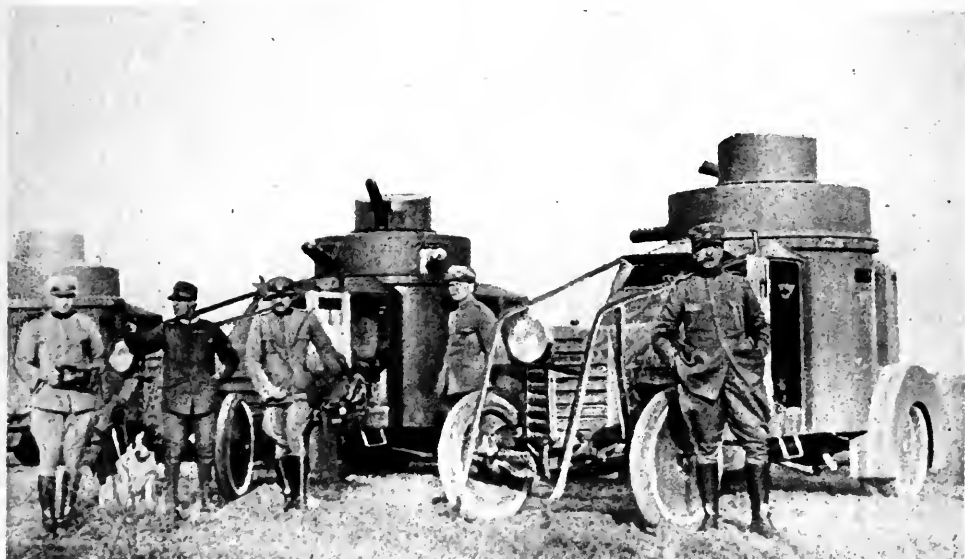


Commander of Russian Armies on Southwest Front, Who Has Broken Through the Austrian Lines and Invaded Galicia

ARMORED AUTOMOBILES



A British Armored "Scout" Near the French Front
(Photo by Underwood & Underwood.)



A Group of Italian Armored Cars of a New Type, With Two Gun
Turrets
(From an Official Photograph.)

the prolongation of civil war in Mexico for many months. Later on the continuous aid which the American Catholic clergy has rendered to the Mexican Catholic clergy, which is incessantly working against the Constitutionalist Government, and the constant activities of the American interventionist press and business men of that country, are, to say the least, an indication that the present American Government does not wish or is unable to prevent all the works of conspiracy against the Constitutionalist Government carried into effect in the United States.

30. The American Government claims constantly from the Mexican Government an effective protection of the frontiers, and, nevertheless, the greater number of the bands which take the name of rebels against this Government is provided and armed, and perhaps also organized, on the American side under the tolerance of the authorities of the State of Texas, and, it may be said, even of the Federal authorities of the United States. The leniency of the American authorities toward such bands is such that in the majority of cases the conspirators, who are well known, and wherever they have been discovered and imprisoned, are released under insignificant bonds, permitting them to continue in their efforts.

Mexican emigrants, who are plotting and organizing incursions on the American side, have now more facilities to cause injury than before, because knowing that any new difficulty between Mexico and the United States will prolong the stay of American troops, they endeavor to increase the occasions for a conflict and friction.

31. The American Government claims to help the Constitutionalist Government in its task of pacification and urges that such a work be done within the least time possible, and that the protection of the frontiers be effected in the most efficacious way. And nevertheless, on various occasions, the American Government has detained shipments of arms and ammunition purchased by the Mexican Government in the United States, which should be employed to hasten the task of pacification and to more efficaciously protect the frontier. The pretexts given to detain the shipment of munitions consigned to this Government have always been futile and never have we been given a frank reason; it has been said, for example, that the munitions were embargoed because it was not known who the owner might be, or because of the fear that they might fall into the hands of Villista bands.

The embargo of war material consigned to the Mexican Government can have no other interpretation than that the Government of the United States wishes to protect itself against the emergency of a future conflict, and therefore it is endeavoring to prevent arms and ammunition which might be used against American troops from reach-

ing the hands of the Mexican Government. The American Government would have the right to take this precaution against such emergency, but in that case it ought not to say that it is endeavoring to co-operate with the Mexican Government, and it would be preferable to give out a more frank statement concerning its procedure.

The American Government either desires to decidedly and frankly help the Mexican Government to re-establish peace, and in this case it ought not to prevent the exportation of arms, or the true purposes of the American Government are to get ready so that in the case of future war with Mexico the latter may find itself less provided with arms and ammunition. If this is the case, it would be preferable to say so.

In any case, the embargo on arms and ammunition consigned to the Mexican authorities, under the frivolous pretext of preventing these arms and ammunition from falling into the hands of Villista bands, is an indication that the actual acts of the American military authorities are entirely in conflict with the purposes of peace of the American Government.

The Mexican Government cannot wish war with the United States, and if this should occur it would undoubtedly be as a consequence of a deliberate purpose of the United States. For the time being the above precautionary acts of the American Government indicate that there is a purpose of preparedness for such emergency, or that, which is the same, the beginning of hostility on the part of the United States toward Mexico.

32. In conclusion, the New York American authorities, alleging that they act at the suggestion of a neutral peaceful society, have ordered the detention of several parts of machinery which the Mexican Government was forwarding to Mexico for its ammunition factory. It could not be conceived that this machinery could be used before several months after it had reached its destination. This action of the American Government, tending to prevent the manufacturing of munitions in a remote future, is another clear indication that its true purposes toward Mexico are not peaceful, because while millions and millions of dollars' worth of arms and ammunition are being daily exported for the European war without peace societies becoming impressed by the spectacle of that war, the New York authorities are showing exceedingly marked interest in seconding the purposes of the above-mentioned humanitarian societies whenever it is a matter of exporting to Mexico any machinery for the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

Mexico has the indisputable right just like the United States and all other nations in the world to provide for its military necessities, especially so when it is confronting so vast a task as that of insuring the pacification of the interior of this country; and the action of the Government of the United States in detaining machinery destined for the manufact-

ure of ammunitions is indicative either that the United States wishes to place obstacles to its complete pacification, or that this action is one of the series carried into effect by the American authorities as a matter of precaution in case of a projected war with Mexico.

33. All of the above-mentioned circumstances indicate that the true purpose of the military authorities of the United States are in absolute contradiction with the continuous protestations of amity of the American Government toward Mexico.

34. The Mexican people and Government are absolutely sure that the American people do not wish war with Mexico. There are, nevertheless, strong American interests and strong Mexican interests laboring to secure a conflict between the two countries. The Mexican Government firmly desires to preserve peace with the American Government, but to that effect it is indispensable that the American Government should frankly explain its true purposes toward Mexico.

It is indispensable that the above contradiction between the protests of amity on the part of Washington and the acts of distrust and aggression on the part of American military authorities should be brought to an end.

The Mexican Government and people, there-

fore, are anxious to know what they should expect, and they want to be sure that the expressions so many times made by the Government of the United States should be really in keeping with the sincere desires for peace between the two countries, a friendship which should exist not only in declarations, but crystallize in deeds.

The Mexican Government, therefore, formally invites the Government of the United States to cause the situation of uncertainty between the two countries to cease and to support its declarations and protests of amity with real and effective action which will convince the Mexican people of the sincerity of its purposes. This action, in the present situation, cannot be other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops which are now in Mexican territory.

In complying with the instructions of the First Chief, I avail myself of this occasion to offer your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) C. AGUILAR,
Secretary.

*His Excellency Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State of the United States of
America, Washington, D. C.*

Text of the American Government's Answer to Carranza

THE United States Government, through Secretary Lansing, sent a firm reply on June 20 to General Carranza's note of May 22, flatly rejecting his demands. It stated plainly that the de facto Government had not done its part in preventing the depredations upon our border, and that American troops would not be withdrawn until it showed its willingness and power to stop the outrages. The discourteous tone of Carranza's note was rebuked, and the determination of the United States, as well as our essential good-will, were made clear. The document left the responsibility for the next step with the Carranza Government.

The full text of the American note is as follows:

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government of Mexico.

Department of State,
Washington, June 20, 1916.

SIR: I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916,

under instructions of the Chief Executive of the de facto Government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revolution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States, who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests, have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to jus-

tice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized.

STATEMENT OF OUTRAGES

American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed, and their equipment and horses stolen. American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office, and Las Peladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory, Carranzista adherents and even Carranzista soldiers took part in the looting, burning, and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated. Representations were made to General Carranza, and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority.

Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of General Nafarrete to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks, leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities, as well as to American officers, have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of Northern Mexico. So far has the indifference of the de facto Government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am advised, have received not only the protection of that Government, but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This Government has repeatedly requested in the strongest terms that the de facto Government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection which inter-

national obligation imposes, to American interests in the northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and also in the States to the south.

For example, on Jan. 3, troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi mining property, eighty miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit, Villa, with his band of about 200 men, was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carranzista authorities. Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the de facto Government. On Jan. 10 the train was stopped by Villa bandits, and eighteen of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood, in what is now known as the "Santa Ysabel massacre." General Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture, and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this Government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the de facto Government, that the murderers would be brought to justice, and that steps would also be taken to remedy the lawless conditions existing in the State of Durango.

MASSACRE UNPUNISHED

It is true that Villa, Castro, and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known only a single man personally connected with this massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities. Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans, it was notorious that Villa was operating within twenty miles of Cusiuhuiriac and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection should be furnished to Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border. He was not intercepted nor were his movements impeded by troops of the de facto Government and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, N. M., not a single Mexican soldier was seen in this vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6, as General Gavira publicly an-

nounced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that they might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary.

THE COLUMBUS RAID

Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime. After murdering, burning, and plundering, Villa and his bandits, fleeing south, passed within sight of the Carranzista military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the de facto Government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations, not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil, but on American soldiers, citizens, and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which General Carranza was unable or possibly considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary.

The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American cavalry, and subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected, were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them. Without co-operation or assistance in the field on the part of the de facto Government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries, American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the de facto Government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

JUSTIFIED IN OUR ACTION

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth, the de facto Government cannot be blind to the necessity which compelled this Government to act, and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this Government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the de facto Government. Obviously, as immediate action alone could avail, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement (other than

that of March 10-13, now repudiated by General Carranza) prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this Government that General Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands.

While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of General Carranza, rather than the practical object which it was to obtain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress, rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws. It was General Carranza who suspended through your note of April 12 all discussions and negotiations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882-1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peaceful conditions on their common boundary.

It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that "the American Government gave no answer to the note of April 12," this note was replied to on April 14, when the department instructed Mr. Rodgers by telegraph to deliver this Government's answer to General Carranza.

Shortly after this reply the conferences between Generals Scott, Funston, and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2 a project of a memorandum ad referendum, regarding the withdrawal of American troops. As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government, you state that though General Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits * * * or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and, further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped."

The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of

the assurances of the Mexican Government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory," and that they would "continue to diligently pursue, capture, or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico." It was because of these assurances and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be "gradually withdrawn."

It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican Government.

CARRANZA'S WORD NOT KEPT

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto Government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits, and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto Government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed, or dispersed by American troops or, at the request of this Government, by Mexican troops.

While the conferences at El Paso were in progress, and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2 that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Texas, about twenty miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property, and carrying off two Americans as prisoners. Subsequent to this event, the Mexican Government, as you state, "gave instructions to General Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same."

This Government is of course not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to General Obregon, but it can decisively assert that General Obregon never gave any such notification to

General Scott or General Funston, or, so far as known, to any other American official. General Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and General Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued and not afterward, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate.

Moreover, no statement was made by the American Generals that "no more American troops would cross into our territory." On the contrary, it was pointed out to General Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis, that the bandits de la Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even then reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to General Obregon that if the Mexican Government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of General Nafarrete, the Constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Tamaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua.

OUR TROOPS AUTHORIZED

American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10, upon notification to the local military authorities, under the repudiated agreement of March 10-13, or in any event in accordance with the practice adopted over forty years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders, without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier.

Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this Government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

EL PASO CONFERENCES

During the continuance of the El Paso conferences, General Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary. This proposition was made by General Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that immediate withdrawal could not take place, and that, therefore, it was

impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion of the deplorable conditions existing along the border and their important bearing on the peaceful relations of our Governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward Mexico. You state in effect that the American Government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical, and social conditions of the country; by the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the Department of State; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican Government, and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

ANSWER TO CHARGES

In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American Government has given every possible encouragement to the de facto Government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition it has had the undivided support of this Government. An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora, and Lower California, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the de facto Government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico in order that the operations of Mexicans troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated.

In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the de facto Government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents to the de facto Government by sympathizers in a foreign country and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States Government in the domestic politics of Mexico. If a denial is needed that this Government has had ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic representations, or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the de facto Government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it.

It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more

active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against each other, and to force the two countries into hostilities. With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the de facto Government, the responsibility for this activity cannot, it would seem, be avoided by that Government, and the issue of the appeal of General Carranza himself, in the press of March 12, calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise, and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences the attitude of the de facto Government toward the publications.

REASON FOR STOPPING MUNITIONS

It should not be a matter of surprise that, after such manifestations of hostile feeling, the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be used which the de facto Government appeared eager to import from this country. Moreover, the policy of this de facto Government in refusing to co-operate, and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits, and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border, so as to remove the danger of war materials, while passing southward through this zone, falling into the hands of enemies of law and order, is, in the opinion of this Government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit-infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been to manifest a sense of security which would have been unjustified.

HOSTILITY OF COMMANDERS

Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the de facto Government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing the Villa bands and the efforts of the de facto Government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws, constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is any evidence of an intention on the part of the de facto Government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of co-operating with them, the Government of the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the de facto Government of Mexico. Political refugees have undoubtedly

sought asylum in the United States, but this Government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance, and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions, as the arrest of General Huerta and others fully attests.

THE REAL SITUATION

Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders, and without notice to or the consent of your Government, but the several protestations on the part of this Government by the President, by this department, and by other American authorities, that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy, or completely disperse the Villa bands of outlaws or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, have been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States. Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point: First, by insistence on a palpably useless agreement, which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the de facto Government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for an arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers and the protection of the frontier; and, finally, by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime, conditions of anarchy in the border States of Mexico were continually growing worse. Incursions into American territory were plotted and perpetrated. The Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by General Carranza to improve the conditions and to protect American territory from constant threat of invasion.

UNREASONABLE DEMANDS

In view of this increasing menace, of the inactivity of the Carranza forces, of the lack of co-operation in the apprehension of the Villa bands, and of the known encouragement and aid given to bandit leaders, it is unreasonable to expect the United States to withdraw its forces from Mexican territory, or to prevent their entry again when their presence is the only check upon further bandit outrages and the only efficient means of protecting American lives and homes—safeguards which General Carranza, though internationally obligated to supply, is manifestly unable or unwilling to give.

In view of the actual state of affairs as I have outlined it above, I am now in a position to consider the conclusions which you have drawn in your note under acknowledgment from the erroneous statements of fact which you have set forth.

Your Government intimates, if it does not openly charge, that the attitude of the United States is one of insincerity, distrust, and suspicion toward the de facto Government of Mexico, and that the intention of the United States in sending its troops into Mexico is to extend its sovereignty over Mexican territory, and not merely for the purpose of pursuing marauders and preventing future raids across the border. The de facto Government charges by implication which admits of but one interpretation, that this Government has as its object territorial aggrandizement even at the expense of a war of aggression against a neighbor weakened by years of civil strife. The Government of the United States, if it had had designs upon the territory of Mexico, would have had no difficulty in finding during this period of revolution and disorder many plausible arguments for intervention in Mexican affairs.

Hoping, however, that the people of Mexico would through their own efforts restore peace and establish an orderly Government, the United States has awaited with patience the consummation of the revolution.

RECOGNITION OF CARRANZA

When the superiority of the revolutionary faction led by General Carranza became undoubted, the United States, after conferring with six others of the American republics, recognized unconditionally the present de facto Government. It hoped and expected that that Government would speedily restore order and provide the Mexican people and others, who had given their energy and substance to the development of the great resources of the republic, opportunity to rebuild in peace and security their shattered fortunes.

This Government has waited month after month for the consummation of its hope of expectation. In spite of increasing discouragements, in spite of repeated provocations to exercise force in the restoration of order in the northern regions of Mexico, where American interests have suffered most seriously from lawlessness, the Government of the United States has refrained from aggressive action and sought by appeals and moderate though explicit demands to impress upon the de facto Government the seriousness of the situation and to arouse it to its duty to perform its international obligations toward citizens of the United States who had entered the territory of Mexico or had vested interests within its boundaries.

In the face of constantly renewed evidence of the patience and restraint of this Government in circumstances which only a Government imbued with unselfishness and a sincere desire to respect to the full the sovereign rights and national dignity of the Mexican people would have endured, doubts and suspicions as to the motives of the Government of the United States are expressed in your communication of May 22, for which I can imagine no purpose but to impugn the good faith of this Government, for I find it hard

to believe that such imputations are not universally known to be without the least shadow of justification in fact.

PROOFS OF GOOD FAITH

Can the *de facto* Government doubt that, if the United States had turned covetous eyes on Mexican territory, it could have found many pretexts in the past for the gratification of its desire? Can that Government doubt that months ago, when the war between the revolutionary factions was in progress, a much better opportunity than the present was afforded for American intervention, if such had been the purpose of the United States as the *de facto* Government now insinuates? What motive could this Government have had in refraining from taking advantage of such opportunities other than unselfish friendship for the Mexican Republic?

I have, of course, given consideration to your argument that the responsibility for the present situation rests largely upon this Government.

In the first place, you state that even the American forces along the border whose attention is undivided by other military operations "find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side." Obviously, if there is no means of reaching bands roving on Mexican territory and making sudden dashes at night into American territory it is impossible to prevent such invasions unless the frontier is protected by a cordon of troops. No Government could be expected to maintain a force of this strength along the boundary of a nation with which it is at peace for the purpose of resisting the onslaughts of a few bands of lawless men, especially when the neighboring State makes no effort to prevent these attacks. The most effective method of preventing raids of this nature, as past experience has fully demonstrated, is to visit punishment or destruction on the raiders. It is precisely this plan which the United States desires to follow along the boundary without any intention of infringing upon the sovereign rights of her neighbor, but which, although obviously advantageous to the *de facto* Government, it refuses to allow or even countenance.

LIVES MUST BE PROTECTED

It is, in fact, protection to American lives and property about which the United States is solicitous, and not the methods or ways in which that protection shall be accomplished. If the Mexican Government is unwilling or unable to give this protection by preventing its territory from being the rendezvous and refuge of murderers and plunderers, that does not relieve this Government from its duty to take all the steps necessary to safeguard American citizens on American soil. The United States Government can not and will not allow bands of lawless men to establish themselves upon its borders with liberty to invade and plunder American territory with impunity, and, when pursued, to seek

safety across the Rio Grande, relying upon the plea of their Government that the integrity of the soil of the Mexican Republic must not be violated.

The Mexican Government further protests that it has "made every effort on its part to protect the frontier," and that it is doing "all possible to avoid a recurrence of such acts." Attention is again invited to the well-known and unrestricted activity of De la Rosa, Ancieto Piscano, Pedro Vino, and others in connection with border raids, and to the fact that, as I am advised, up to June 4, De la Rosa was still collecting troops at Monterey for the openly avowed purpose of making attacks on Texan border towns, and that Pedro Vino was recruiting at other places for the same avowed purpose. I have already pointed out the uninterrupted progress of Villa to and from Columbus, and the fact that the American forces in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory without encountering a single Carranzista soldier. This does not indicate that the Mexican Government is doing "all possible" to avoid further raids; and if it is doing "all possible," this is not sufficient to prevent border raids, and there is every reason, therefore, why this Government must take such preventive measures as it deems sufficient.

It is suggested that injuries suffered on account of the bandit raids are a matter of "pecuniary reparation," but "never the cause for American forces to invade Mexican soil." The precedents which have been established and maintained by the Government of the Mexican Republic for the last half century do not bear out this statement. It has grown to be almost a custom not to settle depredations of bandits by payments of money alone, but to quell such disorders and to prevent such crimes by swift and sure punishment.

A PARAMOUNT OBLIGATION

The *de facto* Government finally argues that "if the frontier were duly protected from incursions from Mexico, there would be no reason for the existing difficulty." Thus the *de facto* Government attempts to absolve itself from the first duty of any Government, namely, the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which Governments are instituted, and Governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name. This is the duty for which General Carranza, it must be assumed, initiated his revolution in Mexico, and organized the present Government, and for which the United States Government recognized his Government as the *de facto* Government of Mexico. Protection of American lives and property, then, in the United States is first the obligation of this Government, and in Mexico, is, first, the obligation of Mexico, and, second, the obligation of the United States.

In securing this protection along the common boundary, the United States has a right

to expect the co-operation of its neighboring republic; and, yet, instead of taking steps to check or punish the raiders, the de facto Government demurs and objects to measures taken by the United States. The Government of the United States does not wish to believe that the de facto Government approves these marauding attacks, yet, as they continue to be made, they show that the Mexican Government is unable to repress them. This inability, as this Government has had occasion in the past to say, may excuse the failure to check the outrages complained of, but it only makes stronger the duty of the United States to prevent them, for if the Government of Mexico cannot protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.

REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW

In conclusion, the Mexican Government invites the United States to support its "assurances of friendship with real and effective acts," which "can be no other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops." For the reasons I have herein fully set forth, this request of the de facto Government cannot now be entertained. The United States

has not sought the duty which has been forced upon it of pursuing bandits who, under fundamental principles of municipal and international law, ought to be pursued and arrested and punished by Mexican authorities. Whenever Mexico will assume and effectively exercise that responsibility, the United States, as it has many times before publicly declared, will be glad to have this obligation fulfilled by the de facto Government of Mexico. If, on the contrary, the de facto Government is pleased to ignore this obligation and to believe that "in case of a refusal to retire these troops there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by an appeal to arms," the Government of the United States would surely be lacking in sincerity and friendship if it did not frankly impress upon the de facto Government that the execution of this threat will lead to the gravest consequences. While this Government would deeply regret such a result, yet it cannot recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and to perform its full duty in preventing further invasions of the territory of the United States and in removing the peril which Americans along the international boundary have borne so long with patience and forbearance. Accept, &c.

ROBERT LANSING.

The Man and the Machine

By Gilbert K. Chesterton

The Famous English Essayist

AMONG the fairy tales in which we formerly indulged is one which we are luckily losing in the deadly disillusionment of war. It may be called the legend of the Teutonic Race; or, the fairy tale of the two-golden-haired brothers. These two blonde and beautiful persons, the Englishman and the German, were twins in some prehistoric perambulator and were destined to embrace again at some far-off family party, having only been separated in the interval by the one being occupied in annexing the whole of the earth and the other the whole of the sea. Other groups and institutions, such trifles as the Roman Empire, the French Revolution, the melting pot of America, and what can only be called the continent of Russia—these things did not exist at all, except as things to be annexed. It is legitimate, I think, to be proud of having really artistic dreams; and it has no dis-

advantages, except that in order to dream we must sleep. And we awoke when the knife was at our throat. When we sought for our brother we saw the face of a stranger, and looked into the eyes of a savage.

The truth is that no two men, neither of them literally black nor literally naked, could well be more different than the two types which have come to stand for England and for Germany. It is the islander against the inlander, the amateur against the specialist, the eulogist of a liberty falling into laxity against the eulogist of a discipline driven to terrorism, the heir of a ruined Roman province against the chief of a half-baked and hardly baptized tribe, the wanderer whose winnings have all been at the ends of the earth against the plodder who has laid field to field, and taken his provinces from his nearest neighbors. The perception of

this contrast is no mere recoil due to the war; it has long been apparent to those who preferred European history to Teuton mythology. Its solidity can be proved by the fact that the contrast holds in the weaknesses as in the merits of England.

That Prussianized Germany is supremely efficient is indeed widely asserted and often taken for granted. When I remarked elsewhere on the spiritual insanity of modern Germany, a critic ruefully expressed the wish that the German rulers would bite some of our own. I am far from saying that the German rulers may not bite somebody; one never can tell where true scientific progress may lead. But I am prepared to maintain that in the plain test of positive battle, their biting has been much less effective than General Joffre's nibbling.

German discipline seems to be the science of repeating a mistake. It would really seem as if the concentration of the mind on mechanical triumphs made the mind itself mechanical. The essence of all machinery is recurrence. But though the engine must repeat itself to be a success, if the engineer always repeats himself he will be a bore. The wheel is always returning and beginning again; but we do not want the coach to be always going back and starting again. Nowadays it does not seem so much to be the North Germans who make a machine that repeats itself; it is rather the machine that makes them repeat themselves. The fanciful might think they had really found perpetual motion, the impossibility—which has passed into a proverb; and that they had found it, like so many things mysteriously forbidden, a disaster for the sons of men.

Those who talk as if the English tradition of liberty or looseness were an un-mixed weakness are perpetually reminding us of the fiasco of Gallipoli. The English abandoned the effort against Gallipoli. The Germans have not abandoned the effort against Verdun. To them it will probably appear a paradox, but it is a very solid truism, that the Germans have therefore suffered a

much more crushing defeat than the English.

But there is a much wider area in which the truth is supremely true and supremely important. I mean, of course, the English tradition of a liberal adaptability in the problems of colonies and dependencies: Here again a mere jingo optimism merely swamps the honest objectivity of the claim we can really make. England has done many things which I, as an Englishman, deplore or detest; she has done some things which all Englishmen deplore or detest. But what is strictly and scientifically true about England is this, that wherever the English influence is present, men feel that it has something which I can only call the flexibility of a living thing. The vital point is not that these things were done; it is that they were done and undone; that the men who made the mistake were alive enough to see the mistake. The strength of the Prussian, not by our account, but by his own account, lies in his inflexibility; and there are not wanting at this moment advocates of panic and persecution to urge this foreign fad upon the Government of England.

The truth is that amnesty and compromise have been for England a strength in the very strongest sense—that most athletic type of strength that goes with activity. A wooden leg is not stronger than a living leg, because it does not flinch and draw back when it steps on a thorn. The strength of the English influence has been that at the extremest limits of its sprawling limbs it has been at least alive, and knew the nature of what it touched. People complained of it, but they also complained to it; for they knew it had strength enough to move and mend. But the wooden leg is planted firmly in Belgium today; and we shall not waste our time in complaining to a wooden leg. We shall do so the less because the wooden leg is in truth adorned and completed by a wooden head; and the whole is one huge wooden idol carved like Hindenburg, which the limbs of living men shall lift and cast into the fire.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From May 15 to June 15, 1916.

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See map of Italy on Page 643]

THE month ended June 15 has produced some of the most surprising incidents of the great war.

These are the naval battle in the North Sea, the Austrian attack against the Italian positions in Trentino, and the Russian offensive against the Austrian positions from the Pripet Marshes to Bukowina.

As to the naval battle, its facts and figures are set forth fully elsewhere. There now seems to have been very little difference between the respective casualties. The great difference in the naval resources of the Allies and the Central Powers, however, makes such conditions a German defeat. If it were a German victory, Germany needs but few more such to be eliminated from consideration as a naval power.

It is clear that the battle of Verdun is not going in a way that tends to instill confidence in the German mind, either at home or on the firing line. Possibly, also, the Balkan nations are commencing to wonder whether the world's verdict on the German possibilities is not, after all, a mistaken one. There have been rumblings from the Reichstag for some time over the progress, or rather the lack of progress, of events. The German people were led to believe great things of the Verdun attack. The failure of these things to materialize has caused, first, surprise, and now apparently some little resentment. It was necessary that something be done to draw public attention from Verdun and focus the public gaze

on some more spectacular happening. The sudden naval engagement in the North Sea supplied that need.

An intelligent reference to the situation created in Italy's fortunes by the attack of Austria, in Trentino requires a brief preface of the general Italian plan. The original plan was for an offensive on only one front, that of the Isonzo. The entire western and northern Austro-Italian border is heavily buttressed with almost impassable mountains, the Isonzo front alone being open and offering the necessary elemental prospects of success. In Trentino, however, these mountains are penetrated by several valleys, which, if left open, would have nullified any attempt to operate against the Isonzo line, by providing a very ready passage for Austrian troops, who would then take the Isonzo line in the rear. The Italians, therefore, at the very beginning, attempted to close these gaps as a measure of defense on the Isonzo line. In this defensive operation in Trentino they advanced some distance up the principal valleys, until they were at the gates of Rovereto and Riva and were seriously threatening both cities. At this point, however, they were content to rest and spend all their energies on the eastern front. For some months there had been almost absolute quiet in this field, which was the situation when the Austrian offensive started.

The Austrian move was dictated by a very ambitious plan to invade Northern Italy, penetrate beyond the mountain

barrier into the plains, seize the railroad lines crossing these plains and running to Venice, take this latter city itself, and paralyze the entire Isonzo operation. As an incident to this success, the entire Italian line in the north of Italy would be taken in the rear and would either have to retire south of the railroad or be captured through being cut off. The area embraced by the Austrian attack can best be roughly described as a right-angle triangle, the base of which is a line forty miles due east of Borghetto and whose altitude is thirty miles due north along a line drawn from the point thus reached. The hypotenuse of this triangle will thus approximate the boundary between Austria and Italy. The object of the attack was, as noted, the control of the railroads crossing the northern Italian plain. There are two such roads serving the Isonzo front, one passing through Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso, and the other through Mantua and Padua. The latter is the more important, as it reaches the more important industrial centres and depots of Lombardy and Piedmont. It is apparent that if the Austrians could take the more northern of these lines the Isonzo front would be imperiled, and if they took both it would be completely cut off.

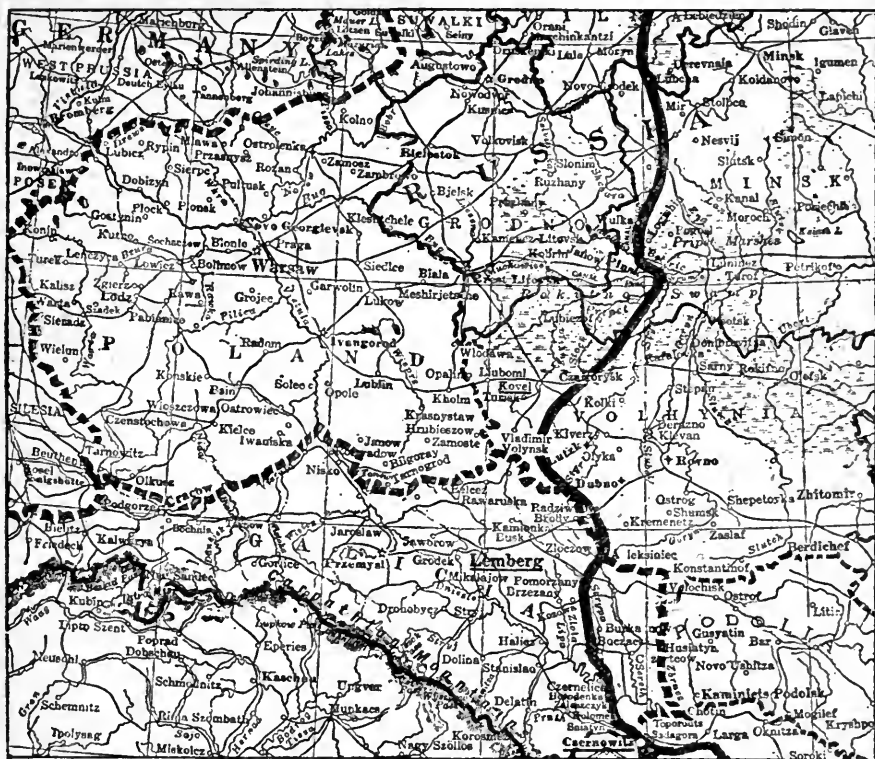
The two principal exits from the Alps to the northern Italian plain are the Val Lagarina, which is the valley of the Adige, and the Val Sugana, which is the valley of the Brenta. These carry the two main roads and the only railroads of this part of the Trentino country. One, if not both, must be in Austrian hands before it can be said that they have done anything seriously to hamper the Italian operations. The critical points in the two valleys are Valstagna, in the Val Sugana, and Borghetto, in the Val Lagarina, as from these points south the character of the country begins to change from the altitudinous Alps to the plains below. The Austrians drove the Italians back on an average of about ten miles over the entire front, taking position after position in the most difficult country imaginable, and captured a great number of men and quantities of material. They advanced with the towns

of Arsiero and Asiago as their immediate objectives to within about five miles of either place. The importance of these places, particularly Asiago, relates only to the Val Sugana. From Asiago to Valstagna is but seven miles. A successful fight for the latter town would give the Austrians complete control of the Val Sugana and turn the entire Italian position in this valley.

It is to be noted that the Austrian success was made possible by a very heavy and entirely unexpected concentration of men and heavy guns, utilized to their utmost ability by an attack in which surprise was the dominating characteristic. To this feature of surprise and to their heavy artillery the Austrians owe the measure of success they have so far attained. As they advance, however, owing to the extremely difficult nature of the terrain, the transportation of guns and munitions becomes an operation increasingly difficult. This shows itself in the fact that for several weeks now the Austrians have been halted almost in place.

The indications are that the Austrian blow has spent its force and that the Italians are taking the offensive. If this is so the Austrians have but little to show for their effort. They have reconquered a small amount of territory and have, indeed, carried the war to Italian soil. They have also captured a large number of prisoners and a number of guns. The only loss that the Italians will feel, however, is the loss in artillery, which may well prove serious. Judging from present indications, the Austrian effort is a plan that died a-borning, and that as an offensive movement it is purely local in character and effect.

The feature of the month has been the inauguration of a great Russian offensive, which has taken in the entire front from the Gulf of Riga to Czernowitz, on the Pruth. This movement has created great surprise in the minds of all followers of the war. In the first place, the Russian march through the Caucasus and along the Black Sea seemed so pregnant of important possibilities that Russia was expected to devote most of her energies to that campaign. In the



BATTLE LINE OF GREAT RUSSIAN DRIVE IN VOLHYNIA AND GALICIA, SHOWING STAGE OF PROGRESS ON JUNE 15, 1916.

second place, it has only been a few weeks since an offensive on the southern part of the western front was begun and crushed. Finally, it was not considered that Russia had had sufficient time to recoup her losses in men and material incident to the terrific drubbing she received from Germany last Summer.

The time for such a movement was, it is true, propitious. Austria is known not to have any too many men. She has called to the colors her 1918 class and has already warned the 1919 class. The Russians hold almost as many Austrian prisoners as the Germans do Russian prisoners. Owing to the calamities that overtook her in the early days of the war, her losses have been out of all proportion to Germany's, or even to Russia's. When the offensive against the Italian Trentino was started it was but natural, therefore, to wonder where Austria obtained the men. Her reserves were certainly not ample for the purpose, and

even if they were it would not seem a very wise policy to use them in such an enterprise. They could not have been taken from the Isonzo front, as the Austrian forces there were under constant pressure from the Italians and the front could not be weakened without giving the Italians free passage of the river at the Gorizia bridgehead. The only other place the men could have come from was that section of the Russian line between the Pripet Marshes and the Bessarabian frontier. And as the Russian offensive progresses it is becoming evident that this is where they did come from.

Apparently the Austrians, having beaten Russia back, felt that the enemy would not strike there soon again. But Russia did strike, and struck with tremendous impact, which broke the Austrian lines as they had not been broken since the first months of the war, when Russia conquered all of Galicia. In vain did Austria call for German assistance.

The Germans were firmly hooked at Verdun. They had been pouring troops into the Verdun area since February, and France would not let her go. Moreover, Russia was active also in the Dvinsk sector, and Germany did not dare weaken this front for fear that the Russians would break through here. Consequently Austria has had to fight the fight alone, with such meagre help as the Germans in the Poliesse region could give.

Conjecture as to the Russian object is unnecessary. The direct object of the attack is certain—the railroad centres, first of Kovel and then of Lemberg. The Russian movement was admirably planned, the time selected with unerring reasoning, the strategy perfect in conception. In the first days of the attack Kovel was apparently deemed the all-important point. Accordingly, the full force of the Russian blow struck first at Volhynia. The Volhynian triangle is the crux of the entire situation in this section. Lutsk and Dubno fell into Austrian hands early last Fall. With them went most of the area included in the triangle. Along the Ikwa and the Styran the Austrian lines in heavily entrenched positions. But in one June week both of the western fortresses fell, and the Russians were overrunning the entire triangle, capturing prisoners by the thousands. In the south, on the west bank of the Sereth River, the Russians also drove forward, but it seemed that their object was merely to prevent any transfer of troops to the threatened section. As matters have developed, however, the Austrian lines here also were weak, and have been driven back in some places to the Stripa, and in some places across it and almost to Zlota Lipa. Czernowitz, the capital of the Austrian crown land of Bukovina, is almost completely surrounded and cut off, the bridgeheads of the Dniester to the north are all forced and in Russian hands. At this writing the Russians are fighting within three miles of the city. Unless the force of the Russian attack is suddenly spent, it seems that nothing can prevent the fall of the city.

In the north, west of Volhynia, the

Russians have advanced to within less than twenty miles of Kovel and are still pushing rapidly forward. As they move west their progress will be seriously retarded by the fact that the lines of communication of the Austrians become shorter, and their troops, because of Austro-German control of the railroads, can be shifted much more quickly. But the speed of the Russian attack has carried them far beyond the last line of Austrian intrenchments, and the Austrians are not being given the opportunity to prepare new ones. They are being rapidly pursued by the Cossacks, who have taken great masses of war material of all kinds.

Because of the rapidity of their advance, however, the Russian lines are becoming very irregular and somewhat broken. Their consolidation will take some little time. At the same time, the Austrian position is very precarious. Deep salients are being created in their lines about Kovel, so that the flank of their line further north is being vitally affected. If Kovel falls the entire line, at least as far north as Pripet, will have to fall back, as it is dependent on the railroad running through Kovel for supplies.

The extent of the Russian success cannot yet be determined. They have captured so far about 150,000 prisoners and have completely disrupted the entire system of Austrian defense. At least one-third of the entire Austrian force in this section has been put out of action, and each day Russia reports thousands of additional prisoners. The Germans have attempted to relieve the situation by an attack along the Dwina, but the Russians, without diminishing the force of their blow against Austria, have answered with a heavy attack in the Lake Narosc region to the south. In ten days the Russians have retaken many more times the area that Germany has taken about Verdun since February, have taken five times the number of prisoners, though operating in a much more difficult territory and on a much more extended front.

In other theatres but little has happened of interest. The Germans are

still keeping up their attacks at Verdun, but their progress is to them painfully slow. The only change in the situation worthy of note is the fall of Fort Vaux. This may prove to be the turning point in the Verdun fighting, as it may enable the Germans little by little to outflank the entire French main position on the ridge of Louvemont. What the German object is in persisting in these attacks for a small fortified area is still a mystery. No military conception is yet apparent that offers a reasonable ex-

planation. The Russian endeavor in the Near East is apparently at a standstill, only local engagements of minor importance having taken place during the month. This, however, is not unnatural, in view of the Russian operations further west. In summarizing the month's operations it may be said that at no time since the Marne have the prospects of the Allies been so bright. Russia's rejuvenation, as thorough as it has been unlooked for, has changed the whole face of things.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Progress at All the Battle Fronts

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New York Staats-Zeitung

[See war maps on Pages 635 and 643]

OVERSHADOWING all the month's military developments stands the great naval battle off the coast of Denmark, which history will regard as a crucial test of strength. It is one of the most significant events of this war, the greatest in the history of modern naval warfare, the clash of a centuries-old claim, based upon many successes, with a "Future Upon the Water." And herein lies the world-historic importance of the sea fight of May 31—that it signified the dusk—the *Götterdämmerung*—of an antiquated claim and the dawn of a new future.

The battle at the Skagerrak did not succeed in hauling from the topmast of Britain's naval power the glory-crowned colors that have through centuries fluttered above all seas; but it wound the sprouting green of the German oak around the iron cross on black-white-and-red, the German navy's ensign. Claims and counterclaims have been made as to the losses, as determined by the figures of tonnage. The losses, however, can only determine the fighting strength that is left on either side; they cannot nullify the verdict of history.

The sea battle off the Skagerrak con-

stitutes one of the greatest events in the history of modern naval warfare, because the course, result, and effects of this battle put naval warfare under an entirely new perspective, create new rules of tactics, and lead to an evolutionary phase of the whole naval situation.

PHASES OF THE BATTLE

The battle took the following course:

(a) The taking of positions by the opposing fleets.

(b) The battle in the afternoon of May 31.

(c) The attempt of the British cruiser squadron to cut off the German fleet from its base.

(d) The continuation of the battle during the night from May 31 to June 1.

The British main fleet had been concentrated off the Orkney Isles for a proposed raid on the German coast. This home fleet consisted of units of the four battleship squadrons, the three cruiser squadrons, the light cruiser squadron, the destroyer flotilla, and the submarine flotilla. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe was in chief command; Vice Admiral Beatty commanded the cruiser squadron. The itinerary first led the British fleet in the direction of the Skagerrak, the object

being later to take a southern course toward the German coast, the main base of the German fleet, and to attack Heligoland and Wilhelmshaven.

The excellent reconnoissance work of the German Navy had reported both the British naval concentration off the Orkney Isles and the subsequent approach of the hostile warships. The German High Seas Fleet, Admiral Scheer in chief command and Rear Admiral Hipper in charge of the cruiser squadron, left Wilhelmshaven, gathered the mosquito flotillas patrolling the waters around Heligoland, steamed out to meet the enemy, met him in the afternoon of May 31 between Horn's Riff and the Skagerrak, and opened battle at a distance of 11 kilometers.

At this comparatively short distance the battle was bound to dissolve soon into separate running actions. Neither side attempted to destroy the enemy at long distance before the smaller cruisers and torpedo craft could approach. All the weapons of naval warfare took a hand soon after the opening of the battle, and its course and result were determined by all weapons.

In the artillery engagement at short distance the medium calibres and the marksmanship as well as dexterity of manoeuvring proved great assets upon the German side. The comparatively short distance at which this stage of the battle was fought constituted a hindering element for the participation of the dreadnoughts and their big-calibre guns.

The first phase of the afternoon battle had entered into the seventh hour when Vice Admiral Beatty undertook to place his cruiser squadron between the German fleet, and its base. This was a tactical mistake, for the extension of the battle line—between points respectively 40 and 135 kilometers from the Jutland Coast—should have been sufficient to prove to him the futility of such an attempt.

The first official communications of the British Admiralty denied that on the English side any battleships participated in the afternoon fighting. This version was later corrected by London: Upon the arrival of the battleships, it was then stated, the Germans hastily took to re-

treat. With the settling of dusk the fourth phase (d) of the battle began. It lasted far into the night. This phase was, from the military standpoint, the most interesting and instructive. It brought the almost exclusive action of the torpedo craft.

It was, one English version puts it, as if, after an effective artillery initiation and preparation, infantry went forth to attack. It was the liveliest running action of the whole fight. In the first two phases marksmanship and clever manoeuvring were decisive; now personal courage and integrity counted. It was as in the open battlefield, where the man proves his full worth and individual qualities count.

LESSONS OF THE BATTLE

1. The legend of the British Navy's immunity from attack, and of its inviolability, has been shattered. The claim that Britannia, unchallenged, rules the waves has been rendered untenable.

2. With the Skagerrak battle was brought into being a Verdun of the sea. For, as at Verdun, so in the naval fight off Jutland's coast, the bearing-down strategy, the strategy that aims at defeating the enemy in the open, has taken the lead. What trench warfare is on land, submarine warfare is on water, both in purpose and tactics. As in the trenches, the opponent is to be worn down and out, so utter exhaustion is to be brought about at sea by the submarines. But the ultimate and final decision, attained only by the destruction of the opponent's military strength, falls, as on land, also on the sea—in open battle.

3. The course and result of the Skagerrak battle have given the lie to the dreadnought school and the submarine school. The former sees in the "one-calibre" ship and in the increase of calibre the decisive weapon for the destruction of the opponent. The latter would revolutionize, through the medium of the submarine, the whole scheme of tactics in naval warfare, and would place the scene of the decision under water.

Belying such claims and theories of these two schools, the recent sea fight demonstrates that the decision is not

GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA



Commander in Chief of the Italian Armies, Who Has Checked the Great Austrian Offensive in the Alps
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

BARON CONRAD VON HERTZENDORF



The Austrian Commander Who Directed the Powerful Offensive
Against the Italians in the Trentino
(Photo © by Universal Press Syndicate.)

determined by any one particular weapon, but that it is rather attained by the employment of all offensive weapons.

The sea fight off Jutland did not accord the heaviest artillery, the 38-centimeter guns, the rôle of the decisive factor. The "bigger-than-the-other" tactics, which prompted the gigantic construction program of the dreadnought and superdreadnought battleships, did not assert itself, inasmuch as the course and the result of the battle were determined at, and by, shorter distances.

On the basis of the official accounts of both sides, and with the aid of the statistical data given in the *Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten* by Captain Lieut. B. Weyer, the losses of both sides are seen to have been:

On the German side, 60,720 tons.

On the British side, 117,150 tons.

But these figures prove nothing. Success in the Skagerrak battle depended upon quite different factors. The means of power by which England maintains her world dominion are mostly unreal. The prestige of the British name and the myth of the inviolability and immunity from attack of the English fleet form the clasps that hold the world empire together. Whatever claims and counter-claims may be cited to prove victory or defeat for one or the other side, one result, that which is epoch-making, is irrefutable—the mistaken theory about England's world rule. The myth is disposed of.

THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE

Since the initiation of the Russian offensive on June 3, the situation on the southeastern front has again become the centre of interest in the European war. The offensive was launched along a line beginning north of the Pripet and extending southward to the Bessarabian frontier, a distance of 250 miles.

The immediate objectives are Lemberg, capital of Galicia, in the west, and Kovel in a north-northwestward direction. The fighting is over the possession of the following important railway lines: The Lutsk-Kovel-Brest-Litovsk railway; the Dubno-Brody-Lemberg railroad, and the sector Tarnopol-Krasno, which there meets the Brody-Lemberg line.

The distance from Dubno to Lemberg is 140 kilometers; from Buczacz to Lemberg, 135 kilometers; from Tarnopol to Lemberg, 120 kilometers; from Lutsk to Kovel, 60, and thence to Brest-Litovsk, 120 kilometers.

At the time this review is concluded the military situation on the southeastern front has developed as follows:

1. Volhynian Front.—The Russians have occupied the fortresses of Lutsk and Dubno, and to the north and south have crossed the River Styr. They have been halted and even driven back, however, by the Austro-Hungarians at Kolki, where the crossing of the Styr, in the direction of Kovel, had been forced.

2. Galician Front.—After crossing the River Sereth the Russians occupied Buczacz, and in dense masses pushed toward Przewloka, but were beaten back there by the army of the Bavarian General, Count von Bothmer.

3. Bukowina Front.—This has always been the most vulnerable spot in the entire southeastern battle line. Czernowitz, which the Russians in the previous course of the war captured several times, fell with the occupation by the Russians of Zaleszczyki, Horodenka, and Okna.

Simultaneously, a Russian forward movement was launched against the positions to the north of Baronovitchi, a sector of the front held by the Bavarian Prince Leopold. Seven times the attackers stormed against the German "trench front," which begins in that region and extends further northward as far as the Dwina. Seven times the Muscovite masses were thrown back.

It was scarcely necessary for the Austro-Hungarian high command to announce officially that the Russian official reports concerning numbers of prisoners taken are grossly exaggerated. To believe those enormous Russian figures would be to assume that the Austro-Hungarian troops stood in dense masses on top of one another. The official Vienna statement says further that the losses of the Russians are between two and three times as large as the Austrian. That is plausible when one considers that the Russians are attacking en masse on a very long front.

The further development of this Russian offensive will depend upon the answers to two questions: When will sufficient reinforcements have arrived on the Teutonic side, and how long can the "forward" strategy of General Brusiloff, with its waste of human material and ammunition, keep up? Such waste has spelled disaster to every previous Russian offensive.

The Austro-German lines southwest of Kovel are holding; the Teuton resistance here becomes more stubborn hourly. Here it is, however, that General Brusiloff must pierce the Teuton lines and drive them beyond Kovel, thus placing himself in control of the entire railway system serving the Teuton southern wing. The further the Russians advance in the south and the stronger the Austro-German forces become in the north, the more perilous becomes the position of the Russian left wing, for it exposes itself more and more to the menace of a flanking attack from the north which might accomplish what was tried in vain in the great 1915 drive—the complete envelopment and capture of a whole Russian army.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

The happenings in the Italian theatre of war do not at all indicate that the "long-distance" effect of the Russian offensive is making itself felt in the necessity to draw Austro-Hungarian forces from the South Tyrolean frontier. The principal fighting goes on at present in the area between Arsiero and Asiago. East of Asiago the attackers have extended their front beyond Ronci, have stormed Monte Meletta, and have advanced as far as Stoccareddo. To the southeast of Asiago they have taken possession of the hostile positions on the Monte Lemerle, south of Gesuna.

Monte Meletta dominates the Brenta Valley, through which runs the Trent-Venice railway. Ronci lies only a few kilometers from the station of Valluga. This advance in an eastward direction from Asiago purposes cutting off the Italians from the vital line of communication eastward. As soon as this purpose is achieved the retirement of all the Ital-

ian forces further east in the Val Sugana will become imperative. Moreover, the road leads through the Frenzela Valley and the Brenta Valley to Bassano, where the Venetian plain begins, and further to Citadella, on the great line Vincenza - Citadella - Castellofranco - Treviso-Venice.

Not only the military but also the intended political "long-distance" effect of the Russian offensive upon the developments on the Italian front and the situation in Italy have failed. It did not even save the Salandra Cabinet, despite the retired Premier's explicit reference to this Russian offensive.

PROGRESS AT VERDUN

The Verdun campaign is hastening toward its conclusion. On the right bank of the Meuse the inner enceinte of forts already has been taken under German fire. After the capture of Vaux Fort the German lines to the west of the fort extend to Thiaumont farm, with Hill 321, southward to the village of Fleury and Fort Souville, and southeastward to Fort Tavannes. The latter lies south of the Metz-Verdun railway, and forms the easternmost fortification of Verdun. Between this ring and the fortress proper there are only Forts Belleville and St. Michel and the detached works of Douaumont, (not to be confused with the fort of the same name long since in German hands.)

At the same time the operations west of the Meuse continue. Chattancourt, the key to the line Esnes-Fort de Bois Bourrus-Fort de Marre, is under the Crown Prince's heavy artillery fire. The Fort de Marre forms the fortification nearest to Verdun proper from the northwest. From the line Esnes-Hill 310-Bourrus Wood the advance will proceed southward as far as the Verdun-Paris railway.

The forward movements east and west of the Meuse proceed at an even pace; in other words, as soon as a success has been gained on one bank, the line is straightened out by a subsequent advance on the other. The definite fall of Verdun will be forced from the northeast and northwest.

A Year of the War in Italy

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY by a Staff Contributor]

IT has been said that of all the immensely varied and widespread battlefields of the world war—and they stretch from the Gulf of Finland in the north to the south of Africa, from the English Channel to the Yellow Sea of China, with sea fights even more remote—the Italian battle front is the most beautiful and full of romance. It is also, unless, perhaps, we except the frozen peaks and passes of the Caucasus, in which Russian troops often fought up to their breasts in snow, by far the most difficult; immensely long, stretching in a jagged line 400 miles from end to end, it is, for the most part, immensely high also; every half dozen miles there are summits running up to seven or eight or even ten thousand feet. The battle is being fought along an international boundary running among the Alps, and the boundary has been made to run from mountain summit to mountain summit, along precipices and lofty ridges of gaunt, barren, or snow covered rock. Only at two points—the valley leading down to the northern end of the Lake of Garda, and the coast land where the Isonzo River enters the Gulf of Trieste—does the Austro-Italian battle front come anywhere near to sea level; and, along the Isonzo, the actual battle line now runs along the verge of the Carso, which is a huge, desolate bastion of rock.

Italy is fighting to bring under her standard (the tricolor of red, white, and green) the territory which lies on the further side of this precipitous wall of rock, territory for the most part only less barren and precipitous than the rugged boundary wall itself. Save for three cities—Trent, Gorizia, Trieste—the stakes would hardly be worth the contest. But it is, with Italy, a point of honor and nationalism; and for her nationalism Italy is paying high. She seeks to reunite to her territory these three cities, each of which is overwhelmingly Italian in population and tradition—and, with them, to gain a few more little towns and

villages, a few Alpine valleys and much barren rock. For ten months Italy wrangled with Austria over these towns and villages; then, on Sunday, May 23, 1915, set on fire by the burning eloquence of Gabriele D'Annunzio, she declared war, nominally against Austria alone; but legally, as the Leipsic courts have just decided, against Germany also.

It has been openly said that Italy really protracted the negotiations with Austria in order to prepare more thoroughly for war, in order to train her men and to lay up the immense stores of munitions that modern war requires. But at last she felt prepared, and on Monday, May 24, her troops rushed forward at chosen points all along the jagged, lofty line, seizing advantageous posts and passes, from the southern corner of Switzerland to the Isonzo. Italy's Alpinists with their light mountain guns, a force created and trained with a view to this very kind of fighting, struggled, high in the air, against the Tyrolean sharpshooters, mountaineers as skillful, as hardy, as brave; and to this frontier Austria also brought large bodies of Slavonic troops, whose fidelity in fighting against their Slavonic cousins in the east was more than doubtful.

In the early Summer of 1915 the Italian Alpini fought their way from the Stelvio Pass, which leads into Eastern Switzerland and the Engadine, up the glacial peaks of the Ortler, which rises nearly 13,000 feet above the Italian plains; a little further south, half way between the corner of Switzerland and Lake Garda, they scaled Mount Adamello, some 12,000 feet; on the other side of the southward-pointing Trentino wedge, in the battle zone called the Cadore sector, they rushed through the lovely little city of Cortina, with its mountain roads leading westward to Bolzano (Bozen) and northward to Brunech, and thence to the Brenner Pass, the great highway, some 4,400 feet high, which leads from Italy to the Tyrol; they swarmed across the

mountain wall into the Daone Valley, immediately to the west of Lake Garda, and south of Mount Adamello; they seized Monte Altissimo, (which, in spite of its name, is not "the highest" peak, though it measures well over 6,000 feet;) they captured Ala, on the River Adige, about half way between the Italian frontier and Rovereto, (which is a name softened from the old Roman, Roboretum, "the oak wood";) Monte Maggio, and the territory between the Chiesa and the Brenta, which flows past Borgo through the Val Sugana, the great road to the central and ardently desired City of Trent.

The work of trench-building is here replaced by the more arduous task of hewing positions out of bare rock, and hence the extraordinary difficulty and extreme slowness of the Italian advance. In the Trentino, the most westerly of the four Italian battle zones, (Trentino, Cadore, Carnia, Isonzo,) the Alpini occupied the southern end of the Val Giudicaria, to the west of Lake Garda; the southern end of Val Lagarina, to the east of the lake; the eastern end of the Val Sugana, up to Borgo; and a very thin slice of rock, joining the Trentino sector to Cadore.

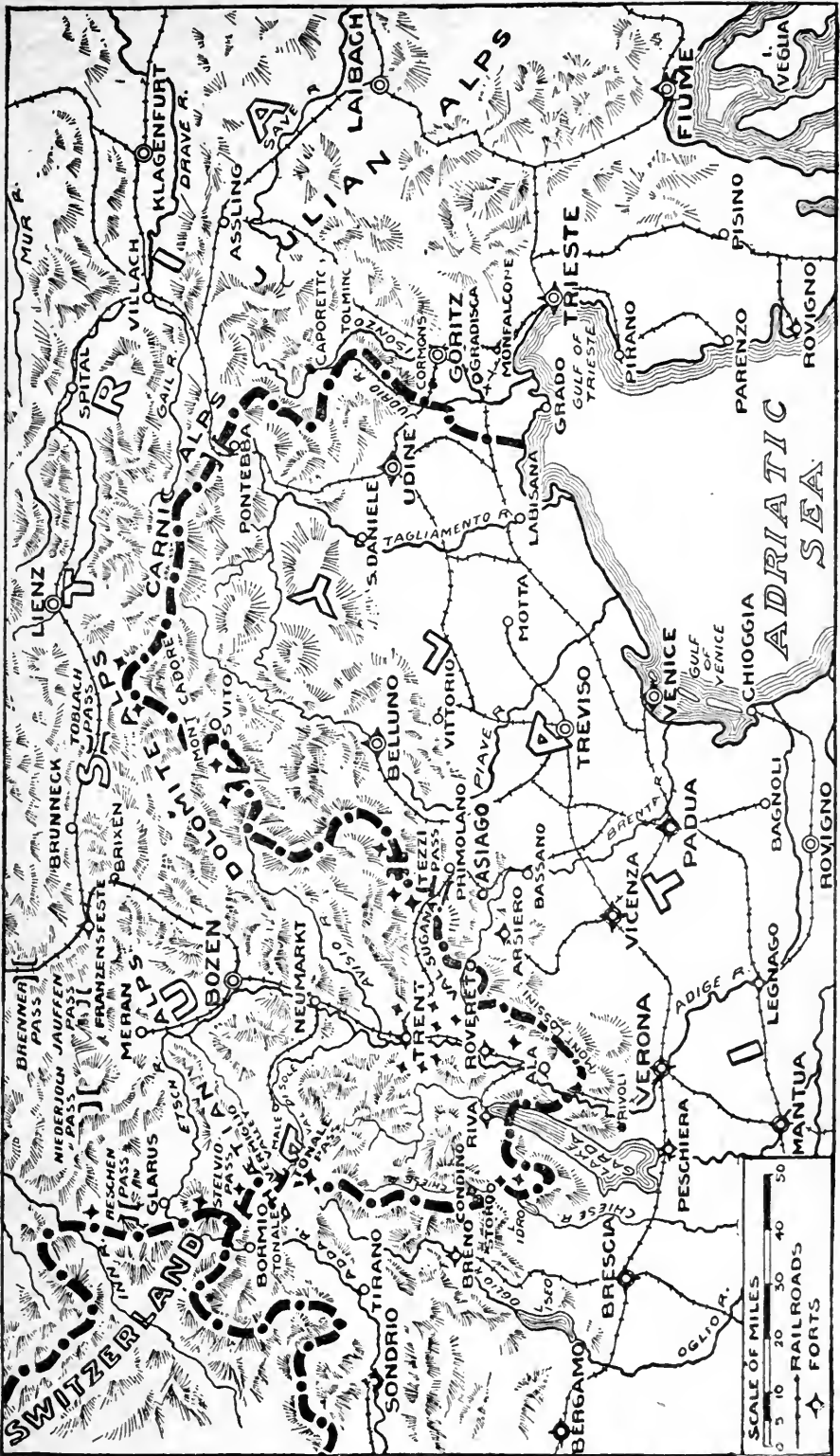
The Cadore sector lies right along the western end of the Carnic Alps, from Monte Cristallo, (some 10,000 feet high,) across the peaks of Tre Cime, Monte Popera, Monte Croce, to Monte Peralba, none of them much lower than Monte Cristallo; from the frontier a sea of peaks extends southward toward the Venetian plain; another sea of peaks extends northward toward the Hohe Tauern in Tyrol. As early as August, 1915, the Alpini had made some headway here, in brilliant, perilous work among the precipices, with the result that, when the first snows of Autumn fell, the three rock citadels, the Einsler, the Elfer, and the Drei Zinnen, had been won and fortified against the Austrians.

Taking Cortina as their base, the Italians fought their way up the Valle d'Ampezzo, just west of Monte Cristallo, until they won Ospitale, the little town through which the curiously angular road leads northward to the Puster Thal and Brunech. In September they succeeded,

by daring rock work, in gaining possession of Monte Coston. Then the snow began to fall on the heights. During the first period of soft snow, military operations became almost impossible, even for the hardy and skillful Alpini, but, as the snow hardened, and the use of skis became possible, some incredibly daring achievements were carried out, for example, on the north slopes of Monte Adamello, (which lies, as we have said, about half way between the Lake of Garda and Switzerland,) and on the Presanella, immediately to the north of Adamello, to which the Alpini made their way through the Tonale Pass.

The battle sector of Carnia, which lies between the Cadore and the Isonzo sectors, is, if possible, more barren, rugged, desolate than the Cadore sector itself. It lies wholly along the backbone of the Carnic Alps, which separate the very mountainous regions of Northern Venetia from the Austrian valleys of the Zeglia (or Gail) and the Save. Here the battle line has all along clung very close to the international boundary, being, for the most part, just north of it, so that the Italians have some slight (but very slight) advantage. At about Pontafel, where the railroad from Venice to Vienna crosses from Italian to Austrian territory, the Carnia sector merges into the Isonzo sector; and in this fourth and last sector, which contains the richest prizes, there has been the severest fighting, conforming more to the general features of armed conflict, and less resembling chamois hunting.

The Isonzo Valley, widening to the south, allows the warm southern airs of Italy to penetrate far northward from the Gulf of Trieste; so that Gorizia, in the neck of the valley, has for centuries been famed as a Winter resort, and, in Spring, a place where peaches ripen earlier than anywhere else in the Austrian Empire. It is, indeed, the centre of a great fruit garden, almost Californian in climate, in products, in vegetation. Gorizia itself lies about a high rock, on which is perched the ancient citadel-fortress of the Dukes of Gorizia and Gradisca; it is the centre of a ring



MAP OF WHOLE ITALIAN FRONT, SHOWING SCENE OF RECENT AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE TRENTINO.

of hills, and much of the ring is still in Austrian hands; so that, though Italian guns have for several months commanded Gorizia, Italian troops have found it either impossible or at least inexpedient to penetrate there.

On the railroad from Udine, on the Italian side, in the centre of the Friul country which rejoices in a Romanic tongue of its own, somewhat nearer to Latin than is Italian, to Gorizia, the first station on the Austrian side of the frontier, is Cormons, which lies at the southern verge of the hills that descend gradually from the Carnic and Julian Alps to the Venetian plain; Cormons was captured, soon after the beginning of the war, by General Count Cadorna's forces, and has since served as a basis of operations against Gorizia.

It may be said that, as regards Gorizia, the effort of the Italian command seems to have been rather to exercise a steady pressure, such as would compel Austria to keep considerable bodies of troops there, than to take the City of Gorizia by storm, at the cost of very heavy Italian losses. The strategy of Count Cadorna is, therefore, to be viewed rather as a part of the whole plan of the Quadruple Entente than as a separate aggressive, designed immediately to win territory for Italy. One would say that the purpose of Italy is to divert troops from other Entente fronts, counting on the peace negotiations rather than on actual fighting to restore the territory of Unredeemed Italy. At any rate, after thirteen months of war, Italy has advanced only a few miles toward Trent, only a few miles toward Gorizia, only a few miles toward Trieste—the three real prizes of the war. There has been pretty constant artillery fighting on all four frontiers, but, from the nature of the regions, there have been few infantry charges.

The valley of the Isonzo is bounded, on the east by the curious Carso (or Karst) plateau, which is one of the most deso-

late and forbidding regions in Europe. A lofty plateau of grayish limestone, the Carso was once heavily wooded, and fairly fertile, where clearings were made in the forests. But the trees were recklessly cut down and carried away; and, as the rains began to beat directly on the very thin layer of soil that covered the whitish limestone rock, the water swept the soil away, leaving the rock entirely bare. So that, even in Summertime, the Carso plateau looks as if it were covered with dirty snow. In the limestone, however, it is possible to excavate trenches such as are seen on the other fronts, and very severe trench warfare has been going on here for months, the Italians gradually making their way, first up the front of the great rock bastion, then eastward and southward, along its surface.

The battle line reaches the sea just eastward of Monfalcone, which is only about twelve miles from Trieste. Trieste is the greatest prize of the Italian campaign, a fine harbor, and rich commercial city, almost wholly inhabited by Italians; and, with the whole peninsula of Istria, and, indeed, much of the Dalmatian coast, rich in remains of the great past of the Roman Empire. Pola and Fiume are Italian cities of Istria, only less important and less coveted than Trieste itself.

Three of the four Italian war sectors are, as we have seen, along the backbones of high mountain ridges; and the snow, in the Winter of 1915-16, fell thicker and deeper than in other years. As a result, the higher passes are only now, at the beginning of July, beginning to be passable for any one but an Alpino on skis, so that ordinary warfare is practically impossible. The Isonzo front alone is enjoying the early warmth of Summer, and it will soon be exceedingly hot across the desolate Carso.

Such, then, along the four sectors, was the general position, after a year's warfare, when the recent powerful Austrian drive began.

The Austrian Offensive Against Italy

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the ending of Italy's first year of war against Austria, which from its beginning had been for Austria a continuous defensive campaign, with loss of some territory and prestige, the Hapsburg Monarchy suddenly inaugurated a powerful offensive movement, which for a time bade fair to overwhelm the Italian forces along the whole western Alpine front.

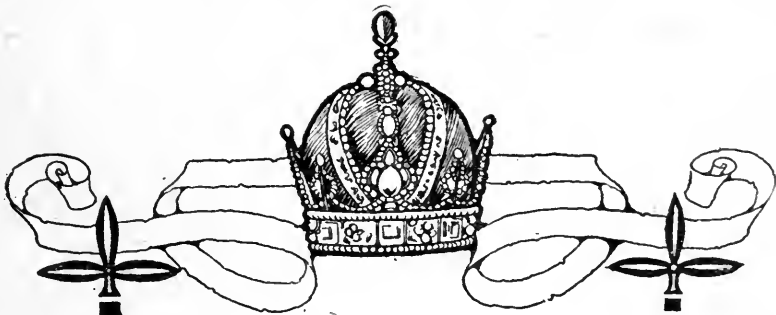
The full seriousness of this counter-offensive was discovered by the Italians on May 17, when the Austrian troops begun plowing through the Ledro and Lagarina Valleys—also into the zone between the Terragnolo and Upper Astico Valleys—and began a fierce artillery attack on the Isonzo front. The Italians fell back from nearly every advanced position in the region of Southern Tyrol, while the Austro-Hungarians pursued their advantage with furious artillery and infantry attacks along the entire Trentino front. It is estimated that the Austrians employed over 2,000 guns of heavy calibre in the initial preparation, and the weight of metal thrown is said to have been heavier, considering the length of time and the extent of the sector, than at any other front during the entire war—except at Verdun. It is estimated that 360,000 reinforcements were brought from Galicia and the Balkans, and that when the drive began the Austrians had at least 750,000 men.

The plan of campaign was skillfully laid, and with such secrecy that the Italians were not fully aware of what

was happening until they had lost many of the outposts conquered through a whole year's sacrifices of blood and treasure.

For ten days the Austrian drive showed no signs of weakening. The Italians continued to retreat with a loss of over 30,000 prisoners and 298 cannon. The Austrians recovered many strategic points in the Sugana Valley, including Monte Baldo, Monte Fiara, Monte Priafora, Punta Cordin, and penetrated into Italian territory in the region of Asiago and Arsiero. It was not until May 25, about 10 days after the offensive was launched, that the Italians were able to meet the invaders with strength and determination. Finally their counterattacks began to tell, and the Austrians slowly fell back or were prevented from further advances. At the beginning of June the great Russian offensive was launched in Bukowina and Galicia, with such overwhelming results that the Austrians were compelled hastily to abandon the Italian campaign and endeavor to stay the onslaught at the East.

Meanwhile Italy had been stirred to the centre by the events in the high Alps, resulting in the fall of the Ministry. At this writing a coalition Government is being formed. Apparently the Italians have entirely recovered command of the military situation, and are winning back some of the lost territory. It is understood that they will soon begin a new and more serious offensive all along the front.



America's International Relations

Party Platforms on War Issues

PLATFORM declarations on the war and international relations by the two great political parties, as adopted at the respective National Conventions, were as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLANKS

[Adopted June 8, 1913]

In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government, and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, treaties, and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party, made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals, without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters.

The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety, and to the achievement of its manifest destiny. * * *

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous, and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and

phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. * * *

DEMOCRATIC PLANKS

[Adopted June 16, 1916]

AMERICANISM.—The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationships which is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic Party therefore recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation, as the supreme issue of this day, in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men, of whatever origin or creed, who would count themselves Americans to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America.

This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself, not a nation of partisans, but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry, and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race, and a magnificent society to be melted into a mighty and splendid nation.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever, by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious, or other nature, creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups, and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people, and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist, and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.—Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves, and to the rôle of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights, the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense, and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise, and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States, and fully equal to the international tasks which the United States hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—The Democratic Administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and of the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life, which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing

settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon, and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations, and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

The present Administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States, even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these States for the United States by refusing to make a more material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN-AMERICAN CONCORD.—We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States with the other peoples and republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic Administration in holding the Pan-American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission, which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

The Inside of the Irish Revolt.

By Arnold Bennett

Noted English Novelist and Publicist

IN common with a majority of the Sinn Feiners themselves, I was considerably startled by the Irish rebellion. Just before it occurred I had been studying the everlasting Irish question, and this sanguinary revolt did not seem to agree with the conclusions I had drawn. As soon as the firing was over and men's souls calmed down a little I sought to inform myself as to the realities behind the tragic and tawdry theatrical display. I need not detail my inquiries. It suffices to say that I was fortunate. In no quarter was my desire for information balked. I obtained new facts, but the important result of the inquest in my own mind was a rearrangement of the old facts into their proper perspective.

The revolutionary movement was not pure Sinn Fein. The problem of Ireland, and in particular the problem of Dublin, with its unsurpassed slums, is not purely a problem of interracial politics. The chief sources of discontent are not political, but social. Connolly commanded the late rising, and Connolly was a disciple of Larkin. Larkin has said, and said often, that he would not give a fig for home rule if he could insure a minimum wage of £1 a week for all workers. Therein he showed his sense and a true appreciation of values. Again there are, or were, in Ireland sundry personalities who for political crimes, including homicide, had suffered severe punishment under British law. They needed revenge. These three types, labor

insurgent, unadulterated Sinn Fein, and apostle of vengeance, had often quarreled, but finally they coalesced under the stimulus of a common end and made rebellion. Connolly represented the first type, MacNeil the second, and Clarke, the old Fenian, the third. The directing element was the labor element, not the Sinn Fein element.

In its constitution the rebel organization was autocratic to the point of Prussianism. Discipline was absolutely rigid. The executive consisted of a very small handful of men who knew everything; the rank and file knew nothing, and their sole privilege was to obey. It is quite clear, from the admissions of deported rebels, that when they fell in on Easter Monday they had no adequate idea of what awaited them. They

expected a brief and showy demonstration in force, and no more. They went to their assigned posts, and immediately the leaders began to use their rifles, thus committing the rank and file irrevocably to the adventure. The rank and file could not go back home, or even pause for reflection, and the rank and file were very young. They were pathetically young. The mass of those deported are of sophomore age.

Now, the autocratic principle is always the principle of secret societies. It is the principle, for example, of the Clan-na-Gael. It is, indeed, essential to secrecy. It works excellently provided the autocrats be wise and the slaves abject. In



ARNOLD BENNETT

the Irish case neither condition was fulfilled. The leaders were gullible and rash, and many of the slaves had such objection to Prussian ideas that they seceded before the culminating event.

The explanation of the very rapid development of the rebellion is twofold. It lies both in internal causes and in external causes. The main internal causes were as follows:

First, the vigor and success of the recruiting campaign in Ireland, which had aroused jealousy and fear in the councils of sedition. Ireland's general loyalty to the Allies was in part the origin of her misfortune.

Second, mistrust of the Nationalist Parliamentary Party on account of its enthusiastic official support of the British War Government and of its consent to postponing home rule.

Third, fear of conscription for Ireland—an absurd fear.

Fourth, the influence of the younger priests, and especially of those who spring from the laboring class and are implacable on the subject of labor grievances, very legitimate grievances.

The external causes were the Clan-na-Gael in the United States and support promised through the Clan-na-Gael and through other minor channels by the German Government.

The Clan-na-Gael is an interesting and rather human society, so far as I have ascertained. Its autocrats completely exclude respectability. They will have no truck with that quality. Its funds are drawn partly from members' subscriptions and partly from Germany. All subsidies are paid direct to a small secret executive. Accounts are not furnished to members. That graft on a mighty scale is unknown to the Clan-na-Gael appears to me improbable. Still, subscribers and foreign Governments occasionally demand something for their money, and at such periods the Clan-na-Gael has set about to do something. No doubt it does as little as it can because its existence depends on the continuance of the Irish problem. It was and is terrifically opposed to the Home Rule act for the reason that home rule would put an end to the Irish problem.

The Clan-na-Gael was delighted and greatly invigorated when the Irish Volunteers were formed in answer to the Ulster Volunteers of Carson, and when the Irish Volunteers split into two unequal parts, the loyal majority following Redmond, the Clan-na-Gael was still more delighted. It nursed the irreconcilable remnant with literature and with arms and generally luxuriated in Irish domestic strife.

It openly discussed the project of using the Volunteers against Britain, whether home rule became law or not. In *The Gaelic American* of June 6, 1914, it was suggested that the Volunteers should be officered from the Sixty-ninth Regiment of New York.

When the war broke out the grandiose scheme of the German-Irish propaganda was initiated in the United States. American citizens were wont to encounter it viva voce in front of the newspaper offices and in hotels, subways, and trolley cars. In spite of the extreme multiplicity of its agents and of the majestic indifference of the British Government to pro-ally American newspapers, the scheme failed, but it cost a lot of money.

In August, 1915, the Clan-na-Gael was obviously hard up and its supporters were obviously discontented. The executive seem to have got an imposing grant from Germany. They collected heartily also from their members. A defense-of-Ireland fund was started and a collecting card sent out. The phraseology of this card, which I have seen, leaves not the slightest doubt as to the object of the fund. The collection was not a success, and much of the German money apparently vanished in graft. What remained was used against the Allies.

After the Irish race convention held in New York in March of this year a new appeal was made, in which occur the following words:

"Not only must the organization be made great in numbers, but in material resources. It must be put in a position successfully to grapple with the great problem which it has been called into existence to solve by giving Ireland the help which she so badly needs in this hour of

her great danger and of her opportunity."

And there was a noticeable voyaging of certain Irish-Americans between the United States and England, Ireland, and Germany. Then came Casement, Easter-tide, and the rising.

The rising failed, but it did to a certain small extent accomplish a diversion of military energy and a disturbance of the warlike concentration which Germany hoped for. Germany bluffed the rebels in a manner characteristically cynical. Even the modern German rifles which she promised turned out to be obsolete Russian rifles. The price, in addition to money paid by Germany, for this transient success was a heavy price. It was the complete loss of all Irish sympathy.

With regard to the actual outbreak, it is established that as late as Easter Saturday the component parts of the rebel leadership were actually at variance as to the advisability of a revolt, the pure Sinn Fein element, under MacNeil, arguing from the Casement fiasco and the arms fiasco, was against an immediate insurrection, but the highly truculent and rash labor element under Connolly bore down MacNeil on the Sunday evening and the rebellion was ordained.

The lack of premeditation accounted for the first facile success. It also accounted for the rapidity of the collapse. The state of mind of the leaders was such that they actually tried to obtain guidance in tactics from British officers whom they made prisoners! Perhaps only in Ireland could a thing so richly humorous happen.

The British soldiers had a mixed reception. In one house they would receive cakes and ale, and in the next bullets. The majority of citizens were markedly sympathetic; the minority virulent and treacherous in the extreme. Upon occasion the methods of the soldiers may have been summary, but their behavior was incomparably superior to that of the insurrectionary bands. To say this is not necessarily to accuse the true Sinn Feiners themselves of frightfulness. It must be remembered that the dregs of Dublin were joyously abroad, and that these dregs were con-

siderable. They reveled in riot and were not overcareful of their own lives.

As for the responsibility of the British Government, it is gradually being ascertained. Broadly, it was neither more nor less than the historic responsibility inherited from hundreds of years of Anglo-Saxon unimagination. One may say that Birrell, like other Secretaries for Ireland, paid in his person for England's atrocious vagaries in the eighteenth century and the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

But the Irish problem is not primarily the result of bad government; it is the result of incompatibility of temperament between two races whom geography has inseparably bound together. Evidence before the Royal Commission shows that the Government could not squelch the Irish Volunteers because they could not squelch Carson's Volunteers without bloodshed, so one may go back and back into time. Ulster is such and the rest of Ireland is such that home rule could not have been put into practice without bloodshed. The British Government was bound to hope against hope that bloodshed might be avoided. The immediate Governmental mistake was in overestimating the common sense of the rebel organization. If it had learned the lesson of history it would have had more soldiers in Dublin, and bloodshed would have been not avoided but probably postponed until after the war.

The execution of the rebel leaders aroused adverse comment. One cannot foresee the verdict of history, but it is certain that much less than 1 per cent. of the rebels have been shot, and I think an assaulted Government has rarely shown greater magnanimity in a more dangerous crisis. Mankind will progress and the time will come when cold-blooded homicide will be as repugnant to the majority as it is now to the minority, and will cease to form a part of the machinery of justice; but at present the structure of social order is ultimately based on cold-blooded homicide.

If ever there was a rebellion in which the leaders led and the rank and file were kept in ignorance, the Easter rising in Ireland was that rebellion. It was not a

popular rising—it was artificial, it was fostered from without. The responsible leaders were autocrats. They knew just what they were risking and that their success might signify the saving of Germany from defeat. By no means all the leaders were Irish patriots, and even the alleged pacifists among them wanted armed rebellion. Thus the late Sheehy Skeffington, whose pacifism strangely has been accepted as axiomatic by all the British newspapers, speaking at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchel Club, appealed at great length for money

to buy arms with which to fight the British Government when the time came. He is dead; I greatly regret the manner of his death; but a pacifist he was not.

The executions are now over. The political prospects of Ireland are brighter. Good may come out of evil. Racial temperaments, however, will remain, and geography will not alter. The arguments for and against any kind of home rule are tremendous, and therefore the millennium is probably not at hand.

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Ireland and the Kaiser

By JOHN McF. HOWIE

At the beginning of the war THE NEW YORK TIMES published an account of a meeting at Celtic Park under the auspices of the Ancient and Honorable Order of Hibernians. Resolutions of sympathy for the Germans were passed and cabled to the Kaiser. A parade was indulged in, headed by a large band. A German flag was unfurled, and the band played "Die Wacht am Rhein." The lines written at that time are here offered as equally apropos of the recent uprising in Ireland:

There's trouble in ould Oireland,
And in ould Europe, too;
The Kaiser's foightin' England,
We now know phwat to do.
We feel the call to arms,
For our country, yours and mine;
So we'll paste Ould England in the nose
And sing the "Wacht am Rhein."

We've suffered many a long, long year,
From Oppression's weary load;
We've felt the tyrant's heavy hand,
Been tortured by his goad.
But now the sky is all serene,
Our hearts are light, well nigh, Sir,
For it's "Raus mit Faugh a Ballagh,"
And it's up wid "Hoch der Kaiser."

Men's faces pale when Clan Nha Ghael
Or "Fenian" names we sphoke, Sir;
And now our hearts are beatin' high
To see Ould England broke, Sir.
We needn't suffer anny more
John Bull's sarcastic sallies;
Now we can sing, "T'ell wid the King,"
Und "Deutschland über Alles."

Our bagpipes blow a warlike blast
To summon one and all, Sir,
We're ready for the redcoats now,
We'll answer to the call, Sir.
Our whisky must go overboard,
No Dublin stout shall cheer, Sir;
Down wid historic old Potheen,
And up wid lager beer, Sir.

Now down wid France, now down wid Spain,
Now down wid Russia too, Sir;
Now down wid Italy and Greece,
The Orange and the Blue, Sir.
Up wid the good ould Irish flag,
Unfurl it in the sky, Sir;
Tuh 'ell wid everybody else,
Here's t' Oireland and the Kaiser!



The Battle of Verdun

An Authoritative French Account Based On Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THURSDAY, April 6.—The battle about Verdun, which seemed to be ending in disconnected attacks, suddenly took a new lease of life. The object was to search out a weak point, or to satisfy German opinion, which has for so long been expecting an important success. On Sunday, (April 9,) that is to say, fifty days after the inception of the undertaking, which has brought our enemy such a serious discomfiture, a general offensive surpassing in dimensions that of February was let loose along the whole front from the Forest of Montfaucon, near Avocourt, to the ridges of the Meuse, near Vaux. This is a battle line of nearly 25 kilometers, (15½ miles,) that is, comparable to that of the battle of Champagne.

The struggle was developed especially on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, between the forest and Cumières. An interval of 5 kilometers, (3 miles,) including a wide stretch of meadows, across which the river unrolls its meanderings, and the river bend of Champneuville separated that zone from Vacherauville, to which the Poivre Ridge sinks down; the latter was equally the scene of very active fighting, in the direction of Douaumont. It may be said, therefore, that there were two battles, the more violent developing to the west. We shall follow them separately, recalling the events which preceded the new offensive.

WEST OF THE MEUSE

We ended the preceding installment of this narrative by saying that a German attack against Haucourt had been repulsed on April 4. A new attempt, preceded by the usual bombardment, took place on the following day (Wednesday,

April 5) at nightfall, and was continued all night long on the sector included between Avocourt and Béthincourt. The enemy sent in very heavy forces. The assaults against Béthincourt were stopped by our fire, in spite of the furious fighting of the battalions thrown against the village. In the centre of the battle line, Haucourt was attacked with especial violence. Ceaselessly driven back with enormous losses, the enemy constantly returned to the charge. In the middle of the night he finally succeeded in gaining a footing amid the ruins of the village; but we remained on the outskirts and, from the neighboring heights, dominated the hollow in which Haucourt lies hidden.

On the Avocourt side the initiative of the struggle remained with us. After bombarding the part of the wood held by the Germans, our troops, leaping from the recently won redoubt, carried by assault the zone called Bois-Carré, ("the square wood.") The following day (Thursday, April 6) was employed by the enemy in pushing the bombardment of Béthincourt; then, toward the south, the villages of Esnes and Montzéville were bombarded. When night fell, having increased the violence of the preliminary artillery struggle, the enemy launched an attack between Béthincourt and Le Mort Homme, on the line marked by the road from Cumières. Near 265-Meter Hill the enemy penetrated a first-line trench, the greater part of which we were able to recover by a counterattack.

Friday, April 7.—The attacks were resumed with renewed fury. When their heavy guns seemed to have cleared the approaches of Haucourt to a distance of 2 kilometers (1¼ miles) to the east, in

the direction of Béthincourt, a formidable assault was attempted; but our cannon and machine guns succeeded in smashing the enemy masses, which were compelled to withdraw to their trenches, leaving the ground strewn with dead bodies. During this combat the German shells covered Le Mort Homme and Cumières. The attempt was renewed during the night on the same front; repeated attacks failed. To the east, at the southern outlet from Haucourt, between the village and a point marked 287, two small works were, however, taken from us.

Saturday, April 8.—The day was marked only by artillery fire. While the enemy directed his fire from Béthincourt to Cumières, our artillery took as its target the German batteries in the Cheppy Wood and in the zone comprised between Malancourt and Montfaucon, where enemy forces were massed. There were still more considerable forces behind Montfaucon, toward Nantillois, at the end of one of the field railways connected with the line from Sedan. Our heavy batteries reached this point.

BETHINCOURT EVACUATED

Our command foresaw the grand offensive which was to be let loose on the morrow, Sunday, (April 9,) and met it with such resources that the Germans had already discounted their success. During the night (Saturday-Sunday, April 8-9) the salient formed by Béthincourt in advance of our lines was evacuated without the Germans seeming to be aware of it; at least, they made no attempt to interfere with the movement. After this evacuation we had a less twisted line, which therefore offered no exposed point of approach.

Sunday, April 9.—Throughout the whole day the enemy renewed his assaults without succeeding in shaking our defensive. His attempts were especially furious between Le Mort Homme and Cumières. The assailants, setting out from the cover offered by the Corbeaux and Cumières Woods, came on in close formation, offering a target for our gusts of shells and for the bullets of our machine guns. After a series of efforts as vain as they were frequent, the Germans

were compelled to withdraw, leaving the ground covered with hundreds of corpses. It was in this sector that their losses were most important. The elements launched against Le Mort Homme suffered equally.

Not less violent was the attack on the sector comprised between the Avocourt Wood and the Forges stream, down the river from Haucourt. At all points it was met by the tenacious resistance of our soldiers, and this attack also was broken. On the skirt of the Avocourt Wood a German detachment succeeded at one time in gaining a foothold in our trenches; it was quickly dislodged.

The day was, therefore, a check for the enemy along the whole front. At night a new attack on Le Mort Homme permitted the Germans to penetrate our front-line trenches along a front of 500 meters (550 yards) at a cost of heavy losses.

Monday, April 10.—On the night following, the bombardment was resumed with great violence, being particularly directed against 304-Meter Hill. This cannonade was continued throughout April 10, growing in intensity until noon, at which time an attack was launched, which extended from Haucourt to Béthincourt. In spite of the fury of the assault the enemy was compelled to retire, leaving the ground covered with his dead. Between Le Mort Homme and Cumières, where he attacked with even greater fury, all his attempts failed.

They were renewed in the evening, with the aid of sprays of flaming liquids, which were unable to force us to give up Le Mort Homme. When the enemy masses came out from the Corbeaux Wood they were stopped short by our gun and rifle fire. At the extreme right of our line certain small elements of trenches were occupied by the enemy.

Tuesday, April 11.—On this day there was no infantry attack but cannon thundered incessantly from Le Mort Homme to Cumières, preparing a new attempt for the next morning.

Wednesday, April 12.—The little Caurettes Wood, situated to the south of the road from Le Mort Homme to Cumières, was assaulted; in spite of the employ-

ment of flaming liquids, the enemy was stopped and everywhere repulsed.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse, during the week April 6-12, the enemy made a considerable effort at first only on the Poivre Ridge. It will be remembered that this long backbone with denuded sides extends for almost 3 kilometers (1¾ miles) from the approaches of Louvemon as far as the Meuse, above the goose foot formed by the roads from Vacherauville. On this side, a little wood covers the slope above the river and descends to a ravine in which the spring of Saint Martin has its source.

On Thursday, April 6, an intense bombardment was directed against our lines, the prelude of an infantry attack, which was expected to develop great violence. But our guns intervened with so much precision that the enemy did not venture forth from his cover. Then he remained quiet until April 9. On that day, in spite of a powerful artillery preparation, the assaulting masses were no more successful in their effort to come forth. During the night a very lively engagement was fought in the little wood beside the spring of Saint Martin, and during the whole of the next day the bombardment continued.

Further to the east, the positions which we had reoccupied in the Caillette Wood, to the south of the Douaumont front, were assaulted on Wednesday, April 5; the enemy was compelled to withdraw after suffering heavy losses. On the following day, April 6, we resumed the struggle with the bayonet, driving our enemies back on a front of 500 meters (550 yards) and to a depth of 200 meters, (220 yards;) a counterattack failed to drive us out of the trenches we had regained.

On the following days we continued step by step to gain ground in the communicating trenches. On April 9 the contest begun on the Poivre Ridge was extended as far as the approaches to Vaux; at no point was the enemy able to carry out the assault. On April 10 several attempts against the Caillette Wood were repulsed. During the night an attack, preceded by jets of burning

liquids and directed against trenches which we had gained the day before in the approaches to the village of Douaumont, cost the aggressors a sanguinary check, after which the Germans furiously resumed the bombardment of the region of Douaumont and Vaux, while the cannonade was continued against our positions on the hills.

The enemy had not given up the hope of capturing Douaumont, the Caillette Wood, and the approaches of Vaux. On Tuesday, April 10, he resumed the bombardment with renewed vigor, following up the rain of giant shells with furious gusts of lachrymal or asphyxiating shells. Taking for granted that our trenches were either abandoned or filled only with dying men, the enemy launched a strong attack from Douaumont to Vaux. Certain of our communication trenches were invaded, but an immediate counter-attack drove out the Germans, who left a hundred prisoners in our hands.

The inspiring Order of the Day addressed to his troops by General Pétain, who is so reserved in his expressions, bears witness to the importance of the German check on Sunday, April 9:

April 9 is a glorious day for our armies. The furious assaults of the soldiers of the Crown Prince were broken everywhere; the infantrymen, the artillerymen, the sappers, the airmen of the second army, vied with one another in heroism.

Honor to all!

Doubtless the Germans will attack again; let every one work and watch in order to gain the same success as on yesterday.

Courage. * * * We shall get them!

The period April 13-19 was, on the contrary, marked by only one serious attack, and it was quite local in character.

A FURIOUS ATTACK

At the beginning of this period the reports recorded a moderate activity in the batteries between the Meuse and Douaumont.

Thursday, April 13.—On the evening of this day the fire became heavier in preparation for a small attack to the south of Douaumont, which was completely repulsed. Beginning from this moment the gun fire became hotter and hotter.

Friday, April 14; Saturday, April 15.
—In spite of this heavy and long-con-

tinued fire, our infantry on the evening of April 15 delivered a vigorous offensive against the German trenches at Douaumont. The official report did not lay much stress on this affair, which must have been hot, nevertheless, as we took 200 prisoners and occupied certain trench elements.

Sunday, April 16; Monday, April 17.—On these two days artillery fire continued; the German guns had as their principal objective the south of the Haudromont Woods, which cover the ridges and slopes, seamed with ravines, of a valley which opens on the Meuse toward Bras, at the foot of the last slopes of the Poivre Ridge. On April 17 the bombardment was accentuated.

Tuesday, April 18.—In the morning the fire became furious, from the Meuse near Bras to Douaumont. The Poivre Ridge, whose culminating point, 342 meters, (1,121 feet,) is some 150 meters (492 feet) above the water level of the Meuse; the Haudromont Woods to the north of the valley, the Chaufour Wood to the south, whose edge approaches Douaumont, were covered with shells, which steadily increased in numbers until 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Then the attack was let loose. The first information was that at least two divisions had been launched in the assault against this front of 4 kilometers, (2½ miles;) the second information announced the presence of regiments belonging to five different divisions. These troops, gathered from different army corps, re-formed, completed, had been brought together in two divisions of three brigades each, or twelve regiments, equal to an army corps and a half. It was, therefore, a very great effort; the assaulting mass comprised about 35,000 men, who presented themselves before our lines—lines that might be thought to have been crushed by the prodigious artillery fire; but the moment the masses appeared our barring fire opened upon them, cannon and machine guns tearing bloody rents in their ranks. At the two ends of the Poivre Ridge, near the Meuse and the Haudromont Wood, the attack had been more furious; there, especially, were their dead heaped up. Along this

whole front of 4 kilometers the enemy was thus repulsed, but on our right the Germans succeeded in penetrating our first-line trench to the south of the Chaufour Wood. A counterattack drove them out of a part of it.

These events between the Meuse and the Woevre coincided with an almost continuous gun fire against the ridges of the Meuse. Moulainville, situated below the fort of that name, which protects on the southern side the entrance into the ridges of the railway and of the road from Conflans, and Haudiomont, where the road from Metz enters the hills to reach Verdun, were made especial targets. An attack was being prepared on this side; movements of troops were announced in Woevre; our cannon, installed on the approaches of the road from Pont-à-Mousson to St. Mihiel, reached convoys between Nonsard and Essey, in the valleys of La Machine and Le Rupt du Mad. In the same quarter, at the foot of the ridges, massing enemy troops were dispersed.

Wednesday, April 19.—The enemy at last attempted an infantry operation against our positions of Les Eparges; it was driven out of the only trench which it succeeded in reaching.

BATTERING MORT HOMME

During the whole week it might have been thought that important events would take place on the west (left bank) of the Meuse, but no infantry movement took place, in spite of the persistence and violence of the gun fire. On Wednesday, April 12, numerous indications suggested the preparation for an assault at the close of the day. Our artillery then opened fire on the enemy trenches and the troops signaled as massing in the Maiancourt Wood. This gun fire resulted in preventing the formation of the assaulting columns; the Germans on the first line did not leave their trenches.

Up to Wednesday, April 19, the whole conflict was confined to an artillery duel, the enemy's fire at times being directed with extreme intensity against the little Caurettes Wood, between Cumières and Le Mort Homme, 304-Meter Hill, and even our second lines, without doubt

from Montzéville to the Bourrus Wood. While answering the fire of our adversaries, our batteries also carried their action beyond them. The Corbeaux Wood, the passages of the Forges stream, the roads which spread out from Montfaucon and lead to the attacked front, felt the effect of our projectiles.

During the next few days the fighting about Verdun continued, but with longer intervals, on less extended fronts, and with diminished fury, although preceded by extremely violent bombardments.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse there was only one attack; two took place on the left (west) bank. None of them allowed the Germans to realize the smallest gain of ground, while several actions on our part won us communication trenches which strengthened our lines. Progress of this kind was made to the northwest of the pond at Vaux and to the south of the Haudromont Wood, between Douaumont and Bras.

Thursday, April 20.—The attack which we repulsed was directed on the evening of April 20, from the Thiaumont farm, to the southwest of Douaumont, up to the pond at Vaux. After the usual furious bombardment, the enemy masses succeeded in getting a first footing in a part of our lines; instantly counterattacked, the assailants were driven out and pressed back upon their own positions.

Friday, April 21; Saturday, April 22.—On Saturday, Easter eve, another movement was in preparation, but the assaulting troops perceived in the trenches were so vigorously cannonaded by our batteries that it was necessary to withdraw them to the rear.

On the left (west) bank of the Meuse the enemy continued to show greater activity; he did not abandon the hope of forcing our front on Le Mort Homme, and the increasing activity of our artillery in the region of Avocourt might be taken to indicate an attempt on that side. But we did not leave the enemy at liberty to move freely. A part of the trenches carried by him on April 10 on Le Mort Homme was retaken and, to the north of the Caurettes Wood, we reoccupied a trench.

These rectifications of our line were fortunate; we made 150 prisoners.

The Germans responded by a violent bombardment. Then, in the night of Friday-Saturday, April 21-22, they attacked the northern slopes of Le Mort Homme; gaining an entry at one time into our trenches, they were driven out again. At the same time they sprayed flaming liquids into our shelter to the north of the Caurettes Wood, and sketched an attack which was swiftly repulsed.

Sunday, April 23.—The Germans renewed their efforts between Le Mort Homme and the valley of Esnes, without any greater success.

Monday, April 24.—After this check the enemy resumed the bombardment of Le Mort Homme, which led up, on the afternoon of Easter Monday, April 24, to new assaults. These were three times repulsed.

AN AGGRESSIVE DEFENSE

Tuesday, April 25; Wednesday, April 26.—While continuing to act on the defensive, we took measures to scatter disturbance over the enemy's centres of troop formation and supply. Our long-range guns reached the communication roads, while our airmen dropped bombs on the cantonments and railway stations.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, April 27-29.—The physiognomy of the "siege of Verdun"—as the Germans say, although they have not even got near it, threatening it only on a front of 14 miles, while on the remaining 30 miles of the periphery no attack has taken place—has continued unchanged. Or, rather, it has been altered to the detriment of the Germans themselves, who have been pressed back on the narrow sector of Le Mort Homme-Cumières, the object of their efforts.

It was on Saturday, April 29, that we attacked the enemy positions to the north of Le Mort Homme. Our soldiers captured trenches and communicating trenches on a front of 1,000 meters, (1,094 yards,) and to a depth of 300 to 600 meters, (330 to 660 yards.)

Sunday, April 30.—The same success crowned an attack to the north of Cumières.

Monday, May 1.—The loss of these trenches, the winning of which had cost such tremendous efforts, led the Germans to attempt, on May 1, ferocious attacks, preceded by the usual bombardment. To the north of Le Mort Homme two German regiments, successively sent forward, suffered enormous losses under our fire. To the north of Cumières the assault was three times repeated and as often broken.

Tuesday, May 2; Wednesday, May 3.—On May 3, to the northwest of Le Mort Homme, a brilliant assault allowed us to carry new German positions and to take a hundred prisoners.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse the enemy bombarded our positions almost incessantly, from the Poivre Ridge to Vaux. A first attack on the slopes of Vaux fort had been repulsed; a second, between Haudromont farm and Thiaumont farm, was not allowed to develop, the enemy, while still in his trenches, having been subjected to a very accurate artillery fire. Then the bombardment was resumed, preceding a violent movement against our trenches to the west of the Thiaumont farm, in the direction of the Nawé Wood. In spite of the use of flaming liquids, the Germans were not able to force us from our shelters and, as soon as they appeared, they were cut down by our fire. An attack against Douaumont and Vaux was no more successful.

In this same sector, on May 1, we ourselves took the offensive against the German positions to the southeast of the Douaumont fort, a zone in which we held the Caillette Wood and Vaux pond. Our soldiers, launched against a German trench, carried it on a front of 500 meters, (550 yards.)

More and more the events of the war are concentrated around Verdun, the enemy ceaselessly bringing new troops to resume his attack.

INCREDIBLE SHELL FIRE

During the period May 4-10 his principal effort was directed against the French positions on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, from Le Mort Homme to 304-Meter Hill. But the bombardment which has progressively reached a

violence hitherto unknown, it is said, in this series of battles in which artillery has attained to a concentration of fire never before believed possible—this bombardment has been extended from Cumières as far as the wood of Avocourt, more than 8 kilometers, (5 miles.) This fire was at times interrupted or extended by the enemy, to allow of assaults which he carried out with growing fury, without succeeding in forcing our positions; hardly even obtaining slight successes, which were as quickly neutralized by our counterattacks. If the Germans have not brought into action effectives comparable to those of the closing days of February, they have nevertheless sent forward great masses, and have demanded from them efforts and sacrifices proportionately greater.

On May 2 and 3 we took the offensive, not with the intention of pushing back the enemy, but in order to rectify our lines. On May 2, while the Germans were directing an intense artillery fire on the Avocourt sector, our troops carried out an assault on the German trenches to the northwest of Le Mort Homme, that is, against 265-Meter Hill. These trenches were brilliantly carried by us, 100 prisoners and four machine guns falling into our hands, while the Germans suffered heavy losses from our shells. During the whole night (May 3-4) our soldiers continued to advance from one communicating trench to another, organizing the ground as they went forward.

Thursday, May 4.—The enemy directed an attack on these newly won trenches, but it was immediately broken. In the evening of May 4, after artillery preparation of extreme violence, 304-Meter Hill, until then only bombarded, was assaulted by strong German contingents; these were repulsed, but our front trench was invaded in some places. A German division composed of fresh troops had made the assaults; it suffered crushing losses.

Friday, May 5.—The enemy, after attempting to repair this check, resumed the bombardment more furiously than ever. Large calibre and asphyxiating shells fell in unheard-of numbers. The whole region was torn up, and rendered untenable; it became necessary to evac-

uate a part of the trenches on the north slope, facing Haucourt; but the waves of assault were not able to organize themselves, our artillery covering with projectiles the ground on which the enemy intended to form.

Saturday, May 6.—During the night of May 5-6 the Germans attempted to carry the small wood which, to the north and northwest, covers the edge of the plateau of 304-Meter Hill; a counterattack with the bayonet was sufficient to push them back within their lines.

The bombardment did not cease. It was instead resumed with such fury that officers who had taken part in the first battles of Verdun said that they had never seen such gun fire. The shell fire was continued day and night.

ATTACK IN ESNES RAVINE

Sunday, May 7.—An attack was begun, conducted by three divisions constituted of fresh troops, who had not yet taken part in the fighting at Verdun; 304-Meter Hill seemed at first directly threatened. But this was only a feint. The main weight of the attack was carried forward swiftly, in a powerful effort along the bottom of the valley of the Esnes rivulet, between this hill and Le Mort Homme, which faces it. Another assault was directed to the west, near the road from Esnes to Haucourt. On this front, which comprises four kilometers, (2½ miles,) the attacking regiments came forward like a waterspout, believing that our resistance had been broken by their gun fire. But our batteries had been able to hold their ground; machine guns barred the way; several times the German onrush crumbled before our shells and rifle bullets. After suffering frightful losses the enemy was compelled to retire; he had succeeded in getting a foothold in a small communicating trench at the bottom of the valley. All night long the struggle continued, the Germans arriving with fury before our lines, where our fire mowed them down.

Monday, May 8.—In the morning a counterattack completed our success; we retook the communicating trench which had been taken from us. However, the bombardment continued against the Avocourt Wood; during the day the

enemy attempted a new attack, this time taking as their objective 287-Meter Hill, a long ridge which descends toward Haucourt, between the Forges stream, which takes its rise at the west end of the hill, and a dry ravine. The assailants were not even able to reach our trenches; our cannon and machine guns stopped them as soon as they showed themselves.

The Germans were not sparing of their assaults against 304-Meter Hill. During the whole night of May 8-9 they rained shells upon it.

Tuesday, May 9.—At 3 o'clock in the morning the Germans attempted a new surprise attack, which was equally fruitless, as was a second attempt during the afternoon.

Wednesday, May 10.—Yet another attack was made against the approaches of 287-Meter Hill; it was repulsed and left a number of prisoners in our hands.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse, from May 2 to May 6, there was only the usual artillery duel; this gained vigor on the night of May 6-7, and grew to a vigorous bombardment of our trenches connecting the Haudromont Wood with the approaches of Douaumont Fort. On May 7 an infantry attack developed, carried out by a division; the onrush was such that on the west, that is to the south of the Haudromont Wood, our first-line trenches were entered on a front of 500 meters, (550 yards.) The enemy paid very dearly for this success, which was, besides, very short-lived, as, on the following night, a series of counterattacks drove him out of most of the ground gained. During the night of May 8-9 we completed the recapture of these lines in the neighborhood of Thiaumont farm.

On Wednesday, May 10, a small offensive action carried out by our troops on the western slopes of Le Mort Homme allowed us to occupy enemy trench elements, and to capture two machine guns and about 100 men.

Thursday, May 11; Friday, May 12.—On Thursday, at Le Mort Homme, and on Friday, to the southeast of Haucourt, that is, toward 287-Meter Hill, we widened our positions by local actions.

Saturday, May 13.—On their side, on three occasions, on May 10, 12, and 13,

the Germans tried to get close to our lines; they failed at 287-Meter Hill and on 304-Meter Hill.

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, May 14-16.—During the following days enemy action was confined to bombardment, directed particularly against 304-Meter Hill and Avocourt Wood. On May 16 a German attack in this direction was quickly stopped; as was also an attack with grenades against Le Mort Homme.

On the east bank of the Meuse several attempts were made against our positions between Haudromont Wood and the Vaux Pond. On May 11, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the Germans assaulted the wooded zone situated to the west of the pond; our soldiers drove them back with the bayonet and with grenades. On the following day, May 12, after a prolonged bombardment of all our lines on this front, two successive attacks against our trenches to the southeast of Douaumont Fort were repulsed with serious loss to the enemy. He returned to the charge during the night, to the west of the Thiaumont farm.

Wednesday, May 17.—The attack was repeated in the morning; our barrier fire was sufficient to throw the enemy back, and in this direction his effort was ended.

On the ridges of the Meuse, to the south of the Vaux region, besides the artillery struggle nothing was announced except the check of a strong reconnaissance toward Les Eparges, and the success of an attack by our troops against a point, not precisely indicated, between Les Eparges and St. Mihiel. It might be supposed that the enemy was massing troops in the plain, as our long-range guns fired on enemy detachments to the southeast of Thiaucourt.

Our airmen were also active. On the night of May 16-17 our air squadrons dropped bombs on several enemy bivouacs at Damvillers and Wille-Devant-Chaumont, to the north of Vaux; on the railway station at Briouilles, whence the military railway to Nantillois and Montfaucon branches off; and on the villages of Nantillois and Romagnes-sous-Montfaucon.

Half a Million Men Fighting Like "Madmen in a Volcano"

By a French Staff Captain

With the beginning of the fourth month of fighting at Verdun the deadlock changed to the most terrific pitched battle in history. Fully half a million men were engaged altogether, without a respite from slaughter for several days. Following are the impressions of an eyewitness:

VERDUN has become a battle of madmen in the midst of a volcano. Whole regiments melt in a few minutes, and others take their places only to perish in the same way. Between Saturday morning (May 20) and noon Tuesday (May 23) we estimate that the Germans used up 100,000 men on the west Meuse front alone. That is the price they paid for the recapture of our recent gains and the seizure of our outlying po-

sitions. The valley separating Le Mort Homme from Hill 287 is choked with bodies. A full brigade was mowed down in a quarter hour's holocaust by our machine guns. Le Mort Homme itself passed from our possession, but the crescent Bourrus position to the south prevents the enemy from utilizing it.

The scene there is appalling, but is dwarfed in comparison with fighting around Douaumont. West of the Meuse, at least, one dies in the open air, but at Douaumont is the horror of darkness, where the men fight in tunnels, screaming with the lust of butchery, deafened by shells and grenades, stifled by smoke.

Even the wounded refuse to abandon the struggle. As though possessed by devils, they fight on until they fall sense-

less from loss of blood. A surgeon in a front-line post told me that, in a redoubt at the south part of the fort, of 200 French dead fully half had more than two wounds. Those he was able to treat seemed utterly insane. They kept shouting war cries and their eyes blazed, and, strangest of all, they appeared indifferent to pain. At one moment anesthetics ran out owing to the impossibility of bringing forward fresh supplies through the bombardment. Arms, even legs, were amputated without a groan, and even afterward the men seemed not to have felt the shock. They asked for a cigarette or inquired how the battle was going.

Our losses in retaking the fort were less heavy than was expected, as the enemy was demoralized by the cannonade—by far the most furious I have ever seen from French guns—and also was taken by surprise. But the subsequent action took a terrible toll. Cover was all blown to pieces. Every German rush was preceded by two or three hours of hell-storm, and then wave after wave of attack in numbers that seemed unceasing. Again and again the defenders' ranks were renewed.

Never have attacks been pushed home so continuously. The fight for Cemetery

Hill at Gettysburg was no child's play, nor for Hougoumont at Waterloo, but here men have been flung 5,000 at a time at brief intervals for the last forty-eight hours. Practically the whole sector has been covered by a cannonade, compared to which Gettysburg was a hailstorm and Waterloo mere fireworks. Some shell holes were thirty feet across, the explosion killing fifty men simultaneously.

Before our lines the German dead lie heaped in long rows. I am told one observer calculated there were 7,000 in a distance of 700 yards. Besides they cannot succor their wounded, whereas of ours one at least in three is removed safely to the rear. Despite the bombardment supplies keep coming. Even the chloroform I spoke of arrived after an hour's delay when two sets of bearers had been killed.

The dogged tenacity needed to continue the resistance far surpasses the furious élan of the attack. We know, too, the Germans cannot long maintain their present sacrifices. Since Saturday the enemy has lost two, if not three, for each one of us. Every bombardment withstood, every rush checked brings nearer the moment of inevitable exhaustion. Then will come our recompense for these days of horror.

How the Battle of Verdun Began

By a Combatant

This article in the *Paris Matin* of May 10 created a stir, and other papers were forbidden to quote from it. The next day the French Government published an official denial of its main point. The text of this denial appears at the end of the present translation.

"General Pétain was able to save a particularly delicate situation."—Official citation in the Order of the Day.

A CERTAIN number of facts are now available to throw at least a little light upon the beginnings of the battle still raging at Verdun. There is, for instance, the mention of General Pétain in the official dispatches, in which it was stated that he "was able to save a delicate situation." There is, besides, the replacing of General Langle de Cary, who commanded the central group of armies (of which the Verdun army forms a part) by this same General Pétain.

Nor is the public ignorant of the fact that General de Castelnau, in his capacity as Major General, [second to Joffre,] hastened to the Meuse as soon as the wide character of the German attack became known, and took measures on his personal initiative which brought about the French "restoration."

In what respect was the situation "delicate"? What were the responsibilities assumed in the circumstances? Certain details on these points have already been ascertained; we wish to add some new ones.

It will be remembered that the whole

month of February had been marked by a series of local offensives made by the Germans against the entire line of our front from the sea to the Vosges—*except the Verdun sector*. There was a manifest tactical policy in this, intended to cause us to make changes in the region where the real attack was to be made, and to hinder us from concentrating our reserves to stop it. The fact is that General Pétain's army, which our Commander in Chief was reserving for the honor of this vital blow, was nowhere near Verdun, and that it could not be conveyed there until the battle had already been going on several hours.

Nevertheless, several military leaders had seen to it that the German strategy did not circumvent them. For several weeks they had been announcing that the blow of the enemy would strike precisely upon the banks of the Meuse, where no action seemed to be contemplated. They based their predictions upon very serious information, according to which great preparations had long been in progress behind the German front in this sector, whole divisions and even new army corps being concentrated there, and a formidable quantity of heavy artillery and munitions accumulated.

Two currents of opinion then prevailed in our General Staff. Some of the officers held that Verdun was going to be the actual objective chosen by the Germans; the others persisted in refusing to regard that eventuality as probable. Our front, which then ran to the top of the Caures Woods, was held chiefly by territorial and African troops. As General Herr, who at that time commanded the whole intrenched camp of Verdun and its outposts, called for reinforcements, the Twentieth Corps, then resting in the Maily camp, was placed at his disposal, but was not dispatched to the scene.

These were the conditions when the attack of Feb. 21 took place. For thirty-six hours the army did not realize all the gravity of the case. It was only when the folding back of our lines became accentuated—we were fighting with three divisions (60,000 men) against five army corps (200,000 men)—and when we had to rectify our front beyond Samogneux,

Beaumont, and Ornes that the situation appeared in its true light. What was to be done? It appeared impossible to oppose an adequate dike to the German flood, because no such dike was ready, and time was lacking to improvise it. It must not be forgotten, either, that no new railroad track had been laid in the region of Verdun, and that—since the Germans were at St. Mihiel—we possessed, in all and for all, only one single railway to transport everything to our stronghold. Besides, at the end of February the Meuse was in flood, and the crossing of bridges accessible to the heavy projectiles of the enemy was becoming precarious.

A decision, believed to be one of prudence, was prepared—the *evacuation of the whole of the right bank of the Meuse*. The screen of troops fighting on the first line had no other mission than to resist while retreating and thus retard the enemy as much as possible, in order to permit the withdrawal of the rest of our forces and, if possible, our supplies to the other bank of the Meuse.

These orders had already been received when General de Castelnau arrived at Verdun. He saw, he judged, and, of his own initiative, possessing as Major General the delegated powers of the Generalissimo, he decided to reverse the plan that had been decreed, and to hold his ground, cost what it might, against the enemy on the plateau of Douaumont. Thus Verdun would be saved. The task offered immense difficulties, and General Pétain was commissioned to perform it.

The first act that had a decisive influence on subsequent events was the utilization of automobile trucks for the transport of troops and munitions. Four thousand seven hundred trucks were taken from the neighboring armies and these, running day and night without interruption, established between Bar-le-Duc and Verdun the "endless pulley" system that saved the day. It was by grace of these trucks that the Twentieth Army Corps, brought by railway from Maily to Bar-le-Duc, could be transferred in twelve hours from Bar-le-Duc to the plateau of Douaumont. The transfer was begun Feb. 24 at 7 o'clock in the

evening. The next morning at 10 that army corps was taking part in the battle. The same trucks in the days immediately following assured the transport of the whole army of General Pétain, and, throughout the two and a half months of the battle thus far they have never ceased to carry the provisions, the munitions, the fresh troops, the returning wounded, the evacuated battalions, and the units relieved at the front.

But, though General de Castelnau had taken it upon himself to modify the orders first given, these orders had already begun to be executed at certain points. The development of the battle of Verdun in the last days of February appears particularly confused because the counterorders of General de Castelnau could not reach all the units in time; some of them acted on the original orders, even after the whole general plan had been changed. We cannot now, for reasons easy to understand, reveal the reverses that resulted from this state of things. * * *

This article called forth from the Ministry of the Interior the following communiqué:

At no moment of the Verdun battle has the high command given orders with

a view to the retreat of the French troops to the left bank of the Meuse.

On the contrary, from the morning of Feb. 23, General Langle de Cary instructed the troops of the right bank that the occupation of every point, even after it had been overrun, of every position even completely surrounded, must be maintained at any price, and that there must be only one order, "Hold on."

On the 24th, in the evening, the General in Chief gave the order to hold the front between the Meuse and Woevre by employing all means at the disposal of the army. He also directed General de Castelnau to Verdun.

The next morning, Feb. 25, while on his way, General de Castelnau confirmed by telephone to General Herr that in conformity with the orders of the General in Chief the positions of the right bank of the Meuse ought to be held at any cost.

Finally, on the evening of the same day the General in Chief sent to General Pétain on his taking up his command the following order: "I have ordered yesterday, the 24th, that the right bank of the Meuse to the north of Verdun be held. Any commander who gives an order to retreat will be brought before a court-martial."

How Different Nationalities Act in Battle

As to the qualities and characteristics of the various non-Teutonic soldiers of Europe, German army officers speak interestingly and not without generosity. The French soldier is gallant, nervous, and very brave, only it is difficult to make him return a second or third time into the same fire. The English fighter is dogged and individually resourceful. The Italian, though ferocious in assault, is discouraged by failure. He goes on one impulse and hates to repass his own dead for a second charge. That is how a German sees three of his adversaries. As to a fourth, he volunteers nothing, but if he is pressed, he will add: "The Russian is terrible."

The meaning of that assertion develops slowly, with many hesitations. It is not that the individual Russian soldier is particularly terrible. No, that is not what he means to say. The Russian cannot be singularized. You have to think of Russians, infinite in plurality, a slow-moving, ominous, imposing mass. They come in lines ten and twelve deep, heedless and heavy, so controlled by their own momentum that they cannot stop. They will go anywhere, into anything, again and again, as if they did not know how to be afraid. "The only thing you can do," says the German officer, "is to slaughter them and pray that you will have ammunition enough to keep it up."

Why Verdun?

By Gabriel Hanotaux

Of the Paris Figaro and the French Academy

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE obstinacy of the offensive at Verdun gives increasing proof each day of the importance which the Germans attach to that enterprise. It is desirable that the French soldier, the "soldier of Verdun," should be informed fully of the causes of this desperation, for thus he will be convinced more deeply each day that he is fighting not only for ground and the honor of victory, but that he is defending, at the price of his blood, the very life of his native land.

Each minute of these long months and each clod of that earth represents a unit of our national existence. By each act, by each moment of suffering, our soldiers are preparing in advance the conditions of an advantageous and liberating peace. They are at this very moment the creators of the future. With cannon shots, with rifle shots, with bayonet thrusts, with grenade blows, they are destroying, rag by rag, the "grand German plan." The Kaiser has decided to risk his highest stakes upon this card; he has intrusted to his troops at Verdun the supreme ambition of Germany. If this attack fails, the whole Pan-Germanist scheme crumbles and its body will soon measure the earth. The monster will no longer have any other hope than that of prolonging the phases of its death agony.

From the beginning of the war the German plan has aimed principally at Verdun. If the Crown Prince has been placed at the head of the assailants, it is because the decisive victory was reserved for him. The movement in Belgium was meant to turn the flank of the adversary, but to conquer him the Germans counted especially—in accordance with the principles of the elder Moltke—upon the offensive of the centre.

It is in harmony with the energy of the German leaders to group their fighting

units and employ them in mass formation against the enemy, in order to break his principal force. Now, the principal force of the French Army from the beginning has been in the east, and it is still that frontier which popular instinct calls the "iron frontier." Of that force Verdun is the apex; it is the tooth penetrating into the live flesh of the enemy. Without Verdun the German army advancing on Paris could have no free communication with Germany. Without Verdun there could be no sure protection for Metz. Ever since the ancient treaty that divided up the heritage of the sons of Charlemagne, Verdun has been the point around which all the history of France and Germany has pivoted: Verdun is the name that one finds again and again on all the pages of our history.

Geographically Verdun presents two incomparable advantages for the German offensive. It commands the Valley of the Meuse. As some one had said, Verdun is the "hinge" between the eastern and northern provinces. We have no other way of liberating our country from German servitude than to hold on until death to this corner of earth; otherwise there is no longer any line of communication between Lille and Nancy. To allow the line of the Meuse to be crushed in would be to erase from our history the battle of the Catalonian Fields, the battle of Valmy, our eternal defense on the Argonne, and, finally, the battle of the Marne, which is only a repetition of its glorious predecessors.

This geographic interest is rounded out, as we now know—thanks to the luminous writings of M. Engerand—by an economic interest no less powerful and no less agonizing. Germany cannot remain mistress of the world's metal industries unless she can keep and extend her possessions of mineral ores in the

French province of Briey and the neighboring regions. We have the statement of the German metal workers that Germany could not continue the present war if she no longer controlled the iron ore of Lorraine, technically known as minette. We have a statement from German experts declaring that so long as these mines are under the cannon of Verdun the economic and military destiny of Germany remains precarious and exposed to French domination. We are in a position to affirm that one of the chief reasons for the war has been the desire to conquer the Briey basin and seize the strategical key of that immense wealth—in a word, Verdun!

If the French soldier knows all this he will understand why he is fighting, and why, in defending that ground, he is defending both the heart and the breast-plate of his fatherland.

Strategically the reiterated determination of the Germans to conquer at this point in order to obtain "their" victory may be gathered also from their own avowals. In the first part of the war the plan was to capture Verdun, and it was because Verdun did not fall that the German Army had to substitute the war of trenches for the war of manoeuvres. We can believe their own statements on this subject. One of their historians (Gottlob Egelhaaf) wrote:

"If the Crown Princes of Bavaria and Prussia had been in a position to take Verdun in August-September, 1914, and thus to pierce the line of the Meuse, the German armies would have broken through to Paris in a single movement. But the Princes remained nailed at Verdun * * * and so the supreme commander had to decide to withdraw the right wing of the German Army. The Germans retired, then, from the Marne as far back as the Aisne. Because

Verdun could not be taken, it appeared necessary to change the plan of the war."

Is it clear? Do we need any higher or more striking proof? If so, who does not recall the telegram addressed by the Kaiser to the Landtag of Brandenburg, in which he celebrated the taking of Verdun, which he believed to be an accomplished fact:

"I rejoice greatly in the new and grand examples of Brandenburg vigor and fidelity even unto death which the sons of that province have furnished in the last few days, in the course of their irresistible assault upon the powerful fortress of our chief enemy."

He really thought—and it was repeated a hundred times after him in Germany—that the taking of Verdun was the end of the war, a decisive German victory. And that is why the desperate resistance of our soldiers, "the French victory of Verdun," has been and will be for him and his followers the supreme disillusionment.

This is why our magnificent corps of Generals, and our army, now responding so nobly to their appeals, realize that at Verdun, as on the Marne, we must conquer or perish. General Joffre gave us the key to these unanimous sentiments when he made known his telegram, sent at the time of his famous order of the day on the Marne:

"The evening of the same day, the 25th, the Commander in Chief sent to General Pétain, then taking command, the following order: 'Yesterday, the 24th, I gave orders to hold the right bank of the Meuse, north of Verdun. Any commander who shall give an order to retreat will be court-martialed.'"

Compare the two telegrams, that of the Emperor and that of the General, and you can judge which is the hand that is engraving history.



The Iron Key to War and Peace

By Henri Berenger

Member of the French Senate

Further data on the crucial value of the French iron mines seized by Germany are furnished by Senator Berenger in Le Matin:

THERE is no reason to be astonished that Germany, from the very beginning of the war, has sought to maintain possession of the Basin of Briey, which represented 90 per cent. of our iron production, and that the attack on Verdun has been for the purpose of confirming and perpetuating this possession.

To understand all the tragedy of our problem it is necessary to know that it is precisely the Basin of Briey which is the battlefield for the sovereignty of iron between Germany and France. The Basin of Briey lies between Verdun and Metz, like a gigantic key of the war, thrown at equal distance from these two fortresses of the Lorraine frontier.

From this fact may not one perceive the interest which the Germans have in taking Verdun—an interest equal to that which we should have in retaking Metz?

Certain reliable figures, collected before the war and since the war began, will impart to all Frenchmen the truth.

Before the war Germany produced annually 28,000,000 tons of iron, of which 21,000,000 tons came from that part of the Basin of Briey which had been annexed to Germany since 1870-71.

France produced annually 22,000,000 tons of iron, of which 15,000,000 tons came from the part of the Basin of Briey which had remained French.

Since the war began France, having lost the Basin of Briey through invasion, has been almost exclusively furnished with iron from England and America.

Germany, on the contrary, having occupied at the same time the Basin of Briey in France and in Luxemburg, has put in operation nearly all the great furnaces there and thus adds to her 28,000,000 tons, before the war, the 15,000,000 tons of our basin and the 6,000,000 of

the Basin of Luxemburg—that is 28 plus 15 plus 6, making 49,000,000 tons of iron for herself and her allies.

If we recall that in Germany, thanks to the Rhenish foundries, 100 tons of pig iron produce 92 tons of steel, Germany has at her disposition about 45,000,000 tons of steel for military and naval appliances of all sorts.

Far from having realized against Germany the essential brockage, which would be the brockage of the iron, the prime material in this war, we have, on the contrary, left her in possession of 90 per cent. of our French production of iron and of 80 per cent. of the national production of steel we had before the war.

The artless proof of what I set forth here has been for some time furnished by German documents which the Comité des Forges de France [Committee of the Foundries of France] has published in its circulars Nos. 655, 666, and 3,287.

Here, notably, is what one may read since May 20, 1915—just a year ago—in the "Confidential Memorandum on the Conditions of Future Peace" which was addressed to von Bethmann Hollweg, Chancellor of the Empire, by the six great industrial and agricultural associations of Germany:

If the production of pig iron and steel had not been doubled since August, 1914, the continuation of the war would have been impossible. At present the mineral of Briey furnishes from 60 to 80 per cent. of the appliances made from iron and steel. If this production be disturbed the war will be practically lost.

Once masters of Verdun the Germans will be able to believe themselves masters of the indefinite continuation of the war, because the Basin of Briey incloses in the totality of its subsoil more than 3,000,000,000 tons of iron.

On the other hand, if we remain masters of Verdun and again, by our armies, become masters of Metz, we shall, by the same stroke, put an end to the war, because we shall have taken from Germany

21 plus 15 plus 6, amounting to 42,000,000 tons of iron of the 49,000,000 tons which the empire contains—that is to say, nine-

tenths of her total production of steel, the entire key to her production of war material.

Germany and the Lorraine Iron Mines

By Otto Hué

Socialist Member of the Reichstag

Confirmation of the statement that Germany would not have steel enough to continue the war if it were to lose control of the rich mines east of Verdun is furnished by the following extract from an article in the Metallarbeiter-Zeitung, the weekly organ of the German Metal Workers' Union:

IN Alsace-Lorraine a great ore mining and iron and steel making industry has developed in a period of time so brief as to remind us of conditions in the United States. In 1872 only twenty mining concessions were granted, the ore output amounted to only 990,000 tons, and the pig iron production to but 220,000 tons. In 1878-79 along came the process for the extraction of phosphorus, named after its inventors, Thomas and Gilchrist, and already in 1882 there were 230 mining concessions granted in Alsace-Lorraine, and the production of ore soon reached 2,000,000 tons, although the work of smelting at the point of production developed more slowly, because the construction of big smelting plants required more time and money than that necessary for the opening of the mines, the greater part of which was then close to the surface.

It is sufficiently well known that the Thomas-Gilchrist process raised the Lorraine-Luxemburg iron ore, (minette,) which contained too much phosphorus for the older Bessemer process, to the rank of a most profitable ore with one blow. This is the base for a development of the mining, iron, and steel industry in Alsace-Lorraine unparalleled in Europe. The production of minette ore jumped from 2,150,000 tons in 1885 to 21,130,000 tons in 1913. Of the round 19,000,000 tons of pig iron smelted within the limits of the German Tariff Union (Germany

and Luxemburg) in 1913 some 33 per cent. came from Lorraine and Luxemburg. The outbreak of the war interrupted the increased use of the big new smelters in the imperial territories—Hagendingen, for example. The balance of our production of pig iron and crude steel began to swing more toward the southwest corner of Germany.

Of the production of iron ore within the district covered by the tariff union in 1913, which amounted to almost 36,000,000 tons, 21,100,000 came from Lorraine and 7,300,000 from Luxemburg. Therefore the minette district alone produces 80 per cent. of our domestic output of iron ore. It is true that we exported 2,610,000 tons of iron ore in 1913, nearly all of which went to Belgium and France, but we imported 3,800,000 tons (principally minette) from there in exchange, especially because the mixing of French with German minette makes a better smelting combination. Furthermore, we received 4,550,000 tons of iron ore from Sweden and 3,630,000 tons from Spain, besides smaller quantities from Russia, Algeria, Tunis, Norway, &c.

In the main, however, these ores, which are generally richer and consequently cost more to extract, go to a few of the big smelters of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia that assured themselves of favorable conditions through long-term contracts, as with Sweden, for instance. Of the 34,000,000 tons of iron ore worked up in German smelters and foundries in 1913 some 23,250,000 tons came from the interior of the empire, and as of that only about 7,000,000 tons were produced outside of Alsace-Lorraine, a simple calculation shows that already in 1913 some 70 per cent. of the German iron ore used came from Lorraine.

German War Losses the Greatest in History

GENERAL JACOB EUGENE DURYEE, a veteran of the American civil war, has prepared a study which shows that the German casualties in the present war exceed the war losses in Europe and America for the entire eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

His study shows that in the battles of the eighteenth century there was a total of 1,865,700 men engaged, of whom 316,450 were killed or wounded; in the battles of the nineteenth century there were 7,315,912 men engaged and 1,088,641 killed or wounded, making a total for both centuries of 9,181,612 men, with casualties of 1,405,091. He quotes the British official estimate of German losses, published in THE NEW YORK TIMES of May 11, showing casualties of 2,822,079, concluding that in the twenty-one months since August, 1914, the Germans have lost 1,084,000 more men than were lost by all the nations of Europe and America in the battles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In none of the battles General Duryee takes into consideration were there less than 75,000 men engaged, the lowest on the list being the battle of Orthez, in 1814, with 77,000 men engaged. The greatest number in any battle, exclusive of the present war, was at Leipsic in 1813, when 440,000 men fought. In the four great battles of the nineteenth century—Leipsic, Wagram, Borodino, and Bantzen—there were all together 1,373,000 men engaged. In the eighteenth century there was only one battle fought in which there were as many as 200,000 fighters, the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709.

In comparison with the many battles in the present war, in which many hundreds of thousands face each other, General Duryee shows that of the fifteen great battles of the civil war in none were as many as 200,000 engaged. The battle of Fredericksburg in 1862 with

190,000 men and the battle of Chancellorsville with 192,000 in 1863 were the largest in the number of men engaged. The losses in these battles, however, were smaller than in others in which fewer men were engaged, notably Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Spottsylvania, and the Wilderness. The bloodiest battle fought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Leipsic, when 92,000 were killed or wounded of the 440,000 engaged. The greatest battle on this continent was Gettysburg, where 37,000 were killed and wounded of 163,000 engaged. The bloodiest battle was Chickamauga, where 35,100 of the 128,000 engaged were killed or wounded.

General Duryee gives a list of the sixteen great battles of the eighteenth century, as follows:

| Name and Date. | Men Engaged. | Killed and Wounded. |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Blenheim, 1704..... | 116,000 | 31,000 |
| Ramilles, 1706..... | 122,000 | 11,600 |
| Oudenard, 1708..... | 170,000 | 20,000 |
| Malplaquet, 1709..... | 200,000 | 34,000 |
| Dettingen, 1743..... | 97,000 | 9,350 |
| Fontenoy, 1745..... | 90,000 | 13,000 |
| Prague, 1757..... | 121,000 | 22,000 |
| Kollin, 1757..... | 87,000 | 19,000 |
| Leuthen, 1757..... | 111,000 | 16,000 |
| Breslau, 1757..... | 110,000 | 11,700 |
| Zorndorf, 1758..... | 84,700 | 32,000 |
| Hochkirch, 1758..... | 132,000 | 14,000 |
| Zullichau, 1759..... | 113,000 | 31,000 |
| Torgau, 1760..... | 106,000 | 24,000 |
| Castiglione, 1796..... | 90,000 | 17,000 |
| Total | 1,752,700 | 305,650 |

General Duryee lists the following as the great battles of the nineteenth century, many of which seem skirmishes when compared with the great struggles now going on in Europe:

| Name and Date. | Men Engaged. | Killed and Wounded. |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Hohenlinden, 1800.... | 106,000 | 14,500 |
| Austerlitz, 1805..... | 148,000 | 25,000 |
| Jena, 1806..... | 98,000 | 17,000 |
| Eylau, 1807..... | 133,500 | 42,000 |
| Hellsburg, 1807..... | 169,000 | 22,000 |
| Friedland, 1807..... | 142,000 | 34,000 |
| Eckmeihl, 1809..... | 145,000 | 15,000 |
| Aspern, 1809..... | 170,000 | 45,000 |

| Name and Date. | Men Engaged. | Killed and Wounded. |
|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Wagram, 1809..... | 370,000 | 44,000 |
| Talavera, 1809..... | 109,000 | 15,500 |
| Salamanca, 1812..... | 91,000 | 15,000 |
| Borodino, 1812..... | 263,000 | 75,000 |
| Baptzen, 1813..... | 300,000 | 24,000 |
| Vittoria, 1813..... | 143,000 | 10,000 |
| Leipsic, 1813..... | 440,000 | 92,000 |
| Orthez, 1814..... | 77,000 | 6,050 |
| Le Rothiere, 1814..... | 120,000 | 12,500 |
| Laon, 1814..... | 112,000 | 9,000 |
| Ligny, 1815..... | 159,000 | 24,000 |
| Toulouse, 1814..... | 90,000 | 10,550 |
| Waterloo, 1815..... | 170,000 | 42,000 |
| Alma, 1854..... | 86,000 | 9,100 |
| Inkerman, 1854..... | 83,700 | 13,787 |
| Magenta, 1859..... | 108,000 | 11,000 |
| Solferino, 1859..... | 295,000 | 31,500 |
| Shiloh, 1862..... | 98,000 | 21,000 |
| Seven Pines, 1862..... | 90,000 | 11,165 |
| Gaines Mills, 1862..... | 90,000 | 13,000 |
| Malvern Hill, 1862..... | 150,000 | 8,300 |
| Second Manassas, 1862..... | 127,000 | 22,000 |
| Antietam, 1862..... | 128,000 | 23,582 |
| Fredericksburg, 1862..... | 190,000 | 16,971 |
| Chickamauga, 1863..... | 128,000 | 35,100 |
| Chancellorsville, 1863..... | 192,000 | 24,000 |
| Gettysburg, 1863..... | 163,000 | 37,000 |
| Chattanooga, 1863..... | 99,000 | 8,500 |
| Stone River, 1863..... | 80,712 | 18,500 |
| Spottsylvania, 1864..... | 150,000 | 25,000 |
| Cold Harbor, 1864..... | 168,000 | 11,700 |
| Wilderness, 1864..... | 179,000 | 26,000 |
| Koenigratz, 1866..... | 417,000 | 26,894 |
| Worth, 1870..... | 135,000 | 18,642 |
| Vionville, 1870..... | 168,000 | 32,800 |
| Gravelotte, 1870..... | 320,000 | 30,000 |
| Plevna, 1877..... | 115,000 | 19,000 |
| Total | 7,315,912 | 1,088,641 |

General Duryee gives the following list of German casualties as taken from official British compilations reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Losses of German Empire up to May 1, 1915: Killed or died of wounds, 664,552; missing, 197,094; severely wounded, 385,515; wounded, 254,627; slightly wounded, 1,023,212; total, 2,525,000. This does not include prisoners, those who died of sickness, or those wounded who remained with units, the grand total being 2,822,079.

LATER BRITISH ESTIMATE

According to a British official tabulation of the German casualty lists, Germany had lost 2,924,586 soldiers up to the end of May, of which 734,412 were killed. This does not include losses in naval engagements or in the colonies. The German figures for the month of May alone, as compiled by the British authorities, were 22,471 dead, 72,075 wounded, and 7,961 prisoners and missing, making a total of 102,507. The ing, making a total of 102,507.

The grand totals as indicated above are:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Dead | 734,412 |
| Wounded | 1,851,652 |
| Prisoners and missing | 338,522 |

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| Total | 2,924,586 |
|-------------|-----------|

A Comparison That Shows the Huge Cost of the War

Edmond Thery, a French economist, has compiled statistics showing that the present belligerents have already spent more than twice as much as the total cost of all the preceding wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He says in substance:

The fifteen years of war waged by Napoleon increased the public debt of France by 588,000,000 francs, while the Crimean war alone cost the republic 1,660,000,000. Great Britain spent 1,550,000,000 in the Crimean, while that war cost Austria 343,000,000, and Turkey and Sardinia together 642,000,000 francs. France spent 650,000,000 francs on the Mexican war, and 853,000,000 in the conflict against Austria for the liberation of Italy.

Prussia in her wars against Denmark and Austria spent about 2,000,000,000 francs, while the German States and France together spent about 15,000,000,000 on the war of 1870, including 5,000,000,000 francs indemnity paid by France to Germany. The war of 1877-78 against Turkey cost Russia about 2,700,000,000 francs, while she spent 6,300,000,000 in the war with Japan, as against 4,500,000,000 spent by Japan.

The total from the beginning of 1801 up to August, 1914, amounts to about 65,000,000,000 francs, or less than one-half of what the belligerent powers have already expended on the present conflict.

Creating the British Army

Story of Lord Kitchener's Achievements Leading Up to Military Compulsion

[Condensed for CURRENT HISTORY from an article by J. B. Firth in The London Telegraph, published a short time before Kitchener's death]

THE Military Service bill will mark the definite commencement of a new era for the British Army. Military necessity has driven Great Britain to conform to the Continental model, because she was required to raise armies on a Continental scale. Having raised them, she must maintain them. Voluntaryism sufficed for the former; after a gallant effort it has proved unequal to the latter duty.

Lord Kitchener is to be congratulated most heartily upon a wonderful achievement. These armies are of his raising. He must have passed through some very anxious months during the several phases of the recruiting problem. But he has always presented to the public a calm and imperturbable front. From the outset Lord Kitchener showed a sound prescience of the magnitude and duration of the struggle, and the best monument of his tenure of the Secretaryship of State for War is the size and quality of the British Army of today.

When the news came of the definite failure of the original French offensive, which necessitated the perilous retreat of the British Army from Mons, all idea must have vanished of limiting the British military contribution to the maintenance of 160,000 men in France. Great Britain had to throw all in that she possibly could, and to do so she must raise armies as never before in her long history. There was only one man who could do it. There was only one man whom the country would have trusted to do it. That was Lord Kitchener. The nation called him to the War Office. He went there on Aug. 6, and the very next day Parliament sanctioned the addition of 500,000 men to the regular establishment, and Lord Kitchener issued his first appeal for 100,000 recruits. There was

a magic in the name of Lord Kitchener all through that wonderful Autumn of 1914. He had the complete confidence of the Government and the unquestioning obedience of the entire people. If at any moment down to the battle of the Marne, when the tide of retreat was stayed and the Germans were thrown back to the Aisne, Lord Kitchener had appealed to the country to accept compulsory service, there are those who think that it would have been accepted without serious demur.

Lord Kitchener made his first statement on the army in the House of Lords on Aug. 25, 1914, saying incidentally:

While India, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are all sending us powerful contingents, the territorials are replying with loyalty to the stern call of duty which has come to them with such exceptional force. Sixty-nine battalions have, with fine patriotism, already volunteered for service abroad, and when trained and organized in the larger formations will be able to take their places in the line. The 100,000 recruits for which, in the first place, it has been thought necessary to call have already been practically secured. * * * The empires with which we are at war have called to their colors almost their entire male population. The principle we on our part shall observe is this, that while their maximum force undergoes a constant diminution, the reinforcements we prepare shall steadily and increasingly flow out until we have an army in the field which in numbers, not less than in quality, will not be unworthy of the power and responsibilities of the British Empire.

It would be much too long a story to describe in detail the ebbs and flows of the tide of recruiting:

Aug. 28.—Another 100,000 called for. The age limit raised to 35.

Sept. 10.—The Prime Minister asked the House of Commons to sanction the raising of a second half million, and said that 439,000 had already joined, not counting territorials. On one day alone, Sept. 3, no fewer than 33,204 recruits came in.

Sept. 11.—The response was still so good that the height was raised to 5 feet 6 inches.

Sept. 15.—It was announced that 501,580 recruits had been obtained—from England, 396,751; from Scotland, 64,444; from Ireland, 20,419, and from Wales, 19,966.

A most unfortunate impression was created that the military authorities were getting not only more men than they could at once equip—that was obvious—but more than they actually required. The result was a sharp drop, and at the end of October it was necessary to reduce the minimum height to 5 feet 4 inches and raise the age to 38. All through the Winter the situation remained much the same. Officially, satisfaction was expressed; privately it became known that Ministers were growing rather anxious. People began to discuss seriously whether compulsion would not be found necessary. A bombardment of an east coast watering place, a Zeppelin raid, a heavy casualty list, a particularly frightful example of German frightfulness might cause the tide to flow with greater vigor for a time, but the great wave of enthusiasm which, in a marvelously short time, had raised one service battalion after another for all the more famous regiments had largely spent itself. When on May 18, 1915, Lord Kitchener appealed for yet another 300,000, the age limit was raised to 40, and the minimum height reduced to 5 feet 2 inches.

By this time the nation had begun to realize the serious economic results which flowed from the heroic efforts made to repair our military unpreparedness. Money had been poured out like water. For the equipment of the new armies—or Kitchener's army, as it was popularly called—everything was lacking, and everything had to be found in a hurry. Manufacturers, not merely in this country, but in all parts of the world—especially the United States—were deluged with orders for supplies of every conceivable sort. And as the manufacturing districts of France were also largely in the hands of the enemy, our ally, too, required to be provided with vast quantities of raw material. So, too, with Russia, Serbia, and later on with Italy. The British fleet kept the seas open, and Great Britain became more and more the workshop of the Allies at the very mo-

ment when her main industries were crying out for labor to replace the men who had left their trades to join the colors. Voluntaryism is a magnificent ideal, and it was voluntaryism which filled the ranks of Kitchener's army, and replenished the territorial battalions. Probably there was not a single expert at the War Office who had ever supposed before the war that pure voluntaryism could raise, say, two million men, or that without a measure of direct general compulsion nearly four million men would answer the call. But that a very heavy price had to be paid for the recruitment of thousands of skilled men, who could best have served their country by remaining at work, only began to be realized in the Spring of 1915.

It began to be whispered that the army was short of ammunition. Then rumor took more definite shape, and the shortage was declared to be most serious in high-explosive shells. But this may be said, that even at that time the whole of the available resources had been laid under contribution, and gigantic orders had been given. It was the deliveries which were woefully behindhand. The Liberal Government fell; the Coalition was formed, and its first act, after the establishment of a new Ministry of Munitions under Mr. Lloyd George, was to introduce and pass a National Registration bill, with its pink forms for men of military age, which was regarded as the first tentative—but unavowed—commitment in the direction of compulsion. "Steps will be taken," said Lord Kitchener, "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." The recruiting problem had become very serious, though even as late as July 28 Mr. Asquith said that "recruiting was highly satisfactory," and in August the Government appointed a committee, presided over by Lord Lansdowne, to consider the best means of making use of the National Register. Its utility had been somewhat compromised by the large number of trades which had been placed on the starred list. On Sept. 15 it was stated that the total number of men who were serving or had served in

CANADIANS IN THE FIERCE FIGHT AT YPRES



From a Painting by W. B. Wollen Which Attracted Much Attention in the Recent Exhibit of the Royal Academy at London
(Photo. by Henry Dixon & Son.)

THE SPIRIT OF INDOMITABLE FRANCE AT VERDUN



In This Remarkable War Painting, Entitled "The Fight for the Ravine," the French Artist, M. Simont, Has Depicted a Desperate Struggle to Hold Le Mort Homme

the army and navy was "not far short of three millions," and Mr. Asquith spoke of recruiting having been at a fairly steady figure for thirteen months. But on the same day Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords acknowledged that the Government's "anxious thought had been accentuated and rendered more pressing by the recent falling off in numbers." This was the first clear official intimation that the state of recruiting was bad. A series of recruiting rallies throughout the country was attempted, but with most disappointing results, and the appointment of Lord Derby as Director General of Recruiting on Oct. 6 was in itself a confession that the old methods had yielded their full results, and could yield no more.

The shadow of compulsion was by this time plainly visible. It was no secret that the question had been raised in the Cabinet or that Ministers were sharply divided. Mr. Lloyd George had openly proclaimed himself a convert to compulsion. The Labor Recruiting Committee, while still resolutely opposed to compulsion, issued a striking manifesto declaring their conviction that 30,000 recruits a week were required to maintain at full strength the armies in the field, and calling on trade unionists to rally to and save the voluntary system. Their effort, however, was soon merged in the scheme put forward by Lord Derby, to which compulsionists and anti-compulsionists alike agreed to give a fair and honest trial. The two main features of the scheme were (1) the differentiation between single and married, and (2) the classification of recruits in groups according to their age. After a fairly promising opening the campaign suddenly fell flat. It was only saved from utter failure by the now famous pledge of the Prime Minister that the attested married men should not be called up if any considerable number of single men refrained from offering themselves, until other means had been taken to bring these single men into service. Even so, it was not until the last few days before the time appointed for closing the lists that the great rush came, when in four days—Dec. 10 to 13—no fewer than 1,070,478 presented

themselves for attestation. The following results are taken from Lord Derby's report:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Grand total of men of military age.. | 5,011,441 |
| Attested, enlisted, and rejected..... | 2,829,263 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total remaining..... | 2,182,178 |
| Single men attested..... | 840,000 |
| Of these were starred..... | 312,067 |
| <hr/> | |
| Unstarred attested | 527,933 |
| Reduced by deductions to..... | 343,386 |
| Married men attested..... | 1,344,979 |
| Of these were starred..... | 449,898 |
| <hr/> | |
| Unstarred attested | 895,171 |
| Reduced by deductions to..... | 487,676 |
| Unstarred single men unaccounted for | 651,160 |
| Immediate enlistments..... | 275,031 |
| Attestations, total | 2,246,630 |
| <hr/> | |
| Grand total | 2,521,661 |

It was admitted that the figure of 651,160 unstarred single men unaccounted for could not be declared a negligible figure, and the Prime Minister's pledge, therefore, became operative, and called for a measure of compulsion to bring in the unattested single men. In order to emphasize the need of men to repair the wastage of war, the following table of British losses, sustained down to Dec. 9, 1915, was published about this time:

FLANDERS AND FRANCE

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|---------|--------|-------------|
| | Killed. W'nd'd. Miss. | | | Total. |
| Officers | 4,829 | 9,943 | 1,699 | 16,471 |
| N.C.O.'s & men.. | 77,473 | 241,359 | 52,685 | 371,517 |
| <hr/> | | | | Total |
| | | | | 387,988 |

DARDANELLES

| | | | | |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------------|
| Officers | 1,667 | 3,028 | 350 | 5,045 |
| N.C.O.'s & men.. | 24,535 | 72,781 | 12,194 | 109,510 |
| <hr/> | | | | Total |
| | | | | 114,555 |

OTHER THEATRES OF WAR

| | | | | |
|------------------|--------|--------|-------|--------------------------------|
| Officers | 871 | 694 | 100 | 1,665 |
| N.C.O.'s & men.. | 10,548 | 10,953 | 2,518 | 24,019 |
| <hr/> | | | | Total |
| | | | | 25,684 |
| <hr/> | | | | Total |
| | | | | 119,923 338,758 69,546 528,227 |

The passing of the Military Service bill provoked a serious crisis in the Parliamentary Labor Party, and also in the labor world outside. The small Independent Labor Party was stubbornly opposed to compulsion, and received the support of a number of other labor members. Special labor congresses were called to discuss the whole position as created by

the new bill, and at each there was a large adverse majority against the measure. But in the last critical division the conference determined by a narrow majority not to carry its protest to the point of actual resistance, and the upshot of the matter was that the three Labor Ministers remained in the Coalition Government. The January measure of compulsion was expressly limited to the fulfillment of the Prime Minister's pledge. It only applied to the unattested single men of military age. Meanwhile, the groups of the attested single men were yielding such exceedingly meagre results that one proclamation speedily followed another, till all the single groups had been warned of their approaching call. And then, to the extreme surprise of the attested married men, a proclamation was issued warning the early groups of the date on which they would be required. This was before the process of compulsion had actually been applied to the unattested single men, and a strong agitation at once sprang up among those who complained that the pledge had not been kept in the spirit. Undoubtedly they had a genuine grievance to the extent that they were called up considerably earlier than they had been led to expect, but this was due, as Lord Kitchener frankly admitted, to military necessity, and also to the too generous classifications of reserved occupations.

Meanwhile the shortage in the battalions at the front threatened to grow more serious. The military authorities again began to press upon the Government the urgent necessity of making immediate provision for the near future. Thereupon the old divisions of opinion manifested themselves anew, and after some weeks of delay Mr. Asquith startled the House of Commons just before the Easter adjournment by announcing that, if the differences could not be adjusted, there was a danger of a break-up of the Cabinet, which all agreed would be a "national disaster." But at their very next meeting the Cabinet agreed upon a compromise, and it was arranged that Parliament should sit in secret session, at which

the confidential memoranda and figures which the Cabinet had been considering should be laid before the two houses. This was done, and with eminently satisfactory results, for it reconciled the vast majority of the House of Commons to the necessity of accepting a scheme of immediate and general compulsion. All males between the ages of 18 and 41 are now subject to military service. All distinction between married and single is swept away, and the special financial obligations of the married recruits are to be met, as far as possible, by reasonable and adequate grants from the public purse.

The new Military Service act is designed to make sure that in the supreme crisis of this war there shall be no lack of men. It is said that a single fresh division thrown in at the end of the first battle of Ypres on either side would have won a decisive victory. All through this war Great Britain has been handicapped by an insufficient number of trained divisions. It is the purpose of the Government and of the War Office to make sure that there shall at least be enough at the close.

Much might have been said of the million-sided activities which have accompanied the growth of the British Army—of the wonderful recruiting fervor of the Autumn of 1914; of the incredible labors required to equip such masses of men; of the establishment of the new arsenals; of the conversion of practically the whole engineering capacity of the country to the task of producing guns and munitions of war; of the magnificently loyal part which labor on the whole has played; of the courage and devotion shown by the women of Great Britain in the hour of need. All have contributed their essential aid toward building up the new British Army.

It is a great achievement. If there is one man more than another who has kept cool and collected through all these anxious months, and in spite of all difficulties has gone on building up the splendid fabric whose foundations he laid with such foresight, it is Lord Kitchener. He has wrought wonders.

German Idealism

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Benjamin Meade Bolton

HERETOFORE when nations have been aroused as the Germans are today they have usually followed the leadership of some dominant personality who appeared to them to be the embodiment of their hopes and ambitions. The great wars of the past are even called by the names of the great Generals who led them. But the present conflict will scarcely go down in history as the war of any one man, for every one is now convinced that this is no Kaiser's war, as was sometimes claimed in the beginning of the conflict, but a people's war as far as the German Nation is concerned. Whether the war has been fomented by the Kaiser, the junkers, and the munition manufacturers or no, there can be no doubt but it now is an expression of the martial spirit of the folk.

The Germans believe, at any rate, that the war is for an ideal, and this ideal has not been exemplified to them by any one individual. It has developed and crystallized out of the teachings of many minds, past and present. This idealism has become a dominant passion; it has needed no one great teacher to spread it as the different cults have been spread. It has acted as an all-pervading ether, infusing itself throughout the whole people.

The Germans also believe that this idealism has placed Germany today in the front rank of civilization, and that to it is due all her wonderful progress and development, intellectual and material. It has led them with one accord to enter upon a conflict with the rest of mankind to force upon an unwilling world their conception of what is best for the destiny of the race. They have come to believe that they represent, as a nation, the highest attainment in intellect, in morals,

and in material and artistic things to which man has ever reached, and some even believe that, unretarded, this idealism will lead to man's domination of heaven itself, as is shown by a quotation from Schelling given below.

The leaders of German thought have long been teaching man's superiority to his environment. That, although he is a product of nature, he is, nevertheless, capable of becoming immeasurably higher than his origin, and that by his devotion to duty and by the full exercise of his energies he has it in his power to shape the progress of the world.

This idealism, which has been fraught with such tremendous consequences, has been recently stated by Professor Francke as "Unconditional submission to duty, salvation through ceaseless striving of will, the moral mission of aesthetic culture." To these Professor John Dewey adds, "an Ideal, a Mission, a Destiny." Professor Dewey also makes the comment that they aspire to combine "with supreme discipline in the outer world of action supreme freedom in the inner world of thought." Professor Francke says: "The State is the manifestation of the divine on earth, an organism uniting in itself all spiritual and moral aspirations."

In Westermann's Monatsheften for February, 1916, Professor Budde has published an illuminating article on German idealism. He says: "It is the fundamental thought in the contemplation of the world (Weltanschauung) which is called idealism that man, although he has sprung from nature, is nevertheless something more than a mere being of nature. On the contrary, in him is a new revelation of truth, with him appears a new world which lends him a

NOTE.—Dr. Benjamin Meade Bolton is a native of Virginia. He attended the University of Heidelberg, 1883-4; Göttingen, 1884-6; Berlin, 1886. He has held professorships in Johns Hopkins and other American colleges, and is well known in scientific circles as a biologist and bacteriologist. He has given close study to philosophical subjects and has been interested in cognate questions relating to Germany.

peculiar dignity and greatness, and presents high aims to his activities. In this way man is liberated from the consequences of nature's happenings, and is lifted up into the realm of freedom in which it is possible for him to shape his life in untrammelled spontaneity, and thus also to wrest from the world of experience an inner personal independence and to act upon it in an elevating and ennobling manner. * * * Especially characteristic of German idealism is precisely this action out of the realm of freedom upon the world of experience filled with its manifold contradictions."

This freedom of which Professor Budde writes is not the freedom of lawlessness. Not the freedom of the pioneer in the wild forest. Not the privilege of escape from duty. It is a subjective freedom, but man attains to its highest exercise only by contact with the world upon which he impresses his will and from which he must extort all that is possible. He must force from her by his "will to power" all that he can. He must exert his energies continuously and strenuously. He must surmount one difficulty only to attack another. Striving is an end in itself. Stress and strain bring development.

German idealism is thus in striking contrast to the Hindu idealism, which aims at a suppression of striving after the things of the world. To the Hindu the world is merely a dreadful figment of man's imagination, and the highest goal is the attainment of a state in which man's soul is unaffected by this nightmare. In order not to add to the horrors of the dream, man should do nothing to cause pain or suffering to any living being, man or animal; but while he sorrows with others in their pain, he must regard his own sufferings with indifference. He must attain to Nirvāna, a placid indifference to his own individual pleasures or pain.

But to the German idealism the world is not "a tent where takes his one-day's rest a Sultan to the realm of death address." On the contrary, the world is a busy workshop. Not a pottery where man molds soft clay, but a sculptor's workroom where man hews with hard

blows of the chisel the image from the resisting stone. Life is no phantom caravan coming from nowhere, proceeding no whither. Life is constant striving and seeking with definite aims and purposes. Man is not a ball cast down upon the field rolling "left or right as strikes the player." Man himself is the player, he strikes the ball. Man comes upon earth not to sit and watch an idle passing show, he is here to dominate the world and to shape its destinies. He must let nothing interfere with his progress, but if need be he must ruthlessly trample upon all opposition. In comparison with this ideal, Professor Dewey says: "That the French and the English should have *specific* objects in view, particular advantages to gain and disadvantages to avoid, seems to many highly instructed Germans * * * something peculiarly base."

German idealism is also in strong contrast to Greek idealism. According to the Greek philosophy the world is a beautiful and perfect work of art, and man's aim is to cultivate himself to an appreciation of this truth. The world itself needs no improvement, is incapable of improvement, only man's capacity for appreciation of the world is limited, and needs to be developed. Man cannot change the world, which moves in ever-repeating cycles according to immutable laws. A cycle ends in a cataclysm in which all is destroyed, or rather all disappears as in a mist. A new cycle begins by the reassembling of the dissociated elements. The same course is pursued as in the former cycle. The same objects as before appear, and after ages and ages the same cataclysm overtakes the world, and then there is a renewal of the cycle. This was at least one Greek conception. Man in this case is merely one of the elements of the cosmos. He can not by taking thought add to nor subtract from the inevitable repetition of history. As a clock runs its course, and finally runs down and has to be wound up and started over, so the world passes through its phases, stops, and is started all over again.

The difference between the Hindu idealism and the Greek idealism on the

one hand, and the German idealism on the other, is stated by Professor Budde as follows:

"In the idealism of India, which proclaims the whole world with its restless, senseless activities to be a world of visions upon which the human heart may not depend, there is no interaction with the world. It declares all attempt to conquer the world through intelligence as futile, it is vain to try to elevate humanity by any appeal to the lessons taught by the world's history. In Greek idealism the world is a wonderful work of art, a masterly cosmos whose contemplation promises the purest happiness. It is true that here also the individual must climb to the height of this contemplation, but 'the world as a whole needs no alteration. With unerring rhythm of rising and falling, the life of the whole runs here from eternity to eternity.' Here also no history results, no universal historic work. In German idealism, on the contrary, appears a world of freedom and of deeds, a world of independent subjectivity, founded upon itself and having no relation to outside help. Man can develop this to its full extent only when he comes into relation with the world around him as he finds it, and absorbs from it as much as he can. This involves a mighty struggle. Thus German idealism is not only an idealism of thought, but an idealism of deed."

Perhaps the two most definite conceptions in German idealism are duty and freedom, duty consisting in continuous, strenuous activity, freedom, but not irresponsibility in a subjective world. This subjective world is above and vastly superior to the objective upon which it impresses itself, and which it modifies and molds and remolds according to a deliberate plan and system. There have been many weighty exponents of the ideal of duty and freedom in this sense. Emanuel Kant was its chief exponent. Professor Budde quotes Euchen as saying: "He (Kant) above all others created the spiritual atmosphere in which German idealism gained its peculiar shape and its overpowering strength. Kant is for us Germans the teacher and prophet of

duty. * * * But Kant is also at the same time the teacher and prophet of freedom. But freedom is to him not the casting aside of restraint, nor the shaping of one's life according to one's individual choice; but consists in the selection of rational aims and thus an unconstrained union with a self-selected law.

"Schiller was heart and soul in harmony with Kant's doctrine of freedom. He also proclaimed the superiority of man to all the mechanism of nature, and demands of the human being an awakening of a proud self-consciousness, representing as he does in himself the essential factors in freedom's realm."

From this conception of duty it follows that there must be performance. So that German idealism is not only an idealism of thought, but it is also an idealism of deed. Fichte is the chief exponent of the idealism of deed. He taught that action is greater than thought. That it seizes upon thought and tears it violently with itself. It converts thought itself into action, "an appropriation, a metamorphosis, a mastery of circumstances."

Praises of German idealism have been very loudly sung by its many standard bearers. Two examples quoted from Schelling and from Schleiermacher by Professor Budde will serve to show the admiration, almost idolatry, with which it is regarded. Schelling calls the Germans: "This folk from whom proceeded the revolution in Middle European thought, whose mental energies have brought forth the greatest discoveries, who have given laws to heaven itself, and delved more deeply than all others into the secrets of the world. The folk to whom nature has given an unerring perception of truth, and implanted a thirst for the knowledge of first causes more deeply than in any other race." Schleiermacher wrote at the time when Germany lay bleeding and crushed after the catastrophe of Jena: "Never can I come to the point of doubting the Fatherland, I believe in it too firmly for that; for I know full well that it is a chosen tool and folk of God. It is possible that for a while all our efforts will be vain, and that for us will come a hard and oppres-

sive period. But the Fatherland will certainly soon rise up triumphant."

Never in its history has the German folk been so profoundly aroused as at the present, and they are actuated by an idealism which "seeks to convert all life into a continuous deed, and to demonstrate their convictions."

Professor Euchen, in a book addressed to the soldiers at the front, says in closing: "If idealism of thought and idealism of deed have been fused together in a

solid union with us, then there lies before our folk a glorious future, and all the burden of the present war becomes lightened if it brings us to the portal of such a future."

They may be deceived. It may be that the war has been fomented by the Kaiser and the junkers for selfish ends, that the munition manufacturers have led the people by the nose. But there can be no doubt that the war now is an expression of the martial spirit of the folk.

"Belgians Under the German Eagle"

THE most comprehensive statement that has yet been made of what Belgium has suffered under German rule and of the attitude of the people toward it is offered in Jean Massart's "Belgians Under the German Eagle," (E. P. Dutton & Co.), which has been translated by Bernard Miall. The author is one of the Vice Directors of the Royal Academy of Belgium. His method has been to take indisputable German documents and from these to show what the Germans did, and then, by massing, analyzing, and comparing them, "to derive a few indications as to our enemies' manner of thinking."

In this introduction he tells with considerable detail how their conquerors have endeavored to keep from the Belgians all news of happenings in Belgium or elsewhere, except such as could be found in German newspapers. He tells with evident zest the means the Belgians have taken to outwit these many prohibitions by the smuggling in of newspapers and the secret circulation of typewritten extracts and articles from foreign journals. The German hand is heavy upon those caught making or circulating these extracts. Nevertheless, M. Massart says, "there are in Brussels alone fifteen of these secret sheets, each of which has its public of subscribers. From time to time our oppressors scent out one of these typewriting establishments, but some other

devoted person immediately continues the business."

The two chapters devoted to the international aspect of the Belgian invasion make a thoroughgoing exhibit of the evidence. These chapters are illuminated with many incidents, by means of which the author endeavors to prove the German purpose and to show that their actions were not the outcome of temporary necessity. The chapter on "Violations of The Hague Convention" takes up extensively the variety and results of those infractions still existing in the occupation of Belgium as well as those committed during its invasion. "The German Mind Self-Depicted," which fills half the book, offers many pages of quotations, extracts, incidents, all going to paint the blackest kind of a picture of German intellect and morals. "Treachery and untruthfulness," M. Massart comments in one place, "are the chief weapons employed by our enemies." The German attempt to organize industry in Belgium, which he describes at length, moves him to many sarcasms. After pages of the plainest speaking and most specific accounts that have yet been given of cruel and bestial behavior on the part of German troops, both men and officers, he remarks: "A man amuses himself as he can—or, to put it more plainly, according to his mentality." The book is written in a spirit of defiant contempt toward the invaders.

The Theory of Nationalities

By Dr. Conrad Bornhak

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[Adapted for CURRENT HISTORY from a recent article by Dr. Bornhak in Die Grenzboten, a Berlin magazine, ridiculing the Allies' political theory of nationalities]

WHEN, a century ago, the great rearrangements of the map of Europe were made by the last council of the States of the Holy Roman Empire, by Napoleon, and by the Congress of Vienna, no attention whatever was paid to the so-called principle of nationalities. Countries and nations were juggled without any consideration for historical, lingual, or national unities. For more than a decade, up to the Congress of Vienna, the inhabitants of some countries had changed masters every few years as it pleased the arbitrary will of the great Corsican. It was the main task of the diplomats who assembled at Vienna to attempt to bring about a condition of permanency, although few believed that the end could be achieved and that the new arrangement would endure for any length of time. The claims of many small States received but scant attention from the congress, and dissatisfaction was general. Revolution succeeded revolution until the steadily weakening police power of the Holy Alliance collapsed with the revolutions of July, 1830. The liberation from Napoleon's yoke had not brought with it the desired relief.

The reason was simple. National aspirations were nowhere adequately recognized by the Congress of Vienna. Italy, for instance, even yearned for a return of the Napoleonic conditions. The Congress had merely re-established the old traditional dynastic régimes. Against these the revolutionaries asserted the new principle of nationalities as the only relief from conditions they found intolerable. The old dynastic principle was to be thrown overboard and new States were to be built up on the principle of racial, lingual, and historical unity. The various divisions of such units, hitherto split up into different States or subject to for-

eign rule, were to be bound together into self-governing nations.

Singularly enough, the proponents of this theory ascribed its origin as a political doctrine to the great Corsican, despite the fact that he had tossed countries and nations about according to his imperious will. That the theory of nationalities never entered his mind is obvious. France itself never appeared as an ethnic unity or a national State to him, but only as the nucleus for a universal empire, all the component parts of which, no matter what their history or language, were to be subject to the autocratic rule of his own dynasty. But for all that, the principle of nationalities had its source and origin in none other than Napoleon — contradictory as the statement may seem. The Emperor's tyrannous rule reacted on the oppressed and suffering people. The sense of national identity awakened in them and that dream of cosmopolitanism that had swayed and vitiated the eighteenth century faded away. The petty rivaling States learned the necessity of co-operation, of combining interests and forces, to gain a national existence. Napoleon created the national sense by his very efforts to crush it.

Against this growing national consciousness the dynastic régimes set up by the Vienna Congress were pitted. The task of preserving the Holy Alliance, although he was not the author of it, fell upon Metternich.

The basic purpose of all that subtle statesman's complicated policy was the safeguarding of the Austrian Empire, child of the Vienna Congress, and created altogether with a view to the most advantageous natural boundaries. The State was a conglomeration of races and languages, and its preservation depended upon the avoidance of clash between the

various nationalities. So Metternich sought to block and hinder the national constitutional movements in Germany and Italy, lest the contagion affect Austria and cause the divergent nations of the empire to assert their individuality and try to set up independent Governments. The conditions in the empire sprawling along the Danube forced Metternich to oppose the principle of nationalities and fight against constitutionalism.

But again, as with Napoleon, these were strengthened by opposition. An even greater result was now achieved. For these two principles, at first opposed, now united to meet the common enemies of conservatism and absolutism. In both Germany and Italy the Liberals saw clearly the necessity for national unity in order to muster their full strength against their enemies. In Italy, for instance, up to 1820 the constitutional movements in Sicily, Naples, and Piedmont had been distinctly local affairs and in no wise related. But Austria's efforts to suppress these movements showed the leaders that they could achieve their ends only by joining forces and interests.

The same thing was happening in Germany. When the Vienna Congress set up the Rhenish Confederacy the various States were created arbitrarily, and the spirit of petty local antagonism, of provincial individualism, was encouraged. Metternich, as leader of the Bundestag, fostered these jealousies and bickerings. The liberals of South Germany fought against this, and took up as their battle cry: "Through unity to liberty!"

But this ideal was not realized. Even as late as 1848 the principle of jealous nationality governed the various revolutionary movements in Germany as well as in Italy, and the leaders evinced no desire to merge the various small States into large united groups. When the representatives of the various German States assembled in St. Paul's at Frankfort-on-the-Main, the spirit of separatism swayed their action. The strongest and most firmly established State, Prussia, afforded a nucleus about which the other States might have

grouped themselves in a united German Nation. Unfortunately this consolidation was impossible. The spirit of separatism was too strong for the evolution of a broad national policy. In Italy, although the expulsion of Austria from Lombard-Venetia and the union of the latter territory with Sardinia was regarded as the elementary condition of liberty, liberal constitutionalism on the basis of non-union was the ruling doctrine. The nearest approach to a united Italy conceived of was a loose confederacy of the Italian States under a Papal Presidency. The development of the constitutional State based upon the union of small districts having a broad national unity, although each distinguished by local characteristics, was hindered by the regard paid to such petty differences.

In the conditions in Italy Napoleon III. found a potent weapon for his diplomatic conflict with Austria. The new French Emperor was the first sovereign who consciously based his foreign policy on the theory of nationalities, although Thiers warned him that Italian unity would inevitably bring about German unity, a result as undesirable for his purposes as Italian unity was necessary. His motives were not altogether unselfish. To Napoleon III. the principle of nationalities was merely the means of uprooting the rule of Austria in Italy and planting in its place the rule of France supported by Lombardian and Sardinian vassal States. Napoleon never thought of a complete Italian union, and as soon as this tendency manifested itself strongly he devoted the remaining years of his reign to efforts to save the remnants of the Papal States. The support of the French clericals was indispensable to the maintenance of his throne and the dissolution of the Papal States would have alienated the clericals.

On the other hand, the encouragement he had given the spirit of nationalism in Italy tied his hands in dealing with Germany. Thiers's prediction was justified by events. The tendency to unity was growing beyond the Rhine. Napoleon even gave unwitting aid to this. In the peace of Prague he insisted, in accordance with the ethnological principle, on

the restoration (subject to a future plebiscite) of the predominantly Danish portions of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. Viewed with the knowledge of the swelling tide of the movement for German unity, that was but a petty political trick. Indeed, the Emperor's foreign policy was driven on the rocks by the very spirits he had conjured to guide it. It met with least approval from the French themselves and brought in its train consequences that proved most distasteful to them.

To the three rulers who evoked, opposed, and favored it, the spirit of nationalism proved an enemy. Its realization, although imperfect, in Germany and Italy had direful consequences for Napoleon III.

Almost coincident with this development in Western Europe, nationalism began to play a rôle in Eastern Europe, in the Balkan provinces of the crumbling Turkish Empire. Hellenes, Rumanians, and Slavs were called upon in the name of their history or of their lingual and national associations, to liberate themselves from the rule of the Porte. But here, again, the slogan of ethnology was simply a handy device for the foreign policy of another great European power, Russia. A strange paradox! The power which had annihilated Poland and stripped her of every vestige of independence, the power that regarded the Ukrainians as merely a part of the Russian people, now felt called upon to free the various nationalities in the Balkan portions of the Turkish Empire!

The real purpose of the Czar's policy, the acquisition of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, (where no Russians or Slavs dwelt!) was a downright mockery of nationalism. Not a whit disturbed by this inconsistency, Russia calmly set up the stalking horses of Pan-Slavism and the necessity for the political unity of all communicants of the Orthodox Church. They were, to an extent, necessary, and in all respects convenient. Pan-Slavism justifies the incorporation of the Ukrainians and the Poles into Russia, and makes the Czar lord protector of the Balkan States. Of course, Pan-Slavism would hardly justify the assimilation of Greeks

and Rumanians, but in regard to them the holy Orthodox Church would indeed cover a multitude of sins!

The Balkan countries, inspired by preachments of nationalism and with the sanction of Russia, waged the first Balkan war for freedom from the Ottoman yoke. Russia had merely reserved for herself the right to pluck the choicest fruit—Constantinople. That the development of nationalities was not the real object was plain to be seen. And Russia, like Napoleon III., found nationalism a two-edged tool, and was soon forced to discard it. Bulgaria, as a powerful Slav State right at the gates of Constantinople, would have been Turkey's best bulwark against Russia. So Bulgaria had to be enfeebled, in the face of encouragements given the principle of nationalities. That was the purpose of the second Balkan war, waged by her former confederates against Bulgaria. In the racial Babel of the Balkans separation based on ethnic or lingual boundaries is absolutely impossible. But even so, there is no other excuse for the handing over of the great bulk of the Macedonian Bulgars to Serbia but that the latter was the more servile vassal of Russia.

In the first Balkan war against Turkey the Balkan League had only to prove its fitness. Its main task, which was to come later, was, in alliance with Russia, and again in the name of the ethnological principle, to crush Austria, that loosely thrown together State of all sorts of nationalities. It was a pity that, owing to the second Balkan war against Bulgaria, the tool was broken before it could be used for the main object, and that all attempts to mend it were frustrated by Serbo-Bulgarian enmity. Russia was forced to content herself with the Serbs and Montenegrins, and to rely on other powerful allies.

The world war began with protestations from belligerent after belligerent of firm belief in the principle of nationalities—the principle of liberating the small oppressed nations.

It would have been simpler to begin at home; no war was necessary to apply this principle. England had ample opportunity in Ireland, India, and with the

Boers in South Africa; Russia might have taken this principle as her guide in dealing with the Finns, the Poles, and the Ukrainians; Serbia with the Macedonians. However, "upright men think of themselves but last."

Russia purposed to assert the principle of nationalities only against the Central Powers. In order to attain that end, she contemplated the restoration of Poland under the Muscovite hegemony. According to that, she could claim Western Galicia and the semi-Polish portions of Prussia, while Eastern Galicia, since it was inhabited by the Ruthenes, was obviously naturally and irresistibly Russian. Pan-Slavism justified all the elements in this plan that could not be justified by nationalism. The Ukrainians, therefore, were to be considered as Russians and the Poles as Slavs. On the other hand, since nationalism and Pan-Slavism would not fit the case, the fact that millions of Germans were settled in the Baltic provinces was totally ignored.

Dismemberment of Austria in the south was to take place in the interests of the liberation of nations. The area inhabited by Serbs, Croats, and even Slovenes was intended for Greater Serbia under "Peter the Mighty." Serbs and Croats are of the same nationality, it is true, but both religion and alphabet separate them and have been the cause of bitter enmity for years.* This enmity has been mitigated—and that only slightly—by their common hatred of the Magyars. But the Roman Catholic Croats have a profound contempt for the Greek Church Serbs, and would never have submitted to the domination of the latter. The Slovenes are of a totally different nationality, without any racial or lingual ties with the Serbo-Croats.

But the emptiness of the shibboleth is shown most strikingly in the rewards promised other Balkan States. If Rumania entered the war on the side of Russia, euphemistically described as "showing good-will," she was to be awarded Transylvania; this district, al-

though the majority of its inhabitants are Rumanian, yet had many Saxons and Magyars among its population. The Russians claimed Bukowina, and the Serbs the Banate, although both territories were regarded as unsettled problems as long as negotiations concerning an alliance were pending. On the other hand, in exchange for Transylvania Rumania would have been forced to cede Moldavia up to the Sereth (with the capital of Jassy) and the Dobrudja to the Russians, who had already arrived at an understanding with England on this point. The result would have been to cut Rumania off from the sea altogether. And the territories claimed by Russia are inhabited by a motley crowd of all sorts of nationalities—except Russians!

Last of all Italy came forward in the name of holy egotism, and in the name of the principle of nationalities called upon Austria to cede the Irredenta, that land still unredeemed that was necessary for the consummation of Italy's national unity. For Italy to demand this of Austria was somewhat one-sided. The work of redemption might well have begun at Nice, Corsica, or Malta. But Italy's demands on Austria far exceeded the principle of nationalities. Not to speak of the Al Brennero border, the Italian Ministry had the assurance during the official negotiations preceding the declaration of war to demand that the boundary lines of the Italian domain in Tyrol should be those laid down by Napoleon I. in 1811, and should include the town of Bozen, which is German to the core. Austria even agreed to an Italian occupation of the "Dodekan" in the Greek Archipelago, and of the Albanian port of Valona, and was also willing to declare her disinterestedness in Albania.

The Italian demands began with the liberation of districts which were claimed as actually Italian in the terms of the principle of nationalities, but very soon it became evident that her Ministers had an eye for the natural frontiers which they considered to lie in the north near the Brenner. That decision, from a geographical point of view, is comprehensible. But how the demands made of Albania and the Greek Archipelago were

*The Croats are Roman Catholics and use the Latin script; the Serbs belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church and use the Cyrillic alphabet.

to be justified passes comprehension. In fact, if the demands made by Italy in the name of nationalities had been satisfied, the most monstrous outrage would have been committed on alien nationalities, on Germans, Serbs, Albanians, and Greeks.

Of course, Alsace-Lorraine was to be returned to France as a prize of victory, again by token of the ethnological principle. The assertion was that the two provinces really belonged to France; that the peace of Frankfort had torn them from her, and that that peace was null and void. So Joffre, sans façon, proclaimed outside the Mulhouse schoolhouse the reunion of Alsace-Lorraine with France. Not even a plebiscite—to which France on other occasions had attached so much importance—was to be taken. No one saw fit to mention the fact that only 10 per cent. of the inhabitants of the province, most of them along the Lorraine border, are a French-speaking people. The other 90 per cent. number about one and one-half millions, and speak German. They are Alemans and Franks. To them the union of Alsace-Lorraine with France for the sake of a few thousand Frenchmen would mean a monstrous violation of the principle of nationalities.

And lest a humorous and satirical aspect be wanting to that solemn ethnic principle, the future conditions of peace were to include the neutralization of the Kiel Canal; the area north of it was to be handed back to Denmark. Probably the idea was that all Schleswig and the northern part of Dithmarshen were inhabited by Danes.

Last of all, England declared war for the protection of Belgium, or, generalizing, as became the fashion later, in defense of all the smaller nationalities. Here, too, the ethnic principle is raised. The ethnologists seem to forget that from their own point of view a Belgian Nation never existed, nay, that the creation of the Belgian Nation, from first to last, was a contradiction in itself.

No other war, except the first Balkan war, has ever yet been started so consciously on all sides in the name of ethnology. The reason was simple. To assert the principle of nationalities meant

to threaten the dismemberment of Austria as a State of varied nationalities, and Austria was one of the two great powers against which the war was waged from the outset. That the principle of nationalities was everywhere but a pretext is equally obvious. To carry out the objects of the war, as Russia, England, France, Italy, and their smaller allies had in mind, would everywhere mean an outrage to alien nationalities. But thereby the ethnic principle seems to have surpassed the summit of its historical mission.

It is the nature of every ideal that it cannot be fully realized in this world of realities, but is at all times beset with difficulties, has its wings clipped, and in the end is forced to make a compromise with the practical world. Thus, in modern history, there has never been a State that fully realized the ethnic ideal—a State which united the whole nation in a racial or linguistic sense, and united only that particular nation or ethnic unity in a national existence. Some States have approached this ideal somewhat closely, others have been far from it. Very remote were such States as Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium, and the ethnic conditions of the United States and the great colonial empires are chaotic.

Nevertheless, when modern States at the beginning of modern history were just beginning to emerge, the principle of nationalities proved to be a powerful State-shaping force. The Italian and German movement for political union and the liberation of the Balkans testify to that. But the very power of the force had in it the potentialities for abuse at the hand of an ambitious foreign policy. Napoleon III. speculated heavily in the ethnic principle and lost. The Quadruple Entente is doing the same today and losing. It was an abuse to assert the ethnic principle merely as a pretext for conquest. A victory of the four confederates would mean an abuse of that very principle in whose name the war is waged.

Germany's peace terms will probably not be guided by the principle of nationalities. They will not rest on illusion or delusion.

Austria and Turkey, the two great race

mixtures among the nations, stand firmer than ever today, thanks to the war. Their dismemberment would be an unpromising undertaking indeed.

The German purpose in the war is alone a guarantee for the future.

"We must obtain and fight for all possible guaranties and safeguards so that none of our enemies, either single or allied, will again venture on a passage of arms," the German Imperial Chancellor declared in a speech which he made on May 28, 1915. If that object is supported by the ethnic principle in the Balkans, Flanders, or elsewhere, well and good. But Germany's only object in this war is security for the future.

However, experience proves that ideas which have fallen in disuse in Europe are taken up beyond the seas. May be

that this war will spread the ethnic idea outside of Europe. There is a mighty stir among the nationalities in India, Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and among the Mohammedan tribes that are subject to the Czar. All those national movements are just like Russian Pan-Slavism, supported by an underlying idea which outgrows the ethnic principle in the political interest of the State. "Asia for the Asiatics" is a slogan with which the Japanese world-power (that invoked England's aid for the conquest of Kiao-Chau) menaces Eastern Siberia, the British and French possessions in Further India. The Allies have only to wait to see who will be the first to be victimized by the Far Eastern bird of prey.

Spirits are easily conjured up, but exorcised with difficulty.

Prussian Scorn of Nationalities

By Hilaire Belloc

As an interesting pendant to the foregoing article by Dr. Bornhak we present Mr. Belloc's strongly British view of the same subject, as expressed in Land and Water:

ONE might summarize the whole thing by saying that the old European tradition of national rights stood out clearly at the beginning of the war as a main issue between the combatants, but that developments taking place in the course of the war confused it until it became, in the month of May, 1916, entirely obscured.

Now I would suggest that the future of the war, particularly as the Central Empires begin to feel the material and obvious effects upon the map and in their pockets and their resources and their armies of that defeat which they have already potentially suffered, will revive this matter of nationality and will perhaps end by leaving it as clear as it was in the beginning.

This accident we shall largely owe to the stupidity of the enemy. Let us con-

sider how he has dealt with the matter to his hand.

Belgium, he might claim, was but a very modern artificial State divided into a Flemish-speaking and a Teutonic-speaking population, and further divided on the question of religion, and yet again divided by the great quarrel between the proletariat and the capitalist. The enemy has done nothing to take advantage of any of these points in his favor. He has impartially destroyed the monuments of the one portion of Belgium as of the other. The violation, the tortures, and the burnings have proceeded from a general desire to feel great at the expense quite as much of those who speak Flemish as of the Walloons. He has further, which is especially foolish of him, shown an utter lack of thoroughness in this as in his other experiments in terror.

When he has found that his actions adversely affected neutral opinion, especially American opinion, he has apologized for them and restricted the

activity of his agents, then foolishly allowed their activity to break out again. The whole thing here has been on the same model as the incredibly stupid bombardment of the Cathedral of Rheims. There was no conceivable reason for that outrage at its beginning save to show to the French that Prussia was perfectly ruthless, and therefore to be feared. To prove this, Prussian gunners were ordered to destroy the national monuments to which the French were chiefly attached. They dropped shell in conformity with their orders upon the Cathedral of Rheims, which was at the moment being used as a hospital, and was flying, I believe, a huge Red Cross flag. When they had ruined the glass and burned the roof and destroyed a certain number of statues attached to the building they ceased their efforts, apparently in surprise at the way in which they had been received by the civilized world. But the enemy did not cease them altogether. From time to time he would launch a shell in the direction of the cathedral in order to do a little more damage. He did himself the maximum of moral harm with the minimum of effect. And he is still at it. The Cathedral of Rheims is a target at a range of a little over 6,000 yards from the foremost of his guns. It is larger than Westminster Abbey and is not concealed by tall surrounding buildings of any sort. He cannot plead error. It is sheer fatuousness. It is the alternative emotion that men pass through when they do not quite know on what platform they stand—and so it has been in Belgium and in Eastern France. There is no guarantee that the long period of repose through which some districts have passed may not at any moment be followed by another outburst of violence.

In Poland there has been another history. Poland was occupied in connection with the great advance against the Russian armies. The military object of that advance was clear—it was the destruction of the Russian armies by envelopment. It failed altogether. Its attempt was only possible through the lack of munitionment from which the Russians suffered, but, on the other hand,

the Austro-Germans were correspondingly tied by their heavy artillery, and on six successive occasions six successive plans for the envelopment of a great portion of the Russian forces failed. When the effort was exhausted, Poland as a whole was occupied by the enemy's armies and evacuated by the Russian armies. The race and the people had suffered enormously. They had already been divided between three powers—the Prussians, the Russians, and the Austrians—of whom they hated the Prussians by far the most. With the Russians they had a long hereditary quarrel, only somewhat softened in modern times. Their situation under Austrian rule was by far the best.

One might have thought that Austro-German armies appearing in the country with such a historical foundation for their rule would have taken immediate advantage of what was but an accidental result of their failure to destroy the Russian forces. One might have imagined that they would have consolidated this moral opportunity by some sort of statecraft, however clumsy, as they did the material opportunity by the establishment of their trenches. Nothing of the sort. There has been a perpetual change of plan in their dealings with the Polish and Jewish population, so far as the Prussians were concerned; and the Prussians were more and more the masters. They seemed unable to decide whether they would consolidate or whether they would merely bully the miserable remains of the population. Whatever be the situation of the Polish peasants now subject to Austrian rule alone, it is certain by every account we receive that the Polish and Lithuanian population under Prussian rule has suffered from the unstable policy of the Prussian commanders as no other district in Europe has suffered. It continues to suffer even in the simple matter of victualing. Prussia cannot make up its mind whether it is better to leave memories of starvation among these people or to see them fed.

What is happening in the Balkans exactly we do not know. Accounts are confused. But so much is certain that

the wise playing of the Serbians against the Bulgarians has not been attempted. There has been nothing but the crude overrunning of the Serbian districts, accompanied with every form of torture and barbarity. It has been a sort of revenge taken against a thing which proved at last much weaker than the power which was exasperated by its former resistance. There has been no trace of statesmanship in the matter. Only of hatred.

Now the sum total of these blunders would seem to be this: So long as the Central Empires can maintain their extended lines and can govern by merely military rule the populations within those lines the national questions remain obscure. But the moment a shifting of the lines begins, the moment the military grasp ceases to be sufficiently firm to maintain so vast an extent of territory, there will be no moral result left in support of the Austro-German cause.

Bohemia wished to be Slav, but never wished to be attached to any Slav group.

Catholic Southern Slavs in Croatia had their difference with the Orthodox Serbians of the same race. The Rumanian population subject to Magyar rule was largely Uniate and garrisoned, geographically, as it were, by German settlers and Magyar colonies.

Of all these opportunities no advantage has been taken.

With the first shaking of the line now covering the Austro-Hungarian monarchy every one of those national riddles will again present itself for solution.

In the case of the Germans the matter

is differently but much more intensely true. When the Russians reappear in Lithuania and in Poland the age-long quarrel between them and the Western Slav will exist, no doubt, but it will be accentuated in no way by a new feeling produced in the course of the war in favor of the Germans. It will almost certainly be the other way. And there is no conceivable standing ground now—as there might so well have been a few months ago—for divided opinion in Belgium at the moment of a general retirement. That retirement will produce nothing at all but a sensation of relief.

In the mere mechanics of the war this factor of national feeling will have very little effect. The nations are too highly mobilized, their manhood too completely employed, for civilian opinion to count in the field as it counted in the old wars of professional armies. But it remains true that the settlement of Europe after the war will be adverse to the Central Powers in a fashion that it might not have been if they had used the few months of their unexpected territorial expansion (as much unexpected by them as by us, and as little connected with their victory as their defeat) wisely and upon a consistent plan.

They were unable to show such wisdom. They were unable to follow a sustained plan because they entered the campaign, and particularly Prussia entered the campaign, with a deliberate scorn for the sanctity of a nation. Immorality on that scale is stupid, and stupidity is the main agent of defeat, in war.

War's Effect on National Character

Following is a typical extract from an article by May Bateman, a well-known English writer:

By that strangest of all paradoxes, war, itself crude, almost carnally material, has aimed a death blow at the materialism which was sapping national life. Hour upon hour we were becoming more smug, more self-complacent, more willfully blind to the eternal things. We worshipped our own image under a prettier name; we denied the existence of Pain, and now we have had to kill Self, and Pain has leaped upon us and stared us in the eyes and said, "Dare to deny me now—you little clods, who do not even guess my name spells Love!" We are more real now, most of us, than we have been for many a long year. We have been driven out of the city of pleasure into the open immense field of life.

Trade Problems Confronting the Allies

By Luigi Luzzatti

Italian Statesman and Publicist

The following article on the complicated task facing the world of commerce and industry after the war was translated from the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan for CURRENT HISTORY.

WHILE discussing with the great Gladstone the artificial rebates by means of which Germany, Austria, and some minor nations were introducing their sugar into England, he answered me, with his fine smile: "All that remains for us to do is to open our mouths nicely and take it." This answer epitomized the tendency of an economic epoch.

In 1913, shortly before the outbreak of the cruel conflict, a syndicate of fourteen German, Austrian, Dutch, and Belgian refineries offered to sell their sweet merchandise to the wholesale dealers in sugar of the United Kingdom at a heavy discount if they would merely agree not to buy sugar of any one else. Gladstone would not only have opened but would have distended the mouth from which issued words sweeter than honey. The Englishmen of 1913 refused the offer, thus indicating the tendencies of a new economic era.

It has been written and has been asserted orally that we are entering upon a period in which political alliances may facilitate tariff unions. We may aspire to this, but an examination of the facts in the case does not allow us to hope for its immediate realization. Germany and Austria-Hungary have been thinking over and studying this question since the beginning of the war, just as they did before hostilities began. Recently meetings of expert delegates were held in Vienna, in Budapest, and in Berlin, but, although military enthusiasm urges them to reach an understanding, they have not yet been able to arrive at an agreement, and the desired league will not be worked out. Dr. Robatsch of Vienna, in a genial essay, advocated an Austro-German tariff union, but Deputy Gothein of Breslau advises the abandonment of this "economic dream," as insisting upon it might

even weaken the political alliance. By means of weighty arguments, Gothein tries to show that today a tariff union requires a common parliament to make customs laws and a common executive power to enforce them, because today, in contradistinction to the past, (the German Zollverein,) the taxes collected at the border are interrelated with all the rest of the financial and economic life of a nation.

The political and constitutional inconveniences of the Zollverein formed one of the factors that promoted the political unity of the German Empire. Renunciation of autonomy in tariff matters weakens political sovereignty. This is observed by the Germans, and especially by the Austro-Hungarians, who are weaker than the former industrially. And it is even noticed by the free and patriotic colonies of Great Britain, which are glad to give a "preferential tariff" to the mother country. But how can you plan out a customs union without a parliamentary union? And here is where all the economic schemes go astray and dissolve into thin air. Belgium and Holland, when they were governed by great men, Frere Orban and Torbeke, tried to arrange a customs union, and the one who is writing these lines was present at those intimate discussions. The patriotic design of these great men was about to succeed when it went to pieces before the difficulty of common legislation on sugar and on alcohol! If the customs union had succeeded it would have paved the way for a military alliance, and perhaps Belgium would have been unscathed today!

But it is useless to try to force the times by means of sighs. The present tendency is to increase duties, and through these to continue the war, transforming the military conflict, when it

may be ended, into an economic one. Something quite different from idealistic hopes for universal peace! Therefore, France, England, Russia, and Italy should prepare themselves, not to dream, (and they do not seem disposed to do this,) but to take some necessary action. The first thing is to improve all their mutual economic relations, principally and especially those pertaining to the tariff. This is also something much easier to say than to do, because of the vast inequalities in the material conditions of these countries.

What a large amount of French capital, for instance, has been sent to Russia in order to found industries there that are highly protected! What would happen in case the Russians should lower the duties or abolish them, in the face of competition by English industries? For the sake of brevity, we shall limit ourselves to this example, but such cases could be multiplied so as to show clearly how difficult an analysis proves the problem to be. Yet a synthesis must be found and formulated. As a defense against the Germanic-Austro-Hungarian "bloc" it is first necessary to arrange the agreement among the Quadruple Entente, and this pact will be less troublesome in proportion, as it is not expected to work miracles.

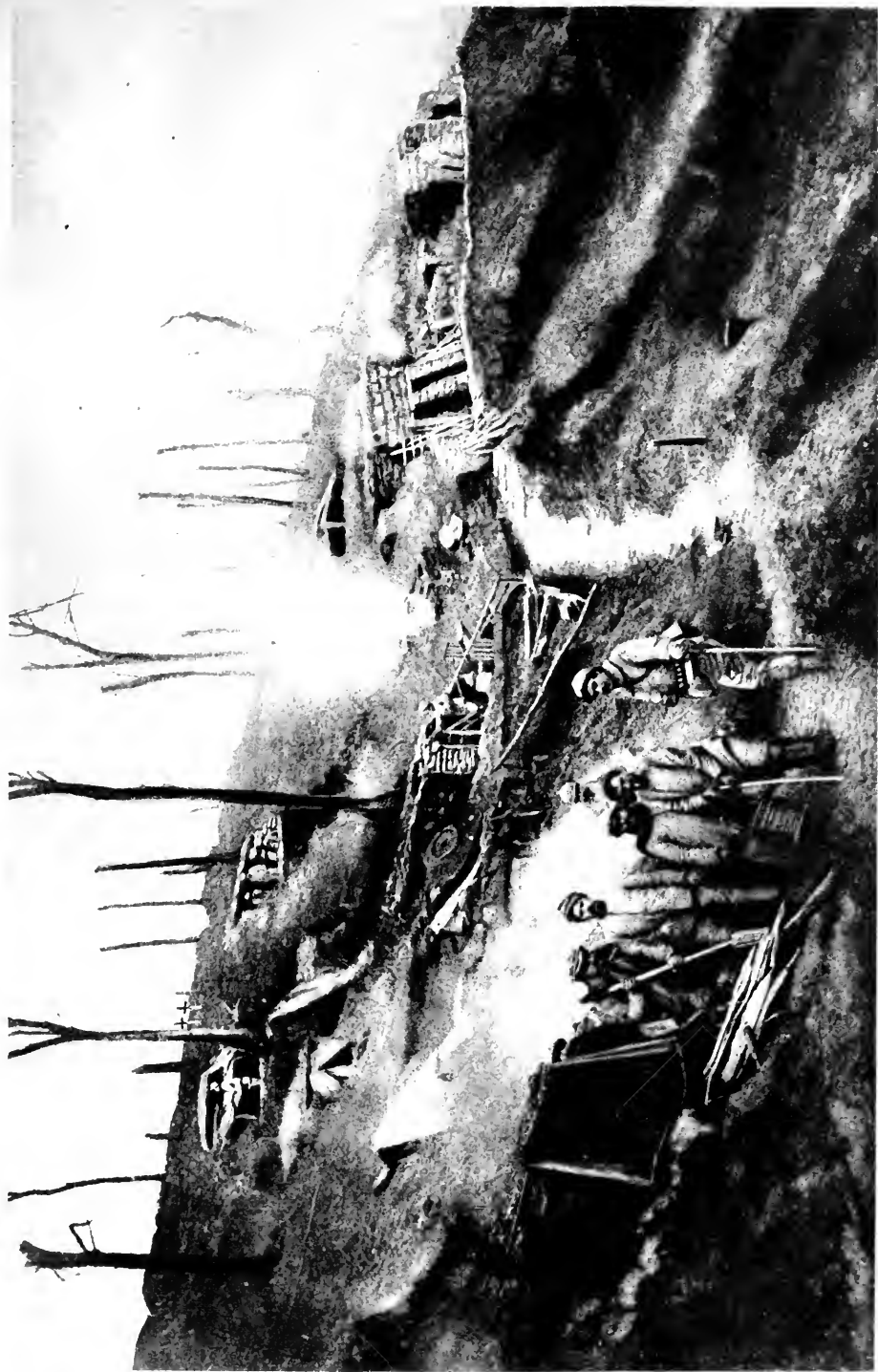
—And we may be allowed another example. It is wished, and rightly so, to create in the territory of the Allies some industries that have been monopolized by the Germans. Among these is the manufacture of coal-tar dyes, that astonishing invention by English and French chemists which has been applied no less astonishingly by the German chemists and industrialists, who have practically forced their output upon the whole world by means of the perfection of their products and the moderation of their prices. If all the States of the Quadruple Entente start to make these dyes, as they now have the intention of doing—and Japan is preparing to follow suit—they will not be able to export them, because of the lack of an extensive market. If every one works on his own account and protects himself with high tariffs, not only against Germany, but also against

friendly and allied States, it will signify the continuous restriction of an industry which in order to flourish and to branch out into its marvelous divisions of labor, needs to serve the entire world. Hence, the first thing for the Allies to do in order really to conquer Germany is to agree among themselves, organizing, for instance, a common financial society which may apportion production according to natural and technical aptitudes. And if this plan is not accepted it is necessary to think out another, as otherwise we are preparing delusions and industrial defeats worse than the criminal inertia of the past.

This example also, to which we shall limit ourselves for the present, might be multiplied many times, and each case would bring out the sharp points of unexpected difficulties. It is easier to write in the form of a soliloquy, unhampered by the contradictions of diverse and conflicting interests, than to take part in a friendly dispute among experts. And if we add to the experts the politicians, (and how are you going to keep them out?) who have the habit and even the necessity of looking after the interests, even the most minor ones, of their own countries, in every discussion, it is clear that every one of these cases will constitute a new fact to be considered in the customs arrangement. Therefore, even in obtaining results much smaller than the presumptuous hopes which frequently deceive thoughtless enthusiasts, discussions and negotiations, even among Allies and friends, or, rather, specially among Allies and friends, will strew the road leading toward agreement with tribulations and obstacles never seen in the negotiations of the past, no matter how hard and complicated they may have been.

And if the Allies neither wish nor are able to renounce the liberty of making commercial treaties with countries outside the Alliance, they must promise each other the benefit of the most favored nation clause, in case their agreements have not already included all possible favors, and border on a preferential tariff, which could never be granted to friends who are not allies. Already the

HOW THE DEFENDERS OF VERDUN LIVE DESPITE SHELL FIRE



French Soldiers at Mouth of Dugout Near Bois d'Avoncourt Getting a Breath of Fresh Air During a Lull in the German Bombardment

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

AN ENGLISH ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF MOURNING BELGIUM



Frank Brangwyn's Noteworthy Painting, "Mater Dolorosa Belgica," a Feature of the Recent Royal Academy Exhibit in London

mere announcement of this hypothesis causes the appearance of puzzles, twists, and renunciations of a new character. The present writer knows something about these things, as he has negotiated with Canada, which, as has been noted, is ready to establish tariffs of various grades, ranging from the preferential rate accorded to England to the extremes of the general tariff against economic adversaries. You may imagine what would happen if the economic adversaries were also enemies on the political field!

But, turning to the kernel of our argument, how are you going to prevent the persons to whom are refused equitable tariffs, who receive no special favors, &c., from emigrating to the favored States with their capital and their technical experts and temporarily assuming, according to their custom, a national appearance? If the inhibition in-

tended to exclude them is not put into effect by wise and powerful methods, you will have the dreaded enemy in your own house, where he might, after a longer or shorter period, become nationalized, but where he might also resist in secret.

These problems appear to us to be of a kind worthy of free, calm discussion, both at home and outside of our kingdom. For after our wars shall have ended gloriously and happily, there will be damages found among the gains, and the nations that might not be able to sell their goods to their former customers, and might not find themselves welcomed by new ones, would complain about this and would suffer from it. Complaints and suffering would injure the solidarity of the friendships that we all wish to preserve intact as a guard against vigilant enemies not disposed to disarm and to forget.

Britain's Trials to Come

By Dr. Arthur Shadwell

[Published by arrangement with The Nineteenth Century]

Dr. Shadwell takes a very serious view of the labor troubles which are likely to follow the war, especially if the British Nation cannot be aroused to the necessity of completely defeating the Central Powers and discrediting the Kaiser's Government in the eyes of the German people. He says in part:

AS to industrial conditions at home, I confess that I regard the prospect with the greatest apprehension; it is full of menace and I can see no way out. Every one in a position to judge with whom I have discussed the subject is of the same opinion.

In the first place, the whole question of industrial relations in Great Britain has a sinister background which seems to be unknown to the cheery optimists who shout for an economic war. It is a background of interrupted strife of the most determined character, which is only waiting the conclusion of the war to be resumed with undiminished ardor. If the war had not

occurred we should before this have witnessed an industrial conflict certainly on a larger scale and probably more violent than any known before. The elements not only remain in full force, but they have been reinforced by circumstances attending the war. The trade unions have been asked to suspend their rules and customs, and to a very considerable extent, though not to the extent commonly believed—they have done so. It is a great sacrifice on their part and it deserves full recognition. One union has been particularly affected, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. A very large proportion of the war work, and especially the new work, falls within its province, and it has been invaded by hosts of unskilled workers, male and female. The engineers have acquiesced with extreme reluctance, in so far as they have acquiesced; and their reluctance is based on definite grounds.

Their society was the first of the great

craft unions to be formed more than half a century ago, and it has always been a high caste, exclusive body, very jealous of its status. It has maintained the art and mystery (*art et métier*) of the trade as something requiring a long and special initiation which raised those who had passed it above other workmen. And for the thoroughly skilled mechanic the claim holds good today. The all-around British engineer is the best man of his class that there is. He is better than the German or the French, and in the United States he is the best American workman. But time and change have so altered the conditions of work that the superiority of the engineer has become fictitious in many departments. It has been artificially maintained, and now the war has exposed the fiction. Many operations once jealously confined to the skilled man have been thrown open, and it has been proved on a large scale that anybody can perform them with a few days' and even a few hours' teaching. It began with turning and other machine processes, and now it has gone on to hand tools and the high mysteries of fitting. The thorough mechanic is still absolutely indispensable—more perhaps than ever—but he has seen whole fields, once his own, captured by amateurs; and this has at the same time revealed the extent to which limitation of output has been regularly practiced.

All this has been a great trial, and it has been accentuated by a glaring inequality. Some of the most highly skilled work cannot be priced because it is too varied and irregular. It is paid by the day, and the men doing it have not shared the enormous increase in earnings made on piecework. Thus the thorough mechanic has been getting his 43 shillings 6 pence a week, and has seen the amateur from the grocer's counter, the office stool, and the cowshed taking twice and three times as much. This is the result of the prices fixed for new war work during the scramble for labor.

The unprecedented earnings in some trades will themselves be another cause of trouble peculiar to this country. They have set a new standard of living which will not be readily relinquished.

It will be impossible to go back altogether to the old conditions. Some industries have been revolutionized and the whole outlook is changed. The readjustment really requires a corresponding revision of ideas on the part both of employer and employed. * * * But what both sides are contemplating is the old rut and a battle royal.

We shall go into peace with this prospect of unprecedented industrial turmoil and strife before us; and on the top of that will be all the political strife—home rule and the rest of it. In other words, the prospect is civil war, and that without any reference to the real war. But the termination and result of the latter will make all the difference. If the war ends with a changed and chastened Germany, less convinced of her superiority, less aggressive, less ambitious, more preoccupied with setting her own house in order than with plans for dominating her neighbors, we may get through our troubles. But if the war ends in a stalemate, and leaves Germany with the military régime intact, animated with the same aims and ambitions, bent on the eventual control of the sea and the downfall of the British Empire, we shall surely go down unless we altogether change our ways. We shall be in no position to meet the commercial competition with which she will immediately proceed to undermine our strength by means of carefully prepared and methodical plans. That is what the Germans intend, and they are eager for peace in order to begin. Other competitors, more formidable than ever, will also have the advantage of us. Our industrial system will be in chaos through the mad conflict between employers and employed, and when we emerge it will be too late. The persons who talk about the economic war and promise themselves the crushing of German commerce and industry are like children playing over a rattlesnake's hole and anticipating the pleasure of pulling it out by the tail.

I think the war will end in an industrial revolution here. The only chance for us is to see that it also ends in a moral and political revolution in Germany.

The German Peril After the War

By Archibald Hurd

[By arrangement with *The Fortnightly Review*]

AFTER the war has closed, Germany will remain in all fundamentals the Germany which existed before the war. She will have lost many thousands of her best manhood, but the population of Germany increases at the rate of 800,000 a year. She will be burdened by a great debt, but the Germans are a frugal people and will bend themselves to the task of adjusting the balance. Germany will be suffering from commercial and industrial congestion, owing to our blockade, but the remedy for the disease will be a policy of "dumping." Germany, it may be, will be badly defeated, but the 60,000,000 or 70,000,000 people will remain a menace to all democracies. They have been revealed as the most exclusive, selfish, and inhumane people on the face of the globe. They form part of a soulless machine.

Is it imagined that Germany, when this war is over, will abandon the economic war upon which her business men had determined when, owing to causes beyond their control, the Emperor and his political and military advisers, in complete confidence that the result would be as in 1864, 1866, and 1870, determined to put to the supreme test the vast German army and the new German fleet? The foundations for the economic struggle which had been laid before the present hostilities broke out are, we need not doubt, even now being strengthened. This war with gun, cannon, and bayonet will leave the German Nation essentially the same in characteristics that it was in the early Summer of 1914, but with its heart blackened and its passions roused—the cruel, soulless, unmoral race which this struggle has revealed. Germany will apply to commerce the same ruthless, creedless principles which have been exhibited on land and on sea during the war—copying in cheap forms other people's designs, imitating other people's trade marks, "spying" in Foreign Offices and factories, "dump-

ing" in distant countries in order to ruin home industries, strangling decent trade as a preliminary to extortion. Germany is organized, from end to end, for this new war. It is the most highly organized empire which has ever existed.

On the other hand, the British Empire, as Sir Robert Borden has said, "is in some respects a mere disorganization." It has no economic coherence; its industries are unrelated to each other.

On the success or failure attending the attempt to solve the economic problem which confronts the British people will depend the future of the British Empire. As "a mere disorganization," it cannot fight successfully a highly organized German Empire with its railways, its canals, its ships, its syndicates, its diplomats, and its tariff all combined in one effort.

Where, then, do we stand as we confront the future? On moral grounds Germany—the land of the Huns tomorrow as it is today—must be ostracized, otherwise the precedents of this war—the murders by submarines, by Zeppelins and poison gas, and the inhumanities practiced on prisoners—will become established. Punishment must follow such acts—punishment which will be felt in the remotest corners of the German Empire, otherwise the whole human family will be reduced to Germany's level and civilization submerged in barbarism. The German Empire is a house of sickness; we must not permit the infection to reach the British Empire. A period of isolation must be enforced on the enemy. On economic grounds also Germany must be ostracized. We cannot again expose ourselves to the dangers of "peaceful penetration" by an unmoral people, which were so dramatically exposed when war broke out. If we are to save our soul, we must preserve our body.

We have come to the parting of the

ways. As it has been apparent for twenty months past that the existing organization of imperial defense is defective, so it will become increasingly apparent that the present economic disorganization of the empire threatens its very existence. This war concluded we must be prepared to wage successfully the economic war—reforming our system of education, co-ordinating science and industry, reorganizing our trades, readjusting the tariffs of the empire, protecting our merchant navy from un-

scrupulous competition, and regularizing and developing our arrangements for defense by land as by sea. The opportunity offering when the present struggle is at an end will never recur. Our moral sense demands that Germany, having placed herself without the pale, shall be kept there until she has expiated her crimes and regained her sanity. That interval will enable us to complete the task which lies before us of converting the British Empire into a benign civilizing and economic unit.

Helfferrich on Post-Bellum Trade

By Franz Hugo Krebs

Mr. Krebs, an American business man, took occasion, during a recent visit to Berlin, to submit to Dr. Karl Helfferrich, then Imperial Secretary of the Treasury, certain questions which had been suggested by American financiers and members of leading bond houses. The result is the series of interesting answers given below.

THE first question that Dr. Helfferrich took up was the following:

"What does the opening of the way through the Balkans to Constantinople mean to Germany and to Austria-Hungary, and what does it mean to Bulgaria and Turkey?" When a member of the Managing Board of the Deutsche Bank, Dr. Helfferrich devoted his activities especially to Turkish financing, so this question probably made an unusual appeal to him. He said:

"Apart from military value, which every one understands, it brings together the West and the Near East. First, it restores direct communication down the Danube to the Black Sea; that is, from Germany to Bulgaria and Turkey, with no enemy State interfering with the traffic. The cost of carriage by water being cheap, facilities are afforded for German and Austro-Hungarian exports to Bulgaria and Turkey, and, vice versa, from Bulgaria and Turkey to Austria-Hungary and Germany.

"Of course, for Germany it is economically of great importance to get raw material, such as grain and fodder, from Bulgaria, and cotton, fruit, copper, tobacco, and wool from Turkey. Incidentally, the menace of Serbia to traffic on the Danube has now been removed.

"All markets concerned have been brought closer together; also, political relations at a time like this have more or less effect on trade. In many ways Germany will give Turkey the benefit of the most up-to-date advice that scientific research enables us to offer; particularly will this be done regarding agricultural methods. Already Bulgarian and Turkish exports to Austria-Hungary and Germany have increased enormously. The railway carries through Bulgaria high-class goods, but in peace times the sea route would be the cheaper for bulky goods going to Turkey. As for the effect on Bulgaria and Turkey, by increasing their trade and economic strength these countries will also increase their financial strength."

The next question that Dr. Helfferrich answered was:

"What is the condition of German savings banks?" He said:

"The deposits in German savings banks are now as large as they were before the last war loan was paid for and issued. They had a greater number of deposits in 1915 than in 1914. Of course, this condition is wholly due to the patriotic spirit of the German people."

Another question attracted Dr. Helf-

ferich's attention—"Why is Germany coining iron money for its subsidiary coinage?"

"German currency is being used in all the territory that is now occupied by the German troops," he replied, "and this makes a sudden and tremendous demand that it is hard to fill, and, as nickel is used for military purposes, iron has been decided on as a convenient substitute."

Then came the questions, "Why has the price of the mark in the neutral countries fallen? Is it due to inflation?"

"No, it is not due to inflation," said Dr. Helfferich. "Cut off from exporting, we have been obliged to settle almost everything by cash payments. We have preferred to increase, as far as possible, our gold reserves, and have made certain sacrifices in order to maintain the strength of our financial position."

Dr. Helfferich read with apparent interest the following, contained in a letter sent me by a gentleman connected with the largest distributing bond house in the United States:

"It would be of great interest to know the feeling of the German multitude as contrasted with the Prussian aristocrats"; also this question, propounded by the partner of a large Boston bond house:

"Are the masses of the Socialists prepared to support a war of conquest?" He said very earnestly:

"There is no conflicting ambition here, no wide divergence in thought. This war was forced upon us. We have, up to now, as you Americans say, 'made good.' There is no doubt of our ability to continue along the same lines."

"We desired, before the war, to be allowed to develop along our own lines without being menaced by neighbors who

are neither willing to try to understand us nor to emulate our thrift and devotion to our work. In the Reichstag, early in the war, the Emperor said he recognized 'no parties, only Germans,' and every German, regardless of previous political affiliations, has cheerfully forgotten all differences in his loyal desire to serve best the general weal.

"The commercial relations of Germany and the United States have been very close in the past, and will doubtless be even closer after the war is over. Then Germany will be in the market for many things that will at least make us one of your country's best customers, as we always have been.

"Then, no doubt, our relations will be more direct than ever before, since up to now a large part of the business transacted between the United States and Germany was negotiated through Great Britain. Great Britain has lost—certainly with the Central Powers, and, I venture to say, more or less with the whole world—its standing as the world's commercial agent. Who in the future, unless compelled to do so, will intrust goods and securities to Great Britain, which, in violation of international law, began by confiscating privately owned goods and securities? Also, what happened to private individuals of German nationality in Great Britain during this war may be inflicted on the citizens of any other nation in some future war.

"Great Britain itself has done away with the words 'Safe as the Bank of England.' After the war the direct transaction of business between the United States and Germany will, no doubt, be greatly facilitated by the recent American bank reform, built up on the most excellent principles, which will enable your country to finance the world's commerce in a manner worthy of the United States."



The British Protectionists

By Arnold Bennett

Famous English Novelist

NOTHING can be clearer than that before the war Germany was beating us in trade. And she was beating us more and more. And she was beating us, not by reason of any inherent advantages, but by reason of a closer application, a fiercer industry, a keener interest in and appreciation of the commercial value of education—and technical education in particular. We shall, unless sentimentalism gets quite rampant, certainly defeat Germany in war, and the cry naturally and properly came that we must capture Germany's trade. It is true that at present, while instead of capturing foreign trade we are steadily losing our own, such a cry had an odd, wistful sound; but it was a good cry, a cry which rightly appealed to all of us.

Our course, if we had learned the supreme lesson of the war, was evidently to bestir ourselves about education, and especially about technical education, to preach application and close industry and organization and thrift to ourselves. Have we done it? Have we begun to do it? Not at all. On the contrary, we are so far from "realizing" the war (in the deepest sense) that the reactionary and stupid wing of the oligarchy has knocked the other wing all to bits. Education is being starved, and universities which specialized in technical education and organization, instead of being honored and aggrandized, are fighting for their lives while as little money as might keep the war going for twelve hours would suffice to render them the most potent creators of strength for the future. The fact is that we are not only clinging to luxury and relaxation, but doing much to emphasize the pro-

found defects in ourselves which the war has revealed.

The sentimentalist-protectionists assert that we shall not want to have any relations, even commercial relations, with Germany after the war. There is something in this idea. It calls forth sympathy from every one of us. It is not business, but, after all, business is not the highest good.

And yet I wonder whether, after the war, the instinct not to soil themselves by any contact with Germany will be powerful enough to prevent our sentimentalist-protectionists from endeavoring to sell British goods to Germany in exchange for German goods! I wonder! And I wonder whether, anyhow, the fact of war increases the wisdom of the dodge of cutting off your nose to spite your face. I do not wonder whether protection, instituted on the plea of patriotism, will enrich the few rich at the expense of the multitudinous poor. I know positively that it will. And I know that protection will foster instead of stamping out inefficiency. And I know, too, that to attempt to settle international relations in the midst of a war, when passion necessarily blinds reason, and when the future cannot be accurately envisaged, is an extreme kind of folly. But the attempt is being made. The campaign is afoot. Much money is being spent on it. Many dinners are being eaten about it. Hope is high in the bosoms of those astute sentimentalists who see great profit in the too facile exploitation of the baser and more blithering forms of jingoism and chauvinism. For among our sentimentalists are some who know on which side their bread is buttered. The rest do not.



"If I Were Wilson"

Listen, Mankind, to the Message of a Man

By Maximilian Harden

German Publicist, Editor of Die Zukunft, Berlin

The remarkable article, all of whose more significant passages are here translated in full, occupied the entire April 22 issue of *Die Zukunft*. In spite of its criticisms of German policy, it was allowed to appear at the moment when the submarine controversy with the United States was most acute.

[PRESIDENT WILSON IS SUPPOSED TO BE SPEAKING TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT]

WE Americans, who in spite of, or because of, our relationship are always on the lookout against English arrogance—we find England's idea of an "effective blockade" unsatisfactory. But we have much more to complain of than England's action. That she cuts off our trade with Europe and asserts her right of search and seizure is an offense we might have punished long ago if Germany had not been doing us a wrong, for almost a year, that affects us far more deeply—by the murder of American citizens. The sorrow of the widowed, of the orphaned, of mourning parents cries more loudly to heaven than the loss of merchantmen. And yet the manner in which England uses her blockading power is irreconcilable with international law.

This law is not a feeble concatenation of letters, it was not intended for the time when the nations were living at peace among themselves, and it is not invalidated by the discovery of new means of warfare. "In the time of war the laws are silent, but only those of trade and those which might be followed

in peace by foreign courts of justice; not the eternal laws, valid for every age. The possibility of suffering outrage never gives a State the right to use outrage itself." These sentences of the Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, are pillars on which our conviction rests firm.

THE LAW OF NATIONS

We share no guilt for the outbreak of the war, and we can get nothing out of it. We put up with the fact that under its reign of terror our exports and imports are shrinking; we cannot endure that they should be altogether arrested, that our cotton market should be laid desolate, our agriculture deprived of potash, and our textile manufactures arbitrarily deprived of coal-tar dyes. Still less that deadly peril should be

prepared by act of men for our citizens on roads which they have a right to use. Such roads are the great waterways between continents. To cut off principal portions of such roads by a bare one-sided proclamation, and call them "war areas," and to rob and kill any one who ventures in them, is not permitted any one either by the letter or by the spirit



MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

of any international law. It is a legal fiction, a legal pretension, to which we will not bow. And which we may the less expect, in that we have generously given up hitherto to European hands our whole trade with Europe, which supports in opulence a dozen merchant fleets and gives life to tens of thousands of employes, contractors, and actionaries.

Because England is not to receive corn, meat, textile fabrics, copper, steel, explosives, petroleum, and fat, and England's enemy has no means allowed by international law, no means by which she is able to give a warning recognizable at a distance, of cutting off the importation of these goods, because of this fact, is it permitted to a crawler along the bottom of the sea to destroy every ship suspected of carrying such goods, together with crew and its passengers? It would be just as incoherent a law which would allow it to be announced to our world tomorrow that Spain was to be considered as a war area, because France was able to get goods from her, or that Sweden was to be considered such because Russia could get goods from her, and permitted German airships to throw bombs on every railway train which they could see in these countries; because every one is under suspicion of supplying essential materials for French and Russian economic, or even military, needs.

The submarine war does not violate any of the sovereign rights of any State; but day by day it violates the rights of men and nations. It cannot but violate them if it is not confined to warships. For since a usage, unfortunately still valid, allows the carrying of false flags, every ship sailing under a neutral flag may possibly be the property of the enemy; whether a merchantman has two or three guns cannot be recognized from a submarine; and the mines which these boats strew in the sea do not ask whether it is an enemy or a neutral ship which they blow to atoms; for this reason the promise of protecting neutral and unarmed ships, of warning them, or calling to them, or saving crew and passengers before firing into them, is one which with the best will in the world cannot be kept.

CRUX OF THE DISPUTE

Nevertheless, since the horrible end of the Lusitania—the anniversary of which is just approaching—the German-American dispute has turned round this question. It has been doubly envenomed. Many factories of our States have provided the British, French, and the Russians with guns, shells, and war material of every kind. They had a right to do this; and it was not their fault that Germany, whose custom would have been equally welcome to them, was unable to buy anything from them on account of the blockade.

In all wars of modern times German industry, in spite of the empire's neutrality, has supplied one party, often both parties, with arms and munitions; if she had not done this—so said the Berlin Government—her industrial capabilities must have shown a swift decline. What was allowed to her to an unlimited extent cannot be prohibited to the industry of America. The statistics as to material delivered have been enormously exaggerated, and everything produced in South America and in the English colony of Canada has been reckoned to us as well. The entirely private contracting business, the extent of which is scarcely worth talking about, could only have been prevented by the State by means of an export prohibition. I have declined to demand this from Congress; and not merely because I was certain that Congress would refuse it. We do not desire that any State should be compelled to accumulate arms in the time of peace; for this very accumulation is a temptation to settle any dispute by war. We do not desire that a power armed to the teeth should be in a position to impose its will on a badly armed one to which neutral countries close their sources of supply; for we earnestly hope to see an extension of arbitration and an organized peace, not industriously and artificially organized force.

We do not desire a condition of law which, should we be compelled to go to war, must prevent us from buying weapons from neutral countries—weapons which we peaceful farmers, traders, professors, and artists lack. For a hundred

years England has not been prepared for a land war of European dimensions; to have left her without arms in the difficult opening stages of a struggle which had no increase of territory for its aim would have gone, we felt, against the nature of free, peaceful America, nay, against the spirit of modern humanity as well. The merchants, manufacturers, and administrators of the United States acted within their sure and incontestable rights. But their doing so drew upon them the bitter anger of the Germans, even of those who had been admitted as friends into our free States.

MUNITION PLOTS

From their error arose the second element of poison. Many of them believed it their duty to avenge on their new home a wrong committed on their Fatherland, and to tear our States asunder. The proofs of such punishable behavior, or of its encouragement, lie in our archives. We had done no wrong to the German Empire, and we demand from each immigrant that he shall carefully respect the laws of the States. Why did he come here? Why, because at some time in his life the laws and the business prospects of our country seemed more favorable than his own. If he wished to remain in every fibre of his being a German or an Irishman, to plunge under all conditions into activities for his native land, he should have stayed at home and endured unfavorable conditions of life and co-operated for the improvement of the political and social system. To pick and choose all the tasty morsels from our country, and at the first storm to behave as a raging German or furious Irishman—that would be an intolerable piece of presumption. To give examples of what has happened would only stir up the flames which I would gladly see die down. For this reason I will only ask, Would Germany, during the Manchurian war, have allowed Japanese agents to work upon the Prussian Poles, to intimidate the German Empire into alienation from Russia by stirring up disturbances, by canvassing, by fiery speeches, by imperiling munition factories? And I would ask, too, Has not our legal contention been all through as good as the Germans'?

TO GERMAN-AMERICANS

I understand that to a nation fighting in peril of its life such cool reflection on real values is difficult, that under pressure of necessity it forgets how often it has itself supplied the enemies of its friends with arms and munitions. Yet I must demand from Germany that she shall break loose from any common action with injudicious patriots, however strongly her sympathies with them may be—for patriots who, as guests, or as admitted citizens of the United States, misuse the law of hospitality to undermine the civil peace; by which action they do not benefit the German Empire, they only greatly injure it.

No serious man blames them for wishing Germany to gain the victory, for helping it by works of charity. But no man favorable to his Fatherland can allow them to hoist their three-colored flag over our Star-Spangled Banner, to make our domestic political institutions an instrument in their campaign for Germanism and to append to their vote, which their second home has given them, the condition that the elected candidate shall pledge himself to help forward their German cause.

I am bound, secondly, to demand from Germany that she shall without circumlocution declare how she proposes henceforward to respect our national law and to protect the life and property of the American citizens. How she can protect; for the question whether there is to be friendship or hostility between two great nations certain of their future can no longer depend upon the eyelashes and nerves of a young submarine commander anxious to serve his Fatherland and cut his name in the German oak, and in whose ear conscience speaks only one command: Sink everything in sight!

U-BOATS AS CORSAIRS

Every one must admire the bold cunning of such men. Their boats, however, have no surer position in international law than the corsair frigates which in the twenty years of the Anglo-French war, especially during the Continental blockade against England, used to creep out

secretly from the small harbors of Flanders, Normandy, and Brittany and rob the Britons of 500 merchant ships every year. Today, 100 years after the Napoleon frigate war, in spite of the conferences at The Hague (1907) and in London, (1909,) we have no valid international maritime law under the protection of an arbitrating authority with executive power. Yet the dictates of recognized morality, which, for example, does not give the right of sacrificing the lives of ten strangers to save one's own child, and the experiences gained hitherto in submarine warfare show the way to an understanding which would leave elbow room for both States.

Compromise would signify weakness on neither side; it would merely give expression to the honest wish to safeguard friendly intercourse between two nations which are not forced into hostility by any insurmountable reason. The hope to frighten by threats a nation so brave and so strong as the German would be absurd and vain. Moreover, it is generally known in Germany, and it is also known to those responsible for her government, what would be the consequences of a rupture. Our whole continent, north and south, would become hostile to Germany, and that not merely for the period of the war. Germany would lose all her ships lying in American ports, and would have to reckon them a considerable addition to enemy tonnage.

From the day of the rupture Germany would have to provision Belgium, which we are now supplying with foodstuffs. Holland and Scandinavia could hardly hope any longer for imports from overseas; for this reason they could not export any more goods, cattle, or grain, since by doing so they would be in danger of suffering scarcity themselves. It is for Germany only to examine, on the basis of what the Napoleonic blockade achieved and what the power of a league may be which America would join with her capital and economic resources, whether it would be wise to pay so high a price for the weakening of England through scarcity of food and tonnage.

It is certain that the conclusion of the war would then be put far out of sight,

because, even if badly weakened, the enemies of Germany could wait until our help made itself felt. And, further, from that moment we, too, should present at home an absolutely united front. The different extractions, German, Irish, Austrian, or Hungarian, would be at once forgotten, and every American would be wedded to the Stars and Stripes; and he who was yesterday disloyal at heart would tomorrow become a zealous, glowing patriot.

We have not let our tongues run furiously about Belgium, because our purse had to secure her food, and this was possible only by an understanding with the German authorities. We have not taken exception to the procrastination in the dispute pending between Germany and ourselves, because in almost all cases facts could not be ascertained beyond dispute; further, because we were restrained by the wish to spare the world the horrors of an unrestrained submarine warfare and spare the neutral States of Western Europe the pain and misery which would be the effects of such a war; because the Berlin Government gave us the clear proofs of an honest will to reach an understanding, and did not hesitate to remove a vigorous statesman, highly esteemed by many, in order that in future only one tendency expressive of will should rule its policy; because we understand the enormous difficulty of her responsible action and could not expect the second Winter of war to give birth to the decision which is to be the goal of the Spring of peace, viz., to put diplomacy above strategy and to establish firmly the higher authority of the council of statesmen over every irruption or interference of those brought up for the work of war.

CONCERNING PEACE

If this higher authority was already secured, we would not have today a war, which is the horror, and, in spite of all the virtues which it brings forth every day, the disgrace of the white race. Is it any good to dig for its roots once more in the soil washed by seas of blood and riddled by the worms feeding on corpses? All are guilty; the difference is only in

the weight and time of their sins. This fact is not discerned by him whose eyes are darkened by his own guilt. It is hidden also from him who sees only what gave the last push and judges hastily, without following up or weighing the long chain of causes: "Germany abruptly refused the arbitration which was recommended by all the powers for the settlement of the Austro-Serbian dispute and which was finally accepted by Austria-Hungary itself; she began the war, which, according to the undisputed testimony of San Giuliano and Giolitti, she had wanted as early as 1913; she wantonly violated the neutrality of Belgium, which originally she herself had demanded, carried through, and guaranteed, and, after a rapid and devastating invasion, seized a powerful pledge in the shape of the industrial districts of France. She has, therefore, to be declared guilty without admission of any extenuating circumstances. This is the conclusion formed from a comparison of all the official documents."

FRENCH AND GERMAN AIMS

That this is the conclusion indeed has been proved a thousand times in all languages, even by the men of science with tempers of ice. Only they forgot to turn over the leaves of the book of the history which came before the month of July, 1914. France could not get over the loss of Sedan, Metz, and Strassburg; she did not set the loss to the account of the accursed empire, nor did she decide on a new war, but she irritated by continuous, sometimes noisy, threats of "revanche" the conqueror of 1870, who did not wish to take from her a single straw or a single stone more, and gladly allowed her to acquire the second biggest colonial empire, and she offered her alliance to any one with the help of whose word she could hope to reconquer Alsace and German Lorraine. The wire which unites France to the Russian Empire would have been made fast much earlier if Bismarck had not, even as an old man, climbed again and again untiringly the pole and broken the strands.

After thirty years of grace, Germany is no longer served by an unselfish genius, but she has acquired, through the

unsurpassed and unsurpassable efficiency of her people, undreamed wealth, and has secured for herself an enormous share in the trade of the world. In all zones Germans make themselves snug and work diligently, more diligently than any of their competitors, for the capital and flag of their Fatherland. Germany does not, unfortunately, remember that she can only win forgiveness for so rapid a rise, for so unexampled and flourishing success in every branch of activity, by a dignified and modest self-suppression; and she does not remember that the enemies at whose expense she has grown great are still alive, and some of them are still full of fight. She rattles the sword, and in shining armor she frequently allows to transpire the intention of enlarging her dominion. * * *

OFFENSIVE DEFENSE

A preventive war, then? The classical case. Two groups of powers which do not trust each other across the street. France fears that she may be attacked and treated as a hostage, Russia that she may be cut off from an ice-free sea for another hundred years. England has bound herself to take no share in any aggressive war against Germany, but has not, as was desired in Berlin, promised her neutrality in any war "forced upon" the German Empire; for it could not but apprehend that any war provoked by aggressiveness would appear to be "forced upon" those suffering by it. Germany did not want to be boxed in, nor to give the right of arbitration to a hostile majority, nor to allow herself to be weakened by the dismemberment, attempted from three quarters, of Austria.

It is a libel upon Germany to say that it chose war not as a necessary measure of defense, (Nothwehr,) but as a means of conquest. Only a madman could desire such a war, of issues impossible to forecast, and from which no gain could be garnered in the long run. It is just as false, indeed, to assume that England, France, and Russia, which were not armed at all, or at best only half ready, (and needed a year to obtain the most necessary things,) started with the deliberate intent to attack. They desired a diplomatic, not a military, struggle, and

strained every nerve to avoid immediate war. The outbreak, however, was not to be prevented; because, at the decisive moment, the will of the military chiefs was more powerful than that of the statesmen. To the military authorities Bismarck's advice, "In preparation for war always remain one step behind your adversary," was counted mere talk, with which a cunning drafter of notes wished to thrust his clumsy hand into the rough work of warriors. When Mars rules, think they, only their expert opinion is of consequence, and only they can judge when this crimson régime is to begin. * * *

HOW MILITARISM GROWS

The state of affairs which gives precedence to such thoughts in every higher circle of communal life is called in modern speech "militarism." It does not only press for ever more powerful armaments, but it also accustoms citizens, scholars, merchants, and artists to the idea that for a struggle between peoples the only adequate weapon is armed conflict, and that everything else is unworthy and useless. In this way it permeates every root and every branch and twig of the nation. Militarism is a state of mind and a form of civilization. That without its existence heroism and the warlike virtues can thrive, a single glance at England and France, at the two Serbian States, at Hungary, at Austria, at Australia and Canada, shows. That militarism alone can guarantee constant readiness of every limb of the body politic for the rapid transition to war is proved by Germany's achievement, which is unequaled in the history of the world. That is, in the material sphere; as a spiritual achievement many will place higher the voluntary enlistment of three million island and colonial Englishmen, the heroic endurance and self-sacrifice of the Serbians and the French, fighting in the very face of the enemy. Twenty million heroes are fighting between Antwerp and Trebizond, and the majority grew up in unmilitary countries—yes, in some which seemed to have succumbed to the plague of luxury.

NO ARMED TRUCE

Because militarism facilitates readi-

ness for and temptation to war, and because it can only spread further and further unless weeded out root and branch, the war must endure until it is destroyed. This slogan is proclaimed aloud by all the enemies of the German Empire, and is whispered by all neutrals. How long only by them? After the inconceivably horrible slaughter of which today at least five million corpses and ten million cripples are evidence, the cry for the sure establishing of peace will, even between Hamburg and Bagdad, drown every other.

Is the uprooting of militarism possible? To my mind, yes; an inevitable certainty. Its approach has been merely retarded by the foolish attempt to cut from the body of a State a portion which is indispensable to its vital functions or for its self-respect. From the first day of peace onward this State would be compelled to make every sacrifice in blood and money to attain the re-establishment of its constitution and its prestige. Think, Grey, Briand, Sazonoff, through what thunderclouds and what pressure of misery you would have to pine if this mutilated power were immortal Germany, compelled to gather together all the energies of mind and economic strength for the bursting of the barrier erected before its house, and for the chastisement of impious excess! But, Bethmann and Burian, do not forget that those who pine are more sensitive than giants, and that Serbia itself has once already risen from the moldy tombs in which it seemed to be inclosed!

A peace which, like a war, left crippled peoples behind it, would only mean a truce. And we do not desire a peace that is a truce, but a truce which will give rise to a firm and noble peace, to Europe's Easter. We wish it today because today it is possible and therefore necessary. We: all who are not blinded by irrational rage, whose numbers grow every day in multitude and with whom in both camps, man for man, the dead agree.

NOT LIKE OTHER WARS

Those only stand far off who imagine that this war is essentially like other wars, and might—indeed must, like other wars—end in victory and defeat, treaty and indemnity. Those upon whom

the realization has not yet dawned that this war's most certain consequence—its only certain consequence—will be the most gigantic revolution of all times, a revolution that penetrates the whole of Europe with its flame, that plows up the whole continent, beside which the revolutions of 1789 and 1793 might seem petty child's play, and that every man of goodwill and natural piety must exert himself fervently to keep this revolution clear of blood guilt and confine it to the world of the spirit.

No State, no people, no class, neither man nor woman, will after this war, this cataclysm, be as they were before. Constitutions and laws, prejudices and scruples, will lie prone before the whirlwind, like reeds in a pool. Let us take care that, from the altar of the new league—the league of humanity with divinely inspired nature—a grateful odor shall be wafted heavenward, as from Noah's thank-offering when his second dove had brought him the olive branch in its bill, while the message of "Peace on earth!" was written shimmering across the sky.

FOR AN ARMISTICE

An armistice is possible. Nothing indispensable remains to be conquered; nothing that would sufficiently reward the effort involved. The aim and result of that effort can only be the ventilation, cleansing, disinfecting, the hallowing without priest or dogma, of the Continent; the transformation of swampy, moldy, hate-befogged, envy-poisoned ground into the luminous abode of free men, working on the basis of their own right, and consequently respecting that of others—men who, just because they are strong and proud of their reason, cannot but affirm their will to select in peaceful ways the fittest, whether among individuals or peoples. The wolf will not graze beside the lamb, nor the lion run with the hare. But the form of war and other horrors will be radically altered, as after the first deluge when the curse and condemnation of all living things was lifted from the earth, and the rainbow bridged over the chasm between godhood and beasthood.

This hope does not appeal to you?

You want vengeance, retribution, the chastisement, the annihilation of the enemy? Woe to you if it should be left to the wrath of the people to drive their rulers and governors out of the thorny entanglements of such illusions! Only at the cost of its own enervation can one group so crush the other to earth. And behind the melancholy monument of such a universally destructive victory militarism would rear itself more menacingly aloft. Now it may be rooted out from the field on which honor has been maintained and power demonstrated, but the decisive battle has not been fought. Now the power which received it as an heirloom from the soldier-king Frederick (the Great) then let it rust and only polished it up again under the lash of Bonaparte, that power can now, without inward or outward impoverishment, lay it to rest.

DAWN OF A NEW DAY

The dawn of rejuvenated humanity! It breathes afresh. Let reason at last get in a word again, and shame spread a thick veil over self-deification and enemy bedevilment. Who would bet that, if any of the buds of hope failed of maturity, were nipped of frost, humanity would not again resolve to pass from armistice into a state of war? What profit could war bring? To the French, Alsace-Lorraine and the Cameroons; to the Germans, Courland and Polish and Lithuanian territory; to the Austro-Hungarians, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Albania! That would mean, instead of establishing peace, sowing the seeds of new wars; to say nothing of disruptive domestic dissensions. To what European State, during the last century, has the incorporation of foreign populations brought any appreciable gain? To Russia, Austria, Prussia, the Netherlands, the German Empire? To none of them! The Savoyards and the people of the Maritime Alps were already half French, and, like most of those living by work for the foreigners, remote from the storms of national feeling. Annexation has long been recognized by the far-sighted as a form of the extension of power not to be reconciled with European custom. Nothing is easier than to proclaim an-

nexation; but if the morsel, once swallowed, proves indigestible, and the swallower would willingly spit it out, yet honor commands him to retain it, and, even at the risk of his life, to protect it against greedy enemies.

LEAGUE FOR PEACE

The eye of my spirit looks forward to the time when States shall league themselves in a community of interests, pass from pooling to fusion, and, to save expenses, merge two official staffs into one. For the present that is only to be thought of as between different sections of one national organism. But the more sterile, in the days of electric trunk lines and international legality, the idea of frontiers becomes, and the more solid the unity of Europe, will it not hold good, too, as between Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, between Spain and Portugal, between the Scandinavian kingdoms, between the Baltic provinces from Riga to Finnish Tornea, between two or three Balkan States? The new form of annexation, which opens to the stronger State the channel of influence, and spares the feelings of the weaker, will certainly be in process of casting tomorrow. And, as (since the war has broken down all dams the flood of democracy is unrestrainable) the hour cannot be very distant in which even great powers shall unite in defensive associations, and, after amalgamating their steamship lines, both for freight and passenger traffic, shall maintain only a fleet of cruisers, a submarine squadron, and a standing army. Why not, since even today they cannot take from each other any possession of enduring worth, and the day after tomorrow, at latest, the unmuzzled populace will forbid them even to wish to do so? Harken to the voice of the fleeting hours! At their bidding, if madness no longer howls them down, greater miracles than this will come to birth.

COUNTING THE COST

Twenty-one months of war have cost from 100,000,000,000 to 120,000,000,000 marks; to that are to be added the costs of restoration and the burden of maintaining disabled soldiers and their dependents. A bare indemnity, which in respect to such sums would look like not

more than the mushroom at the foot of the giant beech tree, even the victor in the height of his triumph cannot hope to obtain. And tribute wrung out by a military occupation protracted beyond the lustrum, the decade, was a possibility in the time of Rome's glory and fall, but today is as little a possibility as that forcible deportation of whole tribes and peoples of which many dream. No State that has been involved in the deluge can look for any other indemnification but that which it creates by its own economics.

Any great power which abridges its annual expenditure on land and sea defenses by 1,000,000,000 marks may hope after a generation to see again the first dawn of financial regularity. And what will become of debts and liabilities? Because what is gained by saving suffices at the most to cover to a tolerable extent the new needs which are the legacy of the war. Taxes and customs duties, which brought in were it only an equivalent of the interest of the tenth billion of debt, would cripple industry and commerce in the competition with our continent, with Australia and the yellow world, would break up the idea of property, and drive the moderately well to do, from the fear of confiscations, into neutral States of sound financial constitution, and stamp out the courage for far-reaching enterprises as a horse crushes a rose leaf. Money does not grow like grass. What, then, is to happen?

ATONEMENT BY DEBT

What has never happened before anywhere on earth. Nothing save new thoughts, no sere and yellowing ones, opens the drain vent of the abyss. After the first deluge Noah kept himself by the cultivation of the vine. Just as his son Ham, because he despised the uncovered shame of the drunken vintager and told his brothers, was laid under the curse of being the servant of all servants, so the old continent would come under the curse of servitude to the younger continent if its humanity did not speedily succeed in covering the exposed shame of their racial breeds with the mantle of brotherhood. Let Europe's war debt become a fund of atonement. Let the loan coupons in all the European States which have

participated in the war (and in those ready to recognize the principle of arbitration) be valid money, guaranteed by all the debtors, not a currency which can be rendered worthless by dissoluteness and fraud like the assignats of the Jacobin Convention and the French Directorate. Money which in every country subject to the authority of the court of arbitration must be taken at every counter by every creditor at its full face value. For how long? Till those weakened by the war can redeem the international currency with national

metal or paper. In forty years at the earliest, in sixty years at the longest, after the conclusion of peace. The International Court of Justice administers the fund and sets aside in equal portions from the contributions of all the States what it needs for itself and its militia. It has to punish the party disobedient to its verdict by the infliction of a money penalty, and invalidate, call in, destroy, all the current loan coupons of any State which, without being threatened in life and limb, breaks the peace.

Are Americans Fair to Germany?

By Gottlieb von Jagow

German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

[A protest made through a Berlin correspondent of The New York Times]

EVERY American newspaper representative tells us how anxious the American public is to get the news, the real truth about the war, and yet when the Imperial Government offered to let American newspaper men use the cable in the event of its being reopened, and also to allow the news sent to the American press to go out uncensored, as long as it was not prejudicial to the German military plan of campaign, it hardly made a ripple among your news-loving people.

The Imperial Government offered to pay the entire cost of repairing the cable and putting it into commission, and was willing that President Wilson should appoint censors at the American end of the cable in order to supervise all messages transmitted.

When our Zeppelins attack London, which is a fortified city defended with cannon, full of soldiers and prepared as far as it can be to resist attack by land or air, the American papers teem with the most vitriolic articles about the "Huns." When the airmen of the Allies attack absolutely unprotected German towns and villages without one cannon or one soldier in them and kill old men, women, and children, your papers are

either silent or else they give a carefully expurgated account, without bitter criticism therein, and, much more significant, the letters which appear in the American newspapers, signed by readers of the papers, exhibit (in the main) only horror at our legitimate aerial warfare and none at the entirely unjustifiable conduct of our opponents.

Also by prohibiting absolutely the importation of fodder necessary to enable our cows to furnish milk of a good quality Great Britain is warring on the little children of Germany, and when philanthropic people in the United States, who wish to help the children, desire to ship milk for their use, Great Britain interposes its sea veto. Our children are fully as dear to us as the children of Americans are to them. What do the press and the people of the United States really think of a warfare directed against little children?

Further, what do Americans think of the British practically forcing the Dutch steamers going to and coming from America to make Falmouth a "port of call" and then claiming the right to rifle the first-class mail on the ground that a British port is made a port of call?

We are not unmindful of our good

friends in the United States, millions of whom are not of German descent, neither are we ungrateful for the fair play publicity accorded Germany by certain papers in America, which, however, are unfortunately exceptions to the prevailing tone of your press. All Germany wants is fair

play. Let the American papers give the people all the news; let Americans pass judgment with all facts in their possession, that is all Germany asks, but please try to accord us what you must surely admit we deserve, and that is simple justice.

How About British Militarism?

By Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann

German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs

[From a statement made to a Berlin correspondent of The Chicago Daily News]

EVER since the beginning of the war our enemies have been shouting about Prussian militarism. Now the reign of terror in Ireland has shown the finest flower of British militarism. England has established conscription, which it professed to hate so bitterly as a German institution, but it did not take conscription to show to what lengths British militarism can go. Sir Edward Grey has dared to repeat again that England wishes to confer the blessings of freedom upon Europe. The bloodstained soil of Ireland shows just what this freedom means. The same British militarism has ground beneath its iron heels the helpless people of India.

The same British militarism has wielded its cruel sway in Egypt and the same militarism killed the helpless women and children of the Boers in South Africa.

That is what British freedom means. For British militarism has not changed. It is the same today as it was a century and a half ago, when it hired the Indians in America to massacre England's helpless colonists because they tried to throw off the yoke.

Balfour also revives the old British tale that German victory will imperil the Monroe Doctrine. He knows that is not so. We have said again and again, and I repeat now, that neither the German Government nor the German people have any intention of infringing upon the Monroe Doctrine. We look upon the Monroe Doctrine as a policy which reserves to the American nations their complete self-sovereignty and the right to

shape their own destinies. Please remember that it is England and not we who have colonial possessions in America.

But these British statesmen, as well as President Poincaré of France, are now talking because they wish to hide the fact that upon them rests the responsibility for their hopeless continuation of this war. How hollow the British pretension to humanity and civilization. These men realize that British violations of American sea rights, the illegal blockade of American commerce and the piracy of American mails are resented by Americans and they fear the reckoning which they know must come.

Germany twice has solemnly announced a willingness to consider peace proposals on a reasonable basis. We, too, want peace in Europe. We want a real and lasting peace—one that will guarantee us and all of Europe against another war. We, too, want the freedom of Europe, but we want real freedom for Europe. Or is Greece Sir Edward's idea of a free nation under the British ideal of freedom?

I do not want you to misunderstand me. A victorious Germany does not need to beg for peace. When I say now that Germany is willing to consider peace proposals it is a sign of our strength. For the people of Germany whose sacrifices and heroic devotion to the Fatherland have, with the blessing of God, preserved us so far against a world of enemies will carry us in triumph to the end.

A Hero Tale of the Red Cross

By G. S. Petroff

War Correspondent of the Russkoye Slovo, Moscow

The following incident is narrated in M. Petroff's account of a battle on the eastern front.

ONE of our soldiers brought with him a German officer, who could hardly stand on his feet. His leg had been pierced by a bayonet, his shoulder was bleeding from a bullet, and his arm had been bruised by the butt end of a rifle. He was losing consciousness from pain and loss of blood. As soon as the soldier led him to our place he dropped with his whole weight to the ground. The doctor bandaged him, exclaiming: "What luck! Three wounds, and in spite of all of them he will be well soon. The wound in the leg is only a flesh wound, his arm is badly bruised but not broken, and only his collarbone at his shoulder is broken. In a month he will be all right again. Just look! what a handsome fellow, and what expensive underwear!"

The bandaged officer came to himself, looked around the yard, and, seeing the farmhouse in the background on fire, he sharply seated himself.

"Now be quiet, calm yourself," said the doctor, speaking in German and taking the man gently by the shoulders.

"My wife, my wife!" cried the German, tearing himself forward.

"Where is the wife?"

"There, in the house, in the fire!" He made an effort to get off the stretcher from under the doctor's hands.

"Is he delirious or what?" muttered the doctor in Russian. "There is no one in the house," he added soothingly in German. "Your German wounded were there, but they were saved in time."

"But my wife? My wife!" cried the captive in terror.

"What wife? How did she come here?"

"She is a nurse. She was here with the wounded. We loved each other, we married only a year ago. She became a nurse. Our regiment happened to be near their hospital. Your offensive was

unexpected. There was no time to remove the hospital. The other nurses left, but she would not leave when I was so near. Where is she? My wife!"

"Did any one see a German nurse in the house or yard?" asked the doctor, turning to the Russian soldiers and telling them briefly what the prisoner had said:

"There was no woman," came the response. "The house was empty. Look at the fire within. Even mice would have run out by now."

At this moment something metallic shrilled through the air above our heads. A heavy German shell flew over us.

"Scoundrels!" cursed the doctor. "They are firing on us—and their own wounded! We must get out of this. Two or three more shells and they will begin dropping in the yard. Carry our wounded first, then theirs. Hurry, or we shall remain here for eternity!"

The captive officer, apparently powerless, could not rise from the stretcher, where he was lying with one of his soldiers who had been wounded before him. He gazed devouringly at the blazing house. Suddenly he shouted savagely: "There, at the window, under the roof! Look, she is breaking the window—where the smoke is pouring out!"

We looked at the roof of the blazing house, and, in truth, there was a woman's figure in white, with a red cross on her breast. The doctor shouted: "Eh, fellows, it is true! A woman was left in the house—a nurse—his wife!"

"What can be done?" asked the stunned soldiers. "The whole house is on fire, and she is not strong enough to break through the window frame. She must be weak from fright. But why did she go up? Why not down?"

"There's no use guessing!" shouted a bearded fellow, evidently from the reserves, throwing off his overcoat.

"Where are you going?" cried the soldiers.

But he was already out of reach of their voices. He rushed into the house. All were stupefied, fearing to breathe. A minute passed, another, a third. Then at the window appeared the bearded face of the Russian soldier. There came the sound of broken glass and wood. Above our heads something was shrilling, but no one paid attention to the German shells. The soldier broke the window, dragged the woman into the open air. She was unconscious.

"Catch!" rang from above, and a big white parcel came down. The soldiers caught it successfully on the hero's outspread overcoat. Only one of them was hurt in the eye by the heel of her shoe.

"How will our chap get back to us now?" asked the soldiers of one another. "It is hell inside."

"Oh, he will get out, all right," said some one. "It is easier to get out than to get in. He knows the way. And if he burns some of his beard, no harm; he has a large one."

"Carry her to her husband!" ordered the doctor, "and get out from here immediately. The Germans are shelling us. Take away the rest, and don't forget the couple," remarked jokingly the doctor, happy over the incident. "I will wait for our hero. He may be burned."

The soldiers caught the remaining stretchers, and nearly ran out of the yard. At that moment a big German shell struck the burning house. A deaf-

ening explosion shook the air. The walls trembled, shook, and fell. The heroic soldier had not had time to get out. He remained buried under the ruins.

When the woman recovered consciousness near her wounded husband she did not understand where she was. She murmured in perplexity: "Dream, death? Otto, is that you? Are we together in Heaven?"

"On earth and both alive," calmed the doctor.

"How did you get to the upper story?" asked the husband.

"I saw Russian soldiers run into the house. I feared violence, so I ran upstairs. I thought I would run down later, but then came the fire. * * * A soldier appeared behind me and I was terrified to death."

"But that soldier saved you!" sighed the doctor.

"How? Where is he?"

"In heaven, if there is such a place for heroes." The doctor then told them all. The German officer and his wife both cried.

"But how was it that your guns were firing at a farm which you were occupying?" suddenly asked the prisoner.

"Our guns?" exclaimed the doctor, who was already bandaging a new victim. "It was your guns that were shelling a house over which flew a German Red Cross flag. Our soldiers were saving the lives of your wounded, and your guns were firing at both ours and yours. They killed the man who saved you. That's the way the Kaiser makes war."

2,500 War Dogs Helping to Save Wounded Germans

Dr. Max Osborn recently devoted an article in the *Vossische Zeitung* to the work of the 2,500 "Sanitätshunde" that are helping the German Hospital Corps to pick up wounded men. A "dress parade" of these dogs was given for his benefit in the Verdun district. There were sheep dogs, Airedale terriers, retrievers, and pointers, each about 2 years old, German sheep dogs being in the majority. They had learned to obey commands, given by word of mouth and pistol shots, "like Prussian infantrymen." The drill consisted of distinguishing the prostrate living from figures representing dead men, passing by men still able to stand by themselves, and indicating not only where men were lying down but leaning in a state of semi-collapse or sitting up. "And, best of all," concludes Dr. Osborn, "they are serving the Fatherland unselfishly, without hopes of either promotion or decorations." France, however, which also is using a few dogs in this way, recently decorated with gold collars fifteen that had seen service at the front.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of current thought in all the warring countries, as represented by their leading writers and more influential periodicals.

"We Are Not Winning This War"

By Dr. E. J. Dillon

Chief Correspondent of The London Telegraph

[By arrangement with The Fortnightly Review]

THESE is probably no people in Europe more easily deluded than the British, nor any that contents itself more readily with flimsy excuses for the blunders of its chosen leaders. The bulk of the British people are still patient, trustful, and of good cheer. Notwithstanding the most sinister deterrents they still seem willing to go on "playing the game," and follow their leader even though he prove a pied piper hurrying them to the abyss.

The story of Warsaw may be repeated at Verdun. "Already," the Germans tell us, "we have attained one momentous result; we have broken up the Allies' boasted offensive in the Spring. We have dealt a stunning blow to the French from which they are not likely soon to recover. France is too weak to hold her present line, abridged though it has been by the increased share taken by the British. It is the English whose turn has now come to bear the brunt of the war and supply men as well as money. In words their pitch is high and strenuous, but in deeds it is fitful and low. We have obtained these advantages far more cheaply than the French or British have the courage to avow. Our losses are, as nearly as possible, half the total alleged by our enemy, whereas theirs are not less than ours."

The war is still being waged on our allies' territory. The Central Empires (Germany and Austria) are immune from the hardships of foreign invasion. The discomforts which the blockade is inflicting on them are as nothing com-

pared with these. Belgium is German. The richest departments of France are German. Serbia and Montenegro are German. The mineral wealth, the great metallurgical works and factories and artisans of all these countries have been lost to the Allies, and this loss has been doubled by their employment against us. And as we have not contrived to keep, so we have failed to recover them. Nay, we are still losing ground.

This war will not be terminated by speeches about victory, but by strong blows on the battlefields. And it is for the purpose of having them dealt from the plenitude of the empire's power that a war-waging Ministry should take the place of the well-meaning masters of logical fence who have led the nation to the verge of ruin.

The Germans are still strong, much stronger than is commonly assumed. The story of the melting away of their reserves to 700,000 is a puerile fabrication. They claim that they and their Austrian ally are turning out more high explosives a week than the Allies and the United States combined. For they have no strikers, no slackers, no conscientious objectors, but only selfless patriots and a Government which compels the few unwilling to do their duty.

It is these qualities and the perfect organization based upon them that enable the Central Empires to turn out 460,000 shells a day. The total of our output is wisely kept secret.

We are not winning this war. To convey any other impression to the public

would be cruel and unpatriotic. What is more, we can not and shall not win it unless we change our system and its champions and alter our course at once. The crucial question is whether, before it is too late, the nation will displace the leaders who are wasting instead of utilizing its resources in men, munitions, and money.

It is a mischievous fallacy that time is on our side. The Germans still have between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 men to draw from, and their quality will be approximately equal to that of the Allies. I go further, and assert that they dispose of nearly 2,000,000 of their best troops, whom they have kept back for the coup de grace. The attempt to exhaust them by attrition appears futile.

On the water we are more fortunate. None the less, even there conditions have changed to our detriment. * * *

An acquaintance of mine sets down the loss of commercial shipping since the beginning of this struggle at over 3,000,000 tons. Our losses continue, with a tendency to increase rather than diminish. Our commercial fleet is being whittled at both ends—by the enemy on the one side and by ourselves and our allies on the other. It has now become possible to determine how long we can stand the strain of this process, which is intensified by the further trouble that the submarines are not only reducing our tonnage below our abnormal requirements, but are rendering it occasionally impossible for us to utilize even the transports available.

Is it right, then, to proclaim that time is on our side?

It is highly probable that after a while the consequences of this naval semi-paralysis will make themselves felt in this country and most acutely among the working classes.

The people of Great Britain, loath to admit that their heroic ally (France) has fared so badly, (as the Germans allege,) cling to the belief that the great Spring offensive will strike the Teuton with dismay and hearten ourselves and our friends. But Senator Humbert in his widely circulated press organ tells us France "has accomplished fully, and more than fully, her share in the common task. Has not the moment come to take this into account?"

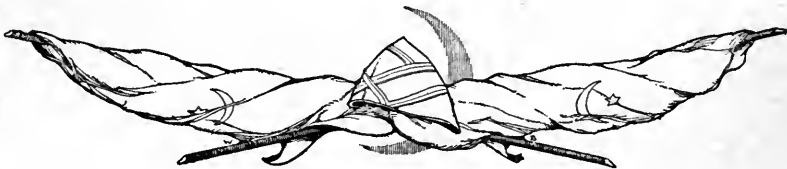
On the part of our Russian allies we can rely upon grandiose exploits of heroism, but miracles cannot be expected.

We do not stand a chance of winning if the war continue to be conducted some time longer by the men of routine. To these placid politicians the struggle is hardly yet a reality.

Can inefficiency hope to beat efficiency, chaos triumph over organization, the blind force of the angry bull match the intelligent manoeuvres of the matador? The corollary to the negative answers which these queries must evoke is the displacement of the Government responsible for the lack of plan, the disorganization of the nation's forces, and the dissipation of its substance.

The stereotyped answer to all demands for a change of Government is the impossibility of finding any successor to the Premier. Is that plea admissible? Will it be seriously maintained that there is no strong man in Great or Greater Britain who would not conduct the affairs of the country much more successfully than the men responsible for the Dardanelles fiasco, for the Mesopotamian expedition?

What is needed is not a political but a war Cabinet, not a little parliament of twenty-two theorists, but half a dozen live men. By such a committee the mistakes of the past might possibly be repaired.



The Spirit of German Culture

By Professor Ernst Troeltsch

University of Berlin

At the beginning of last October Germany had already published the amazing total of 6,395 books and pamphlets about the present war. In an article on "German War Literature" in the Contemporary Review Dr. Thomas F. A. Smith singles out as the most important volume "Deutschland und der Weltkrieg," ("Germany and the World War,") edited by Professors Hintze, Meinecke, Oncken, and Schumacher, with sixteen other well-known scholars as contributors. A portion of Professor Troeltsch's contribution to that volume, as translated by Dr. Smith, is given below.

THE German is by nature a metaphysician and hypercritic, who strives to understand the world and things, man and fate, from within, from the standpoint of the spiritual inwardness of the universe. It would be idle to attempt an explanation of the origin and spread of this prevailing trait. But it is the innermost life secret of the Germans, one which has caused much dispute among us, the motive inspiring immeasurable sacrifice and suffering, the force which has achieved greatly, and the problem of an ever new adjustment to the practical demands of life and its material demands.

In essentials the German spirit always occupies itself with fundamentals, expression, and motive; not with lines, form, symmetry, or finesse. The deep-lying differences between the German and Latin peoples are based upon this profound antithesis. Among the latter, art stands in much closer relationship to the immediate forms and instincts of life. This finds ample expression in the culture war, and for many it forms the actual reason for the charge of barbarism, just as the French in the classical period declared the Renaissance poet, Shakespeare, to be a drunken barbarian, and the Italians looked upon Northern Gothic as barbaric art. From this source a mass of international verdicts has arisen and been stamped as axioms in the elegant phrases of French journalism. Above all, they have found welcome among the Anglo-Saxons, who have been altogether robbed of any exact artistic traditions by their business instincts and Puritanism. As regards this point further dispute is useless.

It is remarkable that foreigners are

unable to recognize German idealism—which they brandmark as political immaturity, when the latter applies itself to social and political problems and treats them in a manner suitable to German history, instead of acting according to French or English suppositions, which to them appear to be natural laws. By the intimate connection between the State and culture, German social-philosophy cannot be what the French and English democracies wish it to be. In that respect it is purely idealistic. German philosophy and the potato-bread spirit of which Lloyd George speaks belong together, just as English philosophy and the miners' strike. * * *

France's idea of freedom is based upon the principle of equality, but in practice it does not prevent power from falling into the hands of plutocrats and lawyers. The English idea postulates the independence of the individual from the State. Without doubt both of them contain, and have indeed realized, mighty developments in social and political life. But the German idea of liberty is entirely different. Emerging from centuries of subjection, the German found freedom in education (*Bildung*) and in the intellectual or spiritual contents of his individual personality. German freedom will never be purely political; it will always be bound up with the idealistic concept of duty and the Romantic egoistic idea. Parliaments are necessary; but in our eyes they are not the essence of freedom.

The right to vote and the assistance of the people in matters of Government develop political maturity, but this is not freedom as we understand it.

The great national cultures all have

their advantages and disadvantages, but the world has room for them all. The longer the war of weapons has lasted, the bitterer has the culture war become. For our part we know that in the first place it is not a war of principles and ideas, but a fight for our existence. In the next place, we are fighting for the

right to live; but our political existence as a great power means at the same time the spirit of unconquerable belief that the world-principle of liberty does not include English direction of the moral-political order of things in this world, nor that the seas should be under English domination.

High Cost of Living in Germany

By Viscount Georges d'Avenel

That France is standing shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain in the determination to tighten the blockade is clearly indicated in this article from *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris.

MANY Germans of the North," wrote Mr. Theodor Wolf recently in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "will suffer no detriment from moderating their consumption of butter; for in this country persons whom indigence does not preserve from excess in eating are often afflicted with a monstrous obesity. There are peoples who know how to feed themselves, and who do not see the necessity for adding butter to cheese."

There are, beyond question, M. Wolf, and among these peoples figured the Germans of other days; since the German of 1914 ate twice as much as the German of 1870. Figures prove it beyond contest, and the politicians beyond the Rhine stated it, not without pride, before the war.

It is enough to say that, if the younger generations born in the lap of this recent abundance, if even the elder folk who have gradually accustomed themselves to this growing well-being, experience certain gripings of the stomach when they lose, in a few months, the satisfactions of the palate which they had gained in a half century, it is none the less true that the Germany of today could be weaned from a large part of its edibles without being "starved" or in danger of suffering hunger.

Besides, we all know that material interests no longer count in this war; Germany has sacrificed hers to the dreams of a morbid ambition, and we no longer pay heed to ours, now that the

blood of our sons has been shed in flood. Neither economic difficulties nor the lack of money will put an end to this struggle; nor will it be the deficiency of weapons and of munitions, since on both sides they are being ceaselessly multiplied; but it will be some day the inequality of effectives in the belligerent armies, for men cannot be manufactured and renewed like machines. On that day Germany, which was the first to let loose "numbers" and to triumph through them, will be conquered by "numbers" in her turn.

Up to the present our blockade, which has raised the prices of many commodities among our enemies, only provokes a certain discomfort and arouses a very natural discontent among the German crowds, who cannot understand why the war continues so long, since the Allies, they have been told, have long been beaten.

This blockade, because of modifications in favor of neutrals, was at first ultra-benevolent; from August, 1914, to May, 1915, during the ten first months of the war, the exports of Germany to America had hardly fallen to a half of what they were in the ten corresponding months of 1913-14. But if we consider the month of May alone, it amounted to only 15,000,000 francs in 1915, against 75,000,000 in 1914. As for imports from the United States to Germany, if we heed only statistics, they fell to almost nothing; but cottons, wool, and grain

made a detour and entered by minor Scandinavian and Dutch ports. With a benignity which some members of her Cabinet called folly, England waited until the end of September before declaring that "the flag no longer covered merchandise."

The Germans, on their part, cried out long before they were hurt; the contradiction of the Berlin Government is even piquant; if it desires to protest against the blockade and demand the freedom of the seas, it affirms that the country is starving and lacks everything; but if it is a question of the duration of the war and the chances of victory, it announces that Germany lacks nothing and can hold out indefinitely.

In any case, if bread could be made by laws, Germany would have plenty of it to sell, for there has been no strike in the making of laws touching materials and merchandise in Germany since the outbreak of hostilities; nor has there been any failure of "associations," of "committees," of "offices," of "Kriegswirtschaftsgesellschaften," ("central war supply societies,") for these copious bureaus—perhaps there are over a hundred of them—in which shines what our neighbors complacently call their "genius for organization." These are composed in part of functionaries, in part of willing professionals, charged with making inventories, with buying, requisitioning, transforming, distributing, controlling, taxing, selling, and dividing into rations the bulk of the food supply and raw materials. * * *

The allies of Germany, poorer, less well supplied, suffer more from the perturbation brought by the war. Living in Austria-Hungary, in Turkey, even in Bulgaria, whose indigenous products were utilized while almost nothing was brought to her from without, is today dearer than in Germany. The agents of Austria, until the last few months, paid in Holland for certain articles higher prices than the Germans. The Germans had, because of this, much difficulty in closing their bargains. To obviate this occurrence, the Berlin Commission charged with the control of purchases abroad now centralizes all merchandise entering the empire.

From the time when this was done it has become impossible for Austria to buy supplies in Holland; she must go by way of Berlin and pay a commission to her allies. * * *

It must not be believed that the blockade is ineffective; quite the contrary; and, although the affirmation may seem paradoxical, its action will make itself felt far more by what it keeps from going out than by what it keeps from coming in; much more after peace than during the war.

The result of this pressure upon Germany, which will be more efficacious and durable the longer the struggle lasts, will then appear far more distressing and onerous for the industry and commerce of Germany than the passing privations or dearness of certain commodities and certain materials of prime necessity.

French 75s: The Guns That Defend Verdun

By Stanley Washburn

War Correspondent of The London Times

SO much has been written of the French 75s that it may seem superfluous even to mention them, but I think that no one who has seen these wonderful little guns in action can resist singing their praises. It is extraordinary that a piece of mechanism should play such an enormous part in world history as this has done, and it seems incongruous

that an engine of destruction should be helping to save France and the civilization of the West. Yet every officer with whom I have talked tells me that it was these little guns which saved the battle of the Marne, and the general opinion seems to be that Verdun, too, owes its salvation to the swarms of little stinging bees that stung the German columns to

death on the bloody slopes of that now famous battlefield.

When I asked the General to be shown a battery of 75s every face in the group of officers beamed. Winding through the woods was a tiny trail, and this we followed until we emerged into a little clearing. A look disclosed the hiding place of a battery. I was escorted by the young Captain in charge into the nest of one of these guns. Squatted complacently on its haunches, its alert little nose peered expectantly out of a curtain of brush. If there ever was a weapon which had a personality it is surely this gun. Other field guns seem to me to be cynical and sinister, but this gun, like the French themselves, has nothing malevolent or morose about it. It is serious, to be sure, but its whole atmosphere is one of cheerful readiness to serve. Its killing is a part of its impersonal duty, as indeed one feels to be the case with the clean, gentlemanly soldiers of France. They kill to save France, not because they have the lust of slaughter.

The Captain showed me the details of the wonderful mechanism and explained the system of the recoil, sights, and other features of the gun. Fortunately for me, it was the hour of the day when the battery was accustomed to have a little practice against the enemy, and I have never in war seen anything more inspiring from a military point of view than the working of this gun, with its sharp, defiant little barks.

With a speed of fire of thirty shells to the minute and with a well-trained crew serving it with clockwork regularity, it resembles a machine gun rather than a

field piece in action. So exquisite is the adjustment of the recoil that a coin or even a glass of water can be placed on the wheel while in action without being jarred off.

In one of the Russian battles one of their batteries fired 525 rounds to the gun in a single day, which seemed to me at that time an extraordinary rate of fire. When I mentioned this to the Captain, he laughingly replied, "I have fired from this (four-gun) battery 3,100 rounds of shells in forty-five minutes." I listened to him in amazement. "How long do your guns last at that rate?" I asked him, for the theory before the war was that a field piece did not have a life exceeding 8,000 to 10,000 rounds of fire. The officer placed his hand affectionately on the gun that we were inspecting. "This is a brand-new gun which I have just received," he said. "The one whose place it has taken had fired more than 30,000 shells and still was not entirely finished." Then he added, "You are surprised at my speed of fire, but there have been 75s in this war that have fired 1,600 rounds in a single day." From the guns he took me to his magazine and showed me tier upon tier of brightly polished, high-explosive and shrapnel shells lying ready for use.

When the war is over there will no doubt be a great building of monuments to commemorate the dead who have fallen and the heroes who have played their part. There might perhaps also be erected in the capital city of every ally a shaft in honor and appreciation of the French 75, which is doing wonders to save Europe and the world.

Flemish Culture Is Not German

By L. Dumont-Wilden

Staff Contributor to *Le Figaro*, Paris

THE exhibition of Belgian artists at the Salon in the Rue de Sèze is the timeliest answer that could be made to certain propositions laid down by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg in the Reichstag, namely, that Flanders is a dependency of Germany and that its

population, "Germanic by blood, speech, and culture," ought logically to re-enter the empire. How false and lying this assertion is these paintings show. If this profoundly original art owes anything to other schools, it is only to the French.

The great landscape painters of the

Fontainebleau school, the Impressionists and the Neo-Impressionists, have had disciples in Belgium, and particularly in Flanders, who have often been the equals of their masters. The whole history of Flemish painting shows that there was from the first a constant reciprocity between Flemish and French art. The magnificent Flemish school of the fifteenth century owes the first elements of a style, which nevertheless is its own, to the colorists of the Paris school. In return, the Flemings founded the Burgundian school of sculpture; and in the sixteenth century the Valois attracted to their Courts as many Flemish as Italian artists. Many Franco-Flemish painters it is impossible to assign to either school.

It is especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century that the relations between Belgian and French art have become intimate and the influence on one another constant. David had a studio in Brussels; Nicaise de Keyser, the Wappers, and the Gallaits were influenced by Delacroix and Delaroche. Finally Impressionism, which is purely French in origin, immediately exercised a decisive influence in Belgium, as can be seen in the work of Claus, Van Rysselberghe, and Ensor. It would scarcely be possible to find two or three contemporary Belgian painters, even among the less interesting

artists, who owe anything to German taste.

In Belgian literature it is not only the Walloons who are French writers. It is sufficient to mention the names of Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Georges Ekhoud, Albert Giraud, and Van Lerberghe—all of pure Flemish origin and all pure French as writers. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg can say what he likes about Flanders being a Germanic country, joined by its culture to "kultur," but in reply the French artists have only to show their pictures and the Flemish writers their books—written in French. Flanders, like Alsace, is a border province where formerly the blood of the Gallic tribes has been mingled with that of German invaders. In consequence, a German idiom has become the vernacular of the country, but both have been for centuries illumined by French enlightenment, and for centuries all the manifestations of the higher civilization are French.

In the face of these facts, German violence, intrigue, threats, and imposture are impotent. One only needs an exhibition of paintings or the publication of a poem by Verhaeren or an essay by Maeterlinck to upset—as far as Flanders is concerned—the whole of the Chancellor's arguments.

Within What Limits the Pope Can Be Admitted to the Peace Congress

By Eugenio Valli

Member of the Italian Senate

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Nuova Antologia, Rome]

A SIMPLE and glib answer to the question of the Pope's participation in the Peace Congress can be given with certainty only by clerical doctrinists or by anti-clerical doctrinists. The latter must reply negatively, because they do not take account of the situations produced in a long historical development and want to regulate the social life of men in the State, and the life

of States in humanity, without reference to religious ideas and institutions. If States are to ignore the existence of these manifestations, except as they may at some time act as a brake for the safeguarding of public order, it necessarily follows that it is impossible for men of these views to admit the representation of such institutions at a congress.

Vice versa, clerical doctrinists must answer such a question affirmatively and with no less certainty. Rather must their affirmation be the more exuberant as it is impossible, in the eyes of your clerical doctrinist, to pay any attention to the distant historical development that gave life to the international personality of the Church and to the more recent historical development that has modified it. The Catholic Church, while resisting rigidly in the field of principle, feels and is influenced by the surrounding atmosphere, and always ends by changing and accommodating itself to that atmosphere without loss of any of its great splendor.

Clerical doctrinism, which is to some extent a deformity marring the greatness of the Church, has made itself as rigid as a fossil in the results of mediaeval concessions. The Pope is not only in matters of religion the head of the Catholic Church and the Vicar of God on earth, he is also the head of the Society of the States. He is invested by immutable and Divine right with that suzerainty which, in the interests of the faith, exclusively protected by his prudent government, gave him the prerogative in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of modern times of absolving subjects of a heretical sovereign, or one rebellious to the Church, from their oath of allegiance, and to divide among two Catholic powers the sovereignty over discovered countries, or even those to be discovered eventually in the New World.

In conformity with this doctrine, which I recently heard defended with more courage than success, the Pope should not only participate in the congress—he should have the first right to initiate it, to preside over it, and to moderate it. His right and his capacity to protect international order should be considered superior to that of the single States.

* * *

It is apparent, then, that there is but one conclusion to be drawn from this—the answer of extreme clericalism and extreme anti-clericalism may be considered practically negative. Here is the simple reason: In the matter of participation at the congress by a repre-

sentative of the Pontificate, under exactly the same title as that of the individual States, we see that such Papal representation is as incompatible with the negative solution of the one party as with the overaffirmative solution of the other—according to which the Pope should be seated as the overlord and arbiter among the representatives of the various States.

THE TEMPORAL POWER

But Papal representation at the congress may be, and is in fact, asked for now on the basis of another title, and is defended from different points of view and maintained by various arguments that should be examined one by one.

The Pope could be invited or admitted to the congress as the pretendent of the State of the Church, or a partial restoration of this State. It is under this title especially that full diplomatic rights are asked for the Pontificate by one of the most authoritative representatives of the uncompromising clerical school of public policy.*

The Pope could propose himself (a) to claim the rights of the States of the Church, (b) or that part of the States of the Church in regard to which he has not yet tacitly admitted the territorial condition created in Italy by popular vote; (c) or to ask, without any preventive rules beyond the recognition of his sovereign personal prerogatives which are universally admitted, a territorial sovereignty, to be conceded him under restrictions, at the will of the powers.

Evidently this demand—whatever be its extension or attenuation—is flagrantly at variance not only with our interests, but with public rights. This demand, whether for much or little, or even a speck of land, would bring into question the integrity of our territory. The demand or proposal would be gravely offensive to us, because Italian territory would be subjected, even if only in the abstract, to the revision or the limitation of the other powers. Italy must therefore exact the absolute exclusion of these discussions from the congress. The pres-

*De Luise, in "De iure publico seu diplomatico Ecclesiae Catholicae."

ence of a representative of the Pope, if these questions are left untouched, would not mean an offense to our rights and interests.

INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE

Even independently of a claim or demand for temporal power, the Pope could aspire to admission to the congress as the highest religious authority of a universal character. Under this title, he could seek to obtain guarantees for the absolute security, as also for the independence and the continuity of his work.

This international guarantee could, as a sort of "garrison" of the Pontiff's authority and functions, form an equivalent—according to certain Catholics—to the territorial sovereignty lost in 1870. According to other Catholics, the independence of the Holy See would be, as a result, gravely menaced, because the Pontiff, instead of being personally a sovereign in the sight of Italy—which did not create but recognized his exceptional juridical condition as history developed a little at a time—instead of this he would find himself in a new legal position, one created by the powers and dependent on their collective guarantee. On this head we must again speak most clearly.

Our Government must exact the exclusion of this argument from the congress just as completely as the other one about territory. That is not enough. To exclude it, even in the form of subtle and astute presentation, the Italian Government must put forth if possible an even more unshakable tenacity. The absolute integrity of the territory of our State should be sacred to every Italian. Even more sacred, if I may so express myself, should be the absolute independence of the State and the fullness of its sovereignty. It would be interesting to see, to know, to read what all the other countries would think or do if they were in our position. They would do neither more nor less than what I am thinking and writing, and I say this in all modesty, but

unchangeably. The creation of a Pontifical San Marino would be a break in the territorial integrity of Italy. * * * The most essential parts of our legislation would as a result be exposed to future interference, positive or negative, from the Pope and the powers from whom he had his guarantee. And as, in the course of time, the Italian Government should tend to get away from such interference, which is clearly intolerable, so for those even who in good faith had not foreseen this degree of pressure and suffering there would result finally the danger of a resurrection of temporal power. * * *

THE POPE'S REPRESENTATIVE

If an invitation were extended to the Pope to attend the congress as a sovereign, considered, so to speak, as the head of a first-class State, there would be no contradiction with the existing precedents of international law. The Pope is in fact considered a sovereign, and his representatives as diplomatic agents. Even now there is in operation a regulation as to grades and precedents among diplomatic agents which was signed at Vienna on March 19, 1815, and completed by the Protocol of Acquisgrana on Nov. 21, 1818.

According to that regulation, the first class is composed of Ambassadors, Legates, or Nuncios. Article IV. of the Regulation of Vienna establishes the rule that diplomatic agents should have their precedence in every class based on the data of the official notification of their arrival. Then it adds: "The present regulation shall not carry with it any innovation as to the representatives of the Pope." All the powers, then, implicitly recognized that precedence of the representative of the Pontiff outside of the question of seniority which was and is in effect in the Catholic capitals, and as an effect of which all the accredited diplomatic agents, at Vienna or at Madrid, e. g., recognize in the Papal Nuncio the head of the Diplomatic Corps.

The Trend of Events in Asia Minor

By Colonel K. Shumski

Russian Military Critic

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Niva, Petrograd]

ONE of the most considerable events that closed the preparatory operations of the Winter was the capture, by our gallant Caucasus armies, of Trebizond, an important port and a valuable strategical and political centre. This new success of the Army of the Caucasus is the immediate result of two of our chief victories in the Caucasus war zone—the battle of Sarikamysh, in December, 1914, and the storming of Erzerum, on Feb. 16, 1916.

In this last contest was finally broken the power of resistance of the Turkish Third Army, and therefore after the fall of Erzerum it was logical to expect the gradual, almost automatic fall of a series of very important points in Armenia. The only question was, how far conditions of weather and locality would enable us to seize all these points more or less rapidly; but the fall of Mush, of Bitlis, of the Port of Rizeh, of the Port of Trebizond, was evidently predetermined.

Erzerum fell on Feb. 16, 1916, and we have more than once insisted upon the great and ever-growing importance of that event, as almost week by week our capture of one point after another was announced. At the same time, it might have been predicated that the conquest of Mush, Bitlis, and Port Rizeh should be explained by the disruption of the Turkish forces resulting immediately from the fall of Erzerum, but that, when the Turks had had time to draw breath, a more serious opposition might be expected from them.

For this reason, therefore, apart from all other considerations, the fall of Trebizond is important; because it shows that our armies were able to capture a series of points in Asia Minor, not because the Turks had been shaken by the loss of Erzerum, but because the Turks are in fact incapable of offering any serious

resistance to the victorious advance of our armies. At Mush and Bitlis, it might have been argued that our armies were profiting directly by the results of a panic which took possession of the Turks after Erzerum. But when two months passed, and when Trebizond was taken, the Turks had had every opportunity to reorganize their resistance, in order to hold that important point; and, if they did not do this, then it was solely because it was beyond their power to do it; because the Turkish Army was broken, and, for the Turks on the Caucasus front, the war was irretrievably lost.

The one thing that has saved the Turks from a final catastrophe is the enormous expanse of the theatre of war in Armenia; spaces of many hundreds of miles leading, on the one hand, to Constantinople, and, on the other, to the Persian Gulf. All the calculations of Turkish strategy are based on the fact that a great deal of time and very extensive preparations will be needed to drive them back on Constantinople; and, while this time is passing, the Turks hope for German victories on the main fronts, in Europe.

Under these conditions it is perfectly idle to think that the Turks can ever win back any of the territory they have lost. It might be reasonable to think of this, if the Turks could expect any effective aid from Germany; but, as we know, the entire resources of the Germans are absorbed by their problems on the French and Russian fronts, and it is wholly beyond their power to detach any forces whatever to be sent to the aid of the weakening Turkish defensive. Without question the Germans knew that Trebizond must fall, since the Turks were under the necessity of defending three directions of operations at once—the line against Trebizond; the line against Erzinjian, (the direction of Constantinople,)

and the line against Mesopotamia—and a defensive on such an extended front is an insoluble problem, especially where there are no supply roads from the rear. So the Germans must have known that it would be necessary to sacrifice at least one of these lines, and Teuton-Turkish strategy had to decide on which line the largest forces should be concentrated, and which should be abandoned.

First, the Teuton-Turkish strategists unquestionably determined that all possible forces must be concentrated on the Erzinjian line, because this line leads to Constantinople, and, further, because the success of the Russian armies at this point would mean the smashing in of the whole front of the Turkish Third Army; and after such a smash, the sea coast division of the army would be wholly cut off, as would also be the southern, Mesopotamian, division. Through Erzinjian leads the important road to Sivas and Angora, from which reinforcements from Constantinople were expected, and through which the Bagdad railroad passes.

Further, of the two other directions, the Trebizond line and the Mesopotamia line, the enemy evidently considered the latter the more important; consequently the smaller forces were concentrated on the Trebizond line. This is probably to be explained by the fact that the Germans, for whom Mesopotamia and the Bagdad railway possess a more important interest, were able to coerce the Turks into giving up the serious defense of the Trebizond zone, for the purpose of concentrating their forces on the Mesopotamia line.

The Russians, attacking Trebizond from behind, were energetically supported by the Black Sea fleet, and Trebizond was quickly cleared of Turks, who fled to the southwest—that is, in the direction of Erzinjian, which is now the staff headquarters of the Turkish Third Army. It thus happens that the two termini of the road from Erzerum to Trebizond are in our hands, while Baiburt, the central point of the road, is still in the possession of the Turks, and is being obstinately defended.

This last circumstance has high importance, as the road to Erzinjian also leads through the Baiburt Pass, and the whole defensive power of the Turks is now evidently concentrated in the Baiburt-Erzinjian region. The mastery of the whole of the road between Trebizond and Erzerum is, therefore, of the greatest importance to us, because this is one of the best roads in Asia Minor; because it runs parallel to our front, and would unite our forces at Trebizond with our forces at Erzerum, and likewise with the southern group, which is operating in the region of Bitlis and Mush, in the direction of Kharput.

In the region of Baiburt, or, as it is called in our bulletins, "the region of the Upper Chorokh," the mountains are exceedingly chaotic in character, and the Turks are evidently counting on making a protracted defensive there. As at the same time the mastery of the Trebizond-Erzerum road is very important to us, it is natural to expect the development of a great battle on the road to Trebizond, and also on the road to Erzinjian.



England's Seizure of Mails

By H. Wittmaack

German Writer on International Law

Since the Washington Administration has put extra pressure on the British Government touching the question of mails in transit between neutral ports, the subjoined article is of interest in showing the German viewpoint.

THE English Government stops all neutral mail steamers in transit between neutral points, takes them into English ports, and, after searching, retains the parcels sent in the post. How can such a procedure be reconciled with the rights of nations?

Article 1 of The Hague agreement relative to certain limitations respecting seizures at sea during war reads: "Whether belonging to neutrals or belligerents, mail (correspondance postale) found on neutral or enemy ships, be this of an official or private character, must be held inviolable. In case of seizure, it is incumbent on those responsible for such seizures to forward the mail as quickly as possible." In case a blockade is in effect, this clause becomes inoperative where mail is coming from or going to blockaded ports.

In Article 2 it reads further: "The inviolability of the mails does not exempt neutral mail steamers from being subject to regulations and usages due to naval warfare; such as govern merchantmen in general. However, the search should be undertaken only in case of necessity, with all due care and the utmost dispatch." This agreement was ratified by all the nations concerned in the present discussion.

The Declaration of London, Article 30, decrees that even though carried in neutral ships between neutral ports, absolute contraband—that is, such articles as are for war purposes—is to be seized when the destination is an enemy country or such territory as may be in the possession of the enemy. For that reason it is rather difficult to make objection to the British Government's stopping mail steamers with a view of ascertaining whether they carry any absolute contraband in the parcel post destined for

enemy territory. If subsequently it is necessary to take the steamer into an English port, the owners of the ship and of the parcels simply have to consent. That absolute contraband, assigned to the enemy country, is on board need not necessarily be suspected, and the circumstance that such contraband goes by the parcel post is insignificant by itself. As a matter of fact, such merchandise is exposed to the same fate as is contraband shipped in any other manner. But the so-called conditional contraband—that is, such materials as may be employed for both war and peace purposes—can, according to Article 35 of the Declaration of London, be subject to seizure only when the ship in question is bound to or from territory of the enemy. Neutral mail steamers plying between neutral ports do not come within these regulations.

The English Government never ratified this declaration, but accepted it in the present war with some modifications. Under this modification comes the decision that conditional contraband, even on neutral ships bound for neutral ports, can be seized when the party to whom it is actually assigned lives in enemy country. It is for this reason that the English Government takes to itself the right to examine conditional contraband found on neutral ships with a view to learning whether in fact the parcels are not ultimately to come into possession of some one in an enemy country. This goes quite contrary to the rights of nations, but the English Government acts according to its own convictions. However, in the matter of conditional contraband the principle was accepted even by England that the question of seizure can arise only when the goods are to be used by the opposing power.

Whatever regulations are in effect, they do not fully explain the procedure of the English Government. The attempt has been made to obtain permission for the importation of condensed milk from the United States into Germany in order to save German children from starvation. It is said that the French Government objected to this, and that in consequence no shipments were made. It is to be taken for granted that the French Government would not have taken this stand without making sure that the English Government would act likewise. It is presumed that the French were given the preference in entering objections so as to give the Democrats and Socialists now in control of affairs a chance to prove that even while some of them may proclaim the universal brotherhood on the whole, no less than the English Government, they are determined to conduct the battle for civilization, culture, and humanity by inhuman means.

We know by this time that whatever the contents of the mail which England seizes she keeps it for an indefinite period. Even if no enemy character attaches, examination has to be made to see whether or not it comes within the blockade regulations. In this way, securities sent from Holland on neutral ships and destined for America were seized by the English because they carried a German seal, and the incorrect conclusion was drawn that for this reason they were German property.

Since the Scandinavian countries were not signatories to the London Conference they would be justified in holding to the regulations of 1900, also agreed to by England, that goods in transit on neutral ships between neutral ports at no time can be considered contraband. Denmark and Norway, whose trade has been enormously increased during the war, rather inclined to fall in with England's wishes all around. Sweden, on the other hand, recalling its own glorious past, did not relish the manner in which the English are treating the rights of nations. Sweden took recourse to reprisals in that she held back the mail bags that crossed the country on their way to Russia. It is, however, doubtful whether this measure

will be of any service. England is bent on crushing Germany, and if this cannot be accomplished on the battlefield she will use every means in her possession to starve us into submission. When once Germany is conquered, the argument runs, a short shrift can be made of the small nations.

According to The Hague agreement, only direct mail—"correspondance postale"—is held inviolable. All other articles besides letters, whether included with letters, or sent separately in envelopes, cannot claim exemption.

The question has arisen what is meant by the open sea. It is generally conceded that within a certain distance from shore the ocean comes under the jurisdiction of the adjoining country. For instance, in respect to fishing and the gathering of other products of the sea, such jurisdiction is commonly acknowledged. It is also the duty of such countries as border on the water to see to it that warring nations do not violate the neutrality of this zone in case it belongs to a neutral.

As for the width of this neutral zone, in times past there has been a deal of dispute. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Dutch jurist, Bynkershoek, laid down the rule that the jurisdiction over the adjoining ocean reached just as far as a cannon shot would be effective. At that time a cannon ball carried about three sea miles. To this is due the fact that the coastal waters of a country have been marked off as covering three miles from shore, measuring from low-water mark. But as a matter of fact there has never been any exact agreement as to these territorial waters of any country. But there has been no diversity of opinion on the point that ships of all nations can pass through these waters, providing they do not do any damage to the territory; nor on this other point, that in case they do not make any stops while passing through, they do not come within the jurisdiction of the country bordering on the water.

In the year 1876, a collision took place within the three-mile limit from the English coast to Dover, between the Hamburg steamer Frankonia and the English ship Strathclyde. A passenger on the

latter ship lost his life. In England a criminal charge was lodged against the Captain of the Frankonia. But the courts decided that there was no precedent on which to rest the case. To remedy this shortcoming, a law was passed in 1878 whereby the English courts assumed jurisdiction in English coastal waters. This was the "Territorial Waters Jurisdiction act." As a consequence the British Government took to itself the right to proceed against any ship acting contrary to the law of the land, even though the act was committed aboard a foreign ship. While the matter was yet under discussion in Parliament the Lord Chancellor expressly declared that the passage through territorial waters of any foreign vessel was a concession on the part of England, and that, consequently, those taking advantage of

the privilege were bound by what the coastal country decreed.

The Hague agreement, Article 1, declares clearly enough that it covers the high seas and that territorial waters are not considered in the premises. But the seizure of mail on neutral ships within English territorial waters is exactly what caused a discussion between the British and Dutch Governments. England takes the position that she can act toward ships passing through her territorial waters as if they were passing over her own soil. At the time of The Hague peace conference the English point of view was accepted in general in so far as it concerned the unimpeded passage of ships through territorial waters. As the issue stands today England has gone directly counter to the rights of nations.

"Too Proud to Fight"

President Wilson's celebrated words about being too proud to fight are so often quoted and misquoted that the facts about them should be a matter of record:

The phrase was used in an address delivered by the President in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, before 4,000 newly naturalized citizens. It was the President's first public address after the sinking of the Lusitania, May 7. He did not in the course of his speech directly mention the Lusitania or submarine warfare, but the address has been grouped with two others, delivered at about the same time, as setting forth "the principles on which he would meet the crises of the European war as they affect the United States." After speaking of the ideals of America, in special reference to the coming of aliens to be American citizens, the President said: "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."

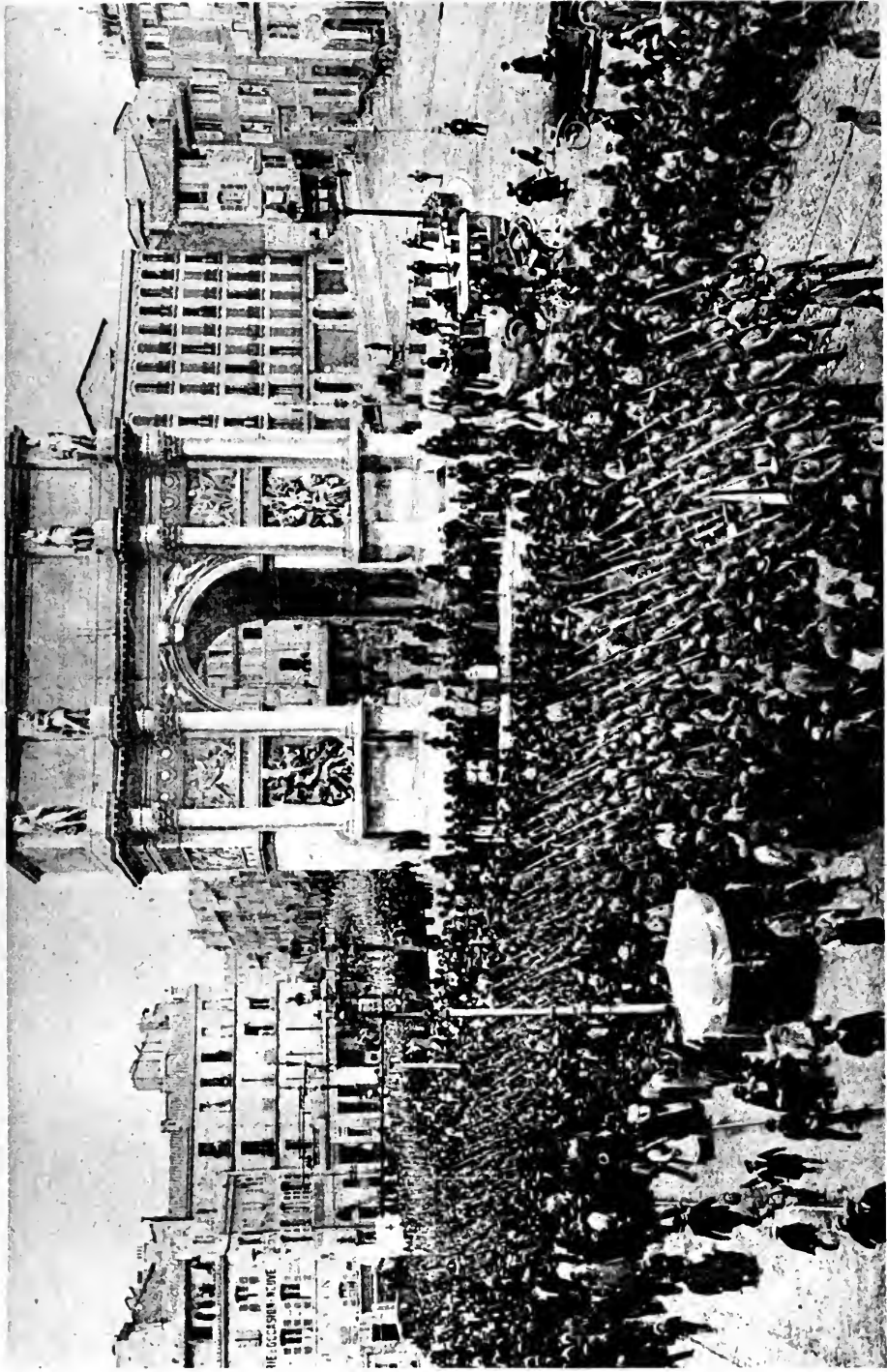


A REALITY THAT RIVALS THE ROMANCES OF JULES VERNE



"In the Night of April 15-16," Says a Bulletin of the French War Office, "One of Our Armed Aeroplanes, Flying Over the North Sea at an Altitude of 300 Feet, Fired at an Enemy Warship Sixteen Shells, Most of Which Struck It."

A HISTORIC EVENT OF THE WAR IN FRANCE



Passage of the First Battalion of Russian Troops in Front of the Arc de Triomphe in Marseilles, After Their Long Voyage From Vladivostok

Freedom of the Seas

By Arthur James Balfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

This important official utterance was given to the American public about the middle of May through Edward Marshall and *The Saturday Evening Post*. Mr. Balfour's lifelong friendliness toward the United States enhances its interest. The full text of his statement follows.

THE phrase "freedom of the seas" is naturally attractive to British and American ears. For the extension of freedom into all departments of life and over the whole world has been one of the chief aspirations of the English-speaking peoples, and efforts toward that end have formed no small part of their contribution to civilization. But freedom is a word of many meanings, and we shall do well to consider in what meaning the Germans use it when they ask for it, not (it may be safely said) because they love freedom but because they hate Britain.

About the "freedom of the seas," in one sense, we are all agreed. England and Holland fought for it in times gone by. To their success the United States may be said to owe its very existence.

For if, three hundred years ago, the maritime claims of Spain and Portugal had been admitted, whatever else North America might have been, it would not have been English-speaking. It neither would have employed the language, nor obeyed the laws, nor enjoyed the institutions, which, in the last analysis, are of British origin.

But the "freedom of the seas" desired by the modern German is a very different thing from the freedom for which our forefathers fought in days of old. How, indeed, can it be otherwise? The most simple-minded must feel suspicious when they find that these missionaries of maritime freedom are the very same persons who preach and who practice upon the land the extremest doctrines of military absolutism.

GERMANY'S AMBITIONS

Ever since the genius of Bismarck created the German Empire by Prussian rifles, welding the German people into a

great unity by military means, on a military basis, German ambitions have been a cause of unrest to the entire world. Commercial and political domination, depending upon a gigantic army autocratically governed, has been and is the German ideal.

If, then, Germany wants what she calls the freedom of the seas, it is solely as a means whereby this ideal may receive worldwide extension. The power of Napoleon never extended beyond the coast line of Europe. Further progress was barred by the British fleets and by them alone. Germany is determined to endure no such limitations; and if she cannot defeat her enemies at sea, at least she will paralyze their sea power.

There is a characteristic simplicity in the methods by which she sets about attaining this object. She poses as a reformer of international law, though international law has never bound her for an hour. She objects to "economic pressure" when it is exercised by a fleet, though she sets no limit to the brutal completeness with which economic pressure may be imposed by an army. She sighs over the suffering which war imposes upon peaceful commerce, though her own methods of dealing with peaceful commerce would have wrung the conscience of Captain Kidd. She denounces the maritime methods of the Allies, though in her efforts to defeat them she is deterred neither by the rules of war, the appeal of humanity, nor the rights of neutrals.

It must be admitted, therefore, that it is not the cause of peace, of progress, or of liberty which preoccupies her when, in the name of freedom, she urges fundamental changes in maritime practice. Her manifest object is to shatter an ob-

stacle which now stands in her way, as more than a hundred years ago it stood in the way of the masterful genius who was her oppressor and is her model.

Not along this path are peace and liberty to be obtained. To paralyze naval power and leave military power uncontrolled is surely the worst injury which international law can inflict upon mankind.

A FORGOTTEN ASPECT

Let me confirm this truth by dwelling for a moment on an aspect of it which is, I think, too often forgotten. It should be observed that even if the German proposal were carried out in its entirety it would do nothing to relieve the world from the burden of armaments.

Fleets would still be indispensable. But their relative value would suffer change. They could no longer be used to exercise pressure upon an enemy except in conjunction with an army. The gainers by the change would therefore be the nations who possessed armies—the military monarchies. Interference with trade would be stopped, but overseas invasion would be permitted. The proposed change would therefore not merely diminish the importance of sea power, but it would diminish it most in the case of nonmilitary States, like America and Britain.

Suppose, for example, that Germany, in her desire to appropriate some Germanized portions of South America, came into conflict with the United States over the Monroe Doctrine. The United States, bound by the doctrine of "freedom of the seas," could aim no blow at her enemy until she herself had created a large army and become for the time being a military community. Her sea power would be useless, or nearly so. Her land power would not exist.

IF GERMANY RULED THE SEA

But more than this might happen. Let us suppose the desired change had been effected. Let us suppose that the maritime nations, accepting the new situation, thought themselves relieved from all necessity of protecting their sea-borne commerce and arranged their program of naval shipbuilding accordingly. For some time it would probably proceed on legal

lines. Commerce, even hostile commerce, would be unhampered. But a change might happen. Some unforeseen circumstance might make the German General Staff think it to be to the interest of its nation to cast to the winds the "freedom of the seas" and, in defiance of the new law, to destroy the trade of its enemies.

Could anybody suggest after our experience in this war, after reading German histories and German theories of politics, that Germany would be prevented from taking such a step by the mere fact that it was a breach of international treaties to which she was a party? She would never hesitate—and the only result of the cession by the pacific powers of their maritime rights would be that the military powers would seize the weapon for their own purpose and turn it against those who had too hastily abandoned it.

Thus we are forced to the sorrowful recognition of the weakness of international law so long as it is unsupported by international authority.

While this state of things is permitted to endure, drastic changes in international law well may do more harm than good; for if the new rules should involve serious limitations of belligerent powers, they would be broken as soon as it suited the interests of the aggressor; and his victim would be helpless. Nothing could be more disastrous. It is bad that law should be defied. It is far worse that it should injure the well-disposed. Yet this is what would inevitably happen, since law unsupported by authority will hamper everybody but the criminal.

THE ULTIMATE PROBLEM

Here we come face to face with the great problem which lies behind all the changing aspects of this tremendous war. When it is brought to an end, how is civilized mankind so to reorganize itself that similar catastrophes shall not be permitted to recur?

The problem is insistent, though its full solution may be beyond our powers at this stage of our development.

But, surely, even now, it is fairly clear that if substantial progress is to be made toward securing the peace of the world and a free development of its constituent

nations, the United States of America and the British Empire should explicitly recognize, what all instinctively know, that on these great subjects they share a common ideal.

I am well aware that in even hinting at the possibility of co-operation between these two countries I am treading on delicate ground. The fact that American independence was wrested by force from Great Britain colors the whole view which some Americans take of the "natural" relations between the two countries. Others are impatient of anything which they regard as a sentimental appeal to community of race; holding that in respect of important sections of the American people this community of race does not in fact exist. Others, again, think that any argument based on a similarity of laws and institutions belittles the greatness of America's contribution to the political development of the modern world.

IDEALS IN COMMON

Rightly understood, however, what I have to say is quite independent of individual views on any of these subjects. It is based on the unquestioned fact that the growth of British laws, British forms of government, British literature and modes of thought was the slow work of centuries; that among the co-heirs of these agelong labors were the great men who founded the United States; and that the two branches of the English-speaking peoples, after the political separation, developed along parallel lines. So it has come about that, whether they be friendly or quarrelsome, whether they rejoice in their agreements or cultivate their differences, they can no more get rid of a certain fundamental similarity of outlook than children born of the same parents and brought up in the same home. Whether, therefore, you study political thought in Great Britain or America, in Canada or in Australia, you will find it presents the sharpest and most irreconcilable contrast to political thought in the Prussian Kingdom, or in that German Empire into which, with no modification of aims or spirit, the Prussian Kingdom has developed. Holding, as I

do, that this war is essentially a struggle between these two ideals of ancient growth I cannot doubt that in the result of that struggle America is no less concerned than the British Empire.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

Now, if this statement, which represents the most unchanging element in my political creed, has in it any element of truth, how does it bear upon the narrower issues upon which I dwelt in the earlier portions of this interview?

My own conclusions are these: If in our time any substantial effort is to be made toward insuring the permanent triumph of the Anglo-Saxon ideal, the great communities which accept it must work together. And in working together they must bear in mind that law is not enough. Behind law there must be power. It is good that arbitration should be encouraged. It is good that the accepted practices of warfare should become ever more humane. It is good that before peace is broken the would-be belligerents should be compelled to discuss their differences in some congress of the nations. It is good that the security of the smaller States should be fenced round with peculiar care. But all the precautions are mere scraps of paper unless they can be enforced. We delude ourselves if we think we are doing God service merely by passing good resolutions. What is needed now, and will be needed so long as militarism is unconquered, is the machinery for enforcing them, and the contrivance of such a machinery will tax to its utmost the world's statesmanship.

I have no contribution to make to the solution of the problem. Yet this much seems clear. If there is to be any effective sanction behind the desire of the English-speaking peoples to preserve the world's peace and the free development of the nations, that sanction must consist largely in the potential use of sea power. For two generations and more after the last great war Britain was without a rival on the sea. During this period Belgium became a State, Greece secured her independence, the unity of Italy was achieved, the South American republics were established, the Monroe Doctrine

came into being. To me it seems that the lesson to be drawn from history by those who love peace, freedom, and security is not that Britain and America should be deprived, or should deprive themselves, of the maritime powers they

now possess, but that, if possible, those powers should be organized in the interests of an ideal common to the two States, an ideal upon whose realization the happiness and peace of the world must largely depend.

Text of American Note to Great Britain on Seizures of Mail

[Delivered in duplicate to the Governments of Great Britain and France]

Department of State,
Washington, May 24, 1916.

Excellency:

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note of April 3 last, transmitting a memorandum dated Feb. 15, 1916, and communicated in substance to the American Ambassador in London on Feb. 28, in which are stated the contentions of the British and French Governments in regard to the right to detain and examine parcel and letter mails en route by sea between the United States and Europe.

After a discussion of the use of the mails for the transmission of parcels and of the limitations to be placed on "inviolable mail," the joint memorandum of Feb. 15 closes with the following assertions:

"1. That from the standpoint of their right of visitation and eventual arrest and seizure, merchandise shipped in post parcels need not and shall not be treated otherwise than merchandise shipped in any other manner.

"2. That the inviolability of postal correspondence stipulated by the eleventh convention of The Hague of 1907 does not in any way affect the right of the allied Governments to visit and, if occasion arise, arrest and seize merchandise hidden in the wrappers, envelopes, or letters contained in the mail bags.

"3. That true to their engagements and respectful of genuine 'correspondence' the allied Governments will continue, for the present, to refrain on the high seas from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, letters, or dispatches, and will insure their speediest possible transmission as soon as the sincerity of their character shall have been ascertained."

In reply the Government of the United States desires to state that it does not consider that the Postal Union Convention of 1906 necessarily applies to the interferences by the British and French Governments with the oversea transportation of mails of which the Government of the United States complains. Furthermore, the allied powers appear to have overlooked the admission of the Government of the United States that post parcels may be treated as merchandise sub-

ject to the exercise of belligerent rights as recognized by international law. But the Government of the United States does not admit that such parcels are subject to the "exercise of the rights of police supervision, visitation, and eventual seizure which belongs to belligerents as to all cargoes on the high seas," as asserted in the joint note under acknowledgment.

It is noted with satisfaction that the British and French Governments do not claim, and, in the opinion of this Government, properly do not claim, that their so-called "blockade" measures are sufficient grounds upon which to base a right to interfere with all classes of mail matter in transit to or from the Central Powers. On the contrary, their contention appears to be that, as "genuine correspondence" is under conventional stipulation "inviolable," mail matter of other classes is subject to detention and examination. While the Government of the United States agrees that "genuine correspondence" mail is inviolable, it does not admit that belligerents may search other private sea-borne mails for any other purpose than to discover whether they contain articles of enemy ownership carried on belligerent vessels or articles of contraband transmitted under sealed covers as letter mail, though they may intercept at sea all mails coming out of and going into ports of the enemy's coasts which are effectively blockaded. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France, however, appear to be in substantial agreement as to principle. The method of applying the principle is the chief cause of difference.

Though giving assurances that they consider "genuine correspondence" to be "inviolable," and that they will, "true to their engagements," refrain "on the high seas" from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, the allied Governments proceed to deprive neutral Governments of the benefits of these assurances by seizing and confiscating mail from vessels in port instead of at sea. They compel neutral ships without just cause to enter their own ports, or they induce shipping lines, through some form of

duress, to send their mail ships via British ports, or they detain all vessels merely calling at British ports, thus acquiring by force or unjustifiable means an illegal jurisdiction. Acting upon this enforced jurisdiction, the authorities remove all mail, genuine correspondence as well as post parcels, take them to London, where every piece, even though of neutral origin and destination, is opened and critically examined to determine the "sincerity of their character," in accordance with the interpretation given that undefined phrase by the British and French censors. Finally the expurgated remainder is forwarded, frequently after irreparable delay, to its destination. Ships are detained en route to or from the United States or to and from other neutral countries, and mails are held and delayed for several days, and, in some cases, for weeks and even months, even though not routed to ports of North Europe via British ports. This has been the procedure which has been practiced since the announcement of Feb. 15, 1916. To some extent the same practice was followed before that date, calling forth the protest of this Government on Jan. 4, 1916. But to that protest the memorandum under acknowledgment makes no reference and is entirely unresponsive.

The Government of the United States must again insist with emphasis that the British and French Governments do not obtain rightful jurisdiction of ships by forcing or inducing them to visit their ports for the purpose of seizing their mails, or thereby obtain greater belligerent rights as to such ships than they could exercise on the high seas, for there is, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, no legal distinction between the seizure of mails at sea, which is announced as abandoned, and their seizure from vessels voluntarily or involuntarily in port.

The British and French practice amounts to an unwarranted limitation on the use by neutrals of the world's highway for the transmission of correspondence. The practice actually followed by the allied powers must be said to justify the conclusion, therefore, that the announcement of Feb. 15 was merely notice that one illegal practice had been abandoned to make place for the development of another more onerous and vexatious in character.

The present practice is a violation not only of the spirit of the announcement of Feb. 15 but of the rule of The Hague Convention upon which it is concededly based. Aside from this it is a violation of the prior practice of nations which Great Britain and her allies have in the past insisted to establish and maintain, notwithstanding the statement in the memorandum "that as late as 1907 the letters and dispatches themselves could be seized and confiscated."

During the war between the United States and Mexico the United States forces allowed

British steamers to enter and depart from the port of Vera Cruz without molesting the mails intended for inland points. During the American civil war Lord Russell endeavored to induce the United States to concede that "her Majesty's mails on board a private vessel should be exempted from visitation or detention." This exemption of mails was urged in October, 1862, in the case of British mails on board the *Adela*. On Oct. 31 Secretary Seward announced that "public mails of any friendly or neutral power duly certified or authenticated as such shall not be searched or opened, but be put as speedily as may be convenient on the way to their designated destination." In accordance with this announcement the Government of the United States in the case of the British steamship *Peterhoff*, which had been seized with her mails against the protest of her Majesty's Government, had her mails forwarded to destination unopened.

The same rule was followed by France, as I am advised, in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; by the United States in the Spanish-American war of 1898; by Great Britain in the South African war, in the case of the German mail steamers *Bundesrath* and *General*; by Japan, and substantially by Russia, in the Russo-Japanese war of 1914. And even in the present war, as the memorandum of Great Britain and France states, their enemy, Germany, has desisted from the practice of interfering with neutral mails, even on board belligerent steamers. This is illustrated by the case of the French steamer *Floride*, captured by the auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, cited by the British and French Governments in support of their argument regarding parcel mails. In this case the letter mails of the *Floride*, amounting to 144 sacks, were forwarded to their destination by the commander at the first opportunity upon arriving in the United States. It would seem, therefore, to be conclusively established that the interferences with mails of which this Government justly complains are wrong in principle and in practice.

The arbitrary methods employed by the British and French Governments have resulted most disastrously to citizens of the United States. Important papers which can never be duplicated, or can be duplicated only with great difficulty, such as United States patents for inventions, rare documents, legal papers relating to the settlement of estates, powers of attorney, fire insurance claims, income tax returns, and similar matters, have been lost.

Delays in receiving shipping documents have caused great loss and inconvenience by preventing prompt delivery of goods.

In the case of the *Macniff Horticultural Company* of New York large shipments of plants and bulbs from Holland were, I am informed, frozen on the wharves because possession could not be obtained in the absence of documents relating to them which

had been removed from the Nieuw Amsterdam, Costerdyk, and Rotterdam.

Business opportunities are lost by failure to transmit promptly bids, specifications, and contracts.

The Standard Underground Cable Company of Pittsburgh, for example, sent by mail a tender and specifications for certain proposed electrical works to be constructed in Christiania; after several weeks of waiting the papers have failed to arrive. The American company was told that the bids could not be longer held open and the contract was awarded to a British competitor.

Checks, drafts, money orders, securities, and similar property are lost or detained for weeks and months.

Business correspondence relating to legitimate and bona fide trade between neutral countries, correspondence of a personal nature, and also certain official correspondence, such as money order lists and other matter forwarded by Government departments, are detained, lost, or possibly destroyed. For instance, the Postmaster General informs me that certain international money order lists from the United States to Germany, Greece, and other countries, and from Germany to the United States, sent through the mails, have not reached their destination, though dispatched several months ago. It was necessary to have some of these lists duplicated and again dispatched by the steamship *Frederick VIII.*, which sailed from New York on April 19, and from which all the mails intended for Germany have been taken and held in British jurisdiction.

As a further example of the delay and loss consequent upon the British practice, the Postmaster General also sends me a copy of a letter from the British Postal Administration admitting that the mails were removed from the steamer *Medan* in the Downs on Jan. 30 last and not forwarded until some time "between the 2d of February and the 2d of March," and that 182 bags of these mails "were lost during transmission to Holland on the 26th day of February by the Dutch steamship *Mecklenburg*." The *Medan* arrived safely at Rotterdam a day or two after she left the Downs.

Numerous complaints similar to the foregoing have been received by this Government, the details of which are available, but I believe I have cited sufficient facts to show the unprecedented and vexatious nature of the interference with mails persisted in by British and French authorities.

Not only are American commercial interests injured but rights of property are violated, and the rules of international law and custom are palpably disregarded. I can only add that this continuing offense has led to such losses to American citizens and to a possible responsibility of the United States to repair them that this Government will be compelled in the near future to press claims for full reclamation upon the attention of his

Majesty's Government and that of the French Republic.

The principle being plain and definite, and the present practice of the Governments of Great Britain and France being clearly in contravention of the principle, I will state more in detail the position of the Government of the United States in regard to the treatment of certain classes of sealed mails under a strict application of the principle upon which our Governments seem to be in general accord.

The Government of the United States is inclined to the opinion that the class of mail matter which includes stocks, bonds, coupons, and similar securities is to be regarded as of the same nature as merchandise or other articles of property and subject to the same exercise of belligerent rights. Money orders, checks, drafts, notes, and other negotiable instruments which may pass as the equivalent of money are, it is considered, also to be classed as merchandise. Correspondence, including shipping documents, money order lists, and papers of that character, even though relating to "enemy supplies or exports," unless carried on the same ship as the property referred to, are, in the opinion of this Government, to be regarded as "genuine correspondence," and entitled to unmolested passage.

The Government of the United States, in view of the improper methods employed by the British and French authorities in interrupting mails passing between the United States and other neutral countries and between the United States and the enemies of Great Britain, can no longer tolerate the wrongs which citizens of the United States have suffered and continue to suffer through these methods. To submit to a lawless practice of this character would open the door to repeated violations of international law by the belligerent powers on the ground of military necessity of which the violator would be the sole judge. Manifestly a neutral nation cannot permit its rights on the high seas to be determined by belligerents or the exercise of those rights to be permitted or denied arbitrarily by the Government of a warring nation. The rights of neutrals are as sacred as the rights of belligerents and must be as strictly observed.

The Government of the United States, confident in the regard for international law and the rights of neutrals which the British and French Governments have so often proclaimed, and the disregard of which they have urged so vigorously against their enemies in the present war, expects the present practice of the British and French authorities in the treatment of mails from or to the United States to cease, and belligerent rights, as exercised, to conform to the principle governing the passage of mail matter and to the recognized practice of nations. Only a radical change in the present British and French policy, restoring to the United States its full rights as a neutral power, will satisfy this Government.

ROBERT LANSING.

Cabinet Ministers on Peace Terms

Official Views on Both Sides

CURRENT HISTORY published last month an important statement by Sir Edward Grey on the causes of the war and the Allies' terms of peace. This has elicited a direct reply from the German Chancellor, which is presented herewith, along with a symposium of similar utterances. The second one from the German Chancellor, delivered after the naval battle in the North Sea, reflects the result of that battle in its more defiant tone. In general it will be seen that Germany desires peace on the basis of "the war map" as it stands, and lays upon the Allies the blame for continuing hostilities.

Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, told the House of Commons on May 24 that all peace talk was idle because the German people were being "fed with lies." In substance he said: "The Allies are not going to be beaten. The first step toward peace will come when the German Government begins to recognize that fact." Premier Briand of France, like President Poincaré, says that lasting peace can come only through Entente victory. Mr. Lloyd George, stating the case in a different way, says that a crushing military defeat of Germany alone can insure lasting peace.

President Wilson's tentative proffer of American mediation, made in his address before the League to Enforce Peace, attracted far more attention abroad than it did at home. The speech was printed in full throughout Europe, and called forth a storm of comment, both favorable and unfavorable. Strong objections to the United States as a medium for peace negotiations came alike from British and from German leaders—an indication that this country has succeeded fairly well in being neutral in its official acts. The whole exhibit is an interesting proof of the degree to which the American press is becoming a forum for peace discussions between the belligerents.

Peace on a Basis of the Real Facts

By Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg

German Imperial Chancellor

[A statement made to the Berlin representative of The New York World, May 22, and re-published in *CURRENT HISTORY* by special permission. Copyrighted, 1916]

AFTER twenty-two months of terrible war, after sacrifices of millions of men, dead, wounded, or disabled for life, after forcing a heavy debt in blood and treasure that places a mortgage upon the brow and shoulders of the present and future generations, it is beginning to dawn upon England that the German people are not to be crushed, that the German Nation cannot be destroyed.

Having learned also the terrible cost to Europe and the world, Sir Edward Grey now declares that British statesmen never did want to crush and destroy Germany, notwithstanding the utterances of his confrères in the British Cabinet and the English press to the contrary, and in face of the inducement held out to the French people by President Poincaré in his speech of a few days ago that if they only will endure to

the end England and France will "dictate peace to Germany."

Sir Edward Grey speaks of the future, of peace, but adds that Prussian militarism must first be crushed. I must say that I am astonished and wonder how a statesman like Sir Edward Grey can still talk of any distinction and difference between Prussia and the rest of Germany. I am well aware of the ignorance about Germany and German conditions that prevailed before the war in England as well as in France, and that the English and French war parties had speculated heavily upon internal dissensions in Germany. But I had thought that the magnificent and heroic unity of the entire German peoples in defense of their home and Fatherland had opened the eyes of the gentleman.

As to "militarism," let us see. Who was it that made and followed the policy

of militarism in the last twenty years, England or Germany?

Just think back of Egypt. Recall Fashoda. Ask the French people which nation at that time, through its warlike threats and attitude, forced upon France the humiliation long known to them as "the shame of Fashoda," so keenly and bitterly felt by the French. Recall the Boer war, with the conquest and destruction of the liberties of free peoples and small and weak nations. Remember Algeciras, where England, according to Sir Edward Grey's own statement, had given France to understand that in the event of war she could reckon upon England's assistance, and the General Staffs of the two countries began to confer upon plans in that sense.

Then came the Bosnia crisis. It was Germany, not England, who averted war at that time. It was Germany who moved Russia to accept her mediation proposal.

England, on the other hand, let her displeasure be known in St. Petersburg over this peaceful solution. Sir Edward Grey, as reliably known to me, even stated upon this occasion that he believed that English public opinion would have approved England's participation on the side of Russia if it had come to war.

We were in a fair way of adjusting our differences with France through peaceful negotiations when England intervened (in the Agadir crisis) with the well-known warlike speech and threats of Lloyd George which brought up the black warclouds.

Sir Edward Grey has declared that England never had any evil intentions toward Germany and that there was no coalition against Germany. That statement of the British Foreign Secretary requires but a one-word answer, and that word is "einkreisungspolitik"—that is, England's "isolation policy."

[This refers to the supposed policy of King Edward VII. of isolating Germany.]

The entire world knows through the published documents from the Belgian secret archives that neutral statesmen, as well as Belgian diplomats, not only in Berlin but in Paris and London, saw in the isolation policy of England nothing but an imminent danger of war.

What I could do to meet this danger and to avert the threatening and imminent developments I did. The neutrality agreement which I proposed to Lord Haldane would not only have insured peace for Europe, but for the entire world. England rejected it.

[When reminded of Grey's statement that Germany had demanded the unconditional neutrality of England, even in case Germany provoked a war on the Continent, the Chancellor continued]:

I made public in the Reichstag Aug. 19, 1915, the exact text of the formula I suggested to the English Cabinet in the negotiations at that time. The last formula read: "England will maintain this friendly neutrality should a war be forced upon Germany." Mind you, "forced!"

I dislike to come back to these things which have been thoroughly discussed before the entire world, but since you interrogate me as to Sir Edward Grey's remarks, I am compelled to establish that they are not in accordance with the facts.

Let me make one more and a last remark about the past. Again and again, Sir Edward Grey renews his assertion that Germany could have averted this war had it accepted England's proposal for a conference. How could I accept this proposal in the face of the mobilization measures of Russia's vast army in full headway?

Despite Russia's official denial, notwithstanding the fact that the formal mobilization orders were not issued until the night of July 30, it was definitely known to us, and has since been confirmed, that the Russian Government already on July 25 began mobilizing in accordance with a decision arrived at when Sir Edward Grey's proposal was made.

Assuming that I had accepted this proposal, and after negotiations of two or three weeks—during which Russia steadily and rapidly continued to assemble her armies, vastly superior numerically, on our borders—the conference had failed. Would England perhaps have saved us from a Russian invasion or come to our assistance with her fleet and army? In view of the subsequent events I doubt that very much.

With two frontiers to defend, Germany could not engage in debates the outcome of which was extremely problematical while possible foes were utilizing the time to mobilize armies with which to invade us.

In the critical days of July, 1914, Sir Edward Grey himself admitted that my counterproposal of a direct exchange of views between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna was better calculated to adjust the Austro-Serbian conflict than his conference proposal. This direct exchange of views, suggested by me after no small difficulties had been overcome, was in a fair way of being carried out when Russia's formal mobilization of her entire army, notwithstanding her explicit assurances to the contrary, made war unavoidable.

Had England spoken an earnest word at St. Petersburg at that juncture the war would have been averted. From a confidential report of the Belgian Minister in St. Petersburg the world knows that the Russian war party obtained the upper hand from the moment it knew it could count upon English help in the war. Why did England deal in that manner? Let me recapitulate briefly what English statesmen have said on this point. On Aug. 3, 1914, Sir Edward Grey declared that England would suffer hardly less if it participated in the war than if it kept out. At the same time he dwelt upon the great and vital interests England had in Belgium. Therefore not for the sake of Belgium, but for the sake of England Sir Edward Grey considered it advisable that England should enter the war. * * *

Sir Edward Grey wants permanent peace. I, too, want permanent peace. I have repeatedly expressed myself in that sense since the beginning of the war. But I fear we will not come nearer to the peace desired, I believe, by all peoples so long as the responsible statesmen of the Entente Powers indulge in and confine themselves to observations about Prussian militarism and to pathetic declamations about their own superiority and

perfection, or, even as Sir Edward Grey did in this interview, desire to favor Germany without a change in her internal political affairs and conditions.

In answer to the English Minister—who, I should think, would be rather reserved and careful on that point in view of conditions in Ireland—I only want to say that Germany has home rule which it independently administers. Incidentally, let me add one thing. Did the democratic Constitution of England hinder English statesmen from making and concluding secret arrangements and agreements with Russia and France, which were one of the essential causes of this war?

But, as I have already said to you, a general press polemic and public speeches will only tend still more to intensify the hatred among peoples. And that is not a way that leads to the ideal conditions of Sir Edward Grey, when free peoples and nations, with equality of rights and privileges, will limit their armaments and solve their differences and disputes through arbitration's decisions instead of war.

I have twice publicly stated that Germany has been and is prepared to discuss the termination of the war upon a basis that offers guarantee against further attack from a coalition of her enemies and insures peace to Europe. You have read President Poincaré's answer to that.

One thing I do know—only when statesmen of the warring nations come down to a basis of real facts, when they take the war situation as every war map shows it to be, when, with honest and sincere will they are prepared to terminate this terrible bloodshed and are ready to discuss the war and peace problems with one another in a practical manner, only then will we be nearing peace.

Whoever is not prepared to do that has the responsibility for it if Europe continues to bleed and tear itself to pieces. I cast that responsibility far from myself.

German Chancellor's Reichstag Speech of June 5, 1916

FIVE days after the great naval battle in the North Sea the Imperial Chancellor again discussed peace in the Reichstag in a more defiant tone, declaring that any further suggestions of peace by Germany would be "futile and evil." His address is said to have stirred the German Nation deeply. It was applauded in the Reichstag, except by the Conservatives and the Socialists who had seceded with Dr. Liebknecht.

"Six months ago, on Dec. 9," said Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, "discussing our military situation, I spoke here for the first time of our readiness for peace. I could do so in entire confidence that our war situation would continue to improve. Developments have confirmed this confidence. We have made further progress on all fronts. We are stronger than we were before.

"If, with this development before my eyes, I declared that we were ready for peace, I need have no regret for my statement, even if our offer evoked no response from our enemies.

"In the critical times of July, 1914, it was the duty of every responsible statesman before God, his country, and his conscience to leave nothing untried that could preserve peace with honor. We also desired after the successful repulse of our enemies to neglect nothing that was calculated to shorten the terrible sufferings experienced by the people of Europe in such a conflagration.

"I told an American journalist that peace negotiations could only reach a settlement if they were conducted by statesmen of the belligerent powers on the basis of the real war situation as shown by the war map. This proposition was rejected by the other side. They will not recognize the war map, as they hope to improve it in their own favor. But it has constantly changed in our favor. We have added to it since that remark was made. The surrender of the British

Army at Kut-el-Amara, defeats with tremendous losses of the French at Verdun, the collapse of the Russian offensive in March, the mighty thrust forward of our allies against Italy, the strengthening of our lines before Saloniki, and just now we have received news of the naval battle off Jutland with jubilant and grateful hearts.

"This is how the war map looks now. If our various enemies desire to shut their eyes to it, then we must and shall fight on until final victory.

"We did what we could to pave the way to peace, but our enemies repelled us with scorn. Consequently all further talk of peace initiated by us becomes futile and evil.

"Some statesmen in England and elsewhere have made attempts to feel the pulse of our people, and, while making contrasts between our different States as political units, have tried to console themselves into the belief that our striking force was near the breaking point. These gentlemen are indulging in strange notions. If they do not desire to deceive themselves they will notice only how firmly beats the heart of the German people. There is no external influence that can shake our unity even in the slightest degree.

"Certainly we have had our differences of opinion on such matters as the U-boat question and the question of our relations with America, but I declare emphatically that each side in these controversies has respected the convictions of the other and that we have remained always one on the great national question.

"We discussed these matters in committee and decided it was impossible to satisfy the demands for a public announcement. We were, I believe, absolutely agreed that in these cases exhaustive public discussion would damage the country. Nevertheless, I want to say that I, too, long for the time when the administration of the censorship can

abandon the restrictions and inconveniences which are at present inseparable from it.

"I in no way desire to resurrect the censorship of debates. Let me say this much to remove any doubt. Each political measure, without exception, in this time of war, has had only one object in view, namely, to bring the war to a glorious end. The censorship should be carried on from the same point of view, whether it be military or political.

"I shall endeavor to see that where the connection of political matters with the war is only slight the pencil of the censor shall be employed as lightly as possible.

"As far as I am concerned the newspapers will find as few shackles as possible and a just and impartial appreciation of their aims. The existence of the press censorship has recently given rise to a new nuisance, namely, the circulation of numerous private pamphlets, some without names attached, as if the confidence of the people could be thus destroyed, although this was the very purpose of these pamphlets. As an example of this class I take a pamphlet which was recently widely circulated. The writer, under the guise of an anxious patriot, has collected from the political history preceding the war a chain of gross untruths and distortions."

The Chancellor proceeded to give illustrations of the alleged falsehoods in the pamphlet. One of the typical statements was that the Chancellor nearly collapsed when the English Ambassador announced the breach of relations between Great Britain and Germany. The speaker declared that this was absolutely false.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "Sir William Goschen, at his farewell visit, was personally so deeply affected that I have, from a natural feeling of propriety, avoided speaking about it."

The Chancellor replied to a pamphleteer's charge that in the opening days of the war he had believed England would have remained Germany's friend or at least neutral, and that he had wasted three days parleying with England, three days which meant an enor-

mous prolongation of the war because the first blow was not struck promptly enough.

"I know that my attempts at an understanding with England," he said, "are my capital offense, but what was Germany's position in the period prior to the war? France and Russia were united in an indissoluble alliance. There was a strong anti-German party in Russia and an influential and growing section in France which was urging revenge and war. Russia could only be held in check if the hope of English aid was successfully taken from them. They would then have never ventured on war. If I wished to work against war I had to attempt to enter into relationships with England.

"I made this attempt in the face of the development of an English policy which was hostile to Germany and of which I was entirely cognizant. I am not ashamed of my conduct, even though it proved abortive. He who on that account charges me with being the cause of the world catastrophe, with its hecatombs of human sacrifices, may make his accusation before God. I shall await God's judgment calmly."

The Chancellor appealed for the unity of all parties, declaring that political lines ought to be obliterated during the prosecution of the war. In conclusion, he said:

"I see the entire nation in heroic stature fighting for its future, our sons and brothers fighting and dying side by side. There we see the equal love for home in all. The sacred flame of love of home steels every heart, so that they defy death and suffer death in thousands. Only a heart completely dried up can escape the affecting impression of the great primitive strength of this people.

"My belief in my people and my love for my people gives me a conviction firm as a rock that we shall fight and conquer, as we have fought and conquered hitherto. Our enemies wish to let it go to the end. We fear neither death nor devil, not even the hunger devil which they wish to send into our country. The men who fight out there around Verdun,

who fight under Hindenburg, our proud bluejackets, who showed Albion that rats bite, are fashioned from a breed that knows how to bear privations also. These privations are here. I admit it calmly and openly, even to foreign countries, but we will bear them.

"In this fight against hunger we will also make progress. Gracious heaven allowed a good harvest this year. It will not be worse, but better, than in the previous hard year. The calculation of our

enemies on our economic difficulties will prove deceptive.

"Another of their calculations was sharply corrected by our young navy last week. This victory will not make us boastful. We know that it does not mean that England is beaten. But it is a token of our future wherein Germany will win for herself, and also for smaller peoples, full equality of rights and lasting freedom of sea routes, now closed by England's sole domination."

Why Peace Talk at Present Is Idle

By Sir Edward Grey

British Minister of Foreign Affairs

In an impromptu speech in the House of Commons on May 24 Sir Edward Grey answered the German Chancellor—likewise certain home critics. Arthur Ponsonby, Liberal member from Stirling, Scotland, had criticised Sir Edward for "employing the American press as a platform" and slighting the House of Commons. The essential portions of his pithy reply are here printed in full.

MEMBERS of the German Government have given interviews from the beginning of the war over and over again to the people of the United States, and now, when one of us tries to defend his own country in a neutral country against statements made by the German Government, the honorable member reproaches me with want of respect. These are no days for pedantry of that kind.

I care not how often I say it—this war might have been avoided by accepting the conference we proposed. Why was not that conference accepted? Because there was not good-will.

It had been preceded by a conference on the Balkan question only shortly before. I wish the German and Austrian Governments would publish the reports of their Ambassadors with regard to the part we played in that conference. I have never seen them, but I am quite sure that nobody went through that conference without being prepared to bear testimony to the fact that the attitude of the British Government was one of entire good faith all through—and when the German Chancellor says that another conference would have been used against

Germany, that advantage would have been taken to prepare for war, and so forth—things which he did not say at the time—I say that the attitude we had observed through the conference which had just closed entitles us to say that a conference as it was proposed on the eve of this war was one which those who had experience of the previous one ought to have accepted with confidence and good-will.

If there was a diplomatic failure, that accounts for how it came about. It was not our failure.

I cannot agree with the honorable member (Mr. Ponsonby) that the interview published with the German Chancellor, or the speech made by the German Chancellor last month shows that disposition for peace which he seemed to find in it. If Germany is prepared for all the terms which the honorable member says, why does she not say so? He reproaches us with letting etiquette stand in the way.

Is it etiquette that stands in the way of the German Government making the statements which the honorable member suggests on their behalf? I really think that, in a time of war, the Gov-

ernment of the enemy might be allowed to speak for itself.

I find only one thing new in this interview with the German Chancellor—the charge that our attitude was bellicose in the negotiations with regard to Bosnia when Austria annexed Bosnia. That is new. It is a first-class lie. The idea that we attempted to urge Russia to war, that we said this country would be ready to go to war about Bosnia, that that was our attitude, is the direct contrary of the truth.

When you talk about appealing to reason, about getting reason to triumph over might, and so forth, and about reasoning with the German people, you cannot reason with the German people so long as they are fed with lies and know nothing of the truth.

So long as these lies are multiplied—I suppose this new one has been supplied to the German Chancellor out of that laboratory which is always at work in some diplomatic quarter in Germany producing these things—as long as you have that sort of thing going on you cannot possibly reason with your enemy, and your enemy does not want to be reasoned with.

What do we find in the German Chancellor's interview? As I read it, it means that those people are responsible for the continuance of the war who will not accept Germany's terms. We are to look at the map of the military situation as it is today to see what those terms should be; and we have had the German Chancellor's preceding speech as to what those terms should be. They are terms victorious to Germany, safeguarding Germany's interests, taking no account of other people's interests, and leaving, if they were accepted, the other States of Europe at her mercy whenever she chose to pursue an aggressive policy toward them again.

It is childish to say that because Germany's enemies will not accept the terms of peace that suit Germany without regard to their own interests, therefore they are responsible for prolonging the war.

The real thing responsible more than anything else for prolonging the war at this moment is that the German Government goes on telling its people that they have won the war, or that if they have not won it they are going to win it next week, and that we, the Allies, are beaten.

The facts are that the Allies are not beaten, and they are not going to be beaten. The first step toward peace will be when the German Government begins to recognize that fact.

If any of the Allies have a special right at this moment to speak with regard to peace it is the Government of France, on whom for some weeks past the concentrated fury of the German attack has been falling. The prowess of the French Army during the long battle of Verdun is saving France and saving her allies, too.

Is this a moment for us to do anything but concentrate on expressing our determination to give the fullest support in our power to those allies? If any one has a right to speak on behalf of peace at this moment it is the Government of France. The Prime Minister of France has spoken, and if the report in today's paper be accurate, as I believe it to be, he has said: "What will the generations to come say if we let escape the occasion to establish firmly a durable peace, a peace which must be based on international right?"

That is what we feel, too, and, with our allies, deeply as we desire to see the fruits of peace established, as the honorable member for Leicester described them—in a peace that shall endure and save the world from such a catastrophe as this war in future ever again—I believe the duty of diplomacy at the present moment is to maintain, as it has completely maintained, the solidarity of the Allies and to give the utmost support it can to the military and naval measures which are necessary, and taken by the Allies in common, to bring this war to a stage, which it has not reached yet, at which that prospect of a secure and durable peace will be made a reality.

"Britain Will Fight It Out"

By David Lloyd George

Minister of Munitions

[Part of an address to his constituents in Wales]

WE have accomplished enormous results in the raising of armies and in their equipment when you consider that we began with about the tiniest army in Europe, a smaller army than the Serbian Army, and we have now got one of the greatest and best equipped armies in the world. Still, I agree that in conducting a war a Government should not only be resolute, but appear resolute.

War is a terrible business. But men will face all its horrors if they have confidence in their leaders. But if there is hesitation, if there is timidity, if there is the appearance of irresolution, the bravest hearts will fail, and the spirit of the nation is the propellant of its armies. Therefore it is important, whatever happens, that you should have confidence that the Government is doing its best in the firmest and most resolute manner to conduct the war.

That is why I have had no sympathy with those who seem to think that because war is hateful you ought to fight it with a sort of savor of regret in your actions. Doubting hand never yet struck a firm blow.

In any action which I have taken since the war I am not conscious of having departed from any principle which I ever enunciated to you on this platform. I came into politics to fight for the under dog, and it has been all the same to me whether he was an underpaid agricultural laborer, a sick workman, an infirm and broken old man or woman, who had given their lives to the country, a poor slum dweller, or a small nation harried by voracious empires. In fighting this war I have simply, in my judgment, been carrying out the principles which I have advocated on this platform now for thirty years of my life.

I have always felt that the life of this empire was at stake. And I know how

much depends on that life. With all its faults, the British Empire, here and across the seas, stands for freer, better, nobler conditions of life for man.

I believed that in this war freedom was at stake. So I have thrown myself with all my heart, my soul, and my strength into working for victory. Nor have I ever had any doubts about the result if we fought with intelligence and with resolution. The fundamental facts are in our favor. We have command of the seas. We have got it now more completely than we ever had. The resources for the raw materials of arms in men and equipment are ours.

But I want to say one thing: Time is not an ally. It is a doubtful neutral at the present moment, and has not yet settled on our side. But time can be won over by effort, by preparation, by determination, by organization.

We must reckon fearlessly the forces of the enemy. We must impartially, intelligently reckon our own. There is no greater stupidity in a war than to underestimate the forces with which you have to contend. Calculate them to the last man, add them up to the last man, add them up to the last shilling, see what you have to face, and then face it. Then I have no doubt of victory.

We must have unity among the Allies, design and co-ordination. Unity we undoubtedly possess. No alliance that ever existed has worked in more perfect unison and harmony than the present one. Design and co-ordination leave yet a good deal to be desired; strategy must come before geography.

The Central Powers are pooling their forces, all their intelligence, all their brains, all their efforts. We have the means; they, too, often have the methods. Let us apply their methods to our means and we win. Then we shall come to the reckoning for the long, dreary, cruel tale

of wrong—the outrages on Belgium, the atrocities in Poland, the barbarities of Wittenberg, the inhumanities of the Lusitania. The long account must be settled to the last farthing.

I have no fear of the people. Britain will fight it out. We are a sluggish people, but no one ever made the mistake, without suffering for it, that we were faint-hearted, for I believe in the old motto, "Trust the people." Tell them what is happening—there is nothing to conceal. Have all the facts before them. They are courageous people, but they never put forward their best effort in this land until they face the alternative of disaster. Tell them what they are confronted with, and they will rise to every occasion.

Look at the way they are doing it. The people are capable of rising to greater heights than even their truest leaders ever believed. Look at the way, the cheerful way—it is the amazement of every man who has been at the front—they are enduring hardships, wounds, facing danger and death on the battlefield; look at the calm, quiet courage with which the men and women at home are enduring grief. You can trust the people.

I read a story the other day—I am glad after a very tiring day to take up a little tale of adventure as a counter-irritant to the excitements of the House—I read a tale the other day about a mining camp at the foot of a mountain in the great West. The diggers had been toiling long and hard, with but scant encouragement for their labors, and one night a terrible storm swept over the mountain. An earthquake shattered its hard surface, and hurled its rocks about, and in the morning in the rents and fissures they found a rich deposit of gold.

This is a great storm that is sweeping over the favored lands of Europe, but in this night of terror you will find selfishness, the hard crust of selfishness and greed, has been shattered, and in the rent hearts of the people you will find treasures, golden treasures of courage,

steadfastness, endurance, devotion, and of the faith that endureth forever.

THE ONLY LASTING PEACE

In a letter to Robert Donald, dated June 8, Mr. Lloyd George wrote:

No nation has reached the heights of the moral grandeur of France during the war. I set her as England's constant model. Soldiers and Generals show qualities of endurance, courage, and military skill worthy of the highest deeds of Napoleon's army.

We are now too close properly to judge the immortal pages written by France in the book of history, but historians of the future will write of the splendid deeds of her sons in letters of gold.

At the name of Verdun I bow before such proofs of superhuman courage. The French Army met a shock, backed by the most barbarous methods, such as no army ever had to meet. It will be one of the decisive battles of the war because it represents the enemy's supreme military effort.

Its lesson for the Allies is that heavy artillery and the most violent explosives will play the preponderating rôle in the battles to come. We will profit thereby, for it comes at a moment when the fabrication of munitions increases prodigiously and the allied strength daily augments.

I have never despaired of victory. The task will be hard, but the end is sure. It is Germany's military force that we must beat. It is not enough to force her to submission by economic pressure. A peace imposed on Germany exhausted in food and materials only would not be durable. It would be a moral defeat for the Allies. The Germans could say they had beaten us in battle and made peace only because we had starved their women and children. That peace we don't want. Only a crushing military victory will bring the peace for which the Allies are fighting, and of which Germany will understand the meaning. That victory we shall have; it will be complete and final.

Peace Through Victory Alone

By Aristide Briand

Premier of France

[An address to members of the Russian Duma during their recent visit to Paris]

VICTORY is in the heroism of our soldiers. It is in them, provided we give them all the means needed by them to conquer. It is for that that we have to use all our energies and will. And if we receive you with so much fraternal eagerness, it is because we know what resolution and tenacity have been shown in your country by the two assemblies of which you are the delegates. You will find here the same desire of Parliament and Government to attain the same end. * * *

This morning I brought before you the beauty of our cause, and I added that what gives us our strength in this war is that we have not wished it. We hold our heads up; our conscience is clear. There is no stain on our alliance. Nevertheless we have always exerted ourselves to settle all rivalries amicably and peacefully. Remember all the provocations which have come to pass in the world during the last twenty-five years. Not one has come from us. To these provocations we have replied with the persevering pursuit of peaceful solutions.

It is not because there was fear in us. Our nations are too fine, too noble, too strong not to be above such suspicions. We took care to save the world from the horrors of a war of which we foresaw the extent and the ravages. Yet we French had a very painful wound in the side. If we have shown so much patience, it is because we expected the necessary reparation only through right. But a people drunk with pride and fascinated by the desire of achieving the domination of the world has unexpectedly thrown itself on us and unchained war at the very moment when we were endeavoring to find an amicable solution. Now we are fighting. We mean to win. We will win.

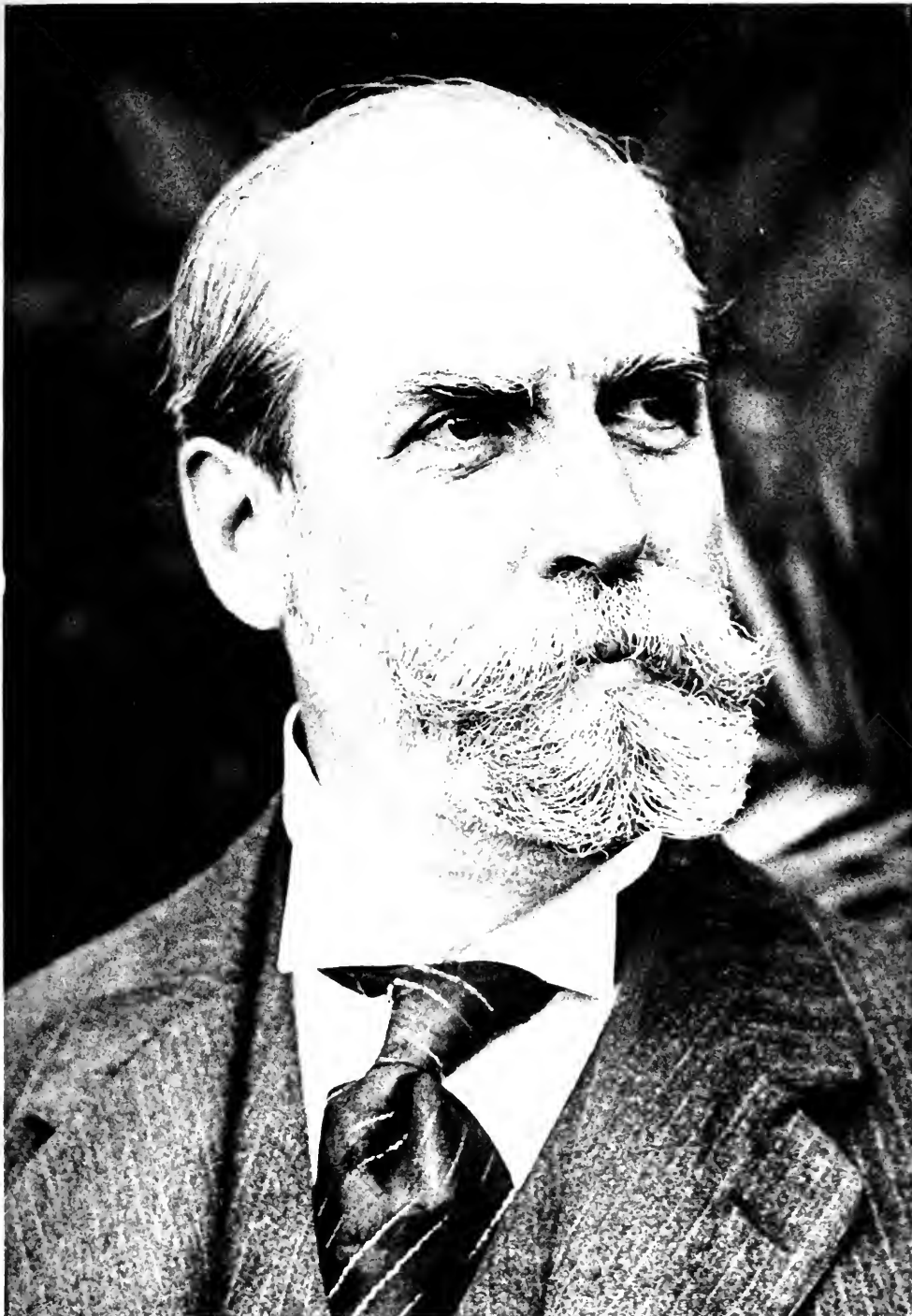
Germany, using in turn force when

she believes herself strongest and craft when she feels herself growing feebler, is today resorting to craft. She is spreading abroad the illusive word "peace." Where does this word come from? To whom has it been spoken? And on what conditions? And to what end? By her ambiguous manoeuvres Germany reckons on dividing the allied countries. No one among us will fall into such a sorry trap. I have said, and I repeat, that when blood flows in streams, when our troops with so much self-sacrifice are giving up their lives, the word "peace" is a sacrilege if it means that the aggressor will not be punished and if tomorrow Europe runs the risk of again being delivered up to the despotism, fantasy, and caprice of a military caste athirst for pride and domination. It would be the dishonor of the Allies! What should our reply be if tomorrow, after having concluded such a peace, our countries were dragged anew into the frenzy of armaments? What would future generations say if we committed such an act of folly and if we missed the opportunity which is offered us of establishing on solid foundations a lasting peace?

Peace will come out of the victory of the Allies; it can come only out of our victory. Peace must not be an empty formula; it must be based upon international law, guaranteed by sanctions, against which no country will be able to take its stand. That peace will shine on humanity and bring security to the peoples who will be able to work and evolve according to their genius. Blood will no longer be upon them.

It is this ideal which gives our task its greatness. It is in the name of this ideal that our soldiers are fighting and exposing themselves so light-heartedly to death; it is in the name of this ideal that mothers, wives, daughters, and sis-

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES



Former Justice of the Supreme Court, Nominated for President at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June 10. (The Portrait of President Wilson, the Democratic Nominee, Has Already Appeared in These Pages)

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL LI YUAN HUNG



The New President of China, Who, as Vice President, Succeeded to the Office Upon the Death of Yuan Shih-kai, June 6
(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

ters in mourning are keeping back their tears, knowing that the sacrifice of a son, husband, father, or brother will not have been useless to their native land and to humanity. That is the only peace for which we must strive. It is by that peace that our countries will grow nobler and finer. We shall obtain the victory of our arms, which will assure us this peace, by united action and by a ceaselessly active and increasingly intimate fraternization. We owe this victory to humanity—and it is coming.

Although she has ravaged Belgium and Serbia, although she still occupies several of our départements, although she

has penetrated into Russian territory, Germany today is not triumphant. More and more she appears sinking in the world. Germany is living in anguish, anxiety, and remorse. This is the power of the ideal which is at work. This is the beginning of the end. This is the certainty that the hour of our victory will soon be striking. We are today one vast country, fighting for the same cause—the Allies using in common their blood, their men, and their resources.

And now, gentlemen, let us turn our hearts and minds toward those who are fighting out there, and on whom glory is already shining brightly.

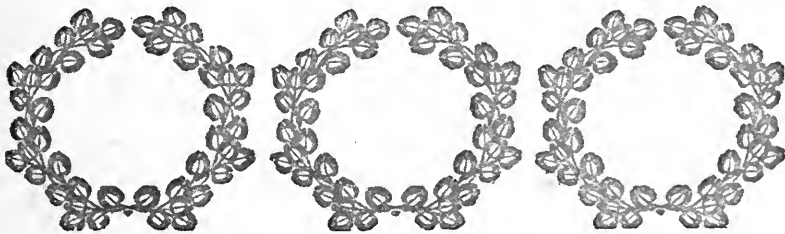
An Empire Day Message

By Rudyard Kipling

On May 24, known as Empire Day throughout the British dominions, Mr. Kipling published the following:

WHEN Germany challenged us nearly two years ago to uphold with our lives the ideals by which we professed to live, we accepted the challenge, not out of madness, nor for glory or for gain, but to make good those professions. Since then the Allies and our empire have fought that they may be free and all earth may be free from the intolerable domination of German ideals. We did not foresee the size of the task when it opened. We do not flinch from it now that the long months have schooled us to full knowledge and have tempered us nationally and individually

to meet it. The nations within the empire have created, maintained, and reinforced from their best the great armies they devote without question to this issue. They have emerged, one by one, as powers clothed with power through discipline and sacrifice, strong for good by their bitter knowledge of the evil they are meeting, and wise in the unpurchasable wisdom of actual achievement. Knowing as nations what it is we fight for, realizing as men and women the resolve that has been added to us by what each has endured, we go forward now under the proud banner of our griefs and losses to greater effort, greater endurance, and, if need be, heavier sacrifice, equal sponsors for the deliverance of mankind.



America's Creed of War and Peace

By Woodrow Wilson

President of the United States

This important address, which has elicited mixed comments from all the belligerent powers of Europe, was delivered in Washington on May 27 at a banquet of the League to Enforce Peace, an influential pacifist organization of which ex-President Taft is the head and leader. The utterance is a tentative intimation that the United States is willing to serve the present belligerents in the matter of peace negotiations if and when they so desire. Incidentally Mr. Wilson gave his indorsement to the fundamental principle of the League to Enforce Peace.

THIS great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity engulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us. Our own rights as a nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected.

We are not mere disconnected lookers-on. The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind.

We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair

as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest. It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force.

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be

fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals. * * *

If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age. Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this: That the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

We believe these fundamental things:

First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others, which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

First—Such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees.

Second—A universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any

war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning, and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence.

But I did not come here to discuss a program. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into ex-

istence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all Governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace.

* God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and co-operation may be near at hand!

Wilson's Mediation Not Acceptable

By Lord Cromer

Former British Ruler of Egypt

In a letter to The London Times Lord Cromer expressed himself thus frankly on the subject of American peace mediation:

BOTH the politicians and the press of this country so far exercise very praiseworthy restraint in discussing the attitude adopted during the present war by the Government of the United States.

It would, however, appear advisable that President Wilson and those associated with him should be left under no doubt as to the views on the subject of his most recent utterance held by many who, as in my own case, have throughout their lives persistently entertained and still entertain most friendly feelings toward America and Americans.

I can, of course, only state my personal opinions, but I believe that those opinions are shared by many of my countrymen. In the first place, President Wilson cannot too clearly understand that, desirous as the people of this country are to bring this terrible war to a close and willing as they would eventually be to listen to any rational and practical proposals having for their object the diminution of the risk of future wars, they would altogether reject the idea of concluding peace save on terms wholly acceptable to themselves and their allies.

We know nothing very definite as to the terms which Germany is prepared to propose or to accept, but from the feelers put forward by the inspired German press we can come to no other conclusion than that they are not worthy of a moment's consideration or discussion.

In the second place, it is well that President Wilson should fully realize the fact that the meaningless and misleading phrase, invented in Berlin, about the freedom of the seas is generally regarded in this country as a mere euphemism for the destruction of that naval supremacy on the part of Great Britain which has in the past been of such infinite benefit, not only to Englishmen, but to the rest of the civilized world.

Without in any way wishing to disparage the valuable assistance rendered by the gallant land forces of the empire, it seems certain that if as will, I feel assured, be the case we emerge victoriously from the present contest, the victory will be mainly due to the British Navy.

It is inconceivable that any responsible British Government would be disposed to listen or that the nation would be prepared to accept any proposals having for their object the diminution of the relative naval strength of this country.

A third point is deserving of notice. We may all recognize President Wilson's

good intentions and his lofty aims, we may assume he is impartial, but it is more than doubtful in spite of the very friendly feelings entertained toward America and Americans generally that the people of this country would under any circumstances welcome the idea that President Wilson should assume the rôle of mediator.

As note has succeeded note and speech followed speech, the conviction has been steadily gaining ground that President Wilson has wholly failed to grasp the view entertained by the vast majority of Englishmen on the cause for which we

and our allies are fighting. This opinion will certainly be confirmed by the amazing statement that America is not concerned with the causes and objects of the war.

Confidence in President Wilson's statesmanship has been rudely shaken. Neither for the moment does it appear likely to be restored to the extent of acquiescence in the proposal that he should be in any way vested with the power of exercising any decisive influence on the terms of peace, upon which the future destinies of this country and of the civilized world will greatly depend.

Our Foreign Policy in This War

By Robert J. Lansing

United States Secretary of State

[Address delivered on June 3 before a Bar Association at Watertown, N. Y.]

THE great war has caused so many conditions which are entirely new and presented so many questions which were never before raised or even thought of that it has been no easy task to meet and answer them. The relations between neutrals and belligerents were never more difficult of adjustment. It was never harder to preserve neutral rights from invasion by the desperate opponents in the titanic conflict in which the power, if not the life, of the great empires of the earth is at stake.

The peoples and Governments at war are blinded by passion; their opinions are unavoidably biased; their conduct frequently influenced by hysterical impulses which approach to madness. Patience and forbearance are essential to a neutral in dealing with such nations. Acts, which, under normal conditions, would be most offensive, must be considered calmly and without temper.

In a nutshell, the situation of our relations with Great Britain and Germany, the two powers with which we have had our principal controversies, is this:

Germany, having developed the submarine as an offensive engine of destruction, asserts that she cannot, on account of

the resulting conditions, conform to the established rules of naval warfare, and we should not, therefore, insist on strict compliance. Great Britain has no sympathy with the German point of view, and demands that the submarines observe the rules of visit and search without exception.

On the other hand, Great Britain declares that, on account of the new conditions resulting from submarine activity and the use of mines and from the geographical position of Germany, she cannot conform to the established rules of blockade and contraband, and we should not therefore hold her to strict compliance with those rules. Germany insists, nevertheless, that Great Britain be made to follow the existing law.

Both Governments have adopted the same arguments, based primarily on military necessity, and offer the same excuses for their illegal acts, but neither will admit that the other is in any way justified for its conduct. Now, what is the United States to do in these circumstances?

The only alternative is for this Government to hold firmly to those neutral rights which international law has clearly

defined and to insist vigorously on their observance by all belligerents.

This has been the position of the United States from the beginning of the war. It has twice sought to obtain mutual consent from the belligerents to certain changes in the rules, but in both cases it failed and the suggestions were withdrawn.

A Government which places life and property on an equality would be generally condemned and justly condemned. This seems to be axiomatic, and yet, I regret to say, there are some Americans who do not recognize this difference. How many take this view it is impossible to say, but the number is large, judging by the letters and telegrams received in Washington. Indeed, it is held by some who sit in the halls of Congress. These people openly complain that the Government does not exert as much pressure to protect American property as it does to protect American lives—property which can be restored to the owners or an indemnity paid; lives which can never be restored or adequately indemnified.

This mental attitude makes one wonder if the sensibilities of the American people have become so blunted by materialism that they think as much of the loss of their property as they do of the loss of the lives of their fellow-countrymen.

Such an idea is repugnant to a liberty-loving American; it is utterly wanting in the nobler impulses of a great people; it is hostile to the spirit of true Americanism. Yet it exists and is widespread, and must be reckoned with. The great heart of the Republic is threatened with fatty degeneracy through those who have lost their patriotic vigor; many Americans have become lovers of ease rather than lovers of national honor.

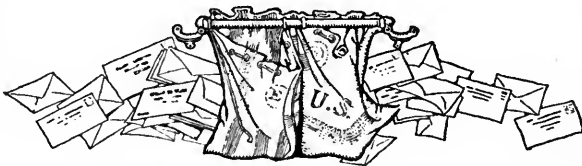
When you disapprove of some course

of action taken by this Government be lenient in your judgment, for often the action is the result of conditions which cannot be made public and which may never be made public. It is always my wish, and I know that it is the wish of the President, to take the people into our confidence, to tell them frankly what the situation is; but you must realize that it cannot be done in every case. They must try to be patient and to trust the Government to do the very best it can in upholding the national honor and dignity.

Let me add just a word: When the foreign policies of the Government are criticised by honest critics—I mean by "honest" critics those who are not influenced solely by political considerations or personal ambitions—I often wonder what the critics would do if they had the responsibility.

Would they be so bellicose? Would they make demands when it was questionable whether they would compel compliance? Would they count the full cost of their action? I wonder whether they would be radical or conservative. Responsibility makes a world of difference in a man's point of view. When a few words may plunge this country into war the man who has the power to utter those words will think a long, long time before he exercises that power. He will submit to a deal of criticism and endure abuse and ridicule rather than see the young men of America sent forth to die on the battlefield.

Only the supreme necessity of maintaining the honor of the United States or of defending its independence and the liberties of its people will induce him to speak the fateful words which may bring death to thousands of his fellow-countrymen and change the destinies of the Republic.



"When the Chancellor Speaks"

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Gilbert Hirsch

THE German Imperial Chancellor has addressed the representatives of the German people on the state of the nation six times since the outbreak of the war.

"When the Chancellor speaks, it is always a great day for us," says a Berlin newspaper. "But, to remain a great day in history, it must bring us nearer to peace."

Far from peaceful appears that other Chancellor, who stands, twice life-size, on the steps of the Reichstag, like its guardian spirit. His brow is wrinkled under his helmet, and his fist is clenched as he looks across the Koenigsplatz toward the white marble figure of von Moltke, who drove back the French in his own day; toward the "Iron Hindenburg," who has driven back the Russians in ours.

Two common soldiers in mud-gray uniforms stand in front of Bismarck and stare up into his face. Their knapsacks are full and more than full; for they go to the front today.

After a moment they pass on as if satisfied. Have they been able to read in those set features the secret of why they are going to die?

A taxi-auto rolls up to the side of the big gray building and its occupant disappears through the door. He is followed by two men who have come on foot. The blare of a military auto horn announces a low, open automobile, slender and dark gray, like a submarine, that shoots around the corner. An officer of high rank steps out; he, too, is swallowed up by the big building.

The two soldiers have stopped again to watch.

"What is it that's going on today?" one of them asks of the policeman on duty.

"The Imperial Chancellor speaks on peace." Then, in the tone of a superior officer giving an order, he tells them

not to block up the doorway. Meekly they cross the street, and watch the stream of Reichstag members with a look of increasing wonder.

You can tell from the look of them that they have learned what war is; have been at the front before; have perhaps seen buildings larger than this one cracked like eggshells by a single shot from a mortar. Can anything that is said inside this box of a building, with its gilt dome, really put a stop to the colossal struggle that rages clear across Europe, from Arras to Bagdad? Do these self-important little "Reichstagsabgeordneten," with their high hats and their black leather portfolios full of papers, think that they can stop it—with words?

The two men in mud-gray lose interest; their faces again become impassive; they turn and trudge across the asphalt as doggedly as if it were the end of a day's march across the plains of Poland.

On the opposite side of the building a long line of porters and messenger boys has been waiting since 7 o'clock for the few tickets that are left. For all Germany wants to hear the Chancellor, convinced that he can give the answer to that question which touches them most deeply. It is no longer, "Which will win—England or Germany?" but, "Which will win—War or Peace?"

As yet the forces of peace have won not a single victory in any country. Last fall the Italian Socialists were expected to form a powerful battalion against war. Yet Italy has joined France and Russia in signing that agreement not to make a separate peace—"done in quintuplicate at London"—which puts the peace of Europe, as far as the Allies are concerned, into the hands of England.

Of the English cabinet? Or of the English people? Snowden, the Socialist,

puts that question to the English Premier in the House of Commons; "demands" a reply favorable to democracy and to peace. If the German Imperial Chancellor gets up in the Reichstag and announces peace terms—peace terms that seem "reasonable" to the common people of England—what then? May they be rejected, in secret meetings behind locked doors, by Ministers and diplomats who have staked their whole careers on a smashing victory?

No, declares the Socialist, and demands that "no proposal for peace negotiations based upon an evacuation of conquered territory be rejected without the knowledge of Parliament."

The Premier listens gravely. Refuses the demand so suavely that one hardly knows that it is refused. Peace proposals made to the British Government must first of all be laid before the allied Governments.

The British Government, however, should regard it as "desirable" that Parliament be taken into its confidence "as early as possible."

Little hope of peace in that quarter. As to France, that same militant temper that made Briand only a few years ago the most revolutionary of Socialists now makes him proof against socialist demands for peace. From Russia rumors of desire for a separate peace have been recurrent since the third month of war; yet the temper today is more warlike than ever.

And Germany's allies? Bulgaria is flushed with victory in the Balkans. "The Sick Man of Europe" still insists that his recuperation is permanent, and is ready to prove it. Austria will stand by Germany, and Hungary shows no sign of drawing away. Count Tisza, whose words are listened to more respectfully than those of any other statesman in the whole Dual Empire; Count Tisza, whose single personality is shifting the political centre of gravity from Vienna to Budapest; Count Tisza has replied as follows to those in the Hungarian Parliament who clamor for peace:

"When shall peace return? That rests entirely with our enemies. But the greater the sacrifices that this war de-

mands, the harder will be the conditions of peace for our enemies."

And the neutral nations? In the Parliament that sits under the shadow of the empty Peace Palace at The Hague there has been talk of interceding. But now the conflagration is spreading, and Holland herself is in danger of being involved. Switzerland is a breeding place of peace rumors. But the war itself has made clear the impotence of small States, in diplomacy as well as in war.

The United States? Officially she has as yet made no move to intervene; and the one unofficial attempt turns out a fiasco. The "Peace Dreadnought" runs into an Atlantic storm; and then into worse storms. England sneers at it. Germany distrusts it. America is sneakingly ashamed of it.

Little prospect, then, of peace from without.

"But why cannot we take the first step? We have won. Everywhere our armies stand deep in the enemies' country. In 1871 we dictated the terms of peace from Paris. Why cannot we today dictate terms of peace from Brussels or Belgrade? If our terms are generous enough, surely they will be accepted. Did not Bismarck himself, after delivering Austria a crushing blow, make an early and magnanimous peace, leaving her territory intact? Did not that magnanimity—since it allayed the antagonisms of centuries—prove a great blessing to Prussia? Why, then, shall Germany not deal in the same spirit with her enemies of today?"

Such are the questions which those men are asking themselves who, long before the hour set, fill up the extreme left of the Reichstag floor. These ninety members of the Social-Democracy are not proletarians. By conviction—yes. By birth—perhaps. In spirit?—Never. Most of them have the look of the bourgeois, of what the Germans call the "Phillister"; are men with a certain small position in the world, of which they are proud; with a bank account, of which they are certainly not ashamed. They are militant politically; but socially respectable.

Here and there among them is an un-

mistakable laborer type. And you catch rare glimpses of fanatic intensity, inheritance from an earlier generation of Socialists. But here appearances are deceiving. Rebellion has its conventions, just as obedience has; conventions that express themselves not merely in the cut of a man's clothes, but of his beard and of his features. That powerfully built man, for example, with the forked red beard and the angry features, who looks more anarchist than socialist, will, when he gets up to speak, roar as gently as any sucking dove.

There is a sparse sprinkling of uniforms among them. And one of their leaders wears the epaulets and sword of an officer. There is nothing in those regular features, red cheeks, snow-white hair and mustache to make his uniform seem an incongruity. You can see from his bearing that Albert Sudekum, Doctor of Philosophy, author, and member of the party of the Social Revolution, is as proud of his share of the battle of Lorette Heights last Spring as of those scores of battles between capital and labor, between socialism and the Government, which used to be his one reason for living.

Not far from him sit the Liberals—National Liberals and the Progressive People's Party. And to their right, directly in front of the Speaker's stand, sit the Catholics. Here the officers grow more plentiful. And the benches of the Imperial Party and of the Conservatives at the extreme right look like a council of war—Lieutenants, Captains, Majors, in gray campaign uniforms, one behind the other.

An old-fashioned town crier's bell calls the meeting to order. And the man who swings it looks like the town crier himself. A weazened, little old man, bald, spectacled, white-bearded, President Kaempf is as fantastic as a figure from a child's story book. The more so by contrast to the men who cluster about him and behind him, in the doorways and in the two rows of benches to either side of him on the raised "tribune"—Princes and Excellencies, Generals and Admirals, Ministers of the German Empire and envoys from the individual States that

compose it—two hundred leaders of the German State, facing the four hundred representatives of the German people there in the hall below them.

Is there danger of a chasm opening up between the tribune and the hall, in which all German hopes of victory shall be swallowed up? Is there a possibility that the representatives of the people will refuse to support the rulers of the State in carrying on the war any longer? Or, on the other hand, can it be true that the rulers are tired of war, but dare not admit it, and have secretly prompted the representatives to ask them to make peace?

Each of these possibilities has, at one time or another, been predicted by Germany's enemies; who, through the eyes of some of the "neutrals" in the galleries, are watching eagerly what is about to take place.

If the eyes of the whole hostile world were upon them those 200 on the tribune could not bear themselves more defiantly. The officers stand as if on a battlefield with the shells crashing about them. Some of them wear the blue parade uniform of peace, others field gray, with the crimson stripe of the General Staff.

Next to a former Military Attaché at Washington stands a young naval officer, short and supple, with dark, highbrow features of a Spanish type. The short knife he wears at his belt looks, in its gilt sheath, like a toy. But appearances are deceptive—particularly at sea. Did not a certain lamented King of England once speak of the whole German Navy as—a toy?

Those who crowd the balconies to the doors have come here to see, not uniforms, but men. They point out statesmen and diplomats by name. Over there is the Minister of Railways. That bald man with the white mustache is Delbrück of the Interior. Over there is Jagow, head of the Foreign Office, suave, subtle. Now he bends his head politely to listen to something whispered to him by that man at his right who holds the attention by the unmistakable, cold magnetism of the great practical statesman. He looks strangely like Elihu Root—a Prussian Elihu Root. Is

it imagination—or does everything about him—his figure, the lines of his coat, the cut of his hair, suggest the black eagle of Prussia?

He is Karl Helfferich, Minister of the Treasury and the strongest man in the German Government. Von Havenstein, head of the Imperial Bank, may be the greater financial engineer; Helfferich is the greater financial soldier and financial diplomat. He it is who raised the second great war loan in the Spring of 1915, the third still greater one the next Fall—"the greatest financial feat in history," he himself called it—and who has again procured ten "milliards" from the pockets of Germany's citizens. If, in the speech the Chancellor makes to-day, we hear one word of weakness, we may know that it is because this "Hindenburg of finance" confesses defeat. But he stands there cool, quietly confident, with the look of a General in the middle of a successful campaign.

His figure dominates the tribune. It is upon him that the American Ambassador, sitting in the first row of the Royal Balcony, directly in front of a Chinese attaché and a Venezuelan chargé d'affaires, first fixes his black opera glasses. Then he focuses them upon the head of Germany's Foreign Office; studying that polite enigmatical face as an astronomer studies a distant star; as if trying to read the soul of the man who will be his antagonist in the next "regrettable misunderstanding" to arise between the two countries.

Von Tirpitz next claims the Ambassador's attention. Bald, with forked white beard, pale with the pallor of fishes at the bottom of the sea—the old sea-fighter looks like Father Neptune himself. If he has been shorn of his power in the bitter fight over those deadly deep-sea fishes of which he was so proud, he does not show it. He sits alone, motionless as a statue, the hand that rests on the table in front of him white and slender as a woman's.

A stir at the doorway. The Chancellor stalks in and takes the seat to the President's right. He wears the gray field uniform of a Major General, and carries his tall, slim figure with conscious

military stiffness; yet cannot quite overcome that slight stoop of the shoulders which proclaims the scholar, close to sixty. The suns of many battlefields have bronzed his long, thin face, but his features are refined, sensitive, and sad. His friends say that to him this war is a godsend, since it has pulled him, by main force, out of deep despondency. His wife died just before the war broke out. She was said to be one of the most remarkable women in Germany.

When the house is quite still he rises to speak.

"Gentlemen: I take this first opportunity to give you a brief survey of the situation. Shortly after the Reichstag last adjourned"—

His voice is low, his manner matter of fact, his delivery a little halting. He even seems, in spite of his long public career as a Prussian official, slightly embarrassed by the knowledge that he is addressing all Germany and the world. But when he describes Germany's recent military successes the scholar expands and fills out the Major General's uniform. And his voice becomes almost vibrant as he speaks hopefully of the period that shall follow this war, when that "firm bridge" which has been built by German arms between Germany and the Near East "shall no longer echo to the tramp of marching battalions but shall serve the works of peace, of culture"—

"—Of the German capitalists!"

The interruption comes from the back of the hall—from the left—the very left. No need to ask to whom that high, shrill voice belongs. Those in the balcony crane their necks; but, for the most part cannot see as the voice comes from directly below them.

In the hall itself, murmurs, laughter. Some one shouts: "Put him out!"

The Chancellor flushes, waits. The hall quiets down.

The Chancellor begins again as if nothing has happened. For a time he turns a little toward the right of the hall as if looking in that direction for support. Then he turns squarely toward the Social Democrats, and points out to them how all the predictions made by their late leader, Bebel, about a Ger-

many involved in a great war, are now refuted by the facts.

His tone becomes hard and challenging. The whole Social-Democratic theory of war is being tried in his balance, and found wanting. And none of those in the left of the hall seem inclined to lift a finger in its defense.

"He predicted universal unemployment," continues the Chancellor, his voice mounting; "he predicted universal hunger"—

"—and the Revolution!"

That defiant voice from the rear of the hall is higher, shriller than before; has a slightly hysterical quaver; rises almost to a shriek.

A moment of silence, in which his "comrades" to the right and left turn to stare, in shocked silence, apparently more deeply affected by this breach of the discipline of the party than the other representatives are by the breach of the discipline of the Parliament. There are shouts and laughter from the right of the hall, smiles and murmurs from the tribune. Finally the fantastic little figure in the President's chair rises and, with the help of that town crier's bell of his, suppresses the "revolution" and restores quiet.

Twice at least, during each of the Chancellor's speeches to the Reichstag, that one voice is raised in shrill protest. The first impulse of the neutrals in the gallery to sympathize with a man who has chosen to fight singlehanded against a whole Parliament, against a whole nation, is somewhat checked by the sight of the man himself. He is short, dark, slight; wears thick eye-glasses for short-sightedness; wears the ugly, beltless, ill-fitting gray uniform of the "Schipper," as the trench-digging, road-building brigade of the regular army is somewhat contemptuously called. He is over forty but looks ten years younger, and has somewhat the manner of a precocious schoolboy.

There is nothing of the politician about his appearance; nor yet of the revolutionist—rather of the theorist, whose theories have built walls between him and reality, walls quite as thick as those which kept his father imprisoned during

thirteen of the last thirty years of his life. Wilhelm Liebknecht was a great political thinker and organizer. But he bequeathed to his son little besides his theories—and his courage.

These interruptions of Dr. Karl Liebknecht in the Reichstag, sharp and effective as some of them are, lay him open to even sharper rejoinders.

"I speak," he cries, "for the common men, the men out there in the trenches, at the front—"

"Where you have never been," dryly adds a man sitting at the right in officer's uniform—for the "Schippers" are chosen from among those whom a weak heart or some other physical defect unfits for the first line of battle.

And once, when his diatribe against the Government becomes particularly violent, a member of his own party calls him to order in the tone of a mother reproving a naughty child:

"Haven't you learned that a politician must consider the effect of his words? You are simply putting weapons in the hands of the enemy."

And Karl Liebknecht does not interrupt again during that session.

Six times since the outbreak of the war has the German Imperial Chancellor addressed the representatives of the German people on the state of the nation. And each time he speaks, this question, coming from the heart of the common people in Germany, and audible to him alone, becomes more insistent.

"Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to declare under what conditions he is willing to make peace?"

All his speeches are in response to this unspoken question. And each succeeding speech gives a clearer and fuller response to it. Germany's peace terms are like a picture thrown on a screen—at first dim and all but indiscernible, but slowly, very slowly, brought to focus. The Chancellor seems to be feeling his way, from speech to speech, toward those ultimate demands which, at the Peace Conference, will have to be clear, hard, definite, and unchangeable.

In delivering his first war speech, on the historic 4th of August, his mind was too full of the peace that had just

been broken to have room for the peace that must later be patched up.

Four months later, Turkey's decision to fight on Germany's side encourages him to declare that Germany will not stop fighting "until we have the certainty that no one will again dare disturb that peace in which we intend to develop, as a free people, the being and the power of Germany."

That word "certainty" gives way to the much stronger phrase—"all possible guarantees and pledges," in his speech of the following Spring, in which he pays his respects to Austria's new enemy, Italy.

"The more fiercely the storm rages about us," he adds, "the firmer must we build our house."

The fall of Warsaw early in August makes him even more confident that Germany can get what she wants. Visions of "a new Germany," rise before him; of a Germany which is not merely to be "guaranteed" and "pledged" against actual attack, but which is to "build out her position" in such a way "that other powers will never again be seized by the inclination" even to intrigue against her diplomatically. There is not only to be a new Germany, but a whole "new Europe," in which a new Poland, "freed from the Russian yoke," will be led toward "a happy future in which it can lead its own peculiar national life."

All this sounds promising, to German ears. But finally the time comes when the people of Germany are tired of promises of peace, and would like to look upon the face of peace itself.

"Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to declare under what conditions he is willing to make peace?"

Again that question from the heart of the German people, as he enters the Reichstag hall. But this time, not only he, but the whole Parliament hears it. For at last, after sixteen months of bitter war, the burning question has got itself uttered aloud. And all Germany, all the world, awaits an answer.

It is a man of fifty who asks it—bald, precise, neatly dressed; slightly pedantic, with the peculiar, obstinate pedantry of the socialist; yet typically German, typically middle class.

Originally a printer by trade, Phillip Scheidemann has for the past twenty years been a socialist editor, for the past twelve years member of the Reichstag, for the past four years a recognized leader of the Social Democratic faction there, for the past year the man who, more than any other, has held together the powerful party that represents the common people of Germany.

Will he be able to hold it together longer? That depends on the answer to the great question which he, the spokesman of the people, is now putting, with the unconscious dignity of an average man on whose shoulders rests a responsibility far from average, to von Bethmann Hollweg, spokesman of the Kaiser.

He speaks of the daily increase of death, of want, of misery; of how "Europe is deliberately bringing on its own ruin through this war, and the United States of America"—here he glances toward the balcony, where Mr. Gerard can be seen in the front row, listening eagerly—"the United States of America is making brilliant profits out of it all."

He tells of how all countries long for peace, yet none dare admit it.

"Upon you, Mr. Chancellor, rests a great responsibility. The whole world will stand with those who make the first offer of peace. Accursed throughout all history be they who shove it aside, to keep up the fighting till Europe bleeds to death!"

But the words are drowned out in the Chancellor's ears by those mocking, hostile voices which seem to penetrate to him even here, predicting a defeated Germany suing for mercy. Although he asserts, with great emphasis, his readiness "to declare at once" under what conditions he is "willing to enter into peace negotiations"—yet he does not declare it; declares, instead, that any offer of peace made by him now would be misconstrued by that enemy which still dares talk of "throwing Germany back across the Rhine."

It is only at the very end of his speech that he throws out a hint, heavily veiled, of the peace terms which Germany will demand. The Reichstag hears once more of "material guarantees," and this time

in a specific connection—Belgium. And it is allowed to extract what meaning it can from the important but vague declaration that:

"Neither in the east nor in the west may our enemies remain in control of gates of entry, through which they can again threaten us more seriously than before."

To judge by their applause, those uniformed men to the right of the hall believe themselves to know exactly what that declaration means, and approve of it. Most of them have learned, from the most intensely personal experience, where those "gates of entry" lie. Some of them have helped drive back the enemy after he has passed through these gates. Others have helped storm the gates themselves—Liège, Kovno, Novo Georgievsk, and the rest; or have fought desperately, as yet unsuccessfully to drive the enemy back from those few square miles of German territory that he holds, thanks to the great gate of Belfort; or have held the trenches around that still greater gate of Verdun—not yet dreaming of storming it—for that attempt still lies two months in the dim future.

But the Social Democrats are not satisfied with the Chancellor's answer. Some of them do not think that the Chancellor has made his peace terms clear; others think he has made them all too clear; as they prove clearly enough, a week later, when a score of them break party discipline in order to vote against the fourth war loan appropriation, requested of them by the shrewd and persuasive Helfferich, who appears before the Reichstag in person to demand it.

But when, on April 5 of this year, the Chancellor once more faces the people's Deputies, something gives him the courage to speak more plainly. Is it the failure of the Allies' Dardanelles expedition? Or is it the German successes around Verdun? Or the series of thunderbolts cast down upon England almost nightly by the German air pilots? Or is it, perhaps, some secret assurance as to the attitude of the factions within Germany itself?

Some assurance given by Liberal and

Socialist leaders that, if he avoids the use of that dangerous word "annexation," he may speak as plainly as he likes without fear of changing the dissenting minority into a majority?

Certainly something very definite must have happened to give him the courage to talk like a twentieth century Bismarck about redrawing the map of Europe on a large scale; the courage bluntly to inform the Reichstag that "in many respects the new Europe cannot resemble the old."

"Can he really believe," says the Chancellor, "that Germany will ever, of her own free will, deliver back into the hands of reactionary Russia the nations between the Baltic and the Volhynian swamps?"

And as to Belgium: "Here, also, Germany cannot sacrifice the oppressed Flemish race, but must assure them the sound evolution which follows the lines of their national character."

That speech marks not merely a turning point in the Chancellor's policy of dealing with the Reichstag; it marks a turning point in Germany's policy of dealing with her neighbors. It is a program for a third stage in the career of the German Nation.

In the first stage, Germany was a thing of fragments and splinters, of principalities turned against one another by the intrigues of neighboring States.

Bismarck brought about the second stage, in which Germany was united, yet was much too busy learning to hold itself together to have the surplus energy to extend itself through "spheres of influence" or "peaceful penetrations."

This speech of von Bethmann Hollweg's announces a third stage, in which Germany will insist on having neighbors "with whom we can collaborate, and who will collaborate with us"; in which "Germany and Austria must and will solve the Polish question"; in which, in short, Germany shall announce that it has attained its diplomatic majority, just as it attained some time ago its military and economic majority, and that now it is prepared to play a man's part in the affairs of Europe.

The Horrors of Trench Fighting

By Roméo Houle

CURRENT HISTORY received the original manuscript of this remarkable narrative and can vouch for its authenticity. It is undeniably one of the most thrilling human documents of real warfare that the great struggle has thus far produced. The editor has investigated the standing of the author in his home community and obtained official confirmation of his military record. Romeo Houle was born in New Bedford, Mass., Oct. 29, 1893, at 36 Hicks Street, the son of a local barber, Zacharie Houle, and Xeline Begnoche. He has a common school education. In 1912 he moved to Montreal, where he was a barber. When war was declared he enlisted in the Sixty-fifth Regiment, First Canadian Division, Aug. 10, 1914. He was discharged Feb. 10, 1916, and arrived in America Feb. 23, on the steamship *Tuscania*. His father secured the young soldier's discharge through Congressman Walsh of Massachusetts on the ground that he was an American citizen and was not of age when he enlisted. He lives at present at Oxford, Fairhaven, Mass., and is pursuing his vocation as barber at Lamothe's shop, 1,335 Purchase Street, New Bedford. He made notes of his experiences while in the trenches, and the subjoined production was written by him from those notes in collaboration with his friend Arthur L. Bouvier, editor of a local French newspaper at New Haven.—[Editor CURRENT HISTORY.

THE true story of the trenches has never been told. I know, because for many months I have lived in trenches. I have slept daily in dread of bullet, shrapnel, mine, and deadly gas; and nightly in fear of mine and gas—and the man-eating rats.

I am one of the few soldiers living who entered the front trenches at the opening of the war and who lived to fight the Germans in the front trenches in February, 1916. Of my original company, (the Fourth of the Fourteenth Battalion, Third Brigade, First Canadian Division,) which marched away to that hell at Laventie and Ypres so gayly—500 brave boys—I am one of the sixteen who survive. And returning unexpectedly, snatched by the American Government out of the very jaws of death, with the mud of the trenches still upon my clothing, I discovered how much American people have been talking of the trenches and how little, after all, they really know.

Who has seen hell? Who has experienced the horrors of Milton's terrible vision or the slow tortures of Dante's inferno? God! If Dante's dream madness were truth, and those seven circles were seven encircling battle lines in Northern France or the torn fringe of brave little Belgium, I could stand up and say there is no agony of body or mind which I have not seen, which I have not experienced. I thank God and

give Him the glory that I still am sane. Gas? What do you know of it, you people who never heard earth and heaven rock with the frantic turmoil of the ceaseless bombardment? A crawling yellow cloud that pours in upon you, that gets you by the throat and shakes you as a huge mastiff might shake a kitten, and leaves you burning in every nerve and vein of your body with pain unthinkable; your eyes starting from their sockets; your face turned yellow-green.

Rats? What did you ever read of the rats in the trenches? Next to gas, they still slide on their fat bellies through my dreams. Poe could have got new inspiration from their dirty hordes. Rats, rats, rats—I see them still, slinking from new meals on corpses, from Belgium to the Swiss Alps. Rats, rats, rats, tens of thousands of rats, crunching between battle lines while the rapid-firing guns mow the trench edge—crunching their hellish feasts. Full fed, slipping and sliding down into the wet trenches they swarm at night—and more than one poor wretch has had his face eaten off by them while he slept.

Stench? Did you ever breathe air foul with the gases arising from a thousand rotting corpses? Dirt? Have you ever fought half madly through days and nights and weeks unwashed, with feverish rests between long hours of agony, while the guns boom their awful symphony of death, and the bullets zip-zip-

zip ceaselessly along the trench edge that is your skyline—and your deathline, too, if you stretch and stand upright?

Yes, I Roméo Houle, know the trench. And but for Congressman Walsh and the American Ambassador to England, and the fact that I was under age when I enlisted in Montreal—but for those men and this fact I should still be fighting, bleeding, and perhaps dying in some dirty wet trench in Northern France. I longed for big adventures, you see, and now, ah, God! I am sick of adventure, for the adventures I have had will plague my sleep until I die.

You wouldn't believe all I have seen, all I have left. Ah, no; you would say, "Roméo Houle, you are lying," were I to tell you some unbelievable things that I have really lived through. Men go mad over there. When you know what life in the first-line trenches is like you will wonder that I have returned, and that, having returned, I am still in my right mind. Sometimes, at night, I find myself again carrying the wounded back after the charge, and listening to dying soldiers telling me to look into blood-soaked pockets for last letters to their sweethearts or mothers back home. "Tell mother that I received the Blessed Sacrament before the battle began." I hear their breaking voices whisper, "Tell mother," while the thundering artillery pours its curtain of fire upon us, and our boys throw back from their rude, hand-made sling shots their deadly "jam-pots." "Tell mother!" I think all the battle front is crying now those words. O Mother of God, hear them and end this needless butchery!

I fought at Ypres. I fought at St. Julien. I fought at Lacouture and Festubert. I fought at Cuinchy. I fought at Givenchy and La Bassée, and in the first-line trenches at Messines. And before all these I fought in the first line at Richebourg and Laventie, and I live, one of 16 alive out of 500.

I am an American by birth and a barber by occupation. I have shaved men for my living in New Bedford, Mass., and have shaved soldiers of necessity in time to the cracking of rifles in Northern France. I chanced to be in Montreal when England declared war. That was on Aug. 4, 1914. On Aug. 10 I enlisted in the Sixty-fifth Regiment of French Canadians commanded by Major Barre of Montreal. There were two New England boys with me in the regiment—Henri Bertrand of Attleboro and a fellow named Collette from New Bedford. There were 500 French Canadians — then — between the ages of 18 and 28. I left most of them buried in unmarked graves.

We left Montreal on Aug. 25 for Valcartier, where they made out of a fair barber a good soldier, I think. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught inspected us at Valcartier, and a brave sight we were in our new uniforms and our full and gallant ranks. But the Duke and Duchess would have shuddered could they have inspected us, say at Cuinchy or Messines. Our 500 got thinner the older the war grew. Our 500 will be gone, I think, all gone but me, before the war is over. I'd be gone, too, but for Congressman Walsh and the American Government, which, after all, is mine, and the one



ROMEO HOULE

I'd best die for, if die I must for any. It was on Sept. 25 that I sailed with my regiment for Plymouth, England, on board the Cunarder *Alunia*. There were 1,000 men on board, half English, half French.

Thirty-three vessels sailed together in three rows of eleven boats each, with three cruisers to left and three to right of us, and one before and one behind to guard us. So great was our dread of German torpedoes and mines, it took us twenty-one days to cross.

I was in the Seventh and Eighth Companies of this French Canadian regiment, the Sixty-fifth, but at the front my company was known as the Fourth of the Fourteenth Battalion, Third Brigade, First Canadian Division. The *Alunia* was the second to land at Plymouth, and the whole town turned out to give us a reception, with houses decorated and flags flying—for 484 of us a death bridal, indeed! Three days later we were reviewed by Lord Roberts on Salisbury Plain, and the King also inspected us. Thence we marched to Larkhill, where we remained until Feb. 12, 1915. Then we left for France.

First came St. Nazaire; then Hazebrouck, and a twelve-mile hike to Fletre, a village in the north. We had a two days' rest, and marched twenty-four miles to Armentières. At Armentières I first entered a trench. We trained there with English troops. And we lay shivering in the rain for forty-eight hours, and then gladly left for Richebourg, three miles away.

At Richebourg we entered trenches of our own. There Charles Lapointe of Montreal, the first of our company to die, looked over the edge of the trench. That is death. Machine guns all day sweep the trench edges. If you raise your hand, your fingers will be cut off as by a knife. And once I saw a poor wretch, weary almost to death of the trench, raise his right arm at full length. He was sent home, maimed and in agony, as he had wished. And who can say that his act was cowardly? He who has lived in the trenches for weeks and months knows. The soldier had courage to raise his hand. Perhaps some who clung to

the mud at the trench bottom were greater cowards than he.

Well, Lapointe looked over the trench edge; and nobody knows what he saw. His brother was there to lay him down. He buried him (as we ever must the dead at the front) in a shallow pit in our trench. And the brother had for a time the agony of having to fight and feel the earth give over Charley's breast.

Two miles from there, at Laventie, we fought in the first line again. A German shell exploded over a pile of brush in a field near where I was shooting toward the German line. And we, weary of the monotony of the fighting, were overjoyed to see the ground covered far and wide with potatoes, which some farmer had hidden under hay. Potatoes! We blessed our periscope for the toothsome vision. And, marvelous to relate, we noted that the German fire slackened. Our officers could not restrain the French Canadians. On our bellies, over the death line we crawled unscathed, and, flat on the ground, wriggled to the potatoes, braving death for what we deem so common in America.

I got my share. Nor did the flaming sky pour upon us the leaden hail we feared, for the Germans held their fire while we gathered the crop we did not plant.

Toward night, in the dusk, we discovered by our spectroscope that the German boys, who were cold in their trenches, were demolishing a house for firewood, an old cottage, the property, perhaps, of that very peasant who had hidden our potatoes under the hay. We had their lives in our hands. We remembered our Irish feast—and word went down the line to hold our fire. Nor did one German die.

That was the Golden Rule of the battle front.

I slept in my blanket, my first night under fire, with a lump of cheese at my feet, as a bribe to the rats to spare my face. Not that I slept much. The night rocked with sound. The night is the true time for fighting, and the wire-cutters were creeping about on their dangerous errands between the trenches. The rockets now and then hissed skyward, throw-

ing their powerful flares of light over the darkened world. Wounded men groaned. And rats, like flies in Summer, scuttled about, making queer noises, which we could hear in momentary lulls. I had not lain there long before an officer called for volunteers to examine the land between our trench and the enemy's and repair our broken barbed wire entanglements. The wires are destroyed every day by the bombardment, and must be repaired every night. It is a most dangerous duty. Yet, I gladly volunteer, with Aurele, Auguste, and other friends.

While we were at work upon the wires the Germans threw up some flares and turned our protecting darkness into the glare of midday. They poured upon us a deadly fire. We dropped among the dead bodies which littered the ground. And long I lay, sprawled across the corpse of some brave German lad killed there many days before—constrained to feign death to save my life. But we did not all escape. Martin of Montreal was killed and many of our little party were wounded. But, as usual, I came back at last, moving painfully on my stomach, uninjured. I reported to Captain Desserre and told him all that I had heard and seen. And then I went back to sleep upon empty sandbags; and a cold, cold night it was.

I awoke at 7 o'clock, sore and stiff. I soon had kindled a little fire and cooked a slice of bacon and steeped a little tea for my chum, Aurele Roy of Montreal, and myself.

"I can lick the whole German Army alone this morning!" I exclaimed in French, warmed by the tea.

"Not alone!" cried Roy, reviving also under the influence of our breakfast, "for if you begin to lick 'em, I'll be beside you." And we laughed together, little dreaming how soon our brave words would be put to the test.

I did my turn at guard duty almost cheerfully. I cleaned my rifle and bayonet, shaved myself, and washed up a little, and then thought I would get a little more rest while I could. But, alas, some one had stolen my two empty sandbags! So I took off my overcoat and spread it on the ground and covered myself with a blanket. The sun mean-

while was shining hotly on the heaps of dead bodies which lay not far away outside the trench. I was glad to cover my head with a blanket to shut out some of the awful stench. And that is how the smell of decaying bodies saved my life.

Arthur Robillard, a car conductor back in Montreal, was on guard duty. I was roused when he fell over me. As I sat up something got me by the throat and began to strangle out my life. The air was rent with awful cries. Many of my comrades lay dying and dead about me. I hurled myself in semi-madness into a huge crater near by, made by a bursting shell. There was a little muddy water at the bottom, and I fell in it, face down.

The water relieved me a little, and I wet my handkerchief in it and covered my face. The green, stinking air was thus shut out, and I began to breathe easier. I crawled out, and half blindly sought my unconscious chum, dragging him back ten yards into the crater where the water was. I laid him face downward there, and he, too, revived a little, and there we lay, waiting for death.

Ten minutes later, I heard a shouting, and knew that the Germans were coming fast. Then I ran back into my trench, got my gun, and began firing as fast as I could. The rifle soon became so hot that it burned my hands. I threw it down and began throwing bombs. The order to retreat to the next trench came. My half-strangled comrade was with me. We ran together and, looking back, saw the big, strapping gray fellows of the Teuton army leaping down into our trench.

I forgot the rheumatism from which I had been suffering for several days when I saw them come, (we all suffer from rheumatism, it is one of the curses of the trenches.) Meanwhile, the French had retired to their fourth line, and we were left, almost surrounded, with our left flank exposed and annihilation threatening us.

Somehow we got hold of two machine guns, and placed them where they would do the most good. One of these was running 560 shots a minute, and the other—blessed French destroyer!—was pouring

out death at the rate of 700 shots a minute.

I shall never forget those Germans. When our guns suddenly spoke their front line melted; their second crumpled before this destruction; but on, on, on they came, unflinching, marching with even steps into certain death. We were like lions at bay. It was our lives or the Germans'. Then, as fourteen of us fought together, a bomb dropped amid us, and killed eleven. I came to consciousness, lying in the bottom of a trench, with Roy leaning over me.

"Are you living, Roméo!" he exclaimed in amazement. I rose dizzily. He and I and one other stood alone among our eleven dead friends.

Then Roy told me that I had been blown clear of the trench, twenty feet from where I stood, and that he had braved death to secure, as he supposed, my dead body. A careful examination showed that my only injury was a terrible bruise on the calf of my leg, where the round surface of a flying shard had struck me, but without breaking the skin. Miracles are but small matters when you fight in the presence of death.

"I'm not afraid now," I told Roy. And from then on I and all my soldier friends believed my life was charmed and that the Germans could not kill me.

We were driven back before their heavy guns to the fourth line, and were almost immediately told in haste to leave it as quickly as we could. Our engineers had mined the place, and as we fled the Germans poured down a gray horde of men. So we blew them up.

Have you ever seen a thousand men hurled to atoms by a giant blast? I cannot forget that awful sight. The whole earth seemed to leap skyward, and through and through the black mountain of earth and stones shot heads and arms and legs, torn fragments of what were once heroic men. Next to the gas which they gave us, I think our blowing them up like this was surely the worst thing men could do to men.

Perhaps you have heard of the friendship which often springs up between the Allies and their foes. I know something about it. It was at Laventie that the

Germans began to amuse themselves by putting a bullseye on a biscuit box and letting us use it for a target. We then returned the compliment and set up a similar bullseye for the Teuton boys. For between Germans and Allies as individuals, there is no hate, though I must except the treacherous German prisoner I had to kill to save my life.

Every time the Germans made a bullseye, I would raise a shovel. If they missed, I put up a handkerchief. They did the same for us. And so we who sought each other's lives played together, and death spoke sharply all around.

Sergeant Pichette was a wag. He put an old derby on a stick and ran along the trench as if it were a man, and the Germans fired at it. He would pull the hat down occasionally to make the enemy believe that the man under it had been shot, but soon afterward he would raise it again, thereby causing much amusement.

We used to talk back and forth—those German boys and we Canadians. They were the 157th and most friendly. "Hi! Where do you come from?" a voice in French once called over to us.

"We are French Canadians," we replied with pride.

"Well, we're Canadians, too," came the astonishing answer. "We come from Ontario."

There came a pause. There was no firing. Then the German shouted, "Let me see one of your group; let him stand above the trench, and on my word of honor we shall not fire."

One of us sprang out of the trench and stood up. There fell a deep silence upon the two armies. Then many stood up, and finally the Germans, too, were rising. We talked for hours so, when the officers were not looking. When they looked we did a deal of firing—but our aim was much too high.

One day the Germans threw over a bit of paper wrapped around a stone. "If you don't fire on us, we won't fire on you," some one had written. We kept that strange pact for days, until the officers, discovering this pact of peace, moved us to another part of the trenches.

Some months later, curiously enough,

we found ourselves opposite the same regiment. Neither side forgot we were both Canadian, and steadfastly kept our treaty of peace. They did not consider that rough note a "scrap of paper." Not a single shot was fired and only one man was killed, and he by a stray bullet.

Because friendships started easily between hostile bodies, they kept moving a regiment from one part of the trenches to another, that we might not get too friendly with our enemies. We had no heart in the butchery, Germans or we French Canadians.

A big part of trench warfare is the mining operations. I feared the mines more than anything, I think. It was more terrible than gas poisoning to think that at any moment the earth would be rent and you would be thrown a thousand ways at once. The mining operations were carried on by trained miners, who burrow along under ground about fifteen feet below the surface. The engineers in charge figure out just how far they must dig to reach positions under the German lines, and when they have done so a fuse is run in—and Fritz and Hans and their friends jump fifty feet toward heaven.

We do this; the Germans do it. It is bad work. And on both sides, we have to keep men listening all the time for the digging. When it is discovered that a mine is coming our way, we sink a tunnel deeper still and blow up their tunnel. And the Germans do the same thing with our mines. The soldier in the trench never knows when he may be blown into small pieces—and that is why we always preferred to risk uncertain dangers between the lines at night, instead of lying down in the wet trench, helplessly waiting for death.

I never felt so secure, indeed, as when I was on guard between the trenches, through all the night I could hear the bullets go over me. Men go crazy there. And the insane are sent to England. But sometimes men go mad and become a menace to their own comrades and officers. They sometimes have to be killed. And there have been times when I have crouched in some first-line trench, where no communication trench joined us

to the second or third line, when no doctor could reach us. And I have seen men so terribly wounded, enduring such agonies, and screaming so heart-breakingly for somebody to kill them, that our boys have done what they asked, to save them the unnecessary horror of living dismembered.

And I have seen men of good health grow so weary of the trenches that they have simply stood up at noonday. Some machine guns swiftly ended them. And others, as I have written, simply stick up their hands above the trench top and bullets trim off their fingers.

I was twenty days at Laventie. We only had the regular rifle shooting there, and were fortunate in losing not a single man of our 500 by bombs. We then marched to a point about one mile to the right of the now famous Neuve Chapelle, where we caught the Germans by surprise and took nearly 3,000 prisoners.

For two days and two nights I was firing continuously. My rifle became so hot that I had to fill my hands with dirt before firing. The fighting became so fierce that we had to employ men to do nothing else but carry ammunition to us from 200 yards in the rear. We were two and one-half miles to the left of the British. The Germans, but for us, could have got reinforcements, but we Canadians were in the way. We expected, at first, to attack them, as they were only sixty yards away. We had constructed special bridges to cross a ten-yard stream near by. Our work was to fire upon the German reserves in the rear, and this we easily did, because our guns carried for two miles. The Germans were defeated largely because they supposed the British had plenty of reinforcements.

The whole thing began suddenly at 2:30 in the morning, after a quiet day. It was an earthquake. Our company until then had fought in no real battle and had lost only five men. Other companies used to declare that we had some guardian angel to protect us. Anyhow, many say that I had some guardian angel to protect me—and I am sure that I did.

Three men volunteered to go and cut the wire entanglements. Bullets were humming through the air. They crawled

forth—to their deaths, we thought—but succeeded in cutting nearly all. So the Germans thought we were about to attack them. As soon as the Germans discovered what our men had done, we poured a withering fire over the broken wires, so that no man could live to reach and repair them.

The English bombarded the Germans for two whole days. Then we heard cries, and fast by us went the Black Watch, a Scotch regiment, and the Coldstream Guards. It was between 4 and 5 in the morning that they passed us, and within ten minutes they had captured the three first lines of the Germans.

The Germans lost 25,000 men and 3,000 prisoners. Our loss was between 10,000 and 12,000. Two days later troops came to relieve us, and in time, for we were well-nigh exhausted. We marched at night to Estaire, a pretty village eight miles away. Our men were so worn out that they dropped from weariness on the way. We spent eight days in this town and were royally treated by the French.

At midnight of the eighth day we were warned to get ready for marching again. We walked twenty-seven kilometers to Cassel, where General Dorrien, who was in charge of the battle when the English retreated from Mons in France, in the early part of the war, told us that he was going to take charge of the whole Canadian division, and that our regiment would be transferred to another army corps. He gave us three days' rest, and told us we were to occupy French trenches at Ypres.

THE BATTLE OF YPRES

Ypres is the graveyard of the old Sixty-fifth. We were carried to within six miles of the place in London buses, twenty-five men in a bus. Ypres was forty miles away. We met there the Canadian Scottish Third Brigade of 5,000 men. From the end of the bus line we tramped six miles and encamped outside the village of St. Julien, one mile away. Two battalions were in reserve at St. Jean and two were in the front line, mine being one of the two at the front.

It was at Ypres that we first met the gallant French troops. My company was

on the left of the English line, so that we acted as interpreters between the French and the English. A roadway ten yards wide separated the two lines and a tunnel ran from the English to the French lines.

We found the trenches here to be forty yards from the German line and in bad condition. Firing was continuous, by day and by night. The communication trenches were in bad shape, too, and the Germans, who were on a height, raked us terribly with their machine guns. I looked through my periscope and saw between 400 and 500 unburied German dead lying between the lines. I counted 25 dead Frenchmen among them. Three months before, I was told, the Germans had tried to carry the line and neither side had given the other a chance to bury its dead.

Our French neighbors were Zouaves, between 19 and 30 years of age, and the gayest soldiers I have ever fought beside. They sang gay ditties and called us French Canadians "Frères." We spent our nights in throwing grenades at the Boches and our days in the slow monotony of every-day trench life.

I rose at noon, the day after our arrival, and took the time to shave, a rare event. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at one mile from us, we saw yellow smoke rising from the ground. This smoke was the deadly gas being thrown upon the French and upon the Scotch regiment that had taken our places while we were resting, for, of course, we were resting when I shaved. We formed at once in light marching order and went to help the Scotch.

We entered the reserve trench, and at midnight the first-line trench. The Scotch had lost half of their effectives and were returning with the French, the blood streaming from their mouths and noses, and their faces all yellow-green. The French had lost nearly all their regiment. The Germans within five minutes had occupied our first and second lines.

In half an hour the Boches began a great bombardment. At 7 o'clock they tried to take our line, repeating their attacks all the night, but we rolled them back. They came even to within ten

yards of us, a flood of human waves. But our machine guns, our "coffee grinders," as we called them, mowed them down like hay, and we lost not many men.

Our artillery had plenty of ammunition. Our light guns were placed at 400 yards from the front line and the heavy artillery at one and a half miles, and some pieces as far as four miles away. The famous French Africans, called Senegalese, were fighting here with us. The Boches set fire to the City of Ypres in the night, and I watched its sullen glare against the sky. The civilian populace went running by, in dreadful condition. That night, of my friends, died Vaillant, Poitras, and Bond, all of Montreal, and two others. Poirer and Lefebvre of Montreal and O. Wiseman, also my friends, had been killed during the day. Yet I lived!

Ypres was a famous battle, one of the greatest of the war, I think, till this terrible onslaught at Verdun. Our division (Canadian) reached from Ypres (Belgium) to Poelcappelle Road. At 2 A. M., before the gas overtook me, I was sent out between the lines with another man to examine the wire entanglements. We heard a sound as of some one handling pipes, but discovered nothing more. Then the Boches sent up their flares (skyrockets whose bursting bombs turned night into daylight) and we lay on the ground motionless. In the darkness which followed, we crept back over the heaps of dead toward our line. When I had almost reached the trench, another great flare burst right over us, and I had to lie still for several long moments until the welcome darkness gave me an opportunity to drop into the trench again.

Men were dying from the gas, their eyes popping, their faces green, and crying: "Water! Water! I'm choking! Air! Air! Air!" It is a frightful thing to hear your friends crying like that. I saw one die right before my eyes, rolling upon the ground as if mad, tearing at his chest. His fingers were crooked after his death, his body full of blue spots and his mouth white. Another poor wretch fell two or three feet from me, dying from the gas. He was sucking water from a dirty handkerchief.

Listen! Suppose you were fighting in a trench. The wind comes toward you, foul with odors from nameless, twisted, torn bodies unburied between you and the Boches. Near you are your brave comrades. Some lie wounded and dying in agony on the trench bottom. The bullets zing-zing eternally over your head. There is a mighty swelling from an organ more sonorous than ever human organist played. The rockets are bursting; the flares shedding white glares over the torn ground. Your coffee grinders are mowing them down.

Then, rising from somewhere near by, comes the gas, yellow or green. Then comes a sudden stinging in your nose. Your eyes water and run. You breathe fire. You suffocate. You burn alive. There are razors and needles in your throat. It is as if you drank boiling hot tea. Your lungs flame. You want to scratch and tear your body. You become half blind, half wild. Your head aches beyond description, you vomit, you drop exhausted, you die quickly.

Every other man seemed to fall. As I fought I marveled that I was spared. And again came to me the belief that my life was charmed; that the bullet had not been melted, the shrapnel not been loaded, the gas not mixed which would cause my death. An ecstatic confidence buoyed me up. I was brave, because I was so sure of life, while all my comrades seemed groveling in death.

My platoon was under a withering fire, before which we crumpled and melted away. We left the trench, pressing forward. All hell seemed to rise suddenly from the bowels of the earth and pour over us flame and molten lead. The ground seethed from the exploding shells. The mitrailleuses vomited death.

Our thinned lines gave a yell. I saw a black hole in the ground. Sergeant Albert Pichette shouted, "Into their trench!" I leaped in. Four Germans were trying to escape on the further side. I did not fire, intending to make them prisoners. But the only thing I took was a great blow on the side of my head, and away went my prisoners.

I crawled up the trench a few feet and came upon two men trying to strangle

each other. I thought, then, of motion pictures I had watched back home. Here was a more terrible drama than ever the movie camera showed.

A bayonet charge is a street fight magnified and made ten thousand times more fierce. It becomes on close range almost impossible to use your bayonets. So we fought with fists and feet, and used our guns, when possible, as clubs. We lay in our prize trench for about four hours. The boys, excited because they still lived, sang and jested, and told of queer experiences and narrow escapes they had had.

By 10 o'clock came the story that the British had lost four field guns and asked our help to recapture them. I was one of twenty-one from my company who volunteered to go. So we joined men from the Tenth and Sixteenth Battalions, and at 11 o'clock prepared to storm the wood where the cannons were.

We had only forty yards of open ground to cover, but the German artillery and machine guns worked havoc among us. It did not take us long to run those forty yards.

We were soon in the wood, where it was so dark that we could hardly distinguish friend from foe.

I ran in and out among the trees and asked every one I met who he was. I came upon one big fellow. My mouth opened to ask him who he was, when his fist shot out and took me between the eyes. I went down for the count, but I knew who he was—he was a German. I got up as quickly as I could, you may be sure, and swung my rifle to hit him in the head, but the stock struck a tree and splintered. I thought I had broken all my fingers.

I found three wounded men, French, I thought they were, in that gloom. So I carried them into our trench. As I brought in the last one, the officer said, "You are doing good work, Houle." I asked him why he thought so, and he answered: "You have brought in three wounded men and when we put the light on them we found they were Germans." Well, I am glad I saved them. I would have done so anyhow, had I known their nationality. For we were all trained to

give a wounded man help, whether he were friend or foe.

Yet it is dangerous work, helping a wounded German. I never helped another, after the experience I had. It was one of the two occasions when I knew with certainty that I killed a man. He was a wounded German soldier. We found him suffering and weak. But we knew we could save his life and were dressing his wound. My back was turned. He took a revolver out of his tunic pocket and fired pointblank at me.

I do not know how I escaped death. Perhaps it was because his hand shook from weakness; perhaps my guardian saint turned aside that death bullet. Anyhow, he had his revolver in his hand. We had to act quickly. My officer spoke a quick word, and I made sure that he would never fire another shot.

Well, we got our machine guns. But the Germans had blown them up, and all our sacrifice of men was in vain.

We were relieved by a British regiment before morning and marched back to our billets to have a rest. I slept all the rest of the night until 11 o'clock the next morning. It was the first rest I had had in forty-eight hours, with only a slice of raw bacon and a piece of bread to eat.

These were little incidents of the bloody battle at Ypres. That afternoon some of the boys brought out tables from a house and placed them in the sun. The civilian populace, in their flight, had left behind their live stock. We caught some hens and rabbits and cooked them in wine we found in a cellar. Ah, that was a feast. I never had a better one.

Yet we were strange feasters. Had some artist been able to paint us he would have had a strong canvas. Some of the boys had their heads bandaged, and nearly all of us were covered with dirt and blood. Some sang for us, though others were downhearted. It surprised me that a few hours after we had faced death and had been suffering untold hardships we could now gather like college boys at a beer night feast and sing.

During the rest of that battle we lived in the reserve trenches, bombarded day

and night. The battle lasted twenty-one days. When it was over they called a roll of our regiment. There were 500 of us when we left Montreal. As the commander called the roll, name after name was met with no response. At Ypres 480 out of 500 of us were left dead on the field. And in reality our loss had been greater than that, for our 500 had been thinned out in other actions and filled with a full roster again. Twenty of us out of 500 survived at Ypres.

We fought madly at St. Jean, after Ypres, and retreated. We rested eight days at Bailleul, marched through Steeverwerck and rested eight more days there; we also rested at Estaires for eight days, then through Vieille Chapelle, and then had another eight days' rest. We reached Lacouture at night and went into battle again at Richebourg.

We arrived there in May, 1915. Richebourg is in France, eight miles from the Belgian border, on the English front. A very small agricultural village we found it, coming to it after a hard twelve-hour hike from Bailleul. We got into the Richebourg trenches in the evening.

I found myself in a German trench, captured by the British. Five hours before the battle had raged, and the place was still full of wounded and dead, both German and British. Trench by trench we worked our way into the British front line. We had been reinforced by the Twelfth Battalion of reserves, which was made up of French Canadians and Englishmen; thus our decimated regiment was swelled to 365 men.

The battle was going on. Relieving the front line proved a dangerous task. We had to proceed cautiously to avoid bullets, and it took us three hours to reach the front line, which we did at midnight. Ten of our men were killed by shrapnel or stray bullets on the way.

Then came the report from our left that the Germans were trying to counter-attack. Our officers called for volunteers for a bomb and hand grenade throwing party. We were gone twenty minutes, fifteen of us in all; three of us were wounded, and Carrier of Montreal was killed. We were able to report on our re-

turn that we had done effective work. After that things quieted down and gave us a breathing spell.

The next morning we were ordered to take the German first-line trenches. Our cannon began to clear the way first at 2 o'clock in the morning. The famous French 75—the French 75 which is always helping the English at difficult times—blasted out the pathway over which we were to charge. We had thirty-two of these 75s—four guns to each of the eight batteries. When worked hard, these guns can fire twenty shots a minute.

We were all Catholics. At 5:30 o'clock we began to say our prayers, and soon after we were charging with fixed bayonets. We had no great difficulty in taking two lines of trenches. But when we reached the third, they rallied and drove us out. There the Germans made a counterattack, raking our flanks with their machine guns as soon as we reached their third trench. They killed 75 of us, wounded over 100, and took 20 prisoners. We were obliged to leave our wounded in their trench with the dead.

I lay until night in the German second-line trench, among the dead and wounded. There was, of course, no communication and we could not clear the place we had taken or get medical help for the men who writhed in agony all around us. A company of Highlanders from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Battalions came to our relief at night. The Highlanders and my company were given orders to capture an orchard on our left. Through this orchard ran the German trench. German snipers were concealed in the old apple trees, and the place seemed one huge shrapnel, which burst and never ceased bursting. Three-quarters of our men were killed. And I, as usual, was among the unwounded survivors.

We took the orchard trench, but were glad enough to retire at the counter-attack, and unfortunately lost our orchard and our third trench. Listen! Out of 250 Highlanders, only forty came back. Of my own company, (which you will remember had been reinforced to 365 men,) only seventy came back. And Roméo Houle, with the charmed life, was again

among the few who returned, and had not a single wound.

About one and one-half miles on the right of Richebourg, we took up a new position, after three days' rest in a village next to Lâcuture. The Scots Greys and the Coldstream Guards were in the trenches. To our surprise, they greeted us with shouts and cheers. We asked them why they cheered us so. They answered that they thought so well of the Canadians that, helped by them, they would encounter any odds. The shooting was then going on; the Scotch had tried to advance and had been pushed back. When our company came, we all tried to advance together. Again our company had been reinforced, this time to 420 men.

The Germans occupied a hilly place. Although they were only sixty yards away, we fought back and forth for an hour. Our first two charges were stopped by their entanglements. The wires in many places were not down at all and we could not pass. Then our artillery began to mow among the wires. In thirty minutes our way was clear, and on the third tussle we got into the German trench. It was a close fight. We used even our fists. My bayonet was broken, and I used my gun as a club. There we remained until we got reinforcements. Out of 420 men, my company was reduced to eighty. No, I could not be killed.

We were at Cuinchy only two days, but we took three lines of trenches there, and retreated. The dead we left on the field covered the barbed wire entanglements. The Germans in their counterattack came at us in serried ranks. Our coffee grinders smashed their first, their second, their third lines, but they came on and on, resistless as a flood. We could not but give way and withdraw before that awful advance. They cared not for the lives of men, but thought only of the ground they gained. Every foot they advanced cost them many, many lives. But those trenches from which we retreated are now occupied by the British. All their silly outlay of men was in vain.

To the south of Cuinchy, we fought at Givenchy. Five days we were in the third line, and four in the first. German

mortars opposite us were belching forth thunderous volumes of flame and death. Chaos was at Givenchy. Lightning lashed us—the swift lightning of 10,000 rifles and great batteries of field guns. Yet we destroyed their mortars and took fifty prisoners. Do you wonder that I am still proud that I fought there—proud of the French Canadians? What soldiers ever fought more valiantly? Who ever gave their lives in a noble cause more gladly? Who ever met certain death more steadfastly and unafraid? Whatever I think of war—and before I am done, I shall tell—whatever I think of war, I say that braver soldiers never lived or died than the gallant French Canadians. But oh! I am sorry to think how their handsome lines have been thinned—thinned more than most people know.

Two of our men cared for ten prisoners. A Sergeant led them away. I suppose that they are in England now, spectacles for the curious. They were brave men. I am sorry for their captivity, on their account; but glad to see their terrible martial strength thus ebbing. When we took a trench, the Germans would throw up their hands and cry "Comrade." The Saxon Germans always surrender the quickest, because they are so nearly akin to the English. The Bavarian Germans and the Prussian Guards are different propositions.

At Béthune, a town of 50,000 population, we had a ten-day rest. They shifted us to Oblingham—and then another rest. And then three more weeks of fighting at La Bassée. It was the same story!

I had fought in the first line of the battle front until all the bed I knew was wet earth, and all the rest I knew were snatches of sleep obtained during lulls in the rocking tumult. From almost the very opening of the war I had fought. And long since I had had my fill of the fighting.

The American Consul at London wrote me a letter. It came, I remember well, in October, 1915. It brought me my first ray of hope—my first real hope of life. For I knew that that strange chance which had spared me so many months, when so many of my comrades had died,

would not always be mine. I knew that death fought by my side in the day and slept with me in the night. I saw him grinning at me from the twisted features of those shot in the battle. I heard him gibbering on the horrible field at night!

The Ambassador gave me the hope that, having been under age and an American by birth when I enlisted, my Government might secure my discharge. Influential friends were working for me.

On Jan. 10, 1916, in the forenoon, I was notified to report to headquarters, 300 yards behind our firing line. I laid low in the front trench all day, fearful lest at the last moment I should be shot. For a friend, who had obtained a long furlough for rest in England, on the very eve of his departure, had been killed by my side a few days before. It seemed so pitiful an ending, just when he was going home.

So eager was I to leave, that I planned the best I could how to escape. But I knew that if I yielded and went, I should forfeit my life. By a great effort, I restrained myself. But at 4:30 o'clock I could stand it no longer. My friends wept at the parting—for joy for my sake that I was going back to life; for grief that they were left, to die probably, so far from their fair Canada.

At 4:30 o'clock, then, with last hand-grips and the well-wishes of all, I jumped a little ditch and crept on hands and knees in a circuitous way to the headquarters.

I walked seven miles to the railroad. The firing sank away. The trenches and their fevers, their wounded and dead, their noxious odors and their deadly gases, and the man-eating rats—all became a memory. I was free, going home to my wife and child, my parents, my friends, unwounded.

I take no credit for any special courage in the field. If I was brave, it was because I had to be so. We were all brave, who kept our senses. We became accustomed to a large degree to the incessant intimacy with dangers and death. We could look without wincing at frightful things. And yet—I have promised to write what I think of war.

I know not what word could adequately describe war. Man's poets have never

imagined any description terrible enough. "Hell" is too weak a word, after Ypres and Richebourg. It is all a great slaughter house, legalized by Princes and Kings. And it is more horrible than the slaughter house, because the forms of death planned are more cruel, more mad, more devilish.

I was not altogether free from hurts. There is a dent in my skull from a spent bullet, which failed to kill me. And I got a terrible bruise on the leg from a shard that did not break the skin. But I live, thank God, one out of the 16 of those 500 men, most of whom we left behind at Ypres.

If you Americans have the choice, never vote for war. You do not know what war is, who have not seen it. I did not know. I could not know. It is not like the sanguinary conflicts of the civil war—they were little fisticuff battles compared to this gigantic slaughter of heroes. Now calm science, cruel, unutterably cruel, calculating a hundred deaths with the precision of the crazed murderer, lays out the battle schemes, and goes seeking through science for new forms of death more horrible than the old. We fight underground and under-sea, on the land and in the air. We fight with fire, with steel, with lead, with poisons, with gases, with burning oil. We are lower than the brutes, lower than the lowest and most degraded forms of life.

I do not know why we fought. No Archduke's little life was worth the titanic butchery of the world war. The beginning was petty and small. And I, looking back at horror, horror, horror, cannot forget the extraordinary friendships we made with the men in the enemy's trenches. We were both only human beings, after all, Fritz and I. We had no wish to kill each other. We had much rather sit at the same table, with our wives and children around us, and talk of gardens, of fair pictures, and of great books. But for our officers and the nations which they represented peace would have been declared right there in the trenches—and that by the soldiers themselves.

I am only Roméo Houle, a barber. But I have lived—God, I have lived! All the

slaughter of heroes by the Meuse and on the Belgian border and in Northern France has passed before my eyes. And I, Roméo Houle, am forced to write this:

Man is given life to enjoy it, not to destroy it. We cannot make ourselves better or the world we live in more worth

while by killing each other like beasts gone mad.

I thank God that the nightmare is over. Only in my dreams do the cannon roar over the line at Ypres. And such dreams are quite terrible and real enough. I hope never to fight again.

In the Hospital

By SERGEANT ROBERT BEARNS

The author of this poem, now recovering from a severe wound, was an English miner before he joined the army.

He 'adn't no shinin' 'elmet on,
Nor 'E 'adn't no bloomin' sword,
But somehow the pains o' my wound was gone
When the King come into the ward;
There wasn't a 'aporth o' frill or fuss,
Just a' officer smart an' trim,
An' I couldn't 'elp turning and saying to nurse,
"Do you think as it's really 'Im?"

'E come up and stood by the side o' my bed,
And 'eld out his 'and to me;
"Where was you peppered, my son?" 'E said,
Or that's what 'E meant it to be.
We chatted away in no make-pretend—
That wasn't his royal plan.
'E was a King and a soldier's friend,
So we chinwagged man to man.

'E knew all about where the boys 'ad been,
And what the battalion had done;
An' when 'E had gone, then up come the
Queen,
Who spoke to us one by one.
'Er smile 'ad a kind o' a wit o' tears,
A something that seemed to say,
"I know how you suffer, you poor old dear,
Don't I wish I could help you today."

An' more'n ever I know today,
As I'm going back to fight
For 'ome, an' freedom, an' kids at play,
And things as is true and right.
And whether I live or chance to die,
As the fates of war may bring,
Above us the same old flag shall fly,
And so—God save the King!

An' I've been thinking things out a bit
As to what we are fighting for,
And why the best of our British grit
Must go to this 'Ell of a war.
And talking away to King and Queen
So 'omely, has give me the clue,
An' this seems to be the 'ang o' the thing,
I fancy I've got it true.

All us as is under the Union Jack
We works on a family plan;
We are all expected to do our whack,
But a man may be a man.
'E may earn less than a quid a week,
An' 'is notions may be queer,
But what 'e thinks 'e's allowed to speak,
And the slop won't interfere.

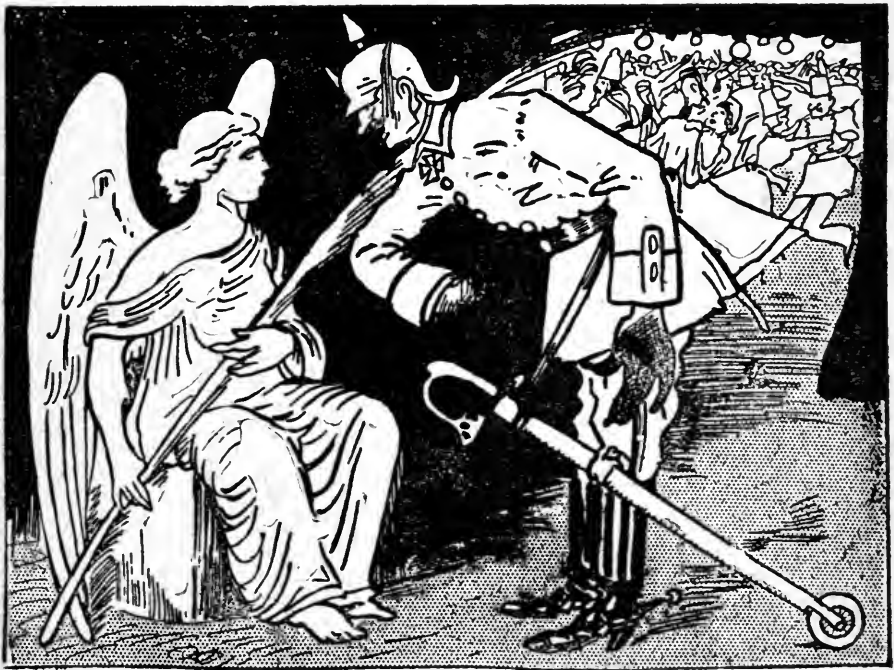
There's something that binds us that isn't
force,
Which means that we're jolly well free;
An' that's the thing that brought, o' course,
Our chaps from beyond the sea.
Now the Kaiser considers like this, perhaps,
"Men! You! D'ye see any green?
We'll do the thinkin', we top-notched chaps,
You are bits of a bloomin' machine."



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Peace Overture



—From the *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

“May I have the pleasure of your company?”
“Thanks! First go and wash your hands.”

[French Cartoon]
Modern War



—Jean Veber in *L'Esprit Satirique en France*.
The Brute Let Loose.



—By Steinlen, French Cartoonist.

[English Cartoon]

A Case of Injustice



—From *The Sketch*, London.

TOMMY: "They takes me from 'ome, an' bungs me into barricks. They takes away my clothes an' puts me inter khaki. They takes away my name an' gives me a number—005. They sends me ter church, an' after a forty-minutes sermon, the Parson says: 'Number 005: "Art thou weary?"' I jumps up an' ses 'Yus!' an' gets fourteen days C. D. for givin' a civil answer! How'd I know he meant the hymn and not me?"

At the Close of the Entente Conference

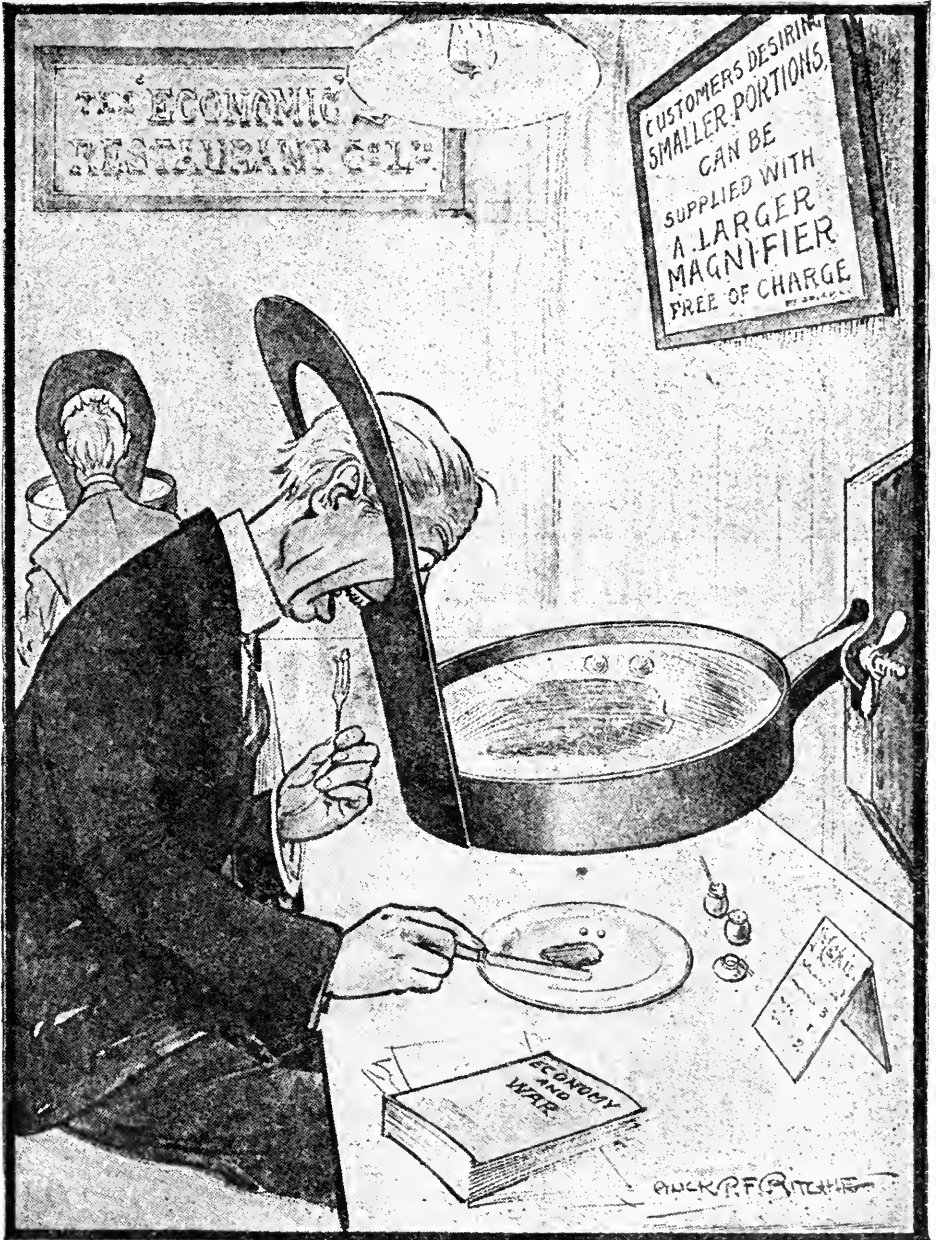


—© Kladderadatch, Berlin.

“And now, gentlemen, in order to get at least one cheerful picture of the conference, please—look pleasant!”

[English Cartoon]

Peas and Plenty

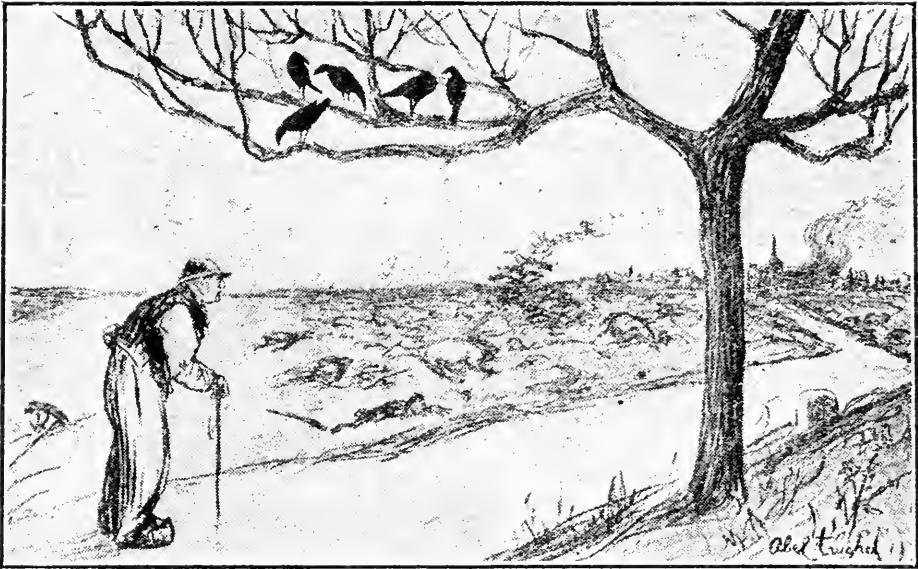


—From *The Bystander*, London.

A magnificent suggestion for the future in all the warring countries.

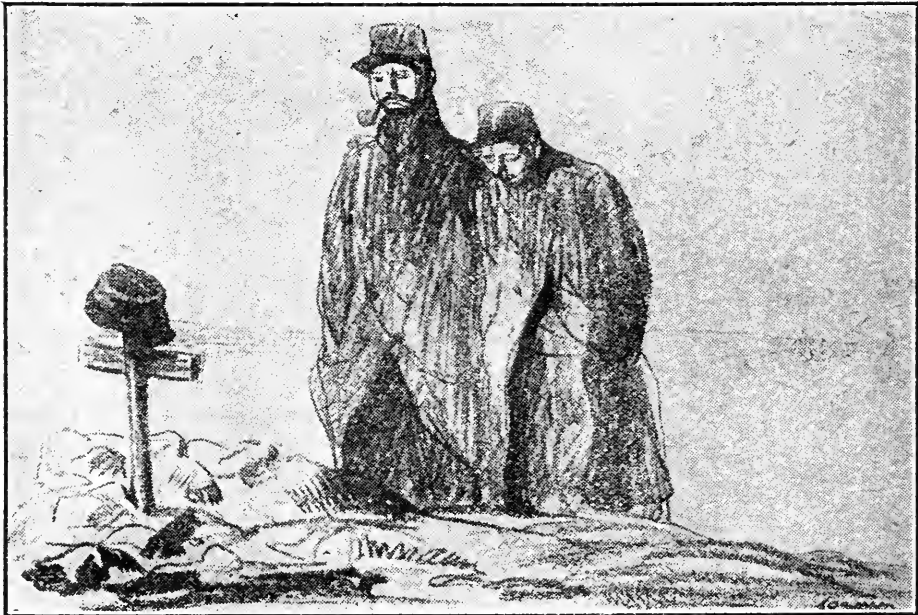
[French Cartoon]

Spring



—By Abel Truchet, French Artist.

“How black the nightingales are, this year!”



—Forain in *L'Opinion*, France.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE FRONT: “What’s the odds? It’s life!”

[American Cartoon]

Kitchener's Grave



—From *The New York Times*.

Disappointment After Disappointment



—From *The Calgary News-Telegram*.

Another Bomb That Failed to Explode.

[German Cartoon]

Military Courtesies



—© *Fliegende Blätter*, Munich.

“Well, General, what is your son doing on the eastern front?”

“The same as yours—taking prisoners.”

The Mystery of the Blockade—



—© Le Rire, Paris.

—Or, The Hand That Grips.

[English Cartoon]

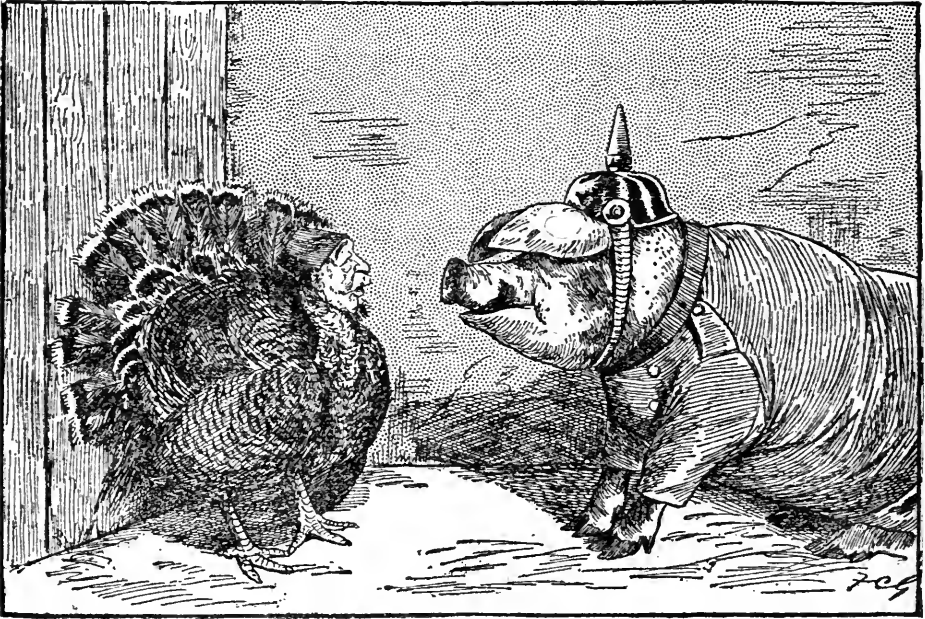
A Fragment From Germany



—From *The Bystander*, London.

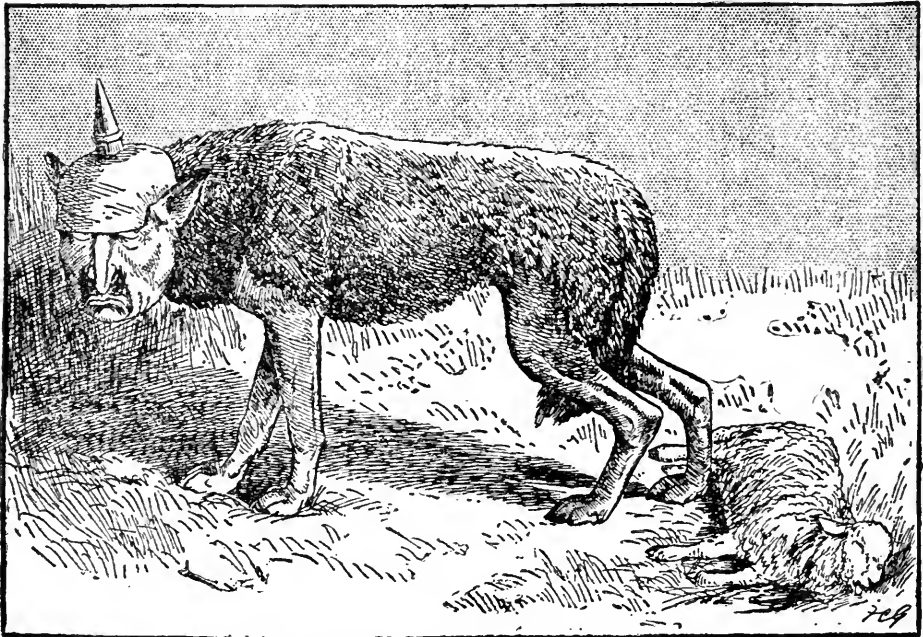
“Look here, Frau H., if you want to stick nails into anything there’s my statue outside.”

The Schwein-Hun and the Moslem



GERMANY TO TURKEY: "You must get over your prejudice against pork—you've just got to love me."

The Wolf's Explanation



"What proof had I that it would not attack me?"

[French Cartoon]

Hands Across the Sea

[in the submarine crisis]



—© *Le Rive, Paris.*

“President Wilson has grasped the hand that Germany extended to him.”—
Frankfort Gazette.

[Italian Cartoon]
An Untimely Plea



—From the Numero, Turin.

DEATH: "I am weary of work—don't send me any more victims."

CROWN PRINCE: "Are you mad? I have just got papa's permission to make 20,000 corpses."

[French Cartoon]
The War in German Style



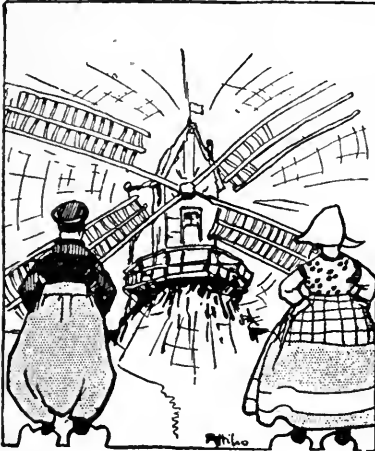
—From the Paris Matin.

MEXICAN INSURGENT: "Down with the United States!"

THE SINN FEINERS: "Long live the Irish Republic!"

BOTH TOGETHER: "Deutschland über alles!"

[Italian Cartoon]
Holland's Precarious Position



—From Fischietto, Turin.

"And the mill begins to turn."

"But who knows for whom it is grinding?"

[French Cartoon]
The Modern Don Quixote

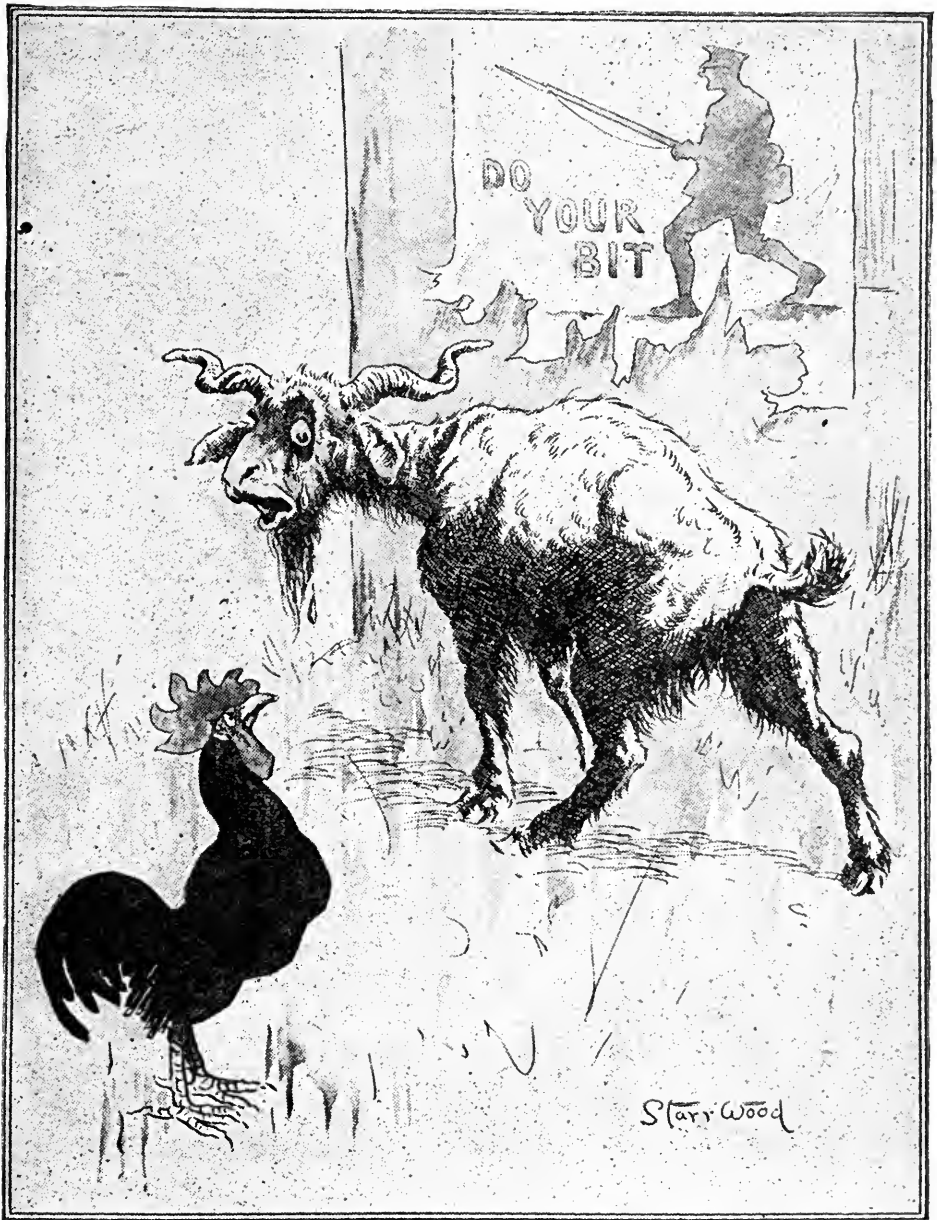


—With Apologies to Gustave Dore.

"We love Don Quixote, and sometimes recognize ourselves in him."—Professor von Wieze.

[English Cartoon]

The Biter Bit



—From *The Sketch*, London.

THE COCK: "Hullo, Billy! What's the matter?"

THE GOAT: "Matter? I've eaten a lot of recruiting posters and a packet of peace pamphlets, and the row going on inside is something awful!"

[French Cartoon]

M. Poilu Visits His Godmother



—© *Le Rive, Paris.*

“Yes, I killed fifty-six; they all had an iron cross.”

“Was it in Artois?”

“No, in my flannels.”

[German Cartoon]

A Guilty Conscience



—© *Jugend, Munich.*

NORTHERN NEUTRAL: "My dear Jorgensen, I feel like a criminal. Yesterday my wife presented me with twins, and England at present allows us only *one*."

[English Cartoon]

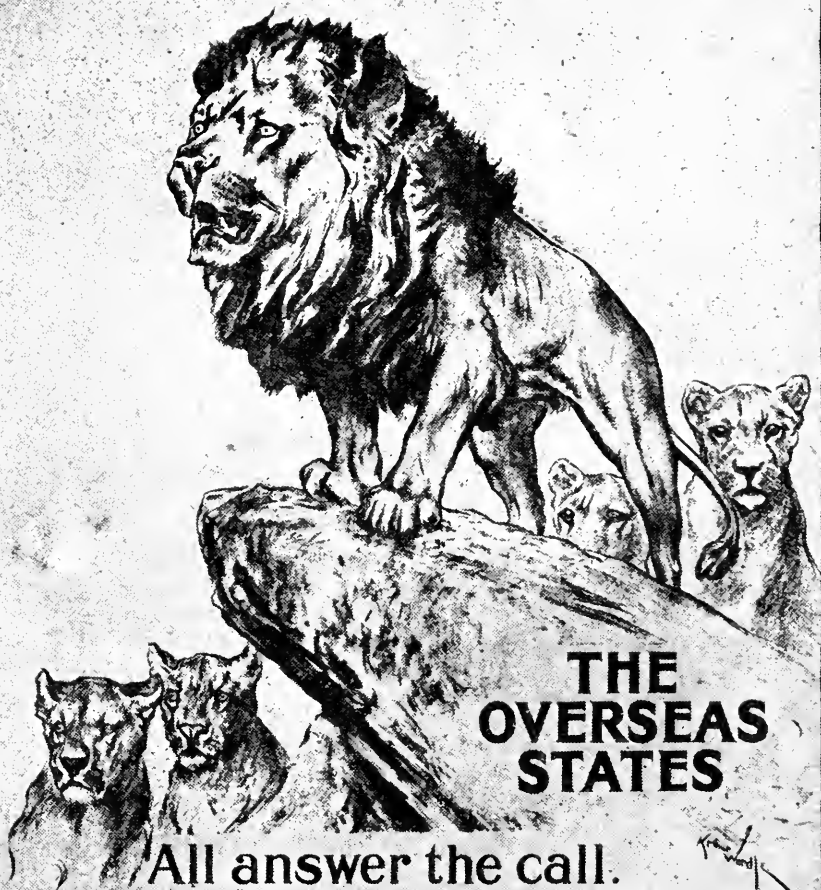
More Than He Bargained For



—From *The Bystander*, London.

ATLAS: "Well, really this is getting a bit too hot for me."

THE EMPIRE NEEDS MEN!



**THE
OVERSEAS
STATES**

All answer the call.

Helped by the **YOUNG LIONS**
The **OLD LION** defies his Foes.
ENLIST NOW.

Another striking call that helped to make a record for voluntary enlistment in England.

TAKE UP THE SWORD OF JUSTICE



One of the historic posters that helped to recruit England's millions now in the trenches.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From May 12 Up to and Including
June 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- May 12—Germans carry 500 yards of British trenches near Hulluch, but lose part of the ground in counterattack.
- May 16—British occupy 250 yards of German trenches on Vimy Ridge.
- May 18—Germans fail in heavy attacks on French positions in Avocourt Woods and on Hill 304.
- May 20—Germans win part of French trenches on northern slope of Dead Man Hill.
- May 22-23—French regain offensive at Verdun and take Fort Douaumont.
- May 24—Germans retake Fort Douaumont and drive French out of Cumières.
- May 25—Germans take trenches west of Douaumont.
- May 27—French force themselves back into Cumières and advance near Dead Man Hill and Douaumont.
- May 29-31—Germans gain ground on the west bank of the Meuse; French capture strong German position southwest of Dead Man Hill.
- June 1-3—Germans penetrate advance trenches between Douaumont and Vaux.
- June 4—Germans bombard Fort Vaux.
- June 6—British first line broken at Hooge, east of Ypres.
- June 7—Vaux garrison surrenders to Germans.
- June 9-11—French repulse attacks at Hill 304; Ypres bombarded.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- May 12—Germans resume offensive in sector north of Selburg station near Jacobstadt.
- May 17—Russians defeat Germans near Lake Sventen and advance in the Olyka region.
- May 24—Germans drive Russians out of trench near Pulkarn.
- June 5—Russians start sudden offensive along the entire line from the Pripet marches to the Rumanian frontier.
- June 6-7—Russian advance continues; over 40,000 Austrians taken prisoner.
- June 8—Russians recapture fortress of Lutsk.
- June 10—Russians advance five miles beyond Lutsk and push on between Buczacz and Potok.
- June 11—Fortress of Dubno captured by Russians; 409 officers and 35,000 men taken prisoner.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- May 12—Intense artillery action along the Trentino, particularly in the Col di Lana zone.
- May 16-17—Austro-Hungarian troops begin successful offensive on entire front, capturing many positions in Southern Tyrol, and reporting 141 officers and 6,200 men taken prisoner.
- May 18—Austrians extend gains on the Doberdo Plateau.
- May 19—Italians evacuate the line between Monte Maggio and the upper Astico Valley, and Zugnatorta in the Lagarina Valley.
- May 20—Italians abandon Col Santo.
- May 21—Italians check offensive in the Lagarina Valley and retake Astico defenses.
- May 22—Austrians carry Armentara Peak and clear Italian forces out of Lavarone Plateau.
- May 23—Austrians gain in the Sugana Valley and take fortification of Monte Veina; Bulgars are aiding Austrians on the Isonzo front.
- May 27—Italians driven from positions west of Bacarola; Austrians occupy peak of Monte Cimone and Batalo in the upper Posina Valley.
- May 31—Austro-Hungarian troops force a passage across the Posina River to the west of Arsiero and take fortified works of Punta Cordin, but are repulsed in the Lagarina Valley.
- June 3—Italians halt Austrian attacks along the entire front in the Trentino and reconquer Belmonte position northeast of Monte Cengio.
- June 4—Austrians checked on the Arsiero front.
- June 5—Italians fall back in the Cengio zone; Austrian attacks on position at Coni Zugna, in the Lagarina Valley, repulsed.
- June 7—Italians make successful counter-attack on Austrians near Campo Mulo.
- June 8—Italians advance in the upper Tellina Valley.
- June 9—Italians give ground in Sette Comuni battle.
- June 11—Italians repulse attacks on Monte Lemerle.
- ### IN ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT
- May 14—Russians repulse Turks in the region of Baiburt.

May 19—Russian cavalry joins British on the Tigris; Turks vacate Bethalessa advanced position; British move north; new advance on Kutel-Amara begun.

May 20—South bank of the Tigris practically clear of Turks as far as the Shatt-el-Hai River.

May 27—Russians defeat Turks and Kurds near Serbrecht.

June 1—Turks check Russian advance in Mesopotamia and retake Mamakhtum.

June 5—Reinforced Turkish army drives Russians back twenty-five miles on the Caucasus front.

June 7—Russians take Turkish positions at Khanikin.

June 12—Turks drive Russians back from Khanikin and reoccupy Kasr-i-Shirin.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

May 13—General Smuts reports defeat of Germans at Irangi in German East Africa.

May 30—British occupy New Langenberg.

June 2—British drive Germans toward Pan-gani on the coast.

AERIAL RECORD

There has been unprecedented aerial activity on the western front. On May 18 sixty air fights had been reported within a few days. Georges Boillot was killed in an encounter with five German aeroplanes. American aviators brought down three German machines near Verdun. On June 1 German aviators bombarded the open town of Bar-le-duc, killing eighteen civilians.

Three German seaplanes raided the east coast of England on May 20, dropping bombs on Kentish towns. No casualties were reported.

The Greek village of Majadagh, near the Serbian frontier, was raided by German aviators. Fourteen civilians were killed.

Allied airmen dropped bombs on El Arisch, on the coast of Syria, and on El Hamma. Austrian aviators raided Bari, on the Italian Adriatic coast, killing eighteen civilians.

NAVAL RECORD

The greatest naval battle in history was fought on May 31 when the German high sea fleet emerged from Kiel into the North Sea and engaged the main part of the British fleet off the coast of Jutland. The British reported the loss of three battle cruisers, Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible; three armored cruisers, Defense, Warrior, and Black Prince, and eight destroyers. The Germans reported the loss of the battle cruiser Lützow, the battleship Pommern, the cruisers Frauenlob, Elbing, and Rostock, and six destroyers. These lists, however, are believed to be incomplete.

In the war zone the activities of German submarines have abated somewhat. Within a month about fifteen neutral, four

Italian, three French, and five British ships have been sunk.

In the Mediterranean ten belligerent vessels were sunk by Teutonic submarines and by mines. One Greek ship was lost.

In the Adriatic Sea the Italian transport Princepe Umberto was torpedoed and sunk and a large number of sailors perished. An Austrian transport was sunk in the Harbor of Trieste.

The British cruiser Hampshire struck a mine off the Orkney Islands on June 5 and Lord Kitchener was lost with his entire staff.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece was invaded by Bulgar forces which pushed on to Demir-Hassar after occupying the forts commanding the Struma Valley. The country's coal supply was cut off by England and Greek ships were held in British ports. King Constantine published a demobilizing decree disbanding the twelve senior classes. The Allies notified the Government that they would take all measures necessary to enforce treaties safeguarding Greek unity and the Greek Constitution.

In Germany the food situation became so serious that on May 13 Clemens Delbrueck, Minister of the Interior, resigned, and Tortlowitz von Batocki was appointed food dictator by the Kaiser. Other important changes in the Cabinet followed.

The British Parliament passed a compulsory military service bill, which was signed by the King on May 25. Ireland was excluded from the provisions of the bill.

James Connolly and John McDermott, the last two signers of the Irish Republic proclamation, were executed in Dublin, and John MacNeill, President of the Sinn Fein volunteers, was found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to life imprisonment. Sir Roger Casement was put on trial for high treason; also Daniel Julian Bailey, an Irishman who was captured with him.

Preliminary hearings have been held. Premier Asquith visited Ireland in a vain attempt to bring about an agreement on the home rule question, and the task of pacifying the island was intrusted to Lloyd George.

Germany has issued a general warning that a neutral vessel may be attacked by a German submarine if, when challenged to halt, it fails to obey.

On May 24 Secretary Lansing sent a vigorous note to France and England protesting against interference with neutral mails, but since that time several vessels have been detained and the mail searched and seized.

The Italian Cabinet resigned, June 11, after the failure of the Chamber of Deputies to pass a vote of confidence, following the presentation of the budget of the Ministry of the Interior.

MEMORIAL TO LORD KITCHENER



Historic Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, June 13, Attended by King George and Queen Mary, and by Representatives of All the Allied Powers

SIR EDWARD GREY, NOW AN EARL



The British Minister of Foreign Affairs Has Been Honored With an Earldom in Recognition of His Wartime Services

(Photo from Medem Service)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

AUGUST, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

ENTERING THE THIRD YEAR OF WAR

THE second year of the European war ends with the date of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, and with peace not yet in sight. Influential German newspapers assume to believe that the Allies' offensive, which began July 1 at the western front in that region of France known as Picardy, has demonstrated the invincibility of the German defense; they declare that the drive has been barren of effective results, but acknowledge that the German line may very probably yet be tested at other points in France and Flanders; they express confidence, however, that their lines cannot be broken. They give full credit to the bravery, dash, and skill of their foes, but insist that such formidable assaults emphasize strongly the unconquerable determination of their own forces, and affirm that this must soon convince the Allies of the futility of their hopes. They assert that within a few weeks an irresistible protest will arise in France and England against the useless sacrifice of human life, and that the Allies will be forced to sue for peace.

On the other hand, the Allies affirm that their offensive in the west is up to their expectations; that the heroic defense of Verdun has demonstrated that the hope of any further advances by the Germans in France is blasted; that the extraordinary victories and advances by the Russians, the favorable turn of affairs at the Italian frontier, and the acknowledged superiority of the Entente forces in the Balkans will bring success at the proper moment; that the disposi-

tion of Rumania to join the Allies, soon to crystallize into action, will cut off an important source of food supply from the Central Powers; that the tightening of the blockade, the closer co-operation and unity of action by the Allies, the growing unrest in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the financial straits of the Teutons, their lack of resources and inability to continue their former quick transfers of fresh troops to critical positions—that all these factors point inevitably to their ultimate collapse, and that complete victory for the Allies is only a question of time.

With this spirit and such widely divergent views in the belligerent camps, there seems little prospect of an early peace. On the contrary, there is every evidence that the soldiers will pass another Winter in the trenches unless unexpectedly there should come a mighty clash of arms with overwhelming defeat for one or the other. Decisive battles, however, are not likely in the present method of warfare; hence the earliest prophecy of the late Lord Kitchener, made at the beginning, that the war would last three years, seems likely to be fulfilled.

* * *

CABINET CHANGES

CABINET changes during the month occurred in Great Britain and Italy. The vacancy in the Secretaryship for War caused by the death of Lord Kitchener was filled by the appointment of David Lloyd George, and the latter was succeeded as Minister of Munitions by Edwin Samuel Montagu, former Fi-

nancial Secretary to the Treasury. McKinnon Wood returned to his former post as Financial Secretary.

In Italy the Salandra Cabinet fell early in June, owing to the failure of the Government to take into its confidence the Parliamentary leaders—part of a general policy of secretiveness and reticence. A new Cabinet was formed by Signor Bosselli as Prime Minister; it consists of eighteen members, five more than the outgoing Cabinet, and is a coalition body containing five Liberal Conservatives, one Catholic, four Liberal Democrats, two Radicals, two Reformist Socialists, and one Republican. Baron Sonnino retains the post of Foreign Secretary. The new Premier has completed his seventy-eighth year; he has been in Parliament since 1870; his Ministerial career began under Crispi, when he held the portfolio of Public Instruction from 1888 to 1891. In his opening address he favored prosecution of the war with extreme vigor, and a firm adhesion to a closer alliance with the Entente. On July 15 Italy denounced the commercial treaty with Germany, for the reason, as announced, that Germany had failed to live up to its terms in the payment of pensions and the recognition of other civil rights to Italians residing in Germany. It is believed this will soon be followed by a declaration of war by Italy against Germany. The German courts have recently held that Italy and Germany are in a state of war.

* * *

SUBMARINES IN TWO ROLES

RUDYARD KIPLING of the British Immortals and Captain Paul Koenig of the German Merchant Marine contribute two interesting chapters on the submarine in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, but from widely differing angles. Kipling sings of the submarine as a weapon of war, while Koenig chants of the submersible craft as an instrument in peaceful commerce. This war has produced many marvelous changes in our methods of applying mechanical, chemical, and physical laws, but in no direction has the revolution been so far-reaching and the horizon of possibilities so widely broadened as in the use of the

submarine. As an instrument of warfare it became the most hideous terror of all the new implements of horror which the struggle developed. Though it did more than any other one cause to alienate American sympathy from the Teutons, yet for a while it jeopardized British marine mastery, threatened the United Kingdom with the possibility of starvation, and produced a thrill of fear among all who would venture on the seas. As a vehicle of commerce, the dramatic crossing of the Atlantic by the merchant submarine Deutschland, which safely made the voyage from Bremen to Baltimore in sixteen days with a million-dollar cargo of precious dyestuffs, is one of the memorable episodes of the war, adding fresh laurels to the daring, originality, and productive skill of German mariners. Just what permanent results will flow from this successful feat cannot now be foretold, but it will undoubtedly reopen, if only to a limited extent, commercial and mail intercourse between Germany and the United States in defiance of the most rigid blockade, and may cause a complete revision of all international maritime law.

* * *

WOMEN DOING MEN'S WORK

THE extent to which women are pursuing men's vocations from which they were formerly excluded is visualized in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY on two rotogravure pages. These illustrations relate to British conditions; the same situation prevails in Germany, France, and Austria-Hungary. The Secretary of the Munitions Department of the United Kingdom stated to Parliament early in July that, while in 1914 184,000 women were engaged in war industries, on July 1, 1916, the number was 666,000, out of a total of 3,500,000 so employed.

The employment of women in war industries, however, represents only one branch of their activities. They have invaded all fields, as the illustrations show; they are street sweepers, stokers, chimney sweeps, millers, conductors, policemen, bricklayers, machinists, carpenters, brewers—in fact, there is no occupation now closed against them. It is estimated that in Great Britain alone

3,500,000 women are now engaged in occupations where men were formerly exclusively employed.

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN'S BLACKLIST

THE British Government announced July 18 that it had blacklisted eighty business firms and individuals domiciled in the United States with whom British subjects are forbidden to trade. The list was made public and includes several banking firms, chemical houses, oil, smelting, and general exporting concerns, chiefly corporations that are American branches of German institutions. It is assumed that the blacklisting of the firms by Great Britain will seriously hamper, if not destroy, the entire export trade of the designated institutions, as neutrals would fear incurring the ban also if they traded with them. Our Government, it is believed, will make a vigorous protest, and the controversy over this interference with American traders may have far-reaching consequences.

* * *

REVOLUTION IN ARABIA

IN the beginning of the war it was expected that the Moslem world would rise in India, Egypt, and the Caucasus, helping the cause of Turkey and her allies. The opposite has now come to pass: A revolution has broken out in Arabia. Its leader is the Grand Sherif of Mecca, and its aim is the independence of Arabia from Turkey. The revolution, primarily, is a religious affair. The Arabs have long desired to free the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from Turkish rule. Mecca is now in the hands of the rebels, Medina is besieged, the city of Taif and the important ports of Jeddah and Kunfuda have also been captured by the Arabs. The roadbed of the Hijah railway has been destroyed for a distance of 100 miles and the telegraph lines have been cut, so that communication between Turkey and Arabia has been rendered very difficult. The rebels are well supplied with ammunition, and the possession of the chief seaport assures to them the support of Great Britain.

The interest that Moslem India is taking in the revolution is worthy of

notice. The Indians, thousands of whom annually visit Mecca and Medina, have long harbored hostile feelings toward the Turks, who exploit the pilgrims to the utmost. In this respect the Moslem population of Russia, which is very large, feels much the same as the Moslem populations under British rule.

* * *

GERMANS IN IRELAND

IT is rather a strange parallel of curious history that Germany should have been involved in the recent rebellion in Ireland, for the only other hostile landing by way of Ireland known to modern history was made by Germans in 1487, when Lambert Simnel landed there with a force of 2,000 Germans. The Earl of Kildare crowned him King at Dublin that year, and at the head of his German troops he crossed over to England, but met defeat at Stoke.

A subsequent uprising in Ireland by Perkin Warbeck was also supported by the Earl of Kildare, but the Government of that day believed in conciliation and forgiveness to the point of stupidity. The historian Froude says, in recounting the story:

The Irish rebels with their ever-ready wit and fluent words, their show of bluntness and pretense of simplicity, disarmed anger and dispersed calumny, and they returned on all such occasions more trusted than ever, to laugh at the folly which they had duped.

"All Ireland cannot govern this Earl," said a member of the King's Council.

"Then let this Earl govern all Ireland," replied the King.

He was sent over, a convicted traitor—he returned a Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy, and the representative of the Crown. Rebellion was a successful policy, and a lesson which corresponded so closely to the Irish temper was not forgotten.

"What, thou fool," said Sir Gerald Shanesson to a younger son of this nobleman thirty years later when he found him slow to join the rebellion against Henry VIII. "What, thou fool, thou shalt be the more esteemed for it. For what hadst thou if thy father had not done so? What was he until he crowned a King here, took Garth, the King's captain, prisoner, hanged his son, resisted Poynings and all Deputies; killed them of Dublin upon Oxmantown Green; would suffer no man to rule here for the King but himself! Then the King regarded him, and made him Deputy, and married thy mother to him, or else thou shouldst never have had

a foot of land, where now thou mayest dispend four hundred marks by the year."

The London Post, in censuring the present Government for its blindness, says that when the rebels were caught in a traitorous correspondence with Charles V., the Emperor of Germany, they were pardoned. Not until the great rebellion of 1532-34 had reduced Ireland to ruin did Henry awake to the necessity of strength, and by striking terror into the hearts of evildoers bring the rebellion to a close. It cites this historic episode to support the contention that the present troubles in Ireland are due to a complacent and short-visioned Government which permitted matters to drift without any show of authority. The Post concludes that the only way there can be a settlement of the Irish question is by a strong administration with no short cuts or compromises.

A definite settlement has now been reached, as is noted elsewhere in these pages, and the Irish question will remain quiescent at least until one year after the war.

* * *

TO PROMOTE THE BIRTH RATE

THE French Chambers have before them a bill to establish after Jan. 1, 1917, a system of birth bounties. It proposes that the State shall give to every mother \$100 for each of her first two living children, \$200 for the third baby, \$400 for the fourth, and \$200 for each baby thereafter, the bounty to be the exclusive property of the mother, regardless of whether or not the children are born in wedlock. The law also provides that \$400 be given to the father if he presents at the Mayor's office "at least four of his living children whom he has supported continuously since their birth." It is proposed that the funds to pay these bounties shall be derived from a supertax assessed against every person of either sex who had for any reason remained childless or had raised only one child.

* * *

THE passing of the Mexican crisis is fully covered elsewhere in this issue. It is now reported that our Government will not only agree to a joint patrol of

the border on conditions to be arranged by a joint commission of Mexicans and Americans, but will also, while not formally indorsing, at least "benevolently approve," a loan of \$100,000,000, or even double that sum, to enable the Carranza Government to establish itself and promote stable industrial recovery in that sorely stricken land.

* * *

WHILE our State Department has been considering financial aid to Mexico preliminary measures have been taken for American participation in a large loan to China. It will be remembered that American bankers withdrew in 1913 from the so-called five-power loan to China in deference to the wishes of President Wilson, but it is understood the Administration is in favor of our participation in the proposed new loan. It is not understood that the loan will involve our Government in partnership in any concession or form of collateral; it will be entirely an unofficial "straight loan." The introduction of a large block of American capital in China would have an important bearing on our commercial relations and might prove an effective counterstroke to the new Russo-Japanese treaty.

* * *

IN addition to the Mexican and Chinese loans, a new loan to France of \$100,000,000 will at once be floated by a private American syndicate to be known as the American Foreign Securities Company, embracing all leading New York financial institutions with a few exceptions. The French Government will maintain a collateral deposit to secure the loan at a market value of \$120,000,000. With the exception of the Anglo-French loan in 1915, this is the largest private loan to a foreign Government ever made in the United States.

* * *

THE Board of Trade Labour Gazette for June, a British publication, fixes the total increase in retail food prices in the United Kingdom since the beginning of the war at 59 per cent. Comparisons of meat prices between June, 1916, and July, 1914, show that the better

cuts are 50 to 60 per cent. dearer, the cheaper cuts 100 per cent.; bacon, 40 per cent., and fish, 86 per cent.; potatoes, flour, bread, cheese, and tea increased from 50 to 60 per cent. The average increase in cost of living in the two years, taking food, rent, fuel, clothing, light, &c., but disregarding increased taxation, is 40 per cent. The total rise in food prices at Berlin in the two years is put by British authorities at 119.8 per cent., and in Vienna at 121.5 per cent.

* * *

REMOTE British colonies and protectorates have made the following direct contributions in money toward the cost of the war: Ceylon, \$5,000,000 in ten yearly installments; Mauritius, two contributions of \$50,000 each; Bermuda, \$18,000 annually for fifteen years; Jamaica, \$300,000 a year for forty years—to begin at the end of the war; Bahamas, \$50,000; Dominica, \$50,000; Turks and Caicos Islands, \$5,000; Cayman Islands, \$525; Nigeria, the charges for interest and a sinking fund of 1 per cent. on a share of the imperial war debt amounting to \$30,000,000; Gold Coast, \$400,000 in eight annual installments; Zanzibar, \$50,000.

* * *

PORTSMOUTH, a city of less than 200,000 inhabitants, lost 4,000 men in the Jutland naval battle; 1,500 homes are left fatherless. According to American averages there were 40,000 men over twenty-one years of age in Portsmouth, so that one-tenth of the male adult population of that one town perished in the single naval battle.

* * *

NOTE.—CURRENT HISTORY is in receipt of a letter from Arthur L. Bouvier of New Bedford, Mass., disclaiming the credit of having collaborated with Roméo Houle in preparing the remarkable story in English of Mr. Houle's experiences in the trenches in France with a Canadian regiment, printed in our July issue. He writes that the English version of Mr. Houle's narrative was written entirely by David MacGregor Cheney of The New Bedford Standard. A French version was written by Mr. Bouvier in collaboration with Mr. Cheney, whence the confusion arose in the mind of the representative of CURRENT HISTORY at New Bedford, who, instructed originally to investigate the narrative of Mr. Houle, fully authenticated it.

PREMIER ASQUITH announced to the Commons on July 19 that a new vote of credit of \$1,500,000,000 would be asked for before the end of the month. It is the eleventh since the outbreak of the war, and brings up the total to \$13,410,000,000.

* * *

THE question is frequently asked why the Germans are slaughtering hundreds of thousands of the flower of their army at Verdun to capture a fortress which already has been practically destroyed and will prove of no strategic value if occupied. This inquiry is answered in many ways, but the following explanation by a war correspondent of The London Morning Post seems the most plausible:

Some say it would mean nothing but a ruined town, of no more significance than any other locality on the 400 miles of front; but they have not attempted to explain why, on that hypothesis, the French should fight so stubbornly to preserve, and the Germans to possess, what is of no value. The fact that it cost so many thousand lives would of itself give it a certain value from the point of view of morale, if for no other reason. Among the people of Germany, and, no doubt, among neutrals, its capture would probably create a deep impression. To the Germans it would mean success, purchased at a price best known to themselves. Such abstractions mean something in war, in which Napoleon is said to have observed "Le moral est pour les trois quarts." As for more material military results the Germans may think that the capture of Verdun would be a stepping-stone to further successes. They may think that it would lead—as has been suggested in the German press—to the acquisition of the whole range of fortified heights between Verdun and Toul. That seems to be the extreme view of the German optimists; and it is too extravagant to need consideration. The maximum effect would probably be the withdrawal of our allies from the eastern heights of the Meuse as far south as St. Mihiel, where the German position already abuts on the river, and the straightening of their front along a line to some suitable point in the Argonne. But this would involve more fighting and greater sacrifices than even Verdun has seen as yet, and, at the current rate of progress, would be the work of many months, during which it is not to be supposed that events will stand still in other quarters. What is, perhaps, most credible is that the Germans hope to crush the spirit of the French Nation, and to make the Allies recognize that the Germans are really victorious, and that it would be futile to prolong the struggle.

Interpretations of World Events

Tactics of the British Drive

A FRENCH officer thus explains the tactics of the big drive on the Somme: The tactical method of the Franco-British offensive, he says, consists of three echelons, or steps. The first, to the north, is held by the English from the Ancre to La Boisselle. The centre one, in front of the northern echelon, runs from the wood of Trones, near Longueval, through Hardecourt to the Somme River. The third, or right echelon, occupies the territory to the south of the Somme, passing through Biaches and Barleux. These echelons all face east. The lines between the echelons face north, thus giving the battle front the formation of a series of angles. This position of the Allies in a sharp salient is of the utmost value for an offensive, because the artillery of each advanced echelon enfilades the flank of the enemy's line, which faces the next echelon to the rear. Thus the Germans are controlled in a series of right angles wherein they receive the fire of the Allies from two sides. The method of advance by echelon has been remarkable. On the nights of July 4 and 5 the echelon on the right, south of the Somme, reached a point northwest of Barleux, where it spent four days fortifying itself. Meanwhile the other echelon on the left advanced. On July 7 the British echelon on the north attacked the front at Thiepval and La Boisselle. On July 8 the centre echelon advanced, reaching the lines of the Trones Wood and Hardecourt. On July 9 the echelon to the south started an action, attacking on a three-mile front, penetrating the front for one kilometer, and reached Biaches, and on July 10 to 47-Meter Hill, overlooking Peronne.

Echelon means the rung of a ladder or the step of a stair, and a staircase looked at edgewise, with first the lowest step, then the second, then the third pushed forward, gives a picture of the tactics. The enemy contained in each angle can be shot from two directions, from the rise and from the tread of each step. But there is another sense in which the "big push" is a step-by-

step arrangement. To smash up the modern reinforced concrete trench and its barbed wire margin requires four or five days' pounding with the heaviest guns. When the pounding is done the infantry rushes forward and seizes the trench, or perhaps a series of two or three trenches. Behind lie further trenches, still to be smashed. To bring forward the heavy guns required for this sort of work, and which are mounted in weighty carriages run on rails, requires, first, the building of the rails on ground recently dislocated by artificial volcanic eruptions. This takes time. Then comes a fresh pounding of several days, followed by a fresh infantry rush, and so on, a step at a time.

The question now arises: Can the Allies step forward faster than their enemies can build new trenches behind the old ones? If so, they will presently break out into comparatively open country. If not, the step-by-step process will of necessity go on at the same rate, right across occupied France and Belgium; perhaps further. Apparently the Allies believe they can go faster, and expect shortly to find open water—or open land—before them, with only hastily extemporized earthworks which the new howitzers should be able to eat up rapidly.

With General Brusiloff's Forces

GENERAL BRUSILOFF'S cyclonic advance is made even more noteworthy as a military achievement by the detailed reports which the mails are now bringing to supplement the meagre cables from the Russian front. Stanley Washburn, correspondent for The London Times, declares that at many points the Russians have been fighting against numerical odds, sometimes of three to one, and that they have been exceedingly sparing of ammunition, very rarely indulging in hurricane fire, but carrying positions by cold steel, with the long 30-inch bayonet, which is always fixed and never taken off the rifle's muzzle. Mr. Washburn describes an advanced position on the Styr, near Kovel, where the Russian troops had earlier

forced a crossing of the river, facing a terrific fire and turning the enemy out of his positions at the point of the bayonet. In hurriedly dug positions offering the most meagre kind of shelter the Russians drove back four consecutive Austrian counterattacks. Each left the field thickly strewn with Austrian dead, besides hundreds of their wounded, who had been left where they fell. Though familiar with Russian courage and tenacity, he says he found it difficult to realize that human beings had been able to carry the positions which the Russians had carried; the Austrian first line representing the very latest practice in field works, and often comparing favorably with the German lines in France, is protected by half a dozen barriers of barbed wire, with strong redoubts and machine gun positions, and with underground shelters often twenty feet deep, while the reserve positions extend in many places from half a mile to a mile in series after series behind the first line, with elaborate communication trenches, shelters, and bomb-proofs. Mr. Washburn also combats the idea that the Austrian defense was weak. At one point he was shown a short sector where no less than 4,000 Austrian dead had been buried, proving a stubborn and courageous resistance. He found very few Slavs, such as Czechs, Poles, or Slovaks, among the Austrian prisoners. These, because of their sympathy for their brother Slavs, the Russians, a sympathy in past expressed by wholesale surrenders, are sent preferably to the Italian front, for there is no love lost between the Slavs and the Italians, both of whom claim and covet the east shore of the Adriatic and the Isonzo Valley.

President Poincaré and the Terms of France

SPEAKING on the French National Festival, July 14, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille in 1789, Raymond Poincaré restated the terms which France demands as the consummation of the war: "We are fighting," he said, "not for honor alone, but for honor and life. We are seeking entire restitution

of our invaded provinces and of those—Alsace and Lorraine—seized forty-six years ago; for reparation for the violation of rights at the expense of France or of her allies, and for the guarantees necessary for a definitive safeguard of our national independence." Assuming that France and her allies gain a victory as sweeping as the President of the French Republic desires, and as England and Russia, Belgium and Serbia, desire, it is evident that of these requirements some will be very much easier to secure than others. To begin with, the evacuation of the occupied part of Northern France and Belgium; even Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg seems to concede that, though there is danger that his spirit of conciliation may bring his downfall. Next, Alsace and Lorraine could be definitely handed over to France by a stroke of the pen, as they were taken from her by a stroke of the pen, though Germany would doubtless make "mental reservations" as to taking them back again. Even the immense indemnity which, on the principle of damages in a civil suit, the Allies might justly claim from a conquered Germany, could in time be collected, as the indemnity from the Chinese Empire was collected, by taking possession of all the custom houses of the Central Empires and collecting the import and export duties for the Allies' account. But the defense for the future is more difficult, even by a broad system of limitation of armaments. Napoleon attempted exactly that with Prussia, limiting her to an army of so many thousands; but Stein circumvented him by renewing these thousands every few months and thus training an immense army. And the same thing could be done again in half a dozen different ways.

A Separate Peace for Austria

THERE are persistent rumors that Austria is suing for a separate peace; even that a council of Russian Ministers is already considering the terms. What could Austria gain by a separate peace at this stage of the war? Gain is, perhaps, not quite the word; but Austria might hope to save

much, which may otherwise go by the board. It is true that her armies are smashed, that she has no effective reserves, that her Generals are discredited and superseded in their own commands by Germans—a very galling punishment to men as proud as the aristocracy of the Dual Monarchy—and that she is hopelessly bankrupt.

But there are many things which she still possesses, and dreads to lose. No doubt Russia, if conceding a separate peace now, would stipulate for the complete rehabilitation of Montenegro and Serbia, and, very likely, for the compensation of Serbia by the cession to her of Bosnia-Herzegovina; no doubt she would ask for Bukowina and Galicia, both largely Slavonic in blood, though Bukovina is claimed by Rumania, and might have gone to her, had she joined the Entente Powers. But Austria dreads to lose much more, if the war is pushed to the bitter end. To say nothing of Italia Irredenta, which King Victor Emmanuel will look after, it is well known that Russia is in favor of autonomy for the Austrian Poles of Northern Galicia; for autonomy, probably independence, for the Slavs of Bohemia and Moravia; and also for the Slavs of Hungary, the oppression of whom is a blot on the Magyar scutcheon; with autonomy, or perhaps even union with their Serbian kin, for the Southern Slavs of Croatia, Carinthia, and Carniola. But this would mean the complete dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, and probably the independence of Hungary. To these final and ruinous losses, Franz Josef may well prefer the animosity of Germany, should he desert her; for, deprived of Austrian support, and hemmed in by the Entente Powers, Germany would be in no position to inflict condign punishment on her former ally, who would, on our supposition, have the support of the Entente Powers.

Dangerous as the defection of Austria would be to Germany, to Bulgaria it would be fatal, and, in all probability, to Turkey also, who might in turn sue for peace. But, after all, it is not at all certain that Russia would treat with Austria on any terms. M. Sazonoff tells us

she has repeatedly refused a separate peace to Turkey, and the principle is the same. It may well be that, in the opinion of the Entente leaders, Austria will be more dangerous to Germany and more costly, if she remains in the fray, because this will stretch the German armies out in a longer, thinner line; and we may take it as axiomatic that Russia will do nothing, in this direction or any other, that does not meet with the full approval of her western allies.

In Hungary also there is a strong movement for peace, under the leadership of Count Karolyi, a proof of the further disintegration of the Dual Monarchy.

The New Viceroy of Canada

THE Duke of Devonshire, who succeeds his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada, is the nephew of the Duke of Devonshire who, as Marquis of Hartington, was one of the pillars of Gladstonian Cabinets until the Home Rule bill of 1886 made a schism between the erstwhile friends and drove the Marquis, with Joseph Chamberlain, to form the strong minority party of Liberal Unionists. The new Viceroy of Canada is likewise a nephew of the Lord Frederick Cavendish who was assassinated in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, on May 6, 1882, the day on which was born the present Crown Prince of Germany and Prussia. The new Viceroy was born forty-eight years ago, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and saw something of English Parliamentary life as Member for West Derbyshire, in which lie the great estates of Chatsworth, one of the largest possessions of the Devonshire family, being elected as a Liberal Unionist when he was 23. A year later he married Lady Evelyn Fitzmaurice, a daughter of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who, in the fullness of time, presented him with two sons and five daughters.

The Duke of Devonshire comes to Canada at an interesting time when the great war and the magnificent part played in it by the great volunteer army of Canada have drawn still closer the bonds uniting the Dominion to the heart

of the Empire, and without doubt his social standing and political experience will excellently fit him to head the semi-royal Court at Ottawa, which, through moral and social forces, so strongly influences the life of the great self-governing country, which the Dominion of Canada in reality is. It is almost impossible to overrate the part played by the Viceroy of the "dominions beyond the sea" in binding together the widely separated parts of the British Empire, in unifying the feeling and thought which make for imperial unity, and therefore for potent influence in the councils of the world.

The Ulster Settlement

IN Ireland, more than in other lands, the sources of present discontents have their roots far back in the past. Thus the plea for the exclusion of six counties of Ulster from the Asquith-Lloyd George Home Rule plan rests on events dating back to "the Flight of the Earls" in 1608. Plantations of the south and west of Ireland had been tried, rather disastrously, under Edward VI. and Queen Mary. Where they failed the Stuart Kings succeeded. In 1608 O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, fearing an attack by James I., fled from Ireland to the Continent. James seized their lands, the greater part of six Ulster counties, and established on them three classes of colonists from Britain: First, "undertakers," who were either English or Scotch, received holdings of 2,000 acres each, on which they were to establish English or Scotch tenants; second, "servitors," who were Protestant Irish, received 1,500 acres each, and might take Scotch, English, or Irish Protestant tenants; third, "old natives," received 1,000 acres each, and subdivided the land among Catholic tenants, who were permitted to evade the Act of Supremacy, which recognized the King, in place of the Pope, as head of the Church. Further, thousands of acres of the confiscated estates of the O'Neills and O'Donnells were granted to Protestant churches and educational institutions, Trinity College, Dublin, receiving some 10,000 acres. Companies of London mer-

chants also received large grants and changed the name of Derry, "the place of oaks," to Londonderry. This system produced a piebald northern province, the Scotch and English tenants, who were scattered among Irish neighbors, holding their land on the understanding that they should receive direct support from their British kin and the British Crown.

This is the understanding which they now plead, in asking to be excluded from Home Rule, and Lloyd George has recognized the validity of their plea, in excluding Antrim, Down, Armagh, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, the six "planted" counties, from the jurisdiction of the new Dublin Parliament. These counties, and the Boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, will continue to send members of Parliament to Westminster, as they have done since Jan. 1, 1801, when the Act of Legislative Union formed "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

A real difficulty in the present settlement is the "right of the minority" of Protestant and Unionist Irishmen in the south and west of Ireland, who are equally unwilling to come under the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament, which they fear will be controlled by Ultramontane influences—a new kind of foreign rule. But there is another minority problem; that of the Nationalists in the six excluded counties of Ulster. Meeting recently at Belfast, and under considerable pressure from Redmond and Devlin, their representatives have, by a large majority, acquiesced in the exclusion of the six Ulster counties, and therefore of the Nationalists in them, from Home Rule. It is notable that the Roman Catholic priests were the strongest element against this acquiescence. The settlement, as proposed by Lloyd George, will probably be officially sanctioned within the coming month, and will remain in force at least until one year after the war.

Russo-Japanese Alliance

THE Russian and Japanese Foreign Offices on July 7 simultaneously announced that a new Russo-Japanese convention had been signed at Petrograd

July 3, 1916, with the following provisions:

First—Japan will not participate in any political arrangement or combination against Russia which assumes the same obligations.

Second—In case one country's Far Eastern territorial rights and special interests recognized by the other are menaced, both Japan and Russia will confer on methods to be taken with a view to mutual support and cooperation in order to protect and defend these rights and interests.

The text of the convention is not yet published on account of the delay of Petrograd's answer to Japan's question whether Russia was willing to make the entire convention public. Premier Okuma elaborated the subject in the following words to a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The purposes of the Russo-Japanese convention are an extension of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It aims to preserve Far Eastern peace. Japan cannot bear China's long political disturbances, upsetting Japanese commercial interests in China, whose commercial development brings the most benefit to Japan on account of geographical contiguity.

Japan welcomes American money and investments and will steadfastly maintain the open-door policy in China. There is a full understanding with Great Britain, who welcomes the new convention indorsing the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The reason Japan does not want to take the full burden of Far Eastern peace alone is that Japan is afraid of being misunderstood by other powers, especially China. Japan welcomes any power's activity to maintain Far Eastern peace and commercial development.

When the Allies advised Yuan to postpone the monarchy Japan twice invited American participation. President Wilson indorsed the Allies' advice in principle, but refused participation, saying America did not want to interfere in Chinese internal affairs.

Japan has no ambition for Chinese territory. The territorial ambition of the old-timers is a dream. Japan annexed Korea and leased the Manchurian Railway zones, as Japan's existence was menaced.

The world does not think President Wilson's Mexican policy is an indication of territorial ambition, notwithstanding that America took Mexican territory years ago. I am sure the powers understand Japan's attitude toward China, seeing that Japan welcomes any power's activity for Chinese peace. Japan is unable to steal China's territory when the former is openly cooperating with other powers.

Tell Americans we heartily welcome their commercial and industrial activity in China. America has enormous capital, which if com-

mercially and industrially invested in China will further Japan's trade with China.

The Japanese Foreign Office categorically denied the rumor that there are any secret clauses in the treaty. It is regarded as a result of the war and was due to the invaluable aid rendered Russia by Japan in procuring arms and munitions for the last offensive.

The United States Government has made no official declaration respecting the treaty, but is keeping as fully informed as possible. The general feeling in the United States, as expressed by leading newspapers, while not at all hostile to the treaty, is one of alertness and keen interest, with a firmer resolution that this country should be prepared on land and sea to meet any reasonable emergency.

Declaration of London Abandoned

THE British and French Governments on July 8 announced their withdrawal of the Declaration of London. The new order declares it to be the intention of Great Britain and her allies to exercise their belligerent rights at sea in strict accordance with the law of nations. On account of the changed conditions of commerce and the diversity of practice, doubts might arise in certain matters as to the rules which the Allies might regard as in conformity with the law of nations, and it is ordered that the following provisions be observed:

First—The hostile destination required for the condemnation of contraband articles shall be presumed to exist until the contrary is shown if the goods are consigned to or for an enemy authority or agent of an enemy State, or to or for a person in the territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to or for a person who during the present hostilities has forwarded contraband goods to an enemy authority or agent of an enemy State, or to or for a person in territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or if the goods are consigned "to order," or if the ship's papers do not show who is the real consignee of the goods.

Second—The principle of continuous voyage or ultimate destination shall be applicable both in cases of contraband and blockade.

Third—A neutral vessel carrying contraband with papers indicating a neutral destination which, notwithstanding the destination shown on the papers, proceeds to an enemy port, shall be liable to capture and condemnation

if she is encountered before the end of her next voyage.

Fourth—A vessel carrying contraband shall be liable to capture and condemnation if the contraband, reckoned either by value, weight, volume or freight, forms more than half the cargo.

It is further ordered that nothing in the new regulations shall be deemed to affect the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, for further restricting the commerce of the enemy, or any proclamations declaring articles to be contraband of war during the present hostilities; nor shall the new regulations affect the validity of anything done under the Orders in Council now withdrawn. Any cause or proceeding commenced in prize court before the making of the new order may, if the court thinks it just, be heard and decided under the orders withdrawn, so far as they were in force when such cause or proceeding was begun or would have been applicable in such cause or proceeding if the new order had not been made.

The new order is cited as "Maritime Rights Order in Council, 1916."

The Declaration of London was the name given to a code drawn up in 1909 by the powers for the use of an International Prize Court at The Hague. The Hague Conference of 1907 had determined on an international prize court, but did not settle the code of maritime law to be administered in it. Great Britain subsequently invited the powers to a conference to settle the law to be administered and a code was drawn up.

In England great objections were taken to the declaration as tending to destroy the maritime power of Great Britain, with the result that the Naval Prize bill, which authorized the declaration and the establishment of an international court, so far as Great Britain was concerned, and had been passed by the House of Commons, was thrown out by the House of Lords.

At the opening of the war the Government adopted the rules of the declaration, subject to certain conditions and modifications and additions, as a working code of prize law. The declaration

was never ratified by the United States. The effect of the change in British policy will be to revive the general application of international law as interpreted prior to 1909.

Attacks on the German Chancellor
DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG, Imperial Chancellor of Germany, finds himself in a position of great and daily increasing difficulty. The other day he was compelled to answer in the Reichstag the virulent anonymous attack of a pamphleteer who pays England the compliment of signing himself "A Second Junius." One passage of this pamphlet, which represents the view of the Conservative Juncker party, and a part of the element of big business, is especially interesting to ourselves. Speaking of the suppression of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, the German Junius says:

The results which were bound to be brought about by the American policy of Bethmann Hollweg have not failed to make their appearance. President Wilson, far from being deterred by the weak policy of Germany in pursuing his antagonistic course, was encouraged to push his triumphs even further at the expense of an easily cowed nation. He proved the fallacy of Helfferich's assumptions, and, not content with that, insisted upon the recall of the German Military and Naval Attachés, who had incurred his disfavor. Never before the time of the Chancellorship of Bethmann Hollweg has the honor of the empire been so shamefully ignored as in these various negotiations with America, in which the Chancellor surrendered the oath of service of German officers with the same lightness with which he surrendered the honor of the empire. These feelings are intensified when one remembers that the Austrian Empire, which also yielded to the wishes of America and recalled the Austrian Ambassador, did so in such a way, as later in the case of the Ancona, that the dignity and honor of the monarchy did not suffer. Whoever understands how to read the notes will hardly doubt that the reply of Burian to America was a slap in the face, and not alone to the statesmen in Washington.

The German peace discussion presupposes that it will rest with Germany to dictate terms, while the Allies, on the other hand, now discourage all peace talk and give the impression that they will state their terms when Germany admits she is vanquished.

THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

By Philip Gibbs

British War Correspondent

[See Map of Battle Front on Page 808]

Philip Gibbs's descriptions of the great British offensive in Picardy will rank with the most brilliant literary products of the whole war. We present here a series of extracts from his articles covering the first two weeks' fighting, chronologically arranged so as to give a moving picture of the whole drive, by night and by day, each flash of the film hot with the excitement of the events that inspired it.

SATURDAY, JULY 1

THE great attack which was launched today against the German lines on a twenty-mile front has begun satisfactorily. The British troops, fighting with splendid valor, have swept across the German front trenches along the great part of the line of attack, and have captured villages and strongholds which the Germans have long held. They are fighting their way forward, not easily but doggedly.

The guns spoke one morning last week with louder voice than yet had been heard upon the front, and as they crashed out all knew it was the signal for the new attack. Their fire increased in intensity, covering raids at many points of the line, until at last all things were ready for the biggest raid.

The scene of the battlefields at night was of terrible beauty. I motored out from a town behind the lines where through their darkened windows the French citizens watched the illumination of the sky, throbbing and flashing to distant shellfire. * * * On this night of bombardment I stood with a few officers in the centre of a crescent sweeping round from Auchonvilliers, Thiepval, La Boisselle, and Fricourt to Bray on the Somme at the southern end of the curve. Here in two beet-root fields on high ground we stood watching one of the greatest artillery battles in which British gunners had been engaged.

The night sky was very calm and moist with low-lying clouds not stirred by the wind. It was rent with incessant flashes of light as shells of every calibre burst and scattered. Out of the black ridges

and woods in front of us came the explosions of white flare as if the earth had opened and let loose its inner heat. They came up with the burst of an intense brilliance which spread along 100 yards of ground and then vanished abruptly behind the black curtain of night. It was the work of the high explosives and heavy trench mortars falling in the German lines over Thiepval and La Boisselle. There were rapid flashes of bursting shrapnel shells, and these points of flame stabbed the sky along the whole battle front.

From the German lines rockets were rising continually. They rose high and their star-shell remained suspended for half a minute with intense brightness. While the light lasted it cut out the black outline of trees and broken roofs and revealed heavy white smoke clouds rolling over the German positions.

The full power of the British artillery was let loose at about 6 o'clock this morning. Nothing like it has ever been seen or heard upon the front before, and all preliminary bombardment, great as it was, seemed insignificant to this. I do not know how many batteries are along this battle line or upon the section of the line which I could see, but the guns seemed crowded in vast numbers of every calibre, and the concentration of their fire was terrific in its intensity.

For a time I could see nothing through the low-lying mist and the heavy smoke clouds which mingled with the mist, and I stood like a blind man, only listening. It was a wonderful thing which came to my ears. Shells were rushing through the air as though all the trains in the world were driving at express speed

through endless tunnels in which they met each other with frightful collisions. The Germans were being blasted by a hurricane of fire.

At a minute after 7:30 o'clock there came through the rolling smoke clouds a rushing sound. It was the noise of rifle fire and machine guns. The men were out of their trenches and the attack had begun. The Germans were barraging the lines. The country chosen for the main attack today stretches from the Somme for some twenty miles northward.

The French were to operate on the immediate right. It is a very different country from Flanders with its swamps and flats, and from the Loos battlefields with their dreary plain pimpled by slag heaps. It is a sweet and pleasant country with wooded hills and little valleys along the river beds of the Ancre and Somme and fertile meadows, and stretches of woodland, where the soldiers and guns may get good cover.

It was difficult ground in front of us. The Germans were strong in their defenses. In the clumps of woodland beside the ruined villages they hid many machine guns and trench mortars, and each ruined house in each village was part of a fortified stronghold, difficult to capture by direct assault. It was here, however, and with good hopes of success, that the Allies attacked today, working westward across the Ancre and northward up from the Somme.

When the British left their assembly trenches and swept forward, cheering, they encountered no great resistance from the German soldiers who had been in hiding in their dugouts under the storm of shells. Many of these dugouts were blown in and filled with dead, but out of others, which had not been flung to pieces by high explosives, crept dazed and deafened men, who held their hands up and bowed their heads. Some of them in one part of the line came out of their shelters as soon as the guns lifted and met the British soldiers half way with signs of surrender. They were collected and sent back under guard, while the attacking columns passed on to the

second and third lines in the network of trenches.

TUESDAY, JULY 4

It is beyond the power of words to give a picture of the German trenches over the battlefield of Montauban, where the British now hold a line through the wood beyond. Before Saturday last it was a wide, far-reaching network of trenches, with many communication ways and strong traverses and redoubts. No mass of infantry, however great, would have dared to assault such position with bombs and rifles. It was a great underground fortress which any body of men could have held against any others for all time apart from the destructive power of the heavy artillery.

But now it was the most frightful convulsion of the earth that the eyes of man could see. The bombardment of the British guns tossed all these earthworks into vast rubbish heaps and made this ground a vast series of shell craters so deep and so broad that it is like a field of extinct volcanoes. The ground rose and fell in enormous waves of brown earth, so that standing above one crater I saw before me these solid billows with thirty feet of slopes stretching away like a sea frozen after a great storm.

The British must have hurled hundreds if not thousands of shells from their heaviest howitzers and long-range guns into this stretch of fields. Even many of the dugouts going thirty feet below the earth and strongly timbered and cemented had been choked with the masses of earth so that many dead bodies must lie buried there. But some had been left in spite of the upheaval of the earth around them, and, into some of these, I crept down, impelled by the strong, grim spell of those little dark rooms below where German soldiers lived only a few days ago.

The little square rooms were fitted up with relics of German officers and men. Tables were strewn with papers. On wooden bedsteads lay blue-gray overcoats. Wine bottles, photograph albums, furry haversacks, boots, belts, and kits of every kind all had been tumbled together by the British soldiers who had come here after the first rush to the

German trenches and searched for men in hiding. In one of the dugouts I stumbled against something and fumbled for my matches. When I struck a light I saw in a corner of the room a German who lay curled up with his head on his arms as though asleep. I did not stay to look at his face, but went up quickly, and yet I went down the others and lingered in one where no corpse lay, because of the tragic spirit that dwelt there and put its spell on me.

SATURDAY, JULY 8

After the first four days of battle there was something like a lull for twenty-four hours—a lull filled with the great noise of the guns, which was then broken by fresh assaults made by our troops in the direction of Mametz Wood and Contalmaison. For two days now, on Thursday and Friday, there has been severe fighting in that territory, and, although we lost Contalmaison last night, after taking it in the morning, it is, I am sure, only a temporary setback, for our position is strong in its neighborhood, and great loss has been inflicted upon the enemy. The battle of Contalmaison is not yet finished. It will be a distinct and important episode in the history of this campaign.

I have been able to see something of the battle, all the fierce picture of our shellfire, but at the time with no accurate idea of what really was happening beyond our guns, and with that sense of confusion and mystery which all soldiers have when they are on the battlefield, knowing very little of what is going on to the left or right of them, not knowing what is happening to themselves or why they stand where they do, or what order will next come to them, or whether our men are doing well or badly.

SUNDAY, JULY 9

It often has been said that the enemy's lines, which stretch from the sea to the Vosges, are one great fortress, and this is true, but it is more essentially and even technically true of the line through which we broke on July 1. The great German salient which curves round from Gommecourt to Fricourt is like a chain of mediaeval fortresses connected by earthworks and tunnels. The fortresses,

or strong places as we now call them, are ruined villages stronger in defense than any old tower because they are filled with machine guns, trench mortars, and other deadly engines of destruction—Gommecourt, Beaumont, Hamel, Thiepval, Ovillers, La Boisselle, and Fricourt.

In spite of the superb courage of those British battalions which flung themselves against those strongholds on the left side of the German salient they did not fall, but breaches were made in their defenses which are now being widened and deepened. On the southern side, where the attack succeeded, La Boisselle and Fricourt and, further eastward, Mametz and Montauban are ours, and the attack is pushing further in to turn the strong places on the left from within the fortress walls, as it were, while they are being weakened by assaults from without.

MONDAY, JULY 10

The village of Contalmaison has been taken by the British. The Germans knew the position was hopeless. When the British guns lifted they heard the cheers of the British infantry on both sides of the village, and many of them streamed out of the village in a disorderly retreat only to be caught behind by the extended barrages between Contalmaison and Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit, so that their rout became a shambles.

The British were quickly in the village and, having learned the lesson by experience of other troops at other places, made a thorough search of machine gun implacements and dugouts so there should be no further trouble with this wasp's nest.

The men left in Contalmaison were in a dreadful state. They suffered to the very brink of human endurance and beyond. They were surprised to find themselves alive enough to be taken prisoners.

One of those men with whom I talked this morning told me a tragic tale. He spoke a little English, having been a cabinetmaker in Tottenham Court Road some years ago before he went back to

Württemberg, where when the war began he was, he said, taken and put in a uniform and told to fight. With the other men of the 122d Bavarian Regiment he went into Contalmaison five days ago. Soon the rations they brought with them were finished. Owing to the ceaseless gunfire it was impossible to get fresh supplies. They suffered great agonies of thirst and the numbers of their dead and wounded increased steadily.

"There was a hole in the ground," said this German cabinetmaker, whose head was bound with a bloody bandage and who was dazed and troubled when I talked with him. "It was a dark hole which held twenty men, all lying in a heap together, and that was the only dugout for my company, so there was not room for more than a few. It was necessary to take turns in this shelter while outside the English shells were coming and bursting everywhere. Two or three men were dragged out to make room for two or three others, then those who went outside were killed or wounded. Some of them had their heads blown off, some of them had both legs torn off, and some of them their arms, but we went on taking turns in the hole, although those who went outside knew it was their turn to die very likely. At last the most of those who came into the hole were wounded, some of them badly, so that we lay in blood.

"There was only one doctor there, an unterofficer—he pointed to a man who lay asleep on the ground face downward—and he bandaged some of us till he had no more bandages; then last night we knew the end was coming. Your guns began to fire altogether the dreadful trommelfeurer, as we call it, and the shells burst and smashed up the earth about us. We stayed down in the hole waiting for the end. Then we heard your soldiers shouting. Presently two of them came down into our hole. They were two boys and had their pockets full of bombs; they had bombs in their hands also, and they seemed to wonder whether they would kill us; but we were all wounded, nearly all, and we cried 'Kameraden!' and now we are prisoners, and I am thirsty."

Other prisoners told me, in effect, that the fire was terrible in Contalmaison, and at least half their men holding it were killed or wounded, so that when the British entered last night they walked over the bodies of the dead. These men who escaped were in a pitiful condition. They lay on the ground utterly exhausted, most of them, and, what was strange, with their faces to the earth. Perhaps it was to blot out the vision of the things seen.

THURSDAY, JULY 13

Ovillers is a place of abominable ruin. There is nothing left of it except dust. There is not a wall standing two feet high or a bit of a wall. The guns have swept it flat, but under ground there are still great cellars quarried out by the inhabitants, who long ago fled, and in these the Germans are holding out against our attacks and our bombardments.

Heavy shells have opened up some of them and filled them with dead and wounded, but many still stand strong, and out of them come the enemy's machine guns and bombers to make counterattacks against the ditches and débris from which our men have been working forward. The ground is pitted with enormous shell holes, in which the men lie buried. Ovillers is perhaps more ghastly than any ruined ground along this front.

It was at 8 o'clock in the morning of July 7 that the southeastern part of the village was taken by assault. The North Country men advanced from a line to north of La Boisselle after a grand bombardment and went over the open ground to the labyrinth of trenches which defended the village. These had been smashed into a tumult of earth and sandbags, but, as usual, some German machine gunners had been untouched in their dugouts, and they came up to serve their machines as soon as our barrage lifted.

The next day our men worked their way forward above ground and below ground. Some crept out of the ditch and worked up to the bombing post made by officers on the left of the village.

Another body of troops made a sudden forward movement and, taking the enemy by surprise, marched round the left and took up a line right across the southwest end of Ovillers without loss. This was a great gain, which enabled our men to link up from separate posts.

SATURDAY, JULY 15.

We have broken through the German second line, through and beyond, on a front of two miles and a half, and for the first time since October, 1914, cavalry has been in action.

Given a certain number of guns on a certain length of front with hardened troops ready for a big dash, and there was no doubt we could break the enemy's first line or system as we broke through at Neuve Chapelle and at Loos. But afterward? That was the hard thing to solve. No one on the western front had found the formula to carry an offensive beyond the first line without coming to a dead check at a river of blood. The French troops who broke through in Champagne fell before they reached the second line. At Loos the Highlanders and Londoners swept through the first line and then at Hill 70 and Hulluch were faced by an annihilating fire and could go no further except to death. But today we broke the second German line.

The attack was to begin before dawn. It was a night of beauty, very warm and calm, with the moon giving a milky light to the world. Clouds trailed across it without obscuring its brightness. The whitewashed walls of cottages and barns appeared out of great gulfs of shadow. For several miles only one figure stood at every crossroad. It was the figure of Christ on a wayside Calvary.

The road, which was lined with trees, made a tunnel with its foliage, and at the end of the tunnel, which showed a patch of sky, there were strange lights flashing like flaming swords, cutting through the darkness. We went up toward the lights and toward the monstrous tumult of noise, and walked straight across the country toward the centre of the circle of fire which was all around us.

I described the bombardment on the night before July 1. Then it seemed to me that nothing could be more overwhelming to one's soul and senses, but this was worse, more wonderful and more terrible.

Our batteries were firing with intense fury. Flashes of them were away back behind us, where the "heavies" have their hiding place, and over all the ground in front of our new line of attack they came out of the black earth with the short, sharp stabs of red flame, whose light filled the hollows with pools of fire, and the sky and ridges of ground and earthworks and ruins and woods across our lines were blazing with the flashes of bursting shells. The blinding light leaped about like a will-o'-the-wisp.

For a second it lit up all the horizon over Contalmaison and gave a sudden picture of a ghastly white and broken chateau with clumps of trees about it. Then it was blotted out by great blackness and instantly shifted to Mametz Wood or to Montauban, revealing their shapes intensely and shells crashing beyond them until they, too, disappeared with the click of the black shutter.

A moment later and Fricourt was filled with a white brilliance so that every bit of its ruin, its hideous rummage of earth, its old mine craters, and its plauge-stricken stumps of trees was etched upon one's eyes.

Along the German second line, by Bazentin-le-Grand, Bazentin-le-Petit, and Longueval, at the back of the woods, shells were bursting without a second's pause, and in great clusters they tore open the ground and let out gusts of flames. Flame fountains rose and spread from the German trenches above Pearl Wood.

The dark night was rent with all these flames and hundreds of batteries feeding fires. Every calibre gun was at work. Heavy shells, 15-inch, 12.7, 8-inch, 6-inch, 4, 7, came overhead like flocks of birds—infernal birds with wings that beat the air into waves and came whining with a shrill high note and swooped to earth with monstrous roar. Lighter batteries far forward were beating a devil's tattoo—one, two, three, four; one,

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG



British Commander in Chief of Armies Engaged in the Powerful Anglo-French Offensive in Picardy

(Photo © Elliott & Fry)

GENERAL FOCH



The French Commander Who, Under Joffre, Is Co-operating With
Sir Douglas Haig in the Great Anglo-French Drive
(Photo from Bain News Service)

two, three, four, with sharp knocks that clouted one's ears. I sat on a wooden box on the top of an old dugout in the midst of all the fury. There was a great gun to my left, and every time it fired it shook the box and all the earth underneath with violent vibration.

The moon disappeared soon after 3 o'clock, and no stars were to be seen, but presently a faint ghost of dawn appeared. The white earth of the old and disused trenches about me became visible. A lark arose and sang overhead, and at 3:30 o'clock there was a sudden moment of hush. It was the lifting of the guns and the time of attack. Over there in the darkness by Mametz Wood and Montauban thousands of men had risen to their feet, and were going forward to the second German line or to the place where death was waiting for them.

At 4:10 there was a red glow to the right of Montauban. It rose and spread upward, a great torch with sparks dancing over it.

"By jove," cried one of the men near me, "that's Longueval on fire."

In a little while there was no doubt about it. I could see the sharp edge of the broken buildings in the heart of the red glow. The village of Longueval was in flames. * * *

Later in the day the backwash of the battle, the wounded and the prisoners, came down like the tide, but long before then I knew we had broken the second line and our men were fighting on the high ground beyond. The village of Longueval was ours; Bazentin-le-Grand, both wood and village, and Bazentin-le-Petit were ours. The gallant body of men had swept through Trones Wood, on the extreme right of the line, and patrols were pushing into Delville Wood and toward the highest ridge behind the broken German trenches.

I hear these trenches in the second German line are not deeply dug and that the dugouts themselves hardly bomb-proof.

For once in a way the Germans have been overconfident, and paid now a bitter price for their pride in believing the first line was impregnable. I do not care to write about this part of the fighting. It

was bloody work, and would not be good to read. An incident was told me by a kilted Sergeant as he lay wounded. From one of the dugouts came a German officer. He had a wild light in his eyes, and carried a great axe.

"I surrender," he said in good English, and in broad Scotch the Sergeant told him if he had an idea of surrendering it would be a good and wise thing to drop his chopper first; but the German officer swung it high, and it came like a flash past the Sergeant's head. Like a flash also the bayonet did its work.

While the men were cleaning up the dugouts in the first-line trenches other men pressed on and stormed into Longueval village. The great fires there which I had seen in the darkness died down, and there was only a glow and smolder of them in the ruins; but the machine guns were still chattering.

In one broken building there were six of them firing through holes in the walls. It was a strong redoubt, sweeping the ground which had once been a roadway and now was a shambles. Scottish soldiers rushed the place and flung bombs into it until there was no more swish of bullets, but only a rising of smoke clouds and black dust.

Longueval was a heap of charred bricks above the ground, but there was still trouble below ground before it was firmly taken. There are many cellars in which the Germans fought like wolves at bay, and down in the darkness of these places men fought savagely, seeing only the glint of each others' eyes and feeling for each others' throats, unless there were still bombs handy to make a quicker ending.

It was primitive warfare; cavemen fought like that in such darkness, though not with bombs, which belong to our age.

TUESDAY, JULY 18

In all the fighting during the last fortnight the struggle for Ovillers stands out separately as a siege in which both attack and defense were of the most dogged and desperate kind. The surrender of the remnants of its garrison last night ends an episode which will not be forgotten in history.

These men were of the Third Prussian

Guards, and our Commander in Chief in his day's dispatches has paid tribute to their bravery, which is echoed by the officers and men who fought against them. It is a tribute to our own troops also, who, by no less courage, broke down the stubborn resistance and captured the garrison.

I have already described the earlier phases of the siege. * * * But after that, when our men were separated from the enemy by only a yard or two or by only a barricade or two, the artillery on both sides ceased to fire upon Ovillers lest the gunners should kill their own men. They barraged intensely round about. Our shells fell incessantly to the north and east. So that the beleaguered garrison should not get supplies or reinforcements we made a wall of death about them. But, though no shells now burst over the ground where many dead lay strewn, there was artillery of a lighter kind, not less deadly. It was the artillery of machine guns and bombs. The Prussian Guards made full use of the vaulted cellars and ruined houses. They made a series of small keeps which were defended almost entirely by machine-gun fire.

Between the attacks of our bombing parties they went below ground into dark vaults, where it was safe enough from trench mortar and hand grenades, leaving a sentry or two on the lookout for any infantry assault. As soon as we advanced, the machine guns set to

work and played their hose of bullets across the ground which our men had to cover.

One by one, by getting around about them, by working zigzag ways through cellars and ruins, by sudden rushes of bombing parties led by young officers of daring spirit, we knocked out those machine-gun emplacements, and of the gunners who served them until yesterday there was only a last remnant of the garrison left in Ovillers.

These men of the Third Prussian Guard long had been in a hopeless position. They were starving because all supplies were cut off by our never-ending barrage. They had no water supply, so suffered all the torture of great thirst. They were living in a charnal house strewn with the dead bodies of their comrades and with wounded men delirious for lack of drink.

Human nature could make no longer resistance, and at last the officers raised the signal of surrender and came over with nearly 140 men, who held their hands up.

The fighting had been savage. At close grips, in broken earthworks and deep cellars, there had been no sentiment, but British soldiers and Germans had flung themselves upon each other with bombs and any kinds of weapon, but now, when all was ended, the last of the German garrison was received with the honors of war.

The Battle of the Somme

Anglo-French Teamwork

IT is not improbable that the concerted offensive against the German lines in Picardy, begun July 1 after the most terrible bombardment known even in this war of high explosives, will go down into history as the battle of the Somme, and that it will mark the beginning of an important change in the course of events. It has already changed the war map in that part of France, and seems likely to

change it much more as the weeks go on.

Britain at last is fully prepared to fight. The great armies recruited and trained by Lord Kitchener, with the mountains of munitions piled up by Lloyd George, have become a tremendous weapon in the skilled hands of General Sir Douglas Haig; and they are supported on the right by a French army under General Foch that has shown itself

more than able to keep pace with them. The fighting of the British wing is eloquently described in the foregoing article by Philip Gibbs, but it must not be forgotten that the battle of the Somme is a joint enterprise of close teamwork under the supreme direction of General Joffre.

Thus far we have heard less of the French than of the English wing, but its achievement has been equally brilliant. The Germans caught between these Frenchmen and Peronne, like those caught between the British and Bapaume, have resisted to the limit of human endurance, but nothing human could survive the awful blasting of high explosives to which their first and second trench lines were subjected; and the Allies now have the shells and the men to keep up the pressure indefinitely. The stronger battalions are henceforth on their side.

A correspondent who visited the French army on July 9 in its advanced position near Peronne gives us this glimpse of the country over which the battle had swept:

"As far as the eye can see the view is utterly the same; utterly monotonous, nothing but desolate slopes that once were a thickly populated French countryside. The complete inhumanity of outlook strikes one tremendously. Here two great armies are at death grips, yet apart from the incessant tumult of cannonade and the never-ending rows of little smoke clouds—new ones forming before the preceding ones have time to melt—one might be thousands of miles from civilization. Our maps are of little assistance. Here should be Feuillers, there Flaucourt, further on Assevillers, but one can distinguish nothing save heaps of blackened stones that appear through the glasses. Even the roads have been swept away by the bombardment. Nothing but ditchlike trench lines mark the presence of humans.

"Suddenly voices cried: 'Look over there, you can see soldiers.' About half a mile before us one sees groups of men like ants working busily on the hillside. Through the glasses one sees that they are sheltering themselves with extraordinary care. Some have strange oblong shields like the ancient Roman legion-

aries. Others are grouped under a kind of casemate on wheels whose roof touches the ground in front rising in a curve behind to give room for the workers. Still others hide behind a ripple of ground or hillocks.

"All are working furiously with picks and shovels. I have been told that the British losses have been heightened by an utter disregard of danger. Even when not engaged in attacks our allies seem still not to realize the necessity of unremitting caution. But the French have learned the lesson that Verdun hammered home—that the best soldier is he who regards his life as belonging to France, something precious, never to be risked save when sheer necessity demands it. That, combined with the magnificent artillery service, is the reason why the French losses in this battle have been less than half—I speak from intimate knowledge—those in any previous French offensive in proportion to the number of troops engaged."

A German correspondent, describing the battle of July 12, wrote to a leading Berlin newspaper:

"The violent English attacks that developed on Monday afternoon on the road from Albert to Bapaume, and whose principal blow was directed against our position from Ovillers to La Boisselle, at Contalmaison, the Wood of Mametz, Bazentin-le-Grand, and the woods of Bernafay and Thrones, have continued uninterruptedly for forty-eight hours, having increased to unheard-of violence. Approximately fourteen kilometers long, the attacking front presents a picture of one immense battle, swaying now one way, now the other.

"The English, who have a colossal numerical superiority, hurl attacking wave after wave, division after division, against our defenses, staking everything on a renewed embittered effort to wipe out the failure of the first offensive week by widening the strip of ground so far gained by them, in order to give the wedge driven into our lines a broader front.

"What our troops have performed in stemming this attacking flood and what they still are doing every moment belong

to the most glorious deeds of this war. Repeatedly in the course of these charges of unheard-of embitteredness, which continue day and night, the English have succeeded in temporarily getting a footing on the edge of positions they strove to take, but so far we have invariably succeeded in tearing their achieved success away from them by our counterattacks.

"The French are mainly pressing forward in the region of Estrées and Belloy, and also against Barleux—in other words, against our defensive dams on our south and southeast flanks. Here, too, the attacks follow one another like waves. A stubborn battle rages incessantly, in which the enemy's embittered passion for gaining ground and the loyal and glorious firmness of our defenders measure strength. Particularly Hill 97 and La Maisonette continue to be the favorite goal of the French. Their attempts to storm them continue to be checked by our barrier fire. Likewise, their mass storms in the sector from Belloy to Barleux collapsed, with frightful losses, in our fire.

"But the battle continues, and these two sectors in the enemy's offensive have perhaps not yet reached their last horrible climax of intensity."

In the first ten days the Anglo-French Armies had, to quote Sir Douglas Haig, "completed the methodical capture of the whole of the enemy's first system of defense on a front of 14,000 yards," and had taken 22,000 German prisoners and 104 guns. By the end of the first fortnight they had shattered the second line of German defenses and paused to fortify themselves in their new positions. At the present writing they are undergoing heavy counterattacks, but are holding most of what they have won. They are prepared to keep up a slow and steady pressure, pounding every step of the way with heavy shells if necessary.

The British method of storming trenches, which has won the admiration of French officers, is to combine the smashing of concrete shelters under heavy shell fire with a system of night raiding by scouting parties. The raiders locate hidden machine guns and finish the destruction of barbed-wire entangle-

ments, thus opening the way for the usual charges of infantry. If Sir Douglas Haig ever breaks through into open country he will make extensive use of cavalry.

David Lloyd George, in his new rôle of War Minister, gives this explanation of the latest turn of events:

"We have crossed the watershed, and now victory is beginning to flow in our direction. This change is due to the improvement in our equipment. The British Navy has until recently absorbed more than half the metal workers of this country. The task of building new ships and repairing the old ones for the gigantic navy, and fitting and equipping them, occupies the energies of a million men. Most of our new factories are now complete, most of the machinery has been set up. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, hitherto unaccustomed to metal and chemical work, have been trained for munitions making.

"Every month we are turning out hundreds of guns and howitzers, light, medium, and heavy; our heavy guns are rolling in at a great rate, and we are turning out nearly twice as much ammunition in a single week and, what's more, nearly three times as much heavy shell, as we fired in the great offensive in September, although the ammunition we expended in that battle was the result of many weary weeks' accumulation. The new factories and workshops we set up have not yet attained one-third their full capacity, but their output is now increasing with great rapidity. Our main difficulty in organization, construction, equipment, labor supply, and readjustment has been solved. If officials, employers, and workmen keep at it with the same zeal and assiduity as they have hitherto employed, our supplies will soon be overwhelming.

"I cannot help thinking that the improvement in the Russian ammunition has been one of the greatest and most unpleasant surprises the enemy has sustained. Still, our task is but half accomplished. Every great battle furnishes additional proof that this is a war of equipment. More ammunition means more victories and fewer casualties."

Six Weeks of the Russian Drive

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By Charles Johnston

[See Russian War Map on Page 813]

AT the beginning of the drive the Russian battle front ran nearly due north and south from Riga to Rumania, not far from the 27th meridian of east longitude. Its length was about 600 miles. Of troops standing shoulder to shoulder it would take 2,000,000 to guard this line; a double row would number 4,000,000 men. The active Russian Army of the West before war broke out numbered twenty-seven corps, or 1,080,000 men, to whom probably twice as many reserve corps were added during the mobilization. It is probable that the fighting line on the Russian front contains about the same number, seventy-five to eighty army corps, with ample reserves immediately available. These men are divided into about a dozen armies of six or seven army corps (240,000 to 280,000 men) each, spread along the line from north to south.

These dozen armies are gathered into three groups—the north, the centre, and the south. General Kuropatkin, War Minister and Commander in Chief in the war of 1905-6 against Japan, commands the northern group, whose most important task is the defense of the Dwina from Riga to Dvinsk. General Evert commands the centre army group. General Brusiloff commands the group of the south, to which the most active part in the offensive has hitherto been assigned.

General Brusiloff's army group is divided into four armies. The most northern of the four, operating in the direction of Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski, (the Styr-Stokhod region,) is commanded by General Keladin; the second from the north, operating against the northeast corner of Galicia in the general direction of Lemberg, is commanded by General Sakharoff; the third from the north, which is aiming due west toward Stanislavoff, (Stanislau,) is commanded by

General Cherbacheff; the fourth and southernmost is commanded by the brilliant and successful General Lechitski.

Opposed to the three Russian army groups are three Teutonic army groups. The most northern, facing General Kuropatkin, is commanded by Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The Teutonic army group of the centre, facing General Evert about the Pripet River and marshland, is commanded by Prince Leopold. The southern Teutonic army group was, when the drive began, under the command of Archduke Friedrich of Austria; he appears to have been superseded by General Linsingen, who defended the Carpathians against General Brusiloff a year and a half ago.

It is probable that each of the four armies which make up General Brusiloff's army group contains six or seven corps, or about 250,000 men, and that, whatever may be their losses, each corps will be kept continually up to its full strength. It is known that Russia recently brought to the fighting line some 3,000,000 new troops between the ages of 21 and 23. On them the brunt of the present fighting is falling, and they have done brilliantly. There is also abundance of large guns and shells.

Thus equipped, the new Russian armies began the drive in the first days of June, bringing a steady and fairly equal pressure to bear on practically the whole front from the Pripet marshes (the great swamp country about Minsk and Pinsk) southward to the Rumanian frontier. Meanwhile the two army groups further north, under General Kuropatkin and General Evert, began systematically to hammer the forces along their line, under Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Prince Leopold, with such vigor, so real a threat of immediate offensive, that there could be small possibility of withdrawing Teu-

tonic forces from any of these northern points to stiffen the lines further south, against which the real drive was directed. But we should keep clearly in mind that, should the northern Teutonic army groups show signs of weakening at any point between Riga and the Pripet, Russia will immediately start a forward drive at that point. She now has the men, the guns, and the organization to do this. Kuropatkin or Evert may at any moment receive directions to advance from General Alexeieff, Commander in Chief under the Emperor, to whom is intrusted the task of correlating the movements of the three army groups, while General Shuvaieff, as War Minister, keeps up the flow of men and munitions.

The Teutonic line did not resist the Russian line equally at all points. The Austrian armies under the Archduke Josef Ferdinand and General Puhallo, charged with the defense of Lutsk and Dubno, were driven backward, early losing both these strongly fortified towns. The Teutonic line began to bend back at that point toward Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski, and in this direction General Keladin's Russian army has just crossed the Stokhod River and is approaching Kovel. The Teutonic army below these, operating under General Boehm-Ermolli to the west of Tarnapol, held its ground more firmly, though it was also driven backward from its lines. To the south of this, again, General von Bothmer was pushed steadily back to and across the Stripa (one of the north-and-south tributaries on the east bank of the Dniester) by General Cherbacheff. At the southern end of the line General von Pflanzner-Ballin, generally spoken of in the bulletins as General Pflanzner, was caught by the brilliant strategy of General Lechitski, who was very abundantly supplied with Cossack cavalry, (not included in the system of twenty-seven army corps above described,) who are perfectly adapted to the rapidly moving warfare we have witnessed in Bukowina.

It would seem that General Lechitski so heavily attacked Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, from the east that the whole attention and resources of General

Pflanzner were concentrated on meeting this attack. Meanwhile Lechitski sent further forces up the Pruth, just south of which Czernowitz lies, to the railroad town of Snyatin, the capture of which secured possession to the Russians of the one railroad by which General Pflanzner's forces might have got out of Bukowina and westward through the Carpathians to some Hungarian base. But General Pflanzner seems to have held on too long. Not only did he find Czernowitz taken by fierce Russian assaults across the Pruth, but when, after losing the city, he turned to escape he found the Russians had got ahead of him and were already astride of the railroad at Snyatin.

From the Czernowitz-Snyatin line, thus taken, General Lechitski opened out his forces like a fan, sweeping the pieces of General Pflanzner's army southward toward the Rumanian frontier and westward toward the Carpathian foothills, which come far forward on the Bukowina lowlands. At this stage the Cossacks began to do yeoman's service, racing after the retreating Austrians and even making their way at two or three points through the passes into Hungarian Transylvania.

General Lechitski has, perhaps, been criticised for sending his Cossacks through the passes to the Hungarian plains; but it should be remembered that there lie the most fertile wheat fields of the Central Empires, and that the principles of war impose on Lechitski the duty of destroying them if he possibly can. Hence the frenzied haste of the Hungarian harvesters recently reported from Vienna.

But much more important from a strategic point of view were the operations of General Lechitski to the north and west of Snyatin. The railroad runs north-west, up the valley of the Pruth, to Kolomea, whence one branch goes north to Stanislavoff, the base of General von Bothmer's army, while another branch goes west by Korosmezo to Hungary. By capturing Kolomea Lechitski thus cut the main artery which was feeding General von Bothmer's army. The later capture of Delatyn, on the branch line to Hun-

gary, strengthened Lechitski's command of the southern Galician railroad system, which had been feeding General von Bothmer's army.

In part this menace from behind, in part the steadily growing pressure of the Russian forces under General Cherbacheff, has been compelling General von Bothmer to retreat, first relaxing his hold on the Stripa, which he had defended with great vigor and skill. Next in order is likely to be an equally skillful and vigorous defense by his army of the Koropiec and then of the Zlota Lipa, the two next north and south tributaries of the Dniester, as he falls back westward to the Dniester, and then across it to Stanislavoff. But it is quite evident that he is in grave danger at present of holding on too long, as General Pflanzner did at Czernowitz, and allowing Lechitski's agile and athletic troops to get up behind him and cut off his retreat.

But the removal of General von Bothmer's army, or its circumvention by the fleet-footed Lechitski, would mean an exactly similar menace to General Boehm-Ermolli's army in its turn, and a dangerous threat against Lemberg from the south. And theoretically, now that the Russians have got around the Teutonic right flank, it is possible that they may continue the rolling-up process as far as Riga and the Baltic. But, needless to say, the Teutonic armies will not wait for this, but will slowly move backward, to keep their menaced right wing in safety so far as is possible.

One of the wonders of the Russian advance is, how the flying army of Lechitski is supplied; of necessity he must be holding a stiff force before General von Bothmer's right wing, to guard against a quick thrust southward at the Russian line of supplies across the Dniester. But even then the problem of transportation is a tremendous one. We may conjecture, however, that much of the food for Lechitski's army (but no part of its munitions) is coming up the railroad from Czernowitz and from Rumania, further down the line.

A danger against which Lechitski will presently have to guard is an attack directed against him by new forces coming

up from Hungary through the Carpathian passes. It is even reported that Field Marshal von Mackensen, whose brilliant drive of the Spring of 1915 is now in appearance being reversed, is preparing just such a force, behind the Carpathians. But so far this is only rumor. Once Lechitski gets a firm hold on the passes, this will be vastly more difficult.

Meanwhile, the Russian drive toward Kovel is being stiffly opposed by the army of General von Linsingen with a strong leaven of German forces among the Austrian troops. But the Russian drive has already gone so far that the Teutons have been shaken out of the positions they had been all Winter preparing, the steel and concrete trenches which are the last word of modern field defense. It seems unlikely that they can extemporize further lines of defense in the rear as strong as those which the Russian big guns have already smashed. Therefore it would be logical to look for a steady Russian advance to, and then beyond, Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski. Needless to say, every foot of the way will be stubbornly contested by the Teutons; but as soon as Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski fall, there will inevitably arise the question of readjusting the Teuton lines northward from Kovel, perhaps all the way to Dwinsk and Riga. On the northern sector General Kuropatkin has begun what may be a general offensive, and General Sakharoff has driven the advance defenders of Kovel back across the Lipa.

Maximilian Harden, who has a high reputation for fearless truth-speaking, declared, in the early days of July, that Germany had thirty army corps ready in barracks, with 600,000 new recruits available each year. That Austria has any great available reserves seems unlikely. But it is quite evident that, if the German thirty corps have to be divided between the west and the east, and if the Russians have been accounting for a daily average of nearly 10,000 men, or, say, an army corps in four or five days, that part of the thirty German corps available for the eastern front may not, theoretically, go much beyond tiding over the Summer months.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked, CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments From June 15 to July 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Maps of Russian Front on Pages 812 and 813]

NO period of the war has been as full of interest as the month just passed. For the first time since war was declared the Allies have not only found the key to success, if such a key there is, but are using it. The German position is often referred to as an iron band within which the Teutons are fighting not only to go ahead themselves, but to keep the Allies out. This is a figure not altogether inexact. The Germans are surrounded by enemies, in contact with the Teuton forces at almost every point. Such fighting as the Allies have done heretofore, except where they were acting on the defensive against a German attack, has been on isolated sectors. There has been no attempt at a general offensive, and such attacks as have been made have been planned for with no idea of co-operation with other fronts, but have been independent of any general plan.

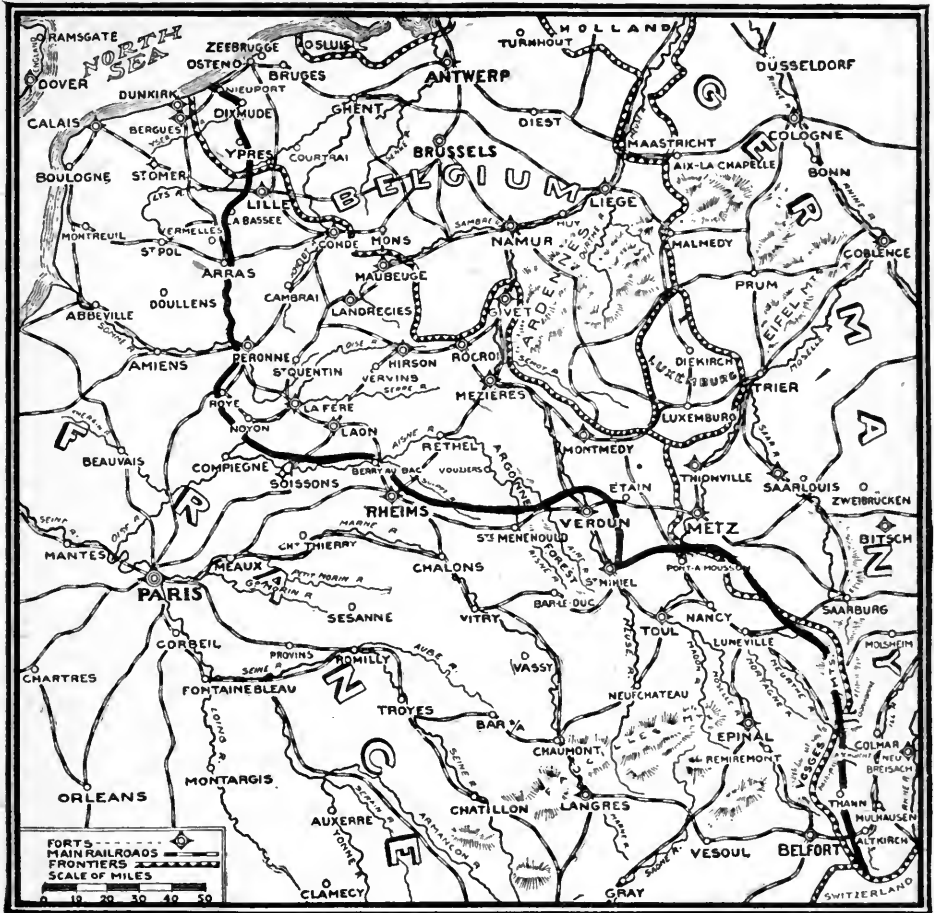
The present general offensive is the result of the planning of the Allied General Staff, an entirely new body which came into existence only a few months ago, but which is now directing all the Allies' moves. For the first time in the war the Allies are all under a single command, and the movements of each are subordinated to the general good.

About the middle of May last the Austrians began their offensive move against Italy, and unquestionably Italy was getting the worst of the fighting. There was but one way to stop the offense, and that was to attack the Austrians heavily

in some other field. Russia waited until the Austrians had become thoroughly committed to the Italian offensive, until they had gone so far that they could not draw back, and then struck with the accumulated power of nine months' preparation. The break in the Austrians and the tremendous losses they suffered forced the Germans to their assistance, as the entire Teuton line from Riga to Bessarabia was threatened. The Germans collected men from every possible quarter, and, massing in the centre of the Russian attack—that is, west of the Lutsk salient—held up the Russian drive at the Stokhod River.

On the western front the Allies were strangely quiet. The British had not left their trenches for months, the French were resisting the German pressure at Verdun, but were not taking the initiative themselves. They waited also, waited until Germany had had time to transfer troops from the west to the east if she intended to do so, and then they struck.

Today, then, the Teutons find themselves for the first time feeling the full force of the Allies on every front. It is an entirely new experience and it is not to be wondered at that the military critics of Germany openly state that Germany's situation is one to worry about. Heretofore Germany has been able, through the "one-attack-at-a-time" policy of the Allies, to throw reinforcements at a threatened point as soon as the attack developed. Interior lines of



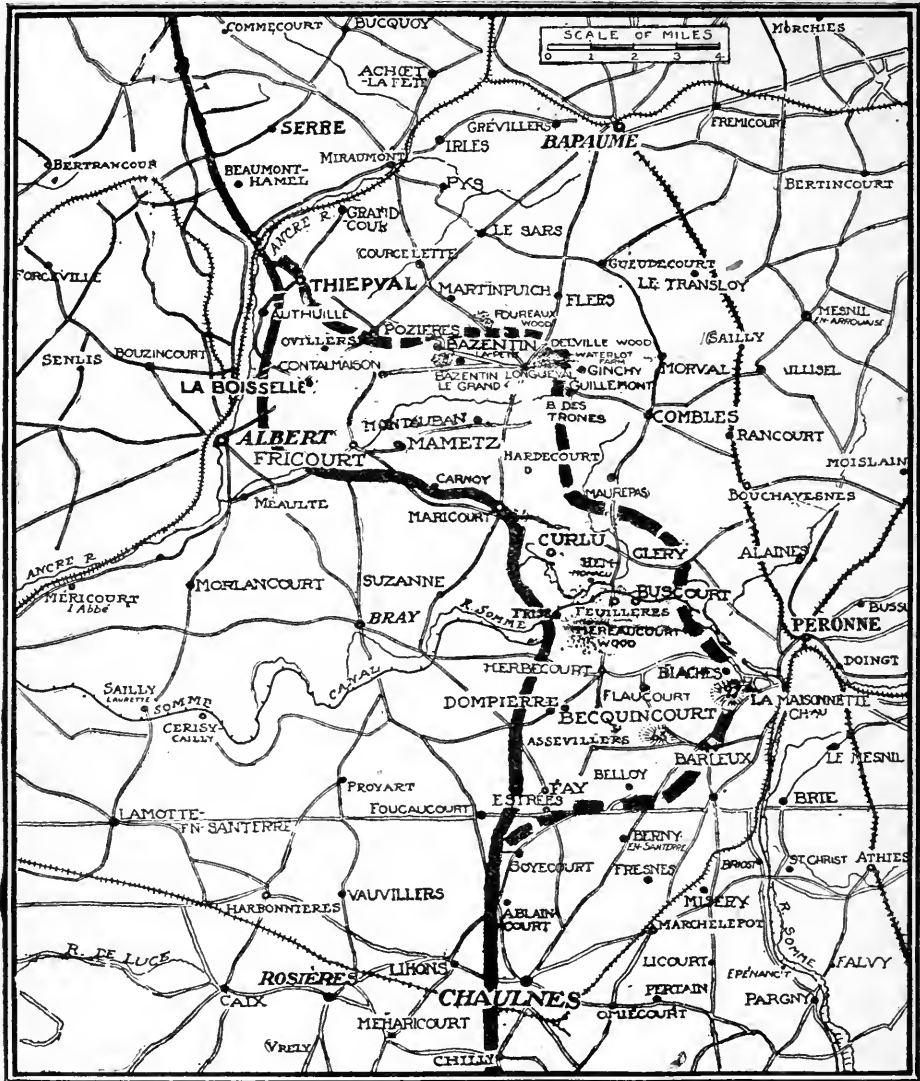
COMPLETE VIEW OF THE WESTERN FRONT FROM THE ENGLISH CHANNEL TO SWITZERLAND

communication and excellent railroad lines reduced this problem to its simplest form. But this situation exists no longer. Germany is being attacked at every point in the circle with which the Central Powers are girded. To weaken one point in order to strengthen another is now to court disaster. The war has been reduced not to a question of staying power alone, but to the question of the ability of the Germans to stand against the concentrated power of the entire Entente, applied with tremendous pressure to every point on the German front.

The Allies' attacks are just beginning, in fact are not yet six weeks old. The end is still a long way off, whichever way the tide of battle may swing. It may

well be, however, that we are now seeing the beginning of the first real move toward peace.

On June 15, when last month's review was written, the Russians were conducting two offensives, one along the Rovno-Kovel railroad in Volhynia, the other against the bridgehead of Czernowitz. Beginning at the Pripet and running south, the Russian position at that time was along the east bank of the Styr as far south at Kolki, where the line broke to the west in a wide curve, reaching a point about twenty miles east of Kovel on the Kovel-Rovno railroad. From here it broke to the east again, coming back to about the original meridian in Northern Galicia, and then following the line



SCENE OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH DRIVE IN PICARDY. THE BROKEN LINE SHOWS TWO WEEKS' ADVANCE

of the Stripa River, crossing the Dniester at its junction with the Stripa and breaking east near the Pruth at Czernowitz.

This line was one in which practically every feature of terrain favored the Teutons. The Styr is in itself not only difficult to cross but is lined throughout almost its entire length with broad marsh belts, which make it the most admirable defensive obstacle imaginable. Further

south, where the line bent westward, the Stokhod, on which the Germans were resisting the Russian advance on Kovel, was also an admirable defensive screen. The western bank is lined with high hills which overlook wide stretches of country on the eastern bank, so that an attack coming from the east is visible almost from the time it starts. To the south the same general condition prevailed. Everywhere the Teuton forces were safe-

ly ensconced behind defensive screens of rivers with hills behind them.

For many days the Russians attacked fiercely along the Stokhod, where the Germans were in force, but could make no headway. In their retreat the Austrians had destroyed all the bridges and crossings over the river, and the Russians were unable to construct and maintain others in the face of the German fire. After a period of ill-success, the Russian attack shifted to the north. The principal object here was defensive. The northern side of the salient which the Russians had driven forward was a danger point. If the Germans could force it to give way, their entire movement would collapse. It was necessary therefore to straighten their line.

The attack came from a point just north of Czartorisk, and was almost immediately successful. The forcing of the river was accomplished and the Russians poured through the gaps. The great break in the line occurred where the Styr is crossed by the Kovel-Sarny railroad, and consequently it was along this line that the Russian advance was made. For fourteen miles over a wide front the German retreat continued until finally the line of the lower Stokhod was reached and the Russian advance was halted. The Russians, however, did succeed in straightening out their line as far as the Galician border, thereby eliminating all future danger of an attack from the north.

In Bukowina Russian successes were even more marked. Czernowitz fell into their hands on June 16, and the gateway to the Austrian crown land was flung wide open. The Russians crossed the Pruth, driving the Austrians in disorder before them and taking one position after another. It seemed for a time that the entire right wing of the Austrians was to be cut off from the main body and captured. In Southern Bukowina, after having been driven back to the ridges of the Carpathian Mountains, they succeeded in making good their retreat through Kirlibaba Pass. Further to the north, between the Dniester and the Pruth, the Russian progress was also unchecked. Town after town fell into their

hands. Kolomea, the principal railroad centre of that section, was taken and the entire position of the Austrians along the Stripa threatened. As a matter of fact, the Russian advance carrying west of Tlumacz has already completely outflanked the Stripa line, so that, if the Austrians now holding the Russians in a temporary check along the Stanislaw-Nadvorna line give way, the Austrian forces south of the Northern Galician border will be threatened with positive disaster.

The blow which the Russians have delivered to the Teutons has been one of the hardest given to any belligerent during the entire war. Not even the great German drive of last year has had the effect of the Russian offense of the past six weeks. In this case it is much more than a loss of territory; it is almost the destruction of an army. Russia had vast reserves on which to fall back.

Austria apparently has none. Austria alone of all the belligerents is practically exhausted. Only a week ago the Austrian Department of War endeavored to get the consent of the Government to call into the military service all men between the ages of 56 and 60. Nothing could show more eloquently the very dire straits into which the Austrian Army has fallen.

The Russian blow has had more to do with this state of affairs than anything any other belligerent has done. Italy has, of course, offered some contribution. But the lion's share has been Russia's. In this period of six weeks Russia has taken prisoner nearly 300,000 troops. In addition to this there have been vast captures of military supplies of all kinds, guns of all calibres, and, what the Russians most need, machine guns. It is not too much to say now that Austria, as an offensive force, has been eliminated from the war. Never again will we see an offensive movement initiated by Francis Joseph's troops. Needless to say, this is a great victory, and comes very near to being a decision.

On July 1 the long-expected offensive of the Allies on the western front started. The scene of action was from Thiepvai, a few miles north of Albert, to

Foucaucourt, north of Chaules. This was the first serious effort the French and the British had made since last September, when they struck in Artois and Champagne. Following the lessons learned from the Germans at Verdun, however, there was no attempt made to thrust deeply into the line as before; the movement was a consistent and constantly maintained push. This necessarily imposed certain delays. The consumption of shell in preparing for the infantry attack is excessive, the avenues of supply not sufficient to maintain a steady flow of the necessary volume. Consequently, after each preparation, when the infantry has gone ahead, it is necessary to wait before sending the infantry on again until a new supply has been brought up to the new front. With this understanding it can properly be said that, in spite of all opposition, the French and British lines have moved forward uninterruptedly.

The French, who held the line south of the Somme, have, up to this writing, made the greater progress. This is probably due to the fact that the French attack was in the nature of a surprise, whereas the British offense was well advertised and was therefore expected. The French have carried the Germans back toward Peronne, almost to the banks of the Somme. They swept forward, day after day, the German resistance being totally inadequate, until they reached a point on the Somme directly across the river from Peronne, while south of that point they rested but a scant mile from the river. There they halted until the British, who had experienced the most bitter resistance, could catch up and connect the two lines.

The British attack has been successful from the outset where the lines run north of and parallel to the Somme. Along the Ancre, after some of the hardest fighting of the war, they have been able to record but small advances. At this date, however, there is every indication that the attack along the east bank of the Ancre has been abandoned, and that all future efforts, until the German salient has been cleared out, will be toward the north between Contalmaison

and Hardecourt. The British move is leveled at Bapaume, the greatest railroad centre in this region. Two of the main French national systems pass through this town, and both of them are essential to the Germans if they wish to retain their present positions.

So far the indications are that the British will be able to reach their objective. Starting in low ground, with what might be termed the Plateau of Bapaume, rising almost three miles away in their immediate front, they have covered this three miles and appear to be safely intrenched on the edge of the plateau. The German first and second lines—defenses that they have had almost two years to perfect—have fallen, and the third line is now under bombardment. It is a question now entirely of shell supply. If the organization of British industry for war purposes has reached the point where the supply plus the stock equals the demand it does not seem that the Germans, with their dwindling numbers, can hold their present lines much longer. If the next month shows no material change in the relative positions, however, still another offensive at some later date will have to be undertaken before the Soisson salient has been flattened. In the other theatres the month has not produced any startling change. In Trentino the Italians, after the Russian attack on the Austrian line was well under way, seized the initiative and have, by consistent fighting, recovered at least half of the distance previously lost to the Austrians. The fighting is still going on, and the Italians seem to be gaining important local victories.

The operations in Mesopotamia have been practically suspended. The terrific heat in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates prohibits any extensive activity. Further north, however, in the Caucasus, the Russians are again advancing with rapidity and have reached and hold strongly a point half way between Erzerum and Erzincan. This campaign has not yet reached the point where it is a menace to the Turkish arms. It is filling its purpose, however, in preventing any attempt to invade Egypt or to send the Turkish Army to other fields.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Meaning of the Two Great Drives

- Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See War Maps on Pages 812 and 813]

THE events of the past month in all theatres of war have clearly demonstrated that the trench is not the last word in military science. The German campaign against Verdun and the two offensives on the southeastern and western front have substituted mobile action for position warfare. The open battle has wrested the decision from trench warfare. Destruction—no longer the exhaustion—of the enemy once more forms the keynote of strategy and the aim of all actions.

The possession of the fortress of Verdun in itself has become a purely incidental matter as far as its strategical importance is concerned. At Verdun bleeds, in heroic resistance, an open wound on the body of French military power.

The great offensive movements in the west and southeast also have the strategy of destruction as their guiding principle. The military expert of The London Times writes, "Our principal aim is to kill or wound 200,000 Germans every month," and on the eastern front the Russian steam roller has been pressed into service to "crush" the enemy.

Thus, on a wide detour, the strategy that is to determine the decision has returned to its point of inception, which was marked, immediately after the outbreak of the war, by the Russian invasion of East Prussia and the German advance on Paris. Also, the decision has returned to the same local theatres of operation on which it had struck its first blows. The driving power of the Allies has obtained a degree of additional strength that corresponds with the consolidation of the theatres of operation. Moreover, the new local concentration has made possible a closer unity of action on the part of the allied forces, as

demonstrated in the simultaneous Russian, Franco-British, and Italian offensives.

Any definition of the present situation must be made with this question in view: How and how far have the actual events up to date served the ultimate aim, namely, the destruction of the enemy?

The great Russian drive on the Volhynian, Galician, and Bukowina fronts was begun with the following basic ideas: First, an advance along the Kovel-Cholm-Lublin railway; second, along the Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg railway, (right wing;) third, against Tarnopol and further along the railroad to Rohatyn across the Dniester against the Styr; fourth, via Buczacz and Stanislaw against the Wyszkw Pass of the Eastern Carpathians; fifth, against Czernowitz. (Three and four form the centre, five constitutes the left wing.)

This offensive, thought out on a gigantic scale and begun over an equally gigantic area, under the command of General Brusiloff, the leading Russian adherent of the mobile strategy, was directed against four army groups of the Central Powers, from north to south, in the following order: Linsingen, Archduke Josef Ferdinand, Bothmer, and Pflanzer-Baltin. On four lines of attack the offensive was put into motion. The Russians proposed to put alongside the victorious Galician "break-through battle" of the Central Powers in 1915 a similar success on a far wider front. General Brusiloff has no smaller ambition than to achieve for Russia what the Galician battle and the subsequent Polish campaign did not achieve for the Teutonic allies.

In powerful frontal attacks, with a total disregard for sacrifices in human material and often a senseless waste of

munitions, the right wing of the far-flung Russian attacking line succeeded in occupying the Volhynian fortress triangle and in pushing ahead beyond Lutsk and from Dubno, in a northerly direction, against the railway Kovel-Chelm-Lublin, as well as in a westerly and southwesterly direction against Lemberg.

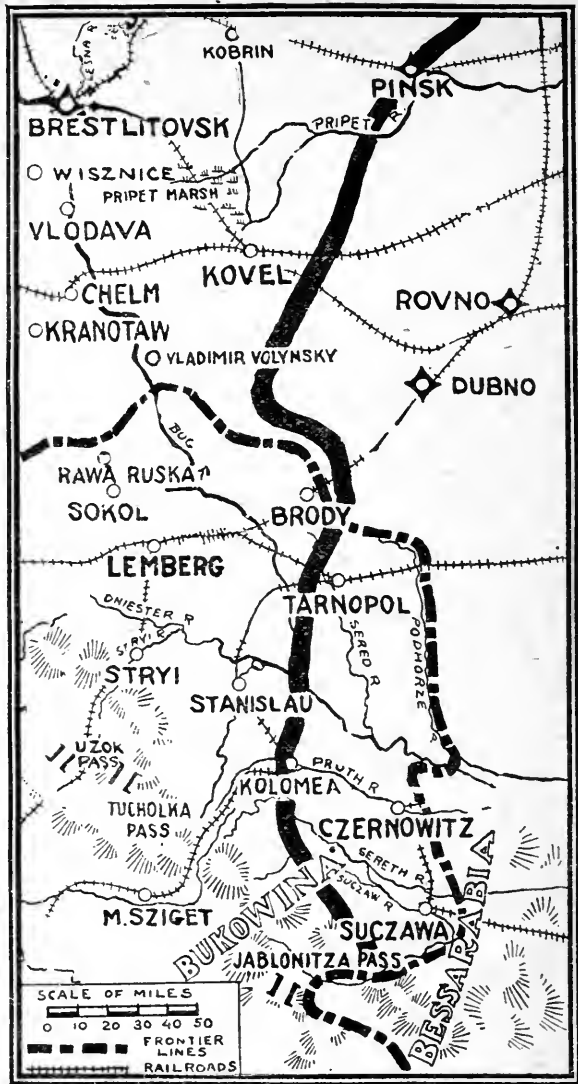
Simultaneously the Russian centre drove against South-eastern Galicia, against Tarnopol, and the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway, and further south against Buczacz and Stanislaw and against the Carpathian passes that lead to the Hungarian plain.

The extreme left wing was directed against the Bukovina, with Czernowitz the chief aim, and one eye cast toward Rumania, whose border is the southeastern "fence" of this theatre of operations. The military situation then took the following course:

1. Volhynian Front: The Russian forces advancing from Lutsk in a northwesterly direction against Kovel were checked on both banks of the Styr between the Lutsk-Kovel railway and the Sokul-Kolki line, by the army of General von Linsingen.

To the southwest of Lutsk the Austro-Hungarian army under Archduke Josef Ferdinand hurled itself against the advancing Russians at Gorochow, not far from Vladimir Volynski.

2. Galician Front: On the Stripa the army of the Bavarian General, Count von Bothmer, rendered successful resistance. Here the Russian attempt to break through failed in the same manner as had the effort on the Volhynian front. All Russian attacks near Przemloka, in the region of Buczacz, were beaten off.



BATTLE LINE ON RUSSIAN FRONT, JULY 15, 1916

After the steam roller's initial successes in overrunning the enemy's first lines, the "break-through battle" on the Russian right wing and in the centre was brought to a standstill. For decisive successes could be achieved only when, as in the case of the Galician "break-through battle," the initial fury and driving power did not slacken for a moment. As soon as they weakened the materialization of the aims was forthwith made doubtful. Thereupon the greatest mobil-



WHOLE LENGTH OF THE RUSSIAN FRONT FROM RIGA TO THE RUMANIAN BORDER

ity of action was observed on the Russian left wing, on the Bukowina front, to which the original basic plan had assigned the least important military rôle.

Czernowitz, the Bukowina capital, was occupied. The possession of this city is of no great strategic significance. Originally we were told that the Russian objective on the Bukowina border was the Hungarian plain. Then the "Hungarian Plain" suddenly disappeared from the strategic calculations. The new assertion was that the advance of the Russian left wing was directed against the railway Czernowitz-Stanislaw-Styry, and further along the Dniester against Lemberg. But in the meantime the army of Count von Bothmer had brought the offensive of the Russian centre at Buczacz, on the Galician frontier, to a standstill.

Lemberg, too, was soon eliminated from the calculations. Again the direction of the Russian advance was changed. The masses were directed southward. Radautz and Suczawa were taken, and the Russian lines were then extended along the Rumanian frontier as far as Kimpolung to the west. Now it is asserted that the Russians will from this line break through into the interior of Hungary. The way leads across the eastern Carpathians and through the Kirlibaba Pass, where the Russians were severely defeated last year when they made their first attempt to force the Carpathians.

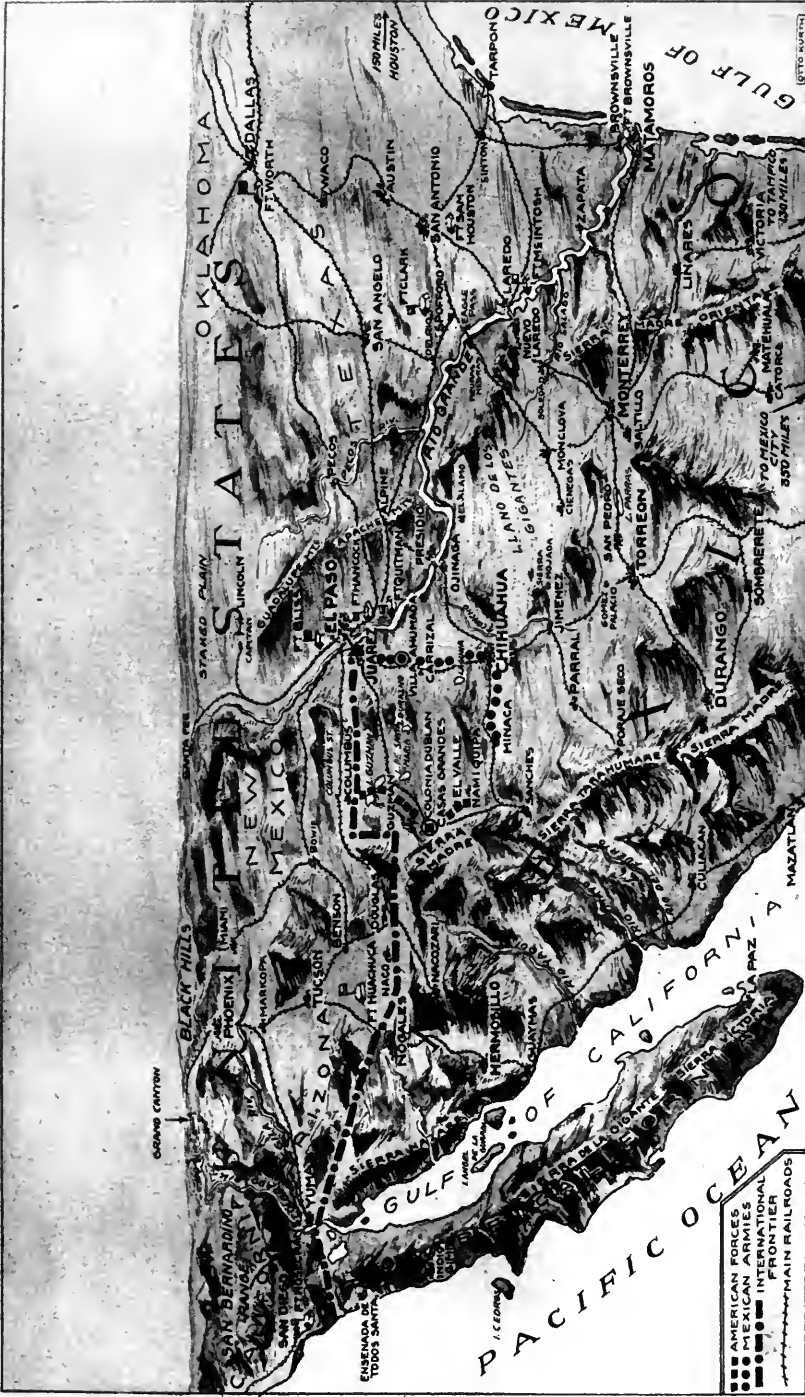
The moment the great offensive had been brought to a standstill on the Russian right wing, in Volhynia, and in the centre, in Southern Galicia, the coherence and unity of the operations were shaken on the entire front; the offensive of the left wing assumed the character of a suddenly stopped dash, and the danger arose that the whole front might be "rolled up" by a Teuton counteroffensive, while there was also the menace of a flanking attack against the protruding Russian wing. The idea of reaching the Hungarian plain in a westward advance from Czernowitz has long since been abandoned. The occupation of Kolomea gave rise to the theory that the Russians proposed to reach Lemberg by way of Stanislaw, advancing in a

northwesterly direction. On this road the Russians must meet the army of Count von Bothmer, and that has meantime happened. The Bavarian General, however, did not await the enemy's approach, but seized the initiative by pushing his own army forward to meet the opponent. From the region around Buczacz, the base of his defense line, which is directed against the east, he advanced from the northeast across the Dniester. At Tlumacz, thirty-six kilometers north of Kolomea and thirty-two kilometers southwest of Buczacz, he came in contact with the Russians and attacked them. On a front of sixteen kilometers he penetrated the Russian positions to a depth of seven kilometers.

The tremendous superiority of the Russians in the Bukowina made it possible to achieve a series of successes. But even the westward advance, via Delatyn, aimed probably against the eastern passes of the Carpathians, and the north-westward drive, against Stanislaw and probably against Lemberg, are already out of all connection with the original idea. The further development of the offensive is determined solely by events in Volhynia. There the army of General von Linsingen and that of Archduke Josef Ferdinand, to the south, have drawn a wide bow around the Russian right wing. This bow begins at Kolki, runs along the Styr via Sokul, to Saturze, east of Vladimir Volynski, then south by way of Lokatchi, Gorochow and Vereschesko to Radsivilów, east of Brody.

The importance of the operations on the Volhynian battlefield is evident from the tremendous efforts the Russians are making to extend this offensive. The attacks against the Pripet front of the army under Prince Leopold of Bavaria are to be taken less as an extension of the attacks to the north than as an attempt to make room north of Kovel for the offensive on the southeast front. Kovel is the converging point of two railway lines. In this area there are raging at present (middle of July) terrific battles on both banks of the Stokhod River. General von Linsingen was compelled to take his forces from the salient north of Kolki on the Styr and to consolidate

PERSPECTIVE MAP OF THE SCENE OF MEXICAN BORDER TROUBLES



The Position Held By General Pershing's American Punitive Force Runs From Namiqua to Columbus, While That of Carranza's Troops Is Along the Railroads From Minaca to Chihuahua, Thence Northward to Juarez. Our National Guard Is Being Posted At Intervals Along the Whole Frontier From Arizona to the Gulf

(Drawing © 1916 New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial)

them closer to Kovel. Strategic considerations had necessitated this change of front. The main task of the armies of the Central Powers on the southeastern front consists in counteracting and frustrating the Russian attempt to break through. The German and Austro-Hungarian lines are holding firm around Baronowitchi as well as on the Volhynian front to the north and west of Lutsk; they are intact on the East Galician front, on the Styr and on the Stripa, on the line before Brody and in the region of Buczacz. Even the advance of the extreme Russian left wing in the Bukovina has not been able to cut the connection between the various army groups of the Central Powers.

The Anglo-French drive at the western front, which began July 1, had as the immediate objective of the left wing, Bapaume, that of the centre, Combles, and that of the right wing, Peronne. Bapaume and Peronne are important railway points, vital to the German system of communication. They are connected by a broad road which, if seized by the Allies, would constitute an extremely favorable base for a further advance.

The offensive up to date has gone through five phases, as follows:

- 1.—The successful first dash of the Allies, carried out with a great initial momentum and resulting in the overrunning of the German advanced positions and in the retirement by the Teutons from their first-line positions to those intervening between the first and second lines.
- 2.—The beginning of the German counterattacks.
- 3.—The continuation of the advance by the French right wing in the direction of Peronne; the halt in the offensive on the British left wing against Bapaume.
- 4.—The slackening of the advance on the part of the French right wing and the heavy fighting in the centre.
- 5.—The dissolution of the great offensive—which originally was planned to be pushed by frontal attacks on the whole line on both wings and in the

centre—into separate combats on local battlefields.

The British in their first onrush took several villages and other portions of the line from Serre to Mametz. They advanced as far as Montauban. The Germans rendered stubborn resistance on the first day in the position of Fri-court, but this position soon became entirely untenable. The main attack of the French was directed against Curlu, not far from the Peronne-Combles sector. The village fell to the French, as did the village of Frise, to the southeast, and the wood of Mereaucourt, northwest of the German line.

On the left flank of the British front, between the Ancre brook and La Boisselle, the offensive was soon brought to a standstill. The British right and the French left wings pushed back the German lines beyond Thiepval and Ovillers, as far as La Boisselle and thence to the line Contalmaison-Montauban-Hardecourt-Curlu. At that juncture the offensive came to a stop in the centre as well. Subsequently the further advance was confined to the French right wing. Thus the 33-kilometer Anglo-French front, from which the great offensive had been launched, and which was to drive the Germans out of Northern France and Belgium, had shrunk to a line of seven kilometers, from south of the Somme to Foucaourt.

Under the fury of the tremendous hostile artillery fire the German troops on the southern area of the Somme battlefield were compelled to abandon their first line of defense and the positions between that and the second. The French advanced within a few kilometers of the Peronne Railway, which runs along the Somme, and crosses the river due south of the city. In order to reach the next objective, which is Peronne itself, the French right wing must cross the Somme, and there they must meet the second main line of the German defense system.

The German counterattacks began on the evening of the day the great offensive was begun. They were directed against Serre and Montauban, the positions taken by the British, and against the French advanced positions on both

banks of the Somme. They soon brought the advance of the British left wing to a standstill. They were extended from Thiepval, in the British centre, as far as La Boisselle, south of the Ancre Brook, and from Mametz, on the right British wing, down to Barleuz and Belloy-en-Santerre, on the French front south and west of the Somme (the river makes a bend in that region) as well as around Hardecourt aux Bois, west of the railroad from Curlu to Combles.

The German counterattacks against the centre of the allied line of attack isolated the advance of the French right wing against Peronne and determined the region where the decision must fall. The decisive battle is now raging on the line La Boisselle - Contalmaison - Montauban-Hardecourt aux Bois.

The fate of the Russian offensive on the southwestern front will be decided on its right wing, that of the Anglo-French offensive on the west front in the centre. Both offensives have already lost their unity of action.

The moment the advance is brought to a standstill on a wide, separate sector of the entire front, an offensive loses its inherent military character and is dissolved into individual combats on separate battlefields. The counterattacks in such cases are always directed against that sector of the hostile front which "got stuck." In that sector the enemy suffers the severest losses, and there the counterattacking forces have the best opportunity to open the road for a general counteroffensive.

If the great allied drive on the western front was to affect the situation at Verdun, that purpose has not been achieved. The fact that the German attacks on the French fortress have lost nothing of their strength and effectiveness proves that no troops have been withdrawn from the Verdun front. The German Verdun campaign is being continued in the same old logical and systematic course. On the western bank of the Meuse the French forces continue to exhaust themselves in vain onslaughts against the German positions. On the eastern bank

the inner centaine of forts already is the objective of the German attacks. Fort Vaux has fallen. The Thiaumont field work, with Hill 321, the village of Fleury, the detached works of Douaumont, all have been taken by the Germans.

From the northeast the attackers continue to batter the inner ring of forts. In a mighty onrush they debouched from Fleury village and from the woods of Vaux and Chapitre, and pushed ahead as far as Sainte Fine Capelle. This chapel lies immediately before Fort Souville, which fronts the Cote de Belleville, the last chain of hills separating the attackers from the fortress proper. Fort Souville captured, the fate of Fort Tavannes with its field work, La Laufee, is also doomed.

The simultaneous "great offensives" of the Allies in the west, southeast, and south have thrown the Central Powers on the defensive everywhere. The defensive, viewed from the angle of the hostile intentions, often is victory. Ultimate success is the more certain when the defensive tactics control the military situation and point the way to its further development, thereby frustrating the enemy's plans even before the counteroffensive has been put into full operation. That is what is happening today on the southeast front as well as in the west. Thus, even on the defensive, the initiative remains with the Germans.

These battlefields today lie quite remote from the great army road where the decisive events are on the march. The strategy of watchful waiting, to which trench warfare, too, belongs, has given way to actuality. In position warfare, which had developed into fortress warfare, the artillery spoke the decisive word. In mobile warfare and in the open field, artillery preparation today also plays an important part. But the infantry is even today still queen of battles. The events of the month past have put the crown back upon her head. In that respect the great offensive movements on all fronts of the main theatres of war have followed the example of the Verdun campaign.

TALES OF "THE TRADE"

[Submarine Adventures, Written From Official Reports in the Possession of the
British Admiralty]

By Rudyard Kipling

[Copyright, 1916, by Rudyard Kipling]

"THE TRADE"

*They bear, in place of classic names,
Letters and numbers on their skin.
They play their grisly blindfold games
In little boxes made of tin.
Sometimes they stalk the Zeppelin,
Sometimes they learn where mines are
laid
Or where the Baltic ice is thin.
That is the custom of "The Trade."*

*Few Prize Courts sit upon their claims.
They seldom tow their targets in.
They follow certain secret aims
Down under, far from strife or din.
When they are ready to begin
No flag is flown, no fuss is made
More than the shearing of a pin.
That is the custom of "The Trade."*

*The Scout's quadruple funnel flames
A mark from Sweden to the Swin,
The Cruiser's thundrous screw proclaims
Her comings out and goings in.
But only whiffs of paraffin
Or creamy rings that fizz and fade
Show where the one-eyed Death has
been.
That is the custom of "The Trade."*

*Their feats, their fortunes, and their
fames
Are hidden from their nearest kin;
No eager public backs or blames,
No journal prints the yarns they spin
(The Censor would not let it in!)
When they return from run or raid.
Unheard they work, unseen they win.
That is the custom of "The Trade."*

I.

Some Work in the Baltic

NO one knows how the title of "The Trade" came to be applied to the submarine service. Some say that the cruisers invented it because they pretend that submarine officers look like unwashed chauffeurs. Others think it sprang forth by itself, which means that it was coined by the lower deck, where they always have the proper names for things. Whatever the truth, the submarine service is now "The Trade," and if you ask them why they will answer, "What else could you call it? The Trade's 'the trade,' of course."

It is a close corporation, yet it recruits its men and officers from every class that

uses the sea and engines, as well as from many classes that never expected to deal with either. It takes them; they disappear for a while and return changed to their very souls, for the Trade lives in a world without precedents, of which no generation has had any previous experience—a world still being made and enlarged daily. It creates and settles its own problems as it goes along, and if it cannot help itself no one else can. So the Trade lives in the dark and thinks out inconceivable and impossible things which it afterward puts into practice.

STAID ADMIRALTY RECORDS

It keeps books, too, as honest traders should. They are almost as bald as

ledgers and are written up, hour by hour, on a little sliding table that pulls out from beneath the commander's bunk. In due time they go to my Lords of the Admiralty, who presently circulate a few carefully watered extracts for the confidential information of the junior officers of the Trade, that these may see what things are done, and how. The juniors read, but laugh. They have heard the stories, with all the flaming detail and much of the language, either from a chief actor while they perched deferentially on the edge of a messroom fender, or from his subordinate, in which case they were not so deferential, or from some returned member of the crew present on the occasion, who, between half-shut teeth at the wheel, jerks out what really happened. There is very little going on in the Trade that the Trade does not know within a reasonable time. But the outside world must wait until my Lords of the Admiralty release the records. Some of them have been released now.

A TALE OF THE BALTIC

Let us take, almost at random, an episode in the life of his Majesty's submarine E-9. It is true that she was commanded by Commander Max Horton, but the utter impersonality of the tale makes it as though the boat herself spoke. Some time ago the E-9 was in the Baltic, in the deeps of Winter, where she used to be taken to her hunting grounds by an ice breaker.

Obviously, a submarine cannot use her sensitive nose to smash heavy ice with, so the broad-beamed pushing chaperon comes along to see her clear of the thick harbor and shore ice. In the open sea, apparently, she is left to her own devices. In company of the ice breaker, then, E-9 "proceeded" (neither in the senior nor in the junior service does any one officially "go" anywhere) to "a certain position." Here—it is not stated in the book, but the Trade knows every aching, single detail of what is left out—she spent a certain time in testing arrangements and apparatus, which may or may not work properly, immersed in a mixture of block ice and dirty ice cream in a temperature well toward zero.

This is a pleasant job, made the more delightful by the knowledge that if you slip off the superstructure the deadly Baltic chill will stop your heart long before even your heavy clothes can drown you. Hence (and this is not in the book, either) the remark of the highly trained sailorman in these latitudes who, on being told by his superior officer in the execution of his duty to go to hell, did insubordinately and enviously reply, "D'you think I'd be here if I could?" Whereby he caused the entire personnel, beginning with the commander, to say, "Amen," or words to that effect.

BAGGING A DESTROYER

E-9 evidently made things work. Next day she reports: "As circumstances were favorable, decided to attempt to bag a destroyer."

Her "certain position" must have been near a well-used destroyer run, for shortly afterward she sees three of them, but too far off to attack, and later, as the light is failing, a fourth destroyer, toward which she manoeuvres. "Depth keeping," she notes, "very difficult, owing to heavy swell."

An observation balloon on a gusty day is almost as stable as a submarine "pumping" in a heavy swell, and, since the Baltic is shallow, the submarine runs the chance of being let down with a whack on the bottom. None the less, E-9 works her way to within 600 yards of the quarry, fires, and waits just long enough to be sure that her torpedo is running straight and that the destroyer is holding her course. Then she "dips to avoid detection." The rest is deadly simple: "At the correct moment after firing, forty-five seconds to fifty seconds, heard the unmistakable noise of torpedo detonating." Four minutes later she rose and "found destroyer had disappeared." Then, for reasons probably connected with other destroyers, who, too, may have heard that unmistakable sound, she goes to bed below in the chill dark till it is time to turn homeward.

FIGHTING BALTIC ICE

When she rose she met storm from the north and logged it accordingly. "Spray froze as it struck, and bridge be-

came a mass of ice. Experienced considerable difficulty in keeping the conning tower hatch free from ice. Found it necessary to keep a man continuously employed on this work. Bridge screen immovable; ice six inches thick on it. Telegraph frozen." In this state she forges ahead till midnight, and any one who pleases can imagine the thoughts of the continuous employe scraping and hammering round the hatch, as well as the delight of his friends below when the ice-slush spattered down the conning tower. At last she considered it "advisable to free the boat of ice; so went below."

In the senior service the two words "as requisite" cover everything that need not be talked about. E-9 next day "proceeded as requisite" through a series of snowstorms and recurring deposits of ice on the bridge till she got in touch with her friend the ice-breaker; and in her company plowed and rooted her way back to the work we know. There is nothing to show that it was a near thing for E-9, but somehow one has the idea that the ice-breaker did not arrive any too soon for E-9's comfort and progress. (But what happens in the Baltic when the ice-breaker does not arrive?)

That was in Winter. In Summer quite the other way. E-9 had to go to bed by day very often under the long-lasting northern light when the Baltic is as smooth as a carpet, and one cannot get within a mile and a half of anything with eyes in its head, without being put down.

A DIVE FOR LIFE

There was one time when E-9, evidently on information received, took up "a certain position" and reported the sea "glassy." She had to suffer in silence while three heavily laden German ships went by; for an attack would have given away her position. Her reward came next day when she sighted (the words run like Marryat's) "enemy squadron coming up fast from eastward, proceeding inshore of us." There were two heavy battle-ships with an escort of destroyers, and E-9 turned to attack. She does not say how she crept up in that smooth sea within a quarter of a mile of the leading

ship, "a three-funnel ship of either the Deutschland or Braunschweig class," but she managed it, and fired both bow torpedoes at her.

"No. 1 torpedo was seen and heard to strike her just before foremost funnel; smoke and debris appeared to go as high as masthead." That much E-9 saw before one of the guardian destroyers ran at her. "So," says she, "observing her, I took my periscope off the battleship." This was excusable, as the destroyer was coming up with intent to kill, and E-9 had to flood her tanks and get down quickly. Even so, the destroyer only just missed her, and she struck bottom in forty-three feet. "But," says E-9, who, if she could not see, kept her ears open, "at the correct interval (the forty-five or fifty seconds mentioned in the previous case) the second torpedo was heard to explode, though not actually seen." E-9 came up twenty minutes later to make sure. The destroyer was waiting for her, a couple of hundred yards away, and again E-9 dipped for her life, but "just had time to see one large vessel approximately four or five miles away."

MOMENTS OF SUSPENSE

Putting courage aside, think for a moment of the mere drill of it all—that last dive for that attack on the chosen battleship; the eye at the periscope watching "No. 1 torpedo" get home; the rush of the vengeful destroyer; the instant orders for flooding everything; the swift descent which had to be arranged for, with full knowledge of the shallow sea floors waiting below, and a guess at the course that might be taken by the seeking bows above, for, assuming a destroyer to draw fifteen feet and a submarine on the bottom to stand twenty-five feet to the top of her conning tower, there is not much clearance in forty-three feet salt water, specially if the boat jumps when she touches bottom.

And, through all these and half a hundred other simultaneous considerations, imagine the trained minds below, counting, as only torpedomen can count, the run of the merciless seconds that should tell when that second shot arrived. Then "at the correct interval," as laid down in

the table of distances, the boom and the jar of No. 2 torpedo, the relief, the exhaled breath, and untightened lips; the impatient waiting for a second peep, and when that had been taken and the eye at the periscope had reported one little nigger boy in place of two on the waters, perhaps cigarettes, &c., while the destroyer sickled about at a venture overhead.

Certainly, they give men rewards for doing such things, but what reward can there be in any gift of Kings or peoples to match the enduring satisfaction of having done them, not alone, but with and through and by trusty and proved companions?

ANOTHER BALTIC BOAT

E-1, also a Baltic boat, F. N. Laurence her commander, had her experience, too. She went out one Summer day, and late—too late—in the evening sighted three transports. The first she hit. While she was arranging for the second the third inconsiderately tried to ram her before her sights were on. So it was necessary to go down at once and waste whole minutes of the precious scanting light. When she rose the stricken ship was sinking, and shortly afterward blew up. The other two were patrolling near by. It would have been a fair chance in daylight, but the darkness defeated her, and she had to give up the attack.

It was E-1 which during thick weather

came across a squadron of battle cruisers and got in on a flanking ship—probably the Moltke. The destroyers were very much on the alert, and she had to dive at once to avoid one, which only missed her by a few feet. Then the fog shut down and stopped further developments. Thus do time and chance come to every man.

The Trade has many stories, too, of watching patrols, when a boat must see chance after chance go by under her nose and write—merely write what she has seen. Naturally they do not appear in any accessible records. Nor, which is a pity, do the authorities release the records of glorious failures, when everything goes wrong; when torpedoes break surface and squatter like ducks; or arrive full square, with a clang and burst of white water, and—fail to explode; when the devil is in charge of all the motors, and clutches develop play that would scare a shoregoing mechanic bald; when batteries begin to give off death instead of power, and, atop of all, ice or wreckage of the strewn seas racks and wrenches the hull till the whole leaking bag of tricks limps home on six missing cylinders and one ditto propeller, plus the indomitable will of the red-eyed, husky scarecrows in charge.

There might be worse things in this world for decent people to read than such records.

II.

Under the Sea of Marmora

THIS war is like an iceberg. We, the public, only see an eighth of it above water. The rest is out of sight, and, as with the berg, one guesses its extent by great blocks that break off and shoot up to the surface from some underlying and outrunning spur a quarter of a mile away, so with this war sudden tales come to light which reveal unsuspected activities in unexpected quarters.

One takes it for granted that such things are always going on somewhere, but the actual emergence of the record is always astonishing.

Once upon a time there were certain E-type boats who worked the Sea of Marmora with thoroughness and humanity, for the two in English hands are compatible. The roads to their hunting grounds were strewn with peril, the waters they inhabited were full of eyes that gave them no rest, and what they lost or expended in wear and tear of the chase could not be made good till they had run the gauntlet to their base again.

The full tale of their improvisations will probably never come to light, though fragments can be picked up at intervals in proper places as the men concerned

come and go. The Admiralty gives only the bones, but those are not as dry as the boat's official story.

IN THE DARDANELLES

When the E-14, Lieut. Commander E. Courtney-Boyle, went to her work in the Sea of Marmora, she, like her sister, proceeded on her gas engine up the Dardanelles, and a gas engine by night between steep cliffs has been described by the lower deck as a full brass band in a railway cutting. So a fort picked her up with a searchlight and missed her with artillery. She dived under the mine field that guarded the strait, and when she rose at dawn in the narrowest part of the channel, which is about one mile and a half across, all the forts fired at her.

The water, too, was thick with steamboat patrols, out of which E-14 selected a Turkish gunboat and gave her a torpedo. She had just time to see a great column of water shoot as high as the gunboat's mast, when she had to dip again, as "the men in a small steamboat were leaning over and trying to catch hold of the top of my periscope."

This sentence, which might have come out of a French exercise book, is all that Lieut. Commander Courtney-Boyle sees fit to tell, and that officer will never understand why one taxpayer, at least, demands his arrest after the war till he shall give the full tale. Did he sight the shadowy underline of a small steamboat green through the deadlights, or did she suddenly swim into his vision from behind and obscure, without warning, his periscope with a single brown clutching hand? Was she alone or one of a mob of splashing and shouting small craft?

HOURS OF BLIND DEATH

He may well have been too busy to note, for there were patrols all around him, a mine field of curious design and undefined area somewhere in front, and steam trawlers vigorously sweeping for him astern and ahead, and when E-14 had burrowed and bumped and scratched through six hours of blind death, she found the Sea of Marmora crawling with

craft and was kept down almost continuously, and grew hot and stuffy in consequence.

Nor could she charge her batteries in peace, so at the end of another hectic, hunted day of starting them up and breaking off and diving, which causes bad temper, she decided to quit those infested waters near the coast and charge up somewhere off the traffic routes. This was accomplished after a long, hot run which did the motors no good.

She went back to her beat, where she picked up three destroyers, convoying a couple of troopships, but it was glassy calm and the destroyers "came for me."

She got off a long-range torpedo at one transport, and ducked before she could judge the results. She apologizes for this on the ground that one of her periscopes had been damaged—not as one would expect by gentlemen leaning out of a little steamboat, but by some casualty, the shot calibre not specified, the day before, "and so," says E-14, "I could not risk my remaining one being bent."

DESTROYING A TRANSPORT

However, she heard a thud, and the depth gauges, those great clock hands on white-faced circles, flickered, which is another sign of dreadful certainty down under. When she rose again she saw the destroyer convoying one burning transport to the nearest beach.

That afternoon she met a sister boat, now gone to Valhalla, who told her that she was almost out of torpedoes, and they arranged a rendezvous for the next day, but "before we could communicate we had to dive, and I did not see her again." There must be many such greetings in "The Trade of Hy," the name which submarines go by in the British Navy under all skies. Boat rising beside boat at a point agreed upon for the interchange of news and materials, they talk and shout aloud, with the speakers' eyes always on the horizon and all hands standing by to dive, even in the middle of a sentence.

E-14 kept to her job on the edge of the procession of traffic. Patrol vessels annoyed her to such extent that "as I had not seen any transports lately I

decided to sink a patrol ship, as they were always firing on me." So she torpedoed a thing that looked like a mine layer and must have been something of that kidney, for it sank in less than a minute.

A tramp steamer lumbering across the dead flat sea was thoughtfully headed back to Constantinople by firing rifles ahead of her.

"Under fire the whole day," E-14 observes philosophically. The nature of her work made this inevitable. She was all day among patrols which kept her down a good deal and made her draw on her batteries, and when she rose to charge, the watchers ashore burned oil flares on the beach or made smokes among the hills, according to the light in either case, and there would be a general rush of patrolling craft of all kinds from steam launches to gunboats.

DID POPULAR THINGS

Nobody loves the Trade, though E-14 did several things which made her popular. She left off a string of very surprised dhows (they were empty) in charge of a tug, which promptly fled back to Constantinople and stopped a couple of steamers, full of refugees, also bound for Constantinople, who were very pleased at being allowed to proceed instead of being Lusitaniaed as they had expected.

Another refugee boat, fleeing from goodness knows what horror, she chased into Rodosto Harbor, when, though she could not see any troops, "they opened a heavy rifle fire on us, hitting the boat several times. So I went away and chased two more small tramps, who returned toward Constantinople."

Transports, of course, were fair game, and, in spite of the necessity she was under of not risking her remaining eye, E-14 got a big one in a night of wind and made another hurriedly beach itself, which then opened fire on her, assisted by the local population.

"I returned the fire and proceeded," says E-14. The diversion of returning fire is one much appreciated by the lower deck as furnishing a pleasant break in what might otherwise be a monotonous and odoriferous task. There is no drill

laid down for this evolution, but etiquette and custom prescribe that on going up the hatch you shall not too energetically prod the next man ahead with the muzzle of your rifle. Likewise when descending in quick time before the hatch closes you are requested not to jump directly on the head of the next below. Otherwise you act as requisite on your own initiative.

When she had used up all her torpedoes, E-14 prepared to go home by the way she had come. There was no other, and she was chased toward Gallipoli by a mixed pack, composed of a gunboat, a torpedo boat, and a tug.

"They shepherded me to Gallipoli, one on each side of me and one astern, evidently expecting me to be caught by nets there."

She walked very delicately for the next eight hours or so, all down the strait with underrunning strong tides, ducking down when the fire from the forts was too hot, verifying her position and the position of the mine field, but always taking notes of every ship in sight till toward tea time she saw our navy off the entrance and "rose to the surface abeam of a French battleship, who gave us a rousing cheer."

DOINGS OF E-11

She had been away as nearly as possible three weeks, and a kind destroyer escorted her to the base, where we will leave her for a moment while we consider the performance of E-11, Commander M. E. Nasmith, in the same waters at about the same season. E-11 proceeds in the usual way to the usual accompaniments of hostile destroyers up the strait and meets the usual difficulties about charging up. When she gets through, her wireless naturally takes this opportunity to give trouble, and E-11 is left deaf and dumb somewhere in the middle of the Sea of Marmora diving to avoid hostile destroyers in the intervals of trying to come at the fault in her aerial.

Yet it is noteworthy that the language of the Trade, though technical, is no more emphatic or incandescent than that of topside ships.

When she goes toward Constantinople

she finds a Turkish torpedo gunboat off the port and sinks her. She has her periscope smashed by a six-pounder, retires, fits a new top on the periscope, and at 10:30 A. M. (they must have needed it) pipes all hands to bathe. Much refreshed, she gets her wireless linked up at last and is able to tell the authorities where she is and what she is after.

At this point (it was off Rodosto) enter a small steamer, which does not halt when requested, and so is fired at with several rounds from a rifle. The crew, on being told to abandon her, tumble into their boats with such haste that they capsize two out of three. Fortunately, says E-11, they are able to pick up everybody.

LO! AN "AMERICAN"

You can imagine for yourself the confusion alongside, the raffle of odds and ends, floating out of boats and the general parti-colored hurrah's nest all over the bright, broken water. What you cannot imagine is this: "An American gentleman then appeared on the upper deck, who informed us that his name was Silas Q. Swing of The Chicago Sun, and that he was pleased to make our acquaintance. He then informed us that the steamer was proceeding to Chanak, and he wasn't sure if there were any stores aboard."

If anything could astonish the Trade at this late date, one would almost fancy that apparition of Silas Q. Swing's "very happy to meet you, gentlemen," might have started a rivet or two on E-11's placid skin, but she never quivered.

She kept a Lieutenant of the name of Dontley Hughes, an expert in demolition parties, and he went aboard the tramp and reported any quantity of stores, a six-inch gun, for instance, lashed across the top of the forehatch, (Silas Q. Swing must have been an unobservant journalist,) a six-inch gun mounting in the forehold, pedestals for twelve-pounders thrown in as dunnage, the afterhold full of six-inch projectiles, and a scattering of other commodities. They put a demolition charge well in among the six-inch stuff and she took it all to the bottom in a few minutes after being touched off. Simultaneously with the sinking of the

vessel, E-11 goes on. Smoke was observed to the eastward. It was a steamer that had seen the explosion and was running for Rodosto. E-11 chased her till she was tied up to a Rodosto pier, and then torpedoed her where she lay, a heavy-laden storeship, piled high with packing cases.

The water was shallow here, and though the E-11 bumped along the bottom, which does not make for steadiness of aim, she was forced to show a good deal of her only periscope, and had it dented, but not damaged, by rifle fire from the beach.

As she moved out of Rodosto Bay she saw a paddleboat, loaded with barbed wire, which stopped on hail, but "as we ranged alongside her, attempted to ram us, but failed, owing to our superior speed." Then she ran for the beach, very skillfully keeping her stern to E-11, till she drove ashore beneath some cliffs.

The demolition squad were just getting to work when a party of horsemen appeared on the cliffs above and opened a hot fire on the conning tower. E-11 got out, but, owing to the shoal water, it was some time before she could get under enough to fire a torpedo. The stern of the stranded paddleboat is no great target, and the thing exploded on the beach. Then she recharged her batteries and proceeded slowly on the surface toward Constantinople. All this was between the ordinary office hours of 10 A. M. and 4 P. M.

IN CONSTANTINOPLE HARBOR

Her next day's work opens, as no pallid writer of fiction dare begin, thus:

"Having dived unobserved into Constantinople, I observed," &c.

Her observations were rather hampered by cross tide, mud, and currents, as well as the vagaries of one of her own torpedoes, which turned upside down and ran about promiscuously. It hit something; at last, and so did another shot that she fired. But the waters by Constantinople Arsenal are not healthy to linger in after one has scared the whole seafront, so "I turned to go out."

Matters were little better below. E-11 in her perilous passage might have been a lady of the harem tied up in a sack

and thrown into the Bosphorus. She grounded heavily, she bounced up thirty feet, was headed down again by a manoeuvre easier to shudder over than to describe, and when she came to rest on the bottom found herself being swiveled right around the compass.

They watched the compass with much interest: "It was concluded, therefore, that the vessel (E-11 is one of the few who speak of themselves as vessels as well as boats) was resting on the shoal under Leander Tower and was being turned around by the current."

So they corrected her, started the motors, and bumped gently down into eighty-five feet of water, with no more knowledge than the lady in the sack where any bump would land them, and the next day was spent resting in the centre of the Sea of Marmora.

That was their favorite preening perch between operations, because it gave them a chance to tidy the boat and bathe; and they were cleanly people, both in their methods and their persons. When they boarded a craft and found nothing of consequence they "parted with many expressions of good-will," and E-11 had a good wash.

STEAMER TRIES TO RAM

She gives her reasons at length, for going in and out of Constantinople and the strait is all in the day's work, but going dirty, you understand, is serious. She had "of late noticed the atmosphere in the boat becoming very oppressive, the reason, doubtless, being that there was a quantity of dirty linen aboard, and also a scarcity of fresh water, a necessitated limit being placed on the frequency of personal washing."

Hence the centre of the Sea of Marmora and all hands playing overside and as much laundry work as time and the service allowed.

One of the reasons, by the way, why we shall be good friends with the Turk again is that he has many of our ideas about decency.

In due time E-11 went back to her base. She had discovered a way of using unspent torpedoes twice over, which surprised the enemy, and she had

as nearly as possible been cut down by a ship which she thought was running away from her, instead of which she made the discovery at 3,000 yards—the stranger steamed straight at her. "The enemy then witnessed a somewhat spectacular dive at full speed from the surface to twenty feet in as many seconds. He then really did turn tail and was seen no more."

Going through the strait, she observed an empty troopship at anchor, but reserved her torpedoes in the hope of picking up some battleships lower down. Not finding these in the Narrows, she nosed her way back and sank a trooper, afterward continuing her journey down the strait.

Off Kilid Bahr something happened. She got out of trim and had to be fully flooded before she could be brought to her required depth. It might have been whirlpools under the water or other things.

They tell a story of a boat which once went mad in these very waters, and, for no reason ascertainable from within, plunged to depths that contractors do not allow for, rocketed up again like a swordfish, and would doubtless have so continued till she died, had not something she had fouled dropped off and let her recover her composure.

FOULING A MINE

An hour later: "I heard a noise similar to grounding. Knowing this to be impossible in the water in which the boat then was, I came up to twenty feet to investigate, and observed a large mine, preceding the periscope at a distance of about twenty feet, which was apparently hung up by its moorings to the port hydroplane." The hydroplanes are the fins at the bow and stern which regulate submarines.

A diving mine weighs anything from hundredweights to half tons. Sometimes it explodes if you merely think about it. At others you can batter it like an empty sardine tin and it submits meekly. But at no time is it meant to wear on a hydroplane.

They dared not come up to unhitch it, owing to the batteries ashore, so

they pushed the dim shape ahead of them until they got outside of Kum Kale.

They went full astern and emptied the after tanks, which brought the bows down, and in this posture rose to the

surface, "when the rush of waters from the screws, together with the sternway gathered, allowed the mine to fall clear of the vessel."

How a fool, said Dr. Johnson, would have tried to describe that.

III.

The Unkultured Deeds of E-14

NOW we will take up the E-14 on various work, either alone or as the flagship of a squadron composed of herself and Lieut. Commander N. A. Smith's boat, the E-11. Hers was a busy midsummer, and she came to be intimate with all sorts of craft, such as a two-funneled gunboat off Sar Kioi, who "fired at us and missed as usual"; hospital ships going back and forth unmolested to Constantinople, "the gunboat which fired at me on Sunday," and other old friends afloat and ashore.

When the crew of a Turkish brigantine full of stores got into their boats by request and then "all stood up and cursed us," the E-14 did not lose her temper, even though it was too rough to lie alongside the abandoned ship. She told Acting Lieutenant R. W. Lawrence of the Royal Naval Reserve to swim off to her, which he did, and, after "a cursory search"—who can be expected to Sherlock Holmes for hours with nothing on?—set fire to her, "with the aid of her own matches and paraffin oil."

Then the E-14 had a brawl with a steamer with a yellow funnel with a blue top and a black band, lying at her pier among the dhows. The shore took a hand in the game with small guns and rifles, and, as the E-14 manoeuvred about the roadstead, "as requisite," there was a sudden, unaccountable explosion which strained her very badly.

"I think," she muses, "I must have caught the moorings of a mine with my tail as I was turning and exploded it. It is possible it might have been a big shell bursting over us, but I think this unlikely, as we were submerged thirty feet at the time."

She is always a philosophical boat, anxious to arrive at the reason of facts, and when the game is against her she admits it freely.

There was a nondescript craft of a few hundred tons, who "at a distance did not look very warlike," but when chased suddenly played a couple of six-pounders and "got off two dozen rounds at us before we were under. Some of them were only about twenty yards off." And when a wily steamer, after sidling along shore, lay up in front of a town, she became "indistinguishable from the houses," and so was safe, because we do not Lowestrafe open towns.

Sailing dhows full of grain had to be destroyed. At one rendezvous, while awaiting the E-11, the E-14 dealt with three such cases and then "towed the crews inshore and gave them biscuits, beef, and rum and water, as they were rather wet." Passenger steamers were allowed to proceed because they "were full of people of both sexes," which is an unkultured way of doing business.

TWO HEADS IN THE WATER

An empty dhow is passed, which the E-14 was going to leave alone, but it occurs to her that the boat looks "rather deserted," and she fancies she sees two heads in the water. So she goes back half a mile, picks up a couple of badly exhausted men, frightened out of their wits, gives them food and drink, and puts them aboard their property.

Crews that jump overboard have to be picked up even if, as happened in one case, there are twenty of them and one of them is a German bank manager taking a quantity of money to a Chanak bank. Hospital ships are carefully

looked over as they come and go, and are left to their own devices, but they are rather a nuisance, because they force the E-14 and others to dive for them when engaged in stalking warrantable game. There were a good many hospital ships, and so far as we can make out, they all played fair.

The E-14 boarded one and reported everything satisfactory. A layman cannot tell from the reports which of the duties demanded the most work, whether the continuous clearing out of transports, dhows, and sailing ships, generally found close to a well-gunned and attentive beach, or the equally continuous attacks on armed vessels of every kind. Whatever else might be going on, there was always the problem how to arrange for the crews of sunken ships. If a dhow has no small boats and you cannot find one handy, you have to take the crew aboard, where they are horribly in the way and add to the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, like "nine people, including two very old men," whom the E-14 made honorary members of her mess for several hours till she could put them ashore after dark.

Oddly enough she "could not get anything out of them." Imagine nine bewildered Moslems suddenly decanted into the reeking, clamorous bowels of a fabric obviously built by Shaitan himself and surrounded by—but our people are people of the Book and not dog-eating Kaf-firs, and I will wager a great deal that that little company went ashore in better health and stomach than when they were passed down the conning tower hatch.

AMPHIBIOUS BATTLES

Then there were queer amphibious battles with troops, who had to be shelled as they marched toward Gallipoli along the coast roads. The E-14 went out with the E-11 on this job early one morning, each boat taking her chosen section of landscape. Thrice the E-14 rose to fire, thinking she saw the dust of feet, but "each time it turned out to be bullocks." When the shelling was ended "I think the troops marching along that road must have been delayed and a good many killed." The Turks got up field guns in

the course of the afternoon—your true believer never hurries—which outranged both boats, and they left accordingly. But one cannot rejoice over dead Mohammedans, and I have never met any one in the Trade who did.

Then the E-14 went back to her base. She had a hellish time among the Dardanelles nets, was of course fired at by the forts, just missed a torpedo from the beach, scraped a mine, and, when she had time to investigate, found electric mine wires twisted around her propellers, and all her hull scraped and scored with wire marks.

A NASTY ARTIFICER

But that again was only in the day's work. The point she insisted upon was that she had been for seventy days in the Sea of Marmora, with no securer base for refitting than the centre of the same, and during all that while she had not had any "engine room defect which had not been put right by the engine room staff of the boat." The commander and third officer went sick for a while, the First Lieutenant got gastric enteritis and was in bed (if you could see that bed!) "for the remainder of our stay in the Sea of Marmora," but "this boat has never been out of running order." Credit is ascribed to "the excellence of my chief engine room artificer, James Hollier Hague, C. N. 227,715," whose name is duly submitted to the authorities "for your consideration for advancement to the rank of warrant officer."

Seventy days of every conceivable sort of risk, within and without, in a boat which is all engine-room, except where she is sick-bay; 12,000 miles covered since the last overhaul, and "never out of running order," thanks to Mr. Hague! Such artists as he are the kind of engine-room artificers that commanders intrigue to get hold of—each for his own boat—and when the tales are told in the trade their names, like Abou ben Adhem's, lead all the rest.

I do not know the exact line of demarcation between engine room and gunnery repairs, but I imagine it is faint and fluid. The E-11, for example, while she was helping the E-14 to shell a

beached steamer, smashed half her gun-mounting, "a gun-layer being thrown overboard and the gun nearly following him." However, the mischief was repaired in the next twenty-four hours—hours which, considering the very limited deck space of a submarine, means that all hands must have been moderately busy. One hopes they had not to dive often during the job.

THROUGH NET STAYS

But worse is to come. The E-2, Commander D. Stocks, carried an externally mounted gun which, while she was driving up the Dardanelles on business, got hung up in the wires and stays of a net. She saw them through her conning tower scuttle at a depth eighty feet—one wire hawser around the gun, another around the conning tower, and so on. There was a continuous crack of small explosions overhead, which she thought were charges aimed by guard-boats who watch the nets. She considered her position for awhile, backed, got up speed, forged ahead and shore through the whole affair in one wild surge. Imagine the roof of a navigable cottage after it had snapped telegraph lines with its chimney, and you will get a small idea of what happens to the hull of a submarine when she uses her gun to break wire hawsers with.

The E-2 was a wet, strained, and uncomfortable boat for the rest of her cruise. She sank steamers, burned dhows, was worried by torpedo boats and hunted by Hun planes, hit bottom freely, and frequently silenced forts that fired at her from lonely beaches, warned villages who might have joined in the game that they had better keep to farming, shelled railway lines and stations, would have shelled a pier, but found there was a hospital built at one end of it, "so could not bombard"; came upon dhows crowded with "female refugees," which she "allowed to proceed," and was presented with fowls in return. But through it all her chief preoccupation was that racked and strained gun and mounting.

When there was nothing else doing she reports shortly that she "worked on the gun." As a philosopher of the lower deck

put it, "It isn't what you — know that matters; it's what you — have to do." In other words, worry, not work, kills. The E-2 gun did its best to knock the heart out of them all. She had to shift the wretched thing twice; once because the bolts that held it down were smashed, (the wire hawser must have pretty well pulled it off its seat,) and again because the hull beneath it leaked on pressure. She went down to make sure of it, but she drilled and tapped and adjusted till in a short time the gun worked again and killed steamers as it should.

WHOLE BOAT LEAKED

Meanwhile the whole boat leaked. All the plates under the old gun position forward leaked. She leaked aft through damaged hydroplane guards, and on her way home they had to keep the water down by hand pumps while she was diving through nets. Where she did not leak outside she leaked internally, tank leaking into tank, so that the petrol got into the main fresh water supply and the men had to be put on an allowance. The last pint was served out when she was in the narrowest part of the Narrows, a place where one's mouth may well go dry.

Of a sudden here, for the moment, the records end. I have been at some pains not to pick and choose among them. So far from doctoring or heightening any of the incidents, I have rather understated them, but I hope I have made it clear that through all the haste and fury of these multiplied actions, when life and death and destruction turned on the twitch of a finger, not one life of any noncombatant was wittingly taken. They were carefully picked up or picked out, taken below, transferred to boats and dispatched, or personally conducted in intervals of business, to a safe, unexploding beach. Sometimes they part from their chaperons "with many expressions of good-will." At others they seem greatly relieved and rather surprised at not being knocked on the head, after the custom of their allies. But the boats, with a hundred things on their minds, no more take credit for their humanity than their commanders explain feats for which they won their respective decorations.

The Deutschland's Achievement

Story of the First Submarine Trader and Its Voyage Across the Atlantic

THE safe arrival at Baltimore on July 9 of the Deutschland, a German undersea vessel built wholly for purposes of commerce, furnished the most dramatic surprise of the month. Like the episode of the Appam, it had in it the thrill of romance, appealing powerfully to the imagination. The perilous feat of this new and peaceful type of submarine—its passage through the North Sea and the English Channel, beneath the very keels of the warships of the enemy, its successful journey without escort across the Atlantic in sixteen days—appeals to Americans as a greater triumph than any of the deeds of its murderous prototype.

The coming of the Deutschland undoubtedly marks a new epoch in navigation, for this is the first commercial submarine in history, and it is to be followed at once by others, which apparently will be able to keep up a more or less regular service between Germany and the United States during the remainder of the war. It also raises a number of new problems in international law.

The Deutschland is 300 feet long, 30 wide, and carries 1,000 tons of cargo and a crew of twenty-nine men. It cost \$500,000 to build, and its cargo of dyestuffs for the first trip is said to have paid for the whole enterprise.

CAPTAIN KOENIG'S STATEMENT

Captain Paul Koenig, commander of the novel craft, issued an official statement, giving the following facts:

The submarine Deutschland, which I have the honor to command, is the first of several submarines built to the order of the Deutsche Ozean Rhederei G. M. B. H., Bremen. She will be followed by the Bremen shortly.

The idea of the building of this submarine emanated from Alfred Lohmann, then President of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce. He brought his idea in the Fall of last year confidentially before a small circle of friends, and the idea was taken up at once. A company was formed under the name of "Deutsche Ozean Rhederei G. M. B. H.,"

and the Germaniawerft, Kiel, was intrusted with the building of the submarines.

The Board of Directors is composed of Alfred Lohmann, President of the Board; Philipp Heineken, General Manager of the Nord Lloyd, and Kommerzienrat P. M. Herrman, Manager of the Deutsche Bank. Carl Stapelfeldt, Manager of the Nord Lloyd, has taken over the management of the company.

We have brought a most valuable cargo of dyestuffs to our American friends, dyestuffs which have been so much needed for months in America and which the ruler of the seas has not allowed the great American Republic to import. While England will not allow anybody the same right on the ocean because she rules the waves, we have, by means of the submarine, commenced to break this rule.

Great Britain cannot, however, hinder boats such as ours to go and come as we please. Our trip passing Dover across the ocean was an uneventful one. When danger approached we went below the surface, and here we are, safely in an American port, ready to return in due course.

I am not in a position to give you full details regarding our trip across the ocean, in view of our enemies. Our boat has a displacement of about 2,000 tons and a speed of more than fourteen knots. Needless to say that we are quite unarmed and only a peaceful merchantman. * * *

Our boats will carry across the Atlantic the mails and save them from British interruption. We trust that the old friendly relationship with the United States, going back to the days of Washington, when it was Prussia who was the first to help America in its fight for freedom from British rule, will awake afresh in your beautiful and powerful country.

The house flag of the Deutsche Ozean Rhederei is the old Bremen flag—red and white stripes, with the coat of arms of the town, the key in the corner. This key is the sign that we have opened the gates which Great Britain tried to shut up on us and the trade of the world. The gates which we opened with this key will not be shut again. Open door to the trade of the world and freedom of the oceans and equal rights to all nations on the oceans will be guaranteed by Germany's victory in this struggle for our existence.

DEFYING THE ENEMY

Still more interesting are the details of the voyage elicited from Captain Koenig

in the course of conversation. In reply to a question regarding the dodging of war-ships he said:

"Was it fun? Sometimes, yes. Most of it was fun in the English Channel. There we lay for ten hours on the bottom, snug and comfortable. Some of us slept and some of us read, and most of us listened to our graphophone playing a beautiful song from 'Peer Gynt,' while above us raged the destroyers and cruisers that would have thought us the very choicest of prey had they only known what lay hidden there below them. It was not a long ten hours; we drank a little champagne and we ate and we attended to the machinery. Always there was much to do, and there was a satisfaction in being just there.

"Always we saw the other ships first. It is that way with submarines; their eyes are better. But we had decided in advance that everything should have a wide berth. It seemed wiser."

Nothing more vivid about the adventure could be drawn from Koenig than the detailing of those times when "we just sank." As far as his words went, that was all there was to it. A vessel would be sighted; the Deutschland was quickly submerged; she would run along under water for a time, and then she would come up and open her hatches for fresh air, while officers and men went about their work, their rest, or their play.

ALL ENJOYED SUBMERGING

"Once each day we submerged as a practice drill," he said, "and, besides, we submerged, as I remember, five times in the North Sea, six in the English Channel, and three or four in the open water.

"Yes"—and he laughed heartily—"yes, each time there was a reason. The longest we actually stayed under was that ten hours in the English Channel, but we could stay four days. At the end of that time our batteries would be exhausted, and we would have to rise to recharge them. Resting on the bottom, we could stay just as long as we liked, at least as long as our provisions held out. During the entire trip we traveled a total of ninety miles under water.

"So far as the physical effect on the ship's company is concerned, we could remain forever. We can submerge fifty fathoms—300 feet—but, as a matter of fact, we never went nearly that deep, and probably never shall. We all enjoyed submerging. It was just like sinking into a soft blue nest. We opened the portholes, and then through the glass we could see the fishes and the formations of the sea, and always we listen, listen, listen.

"How do we listen? There are aboard two microphones, and with them we were able to hear the whistling of a buoy six miles off when we were under water. And just before we came up about thirty miles from the Virginia Capes we were able to hear the ringing of a bell buoy that, too, was six miles from us. The screw of a ship we could hear quite plainly while it was yet a safe distance from us. More than hearing it, we could tell whether it was a cruiser or a destroyer. It was quite fascinating to listen to.

"We left Bremerhaven at noon on June 18 just as quietly as possible. It was not that we feared anything in particular, but that is always wise in these days. No ship announces its going or its coming. What Germany's enemies do not know cannot help them. We didn't submerge as we left.

"We proceeded quietly to Heligoland, and there we stayed four days. No ship proceeds all the way after starting. It is too easy to calculate when she may be expected at some given place. So we lie in wait a while, and when we are ready we go.

PLENTY OF FUEL

"We carried 180 tons of fuel oil. Of that we have ninety-five tons left, more than enough to take us back, and we shall not ship more here. Then we carried many tons of oxygen and twenty tons of fresh water, of which we had ten left.

"We carried no ice. We had a great abundance of provisions, all of it in tins. There were tinned meats and tinned vegetables and tinned fruits and tinned fresh bread—in fact, we had everything to eat that you Americans

eat, only it was tinned. We have much food left, but it is well to have enough.

"After we got out of the North Sea our voyage was uneventful, except for those few times that we submerged. No ship saw us, and, as no one knew our destination when we started, we worried not at all. True, the American Consul at Bremen, William Thomas Fee, knew, for he had approved our manifest, but we knew he was to be trusted.

"So we just went along, making about thirteen knots on the surface and doing a little better than half of that under water. We had no sickness aboard, except one of the crew, who was badly sunburned and suffered quite a little. The last time we submerged was as we were nearing the Virginia Capes and we saw an American boat approaching. We thought it was a fruit boat, so we just dipped under for the last time. The men were always glad when we did that—it made such smooth traveling. The Deutschland scarcely rolls at all under water."

HERR LOHMANN'S IDEA

Alfred Lohmann of Berlin, the man who conceived and carried through this novel enterprise, told an interviewer that the Deutschland is only the first of a fleet of submarine freighters, entirely unarmed, and numerous enough to establish a weekly service eventually.

"I conceived the idea of breaking the British blockade long ago," continued Herr Lohmann, "but the project first took definite shape last Autumn, when I succeeded in convincing the capitalists associated with me—the Deutsche Bank and the Norddeutsche Lloyd—that the war presumably would last another twelve months. This was the hardest part of my task. Once this was done, the rest was easy, for our figures showed that the boats would more than pay for themselves in a single round trip.

"A company was immediately incorporated as the German Ocean Navigation Company of Bremen, with a nominal capital. Articles were filed on Nov. 8

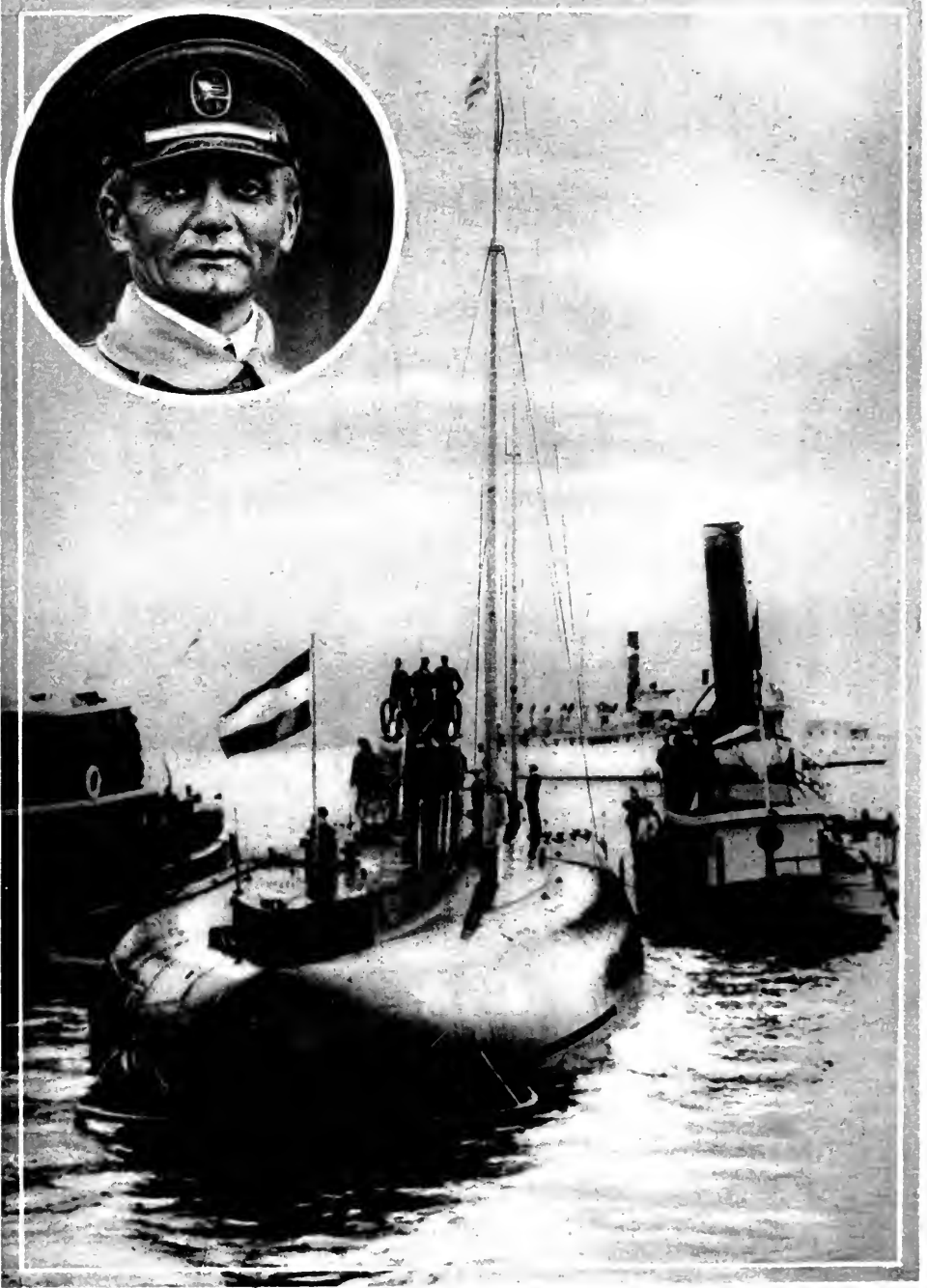
and work was commenced on the first and second boats. The Deutschland was completed some time ago, and after successful trials in the Baltic started for America, following the usual peace route of our Bremen and Hamburg steamships."

NEW SHIP'S LEGAL STATUS

The day after the arrival of the Deutschland the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and France filed formal protests at Washington, holding that the new craft was potentially a warship, and that it should not be allowed to sail from an American port. The State Department, however, through naval experts and the Neutrality Board, investigated the inner construction of the Deutschland and pronounced it purely a commercial vessel, unarmed, and incapable of being fitted with torpedoes or large guns. It was formally announced, therefore, that the American Government regarded the Deutschland as entitled to all the rights and privileges of a merchant vessel flying the flag of a belligerent country in a neutral port. The ruling is likely to have far-reaching effects, both in war and in peace. Naval commanders of the Allies have orders to fire upon submarines without warning. Here is a submarine merchantman that can legally claim all the benefits of the rules of visit and search, yet can evade its own legal obligations at pleasure. It furnishes a new problem, not only for the British Navy, but also for the customs officials of all countries.

At this writing a number of British vessels are hovering about the mouth of Chesapeake Bay—outside the three-mile limit—bent upon sinking the intruder, while Captain Koenig is calmly planning to pass under them as easily as he passed under the cruisers in the English Channel. As his craft can disappear in two minutes and live four days without coming up for air, he feels confident that he can go back with a cargo of rubber and nickel as easily as he came with one of dyestuffs.

THE DEUTSCHLAND AND HER CAPTAIN



First Commercial Submarine in History, Which Crossed the Atlantic From Germany, Landing at Baltimore July 9 With a Cargo of Dyestuffs.
Captain Paul Koenig

(Photo by Central News Service)

GENERAL VON LINSINGEN



German Commander Who Helped to Repel General Brusiloff a Year Ago, and Is Now In Turn Being Driven Back by Brusiloff's Armies
(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

Sequel of the Irish Revolt

Provisional Settlement of Home Rule—Death Sentence for Sir Roger Casement

THE adoption of a provisional settlement of the Irish question, at last giving Ireland a separate Parliament, must be counted among the fruits of the Dublin outbreak no less than the tragic fate of the leaders and the death sentence now resting upon Sir Roger Casement.

Once more Lloyd George has solved a problem before which the bravest might quail. With the tactful co-operation of Mr. Asquith he has worked out a temporary plan to which he has won the consent alike of Catholics and Protestants, Nationalists and Unionists. Briefly, it consists in creating a Parliament at Dublin, made up of the present Irish members of the English Parliament; the Dublin body to have control of home affairs, but to have nothing to do with foreign relations, the army or navy, or any matters relating to the war. This arrangement is to last until one year after the close of the European war, when the whole problem may be taken up in the light of further experience.

Six counties of Ulster are excluded from this scheme by their own desire, but Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, who two years ago armed his followers to fight home rule with a civil war if necessary, has now consented to sit with the Nationalists in the Dublin Parliament. The same is true of another Unionist leader, J. H. M. Campbell, Attorney General for Ireland. On June 23 at Belfast a convention of Irish Nationalist delegates from the six excluded Ulster counties, after listening to an impassioned speech by John Redmond, declared for the acceptance of the plan by a vote of 475 to 265. Ulster as a whole has 690,816 Catholics, who constitute 43.7 per cent. of the population. The plan is to include under home rule the three counties of Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan, where the percentage is 78.7 Catholics to 21.3 non-Catholics, while the

six remaining counties, with a proportion of 65.6 Protestant to 34.4 Catholic, will form the Province of New Ulster and remain under the English Parliament.

THE CASEMENT TRIAL

The conviction and death sentence of Sir Roger Casement on a charge of high treason complete the tragic chapter of the Irish rebellion. The trial was held in the Lord Chief Justice's Court in London, June 27-29, and aroused intense interest. Lord Reading presided, assisted by two other Justices. The prisoner's chief counsel was Alexander Sullivan, a brilliant Irish barrister, who labored under an intense emotional strain and fainted in the midst of his peroration, after a defense that won the admiration of every one in the courtroom, including the Chief Justice. Sir Roger was represented also by Artemus Jones and Michael Francis Doyle of Philadelphia.

The prosecution for the Crown was conducted by the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Smith, who opened the case with a narration of the prisoner's criminal acts, his doings in Germany, his attempt to organize Irish prisoners there into a rebel brigade to invade Ireland, his landing from a German submarine on the Irish coast in May, and his connection with a captured German auxiliary cruiser loaded with rifles and ammunition. He held that the prisoner at the bar, "blinded by hatred of this country, a hatred as malignant in quality as it was sudden in origin, had played his game and lost, and the forfeit was now claimed." A large amount of evidence covering Casement's past life was offered by the prosecution.

The defense introduced no evidence, depending largely upon arguments in support of the prisoner's motives, and attacks on the ancient statute relating to high treason. At one point Sir Roger made a brief statement to the jury, refuting certain minor accusations reflect-

ing upon his honor, and closing hotly with the words: "I must state categorically that the rebellion was not made in Germany, that the rebellion was not directed from Germany, that it was not inspired from Germany, and that not one penny of German gold went to finance it." He contended that he had acted throughout with motives of pure patriotism, and that if what he had done to free Ireland was treason he had no regret to die for it.

After an absence of fifty minutes the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The eloquence of Sir Roger is evidenced in the memorable speech which he delivered just before hearing his sentence; a portion of it is printed below. The whole scene, with Casement a sombre figure in black

standing in the dark shadow of the dock, and a filtering ray of sunlight shining upon the three Justices before whom he stood, was one to inspire a painter of historic canvases. The voice of the Chief Justice was firm, but his face was pale, as he spoke the sentence ending in the words "to be hanged by the neck until you are dead."

The prisoner's attorneys at once took an appeal to the Criminal Court of Appeals, but the case was dismissed by that court on July 18.

Daniel J. Bailey, the private soldier who had landed with Casement, testified that he had joined Casement's Irish brigade with the object of returning to his country and to the army. He was found not guilty and was released.

Sir Roger Casement's Last Speech

SIR ROGER CASEMENT, leader of the Irish revolt, was found guilty of high treason on June 29 in the Lord Chief Justice's Court, London. Before pronouncing sentence of death upon him, Lord Chief Justice Reading asked the prisoner what he had to say in his defense. Sir Roger, producing a bundle of papers, pronounced this memorable address:

As I wish my words to reach a much wider audience than I see before me here, I intend to read all that I propose to say. What I shall read now is something I wrote more than twenty days ago. There is an objection possibly not good in law but surely good on moral grounds against the application to me here of this English statute, 565 years old, that seeks to deprive an Irishman today of life and honor, not for "adhering to the King's enemies" but for adhering to his own people. When this statute was passed, in 1351, what was the state of men's minds on the question of a far higher allegiance—that of man to God and His Kingdom? The law of that day did not permit a man to forsake his Church or deny his God save with his life. The heretic then had the same doom as the traitor. Today a man may forswear God and His Heavenly Realm without fear or penalty, all earlier statutes having gone the way of Nero's edicts against the Christians; but that constitutional phantom the King can still dig up from the dungeons and torture chambers of the Dark Ages a law that takes a man's life and limb for an exercise of conscience.

Loyalty is a sentiment, not a law. It rests on Love, not on restraint. The government of Ireland by England rests on restraint and not on law; and, since it demands no love, it can evoke no loyalty. Judicial assassination today is reserved only for one race of the King's subjects, for Irishmen; for those who cannot forget their allegiance to the realm of Ireland. What is the fundamental charter of an Englishman's liberty? That he shall be tried by his peers. With all respect I assert that this court is to me, an Irishman, a foreign court—this jury is for me, an Irishman, not a jury of my peers. It is patent to every man of conscience that I have an indefeasible right, if tried at all under this statute of high treason, to be tried in Ireland, before an Irish court, and by an Irish jury. This court, this jury, the public opinion of this country, England, cannot but be prejudiced in varying degree against me, most of all in time of war. From this court and its jurisdiction I appeal to those I am alleged to have wronged, and to those I am alleged to have injured by my "evil example," and claim that they alone are competent to decide my guilt or my innocence.

This is so fundamental a right, so natural a right, so obvious a right, that it is clear the Crown were aware of it when they brought me by force and by stealth from Ireland to this country. It was not I who landed in England, but the Crown who dragged me here, away from my own country, to which I had returned with a price upon my head, away from my own countrymen, whose loyalty is not in doubt, and safe from the judgment of my peers, whose judgment I do not shrink from. I admit no other

judgment but theirs. I accept no verdict save at their hands.

I assert from this dock that I am being tried here not because it is just, but because it is unjust. My counsel has referred to the Ulster Volunteer movement, and I will not touch at length upon that ground, save only to say that neither I nor any of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, who were founded in Dublin in November, 1913, had quarrel with the Ulster Volunteers as such, who were born a year earlier. Our movement was not directed against them, but against the men who misused and misdirected the courage, the sincerity, and the local patriotism of the men of the North of Ireland. On the contrary, we welcomed the coming of the Ulster Volunteers, even while we deprecated the aims and intentions of those Englishmen who sought to pervert to an English party use—to the mean purposes of their own bid for place and power in England—the armed activities of simple Irishmen. We aimed at winning the Ulster Volunteers to the cause of a united Ireland—we aimed at uniting all Irishmen in a natural and national bond of cohesion based on mutual self-respect. Our hope was a natural one, and, if left to ourselves, not hard to accomplish. If external influences of disintegration would but leave us alone, we were sure that nature itself must bring us together. It was not the Irish Volunteers who broke the law, but a British party.

The Government had permitted the Ulster Volunteers to be armed by Englishmen to threaten not merely an English party in its hold on office, but to threaten that party through the lives and blood of Irishmen. Our choice lay between submitting to foreign lawlessness and resisting it, and we did not hesitate. I for one was determined that Ireland was much more to me than empire, and that if charity begins at home so must loyalty.

Since arms were so necessary to make our organization a reality and to give to the minds of Irishmen menaced with the most outrageous threats a sense of security, it was our bounden duty to get arms before all else. I decided with this end in view to go to America. If, as the right honorable gentleman, the present Attorney General, asserted in a speech at Manchester, Nationalists would neither fight for home rule nor pay for it, it was our duty to show him that we knew how to do both.

Then came the war. As Mr. Birrell said in his evidence recently laid before the Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the late rebellion in Ireland, "The war upset all our calculations." It upset mine no less than Mr. Birrell's, and put an end to my mission of peaceful effort in America. War between Great Britain and Germany meant, as I believed, ruin for all the hopes we had founded on the enrollment of the Irish Volunteers. I felt over there in America that my first duty was to keep Irishmen at home in the only army that could safeguard our national existence. If small nationalities were to be the pawns in this game of embattled giants, I saw no reason why Ireland should shed her blood in any cause but her own, and if that be treason beyond the seas I am not ashamed to avow it or to answer for it here with my life.

And when we had the doctrine of Unionist loyalty at last, "Mausers and Kaisers and any King you like," I felt I needed no other warrant than that these words conveyed—to go forth and do likewise. The difference between us was that the Unionist champions chose a path which they felt would lead to the Woolsack, while I went a road that I knew must lead to the dock. And the event proves that we were both right. But let me say that I am prouder to stand here today in the traitor's dock to answer this impeachment than to fill the place of my accusers. If there be no right of rebellion against a state of things that no savage tribe would endure without resistance, then am I sure that it is better for men to fight and die without right than to live in such a state of right as this. Where all your rights become only an accumulated wrong; where men must beg with bated breath for leave to subsist in their own land, to think their own thoughts, to sing their own songs, to garner the fruit of their own labors—and even while they beg to see these things inexorably withdrawn from them—then surely it is a braver, a saner, and a truer thing to be a rebel in act and deed against such circumstances as this than tamely to accept it as the natural lot of men.

My Lord, I have done. Gentlemen of the Jury, I wish to thank you for your verdict. I hope you will not think that I made any imputation upon your truthfulness or your integrity when I said that this was not a trial by my peers.

[The Judges then assumed the black caps.]



Passing of the Mexican Crisis

The Fight at Carrizal

[See map of Mexico opposite Page 815]

WAR with Mexico seemed almost inevitable when the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press. Since then the affair has passed through a still more acute stage, culminating in a bloody clash at Carrizal on June 21; yet, thanks to a sincere desire on both sides to avoid war, the dangerous strain has been lessened by mutual concessions, and at present the grievances of both countries seem in a fair way to reach a peaceful adjustment.

When General Carranza undertook, through General Trevino, to order the American troops in Mexico not to move east, west, or south, it was foreseen that a clash would be almost inevitable if an attempt were made to apply this to General Pershing's scouting parties. The situation was epitomized in Pershing's terse reply to Trevino's message: "I take my orders," he said, "only from my Government."

Early in the morning of June 21 the collision came. Troops C and K of the Tenth United States Cavalry, commanded by Captain Charles T. Boyd, found it necessary to pass eastward through Carrizal, sixty miles south of the United States boundary. The town was occupied by several hundred Carranzistas under General Francisco Gomez. Gomez refused to allow the Americans to pass, and, after a parley, Captain Boyd gave orders to advance, ignoring the threats of the Mexicans. He did not believe that they meant to fight. The American force consisted of eighty negroes, a white scout, and three white officers—Captains Boyd and Morey, and Lieutenant Adair. It was considerably outnumbered by the Mexicans in full view, who also had machine guns.

Late that evening Captain Morey, the only surviving American officer, sat hiding in a hole in the desert, wounded and suffering from thirst, and wrote:

"When we were within 300 yards the Mexicans opened fire, and a strong one, before we fired a shot; then we opened up. They did not run. To make a long account short, after about an hour's fire both troops had advanced, C Troop to position of Mexican machine gun and K Troop closing in slightly to the left. We were very busy on the right, keeping off a flank attack. A group of Mexicans left town, went around our rear, and led our horses off a-gallop."

General Gomez, the Mexican officer, was among the first to fall. One of General Funston's early reports stated these details:

After the firing began Troop C advanced 250 yards by rushes toward the Mexican position along an irrigating ditch, taking it and capturing machine guns. Captain Boyd was twice wounded, in the arm and shoulder, before reaching the Mexican position, and was killed at the irrigation ditch. Troop C continued to advance through the town under Lieutenant Adair. This was the last seen of Troop C by these men. Troop K was outflanked and withdrew a short distance and occupied an adobe house. Captain Morey was at this time wounded in the shoulder. This house was surrounded by Mexicans and was under fire for some time.

After two hours of hard fighting the surviving Americans scattered over the desert, and most of them eventually got back to the American lines. Twelve Americans were killed, and twenty-four were captured by the Mexicans, and imprisoned in the penitentiary at Chihuahua. The Mexicans are said to have lost forty-six killed and thirty-nine wounded.

President Wilson at once demanded the release of the prisoners. Without this there could be no alternative but war. Meanwhile Mexican ports were blockaded by American warships, and all supplies, merchandise, and munitions were prevented from crossing the border. All Americans living in Mexico were warned to leave the country at once. Secretary Lansing sent an identical note

to all the diplomatic representatives of Central and South America, explaining that, if the situation should eventuate in war, it would not be through any desire of the United States to intervene in Mexican affairs, but solely for the purpose of defending American territory and citizens from further attacks by bands of armed Mexicans. The leading Latin-American Governments urged Mexico to avoid war. Carranza issued a foolish and discourteous "memorandum," reiterating his charge of bad faith, but on June 28 he gave proof of a genuine desire for peace by releasing the twenty-four prisoners and sending them back to the United States over the international bridge at El Paso the next day. Another crisis had been passed, and the interchange of more amicable notes (published in the following pages) paved the way for another attempt to stop the murderous border raids by means of a joint patrol of the respective banks of the Rio Grande.

Negotiations are under way at this writing for the creation of a Mexican-American commission to deal with the problems confronting the two Governments. The preliminary steps have been arranged informally by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, and Eliseo Arredondo, Ambassador Designate of the Mexican Government. The commission is expected to include Señor Arredondo and Henry P. Fletcher, our recently appointed Ambassador to Mexico.

Meanwhile there is no relaxation of military precautions on the border. President Wilson's call for 100,000 men of the National Guard has met with prompt response, and the quotas from the various States are being distributed by General Funston at strategic points along the whole 1,500 miles of exposed frontier. The War Department has decided to recruit the militia regiments to full war strength as fast as possible. If the recruiting campaign succeeds it will bring the total National Guard force up to 160,000, which, with the regular army, will make a border patrol of 210,000 men on our side of the river. General Pershing's expedition, it is understood, will be withdrawn from Mexican territory within a reasonable time if conditions continue to improve.

The embargo on food and clothing for Mexico has been raised, and railway cars are again crossing the line both ways, but war munitions are withheld in the absence of complete proof that they are destined for the de facto Government. This policy has been in force since last March, and officials assert that since April 1 no munitions have crossed the border. The continuance of friendly relations with Mexico depends, as in the past, upon the ability and entire willingness of General Carranza's followers to do their part toward stopping the robber raids across the border. If trouble breaks out again we shall have an adequate force on hand for any emergency.

Mexican and American Notes Regarding the Carrizal Incident

THE text of Secretary Lansing's telegram of June 25 to the special representative of the United States Government in Mexico City is as follows:

Washington, June 25, 1916.

James Linn Rodgers, Special Representative of the United States Government, Mexico City:

Mr. Arredondo yesterday delivered to this Government the following communication:

"I am directed by my Government to inform your Excellency, with reference to the Carrizal incident, that the Chief Executive,

through the Mexican War Department, gave orders to General Jacinto B. Trevino not to permit American forces from General Pershing's column to advance further south or to move either east or west from the points where they are located, and to oppose new incursions of American soldiers into Mexican territory. These orders were brought by General Trevino to the attention of General Pershing, who acknowledged the receipt of the communication relative thereto. On the 22d inst., as your Excellency knows, an American force moved eastward quite far from its base, notwithstanding the above

orders, and was engaged by Mexican troops at Carrizal, State of Chihuahua. As a result of the encounter, several men on both sides were killed and wounded and seventeen American soldiers were made prisoners."

You are hereby instructed to hand to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government the following:

The Government of the United States can put no other construction on the communication handed to the Secretary of State of the United States on the 24th of June by Mr. Arredondo, under instructions from your Government, than that it is a formal avowal of deliberately hostile action against the forces of the United States now in Mexico, and of purpose to attack them without provocation whenever they move from their present position in pursuance of the objects for which they were sent there, notwithstanding the fact that these objects involve no unfriendly intention toward the Government or people of Mexico, but are, on the contrary, intended only to assist that Government in protecting itself and the territory and people of the United States against irresponsible and insurgent bands of rebel marauders.

I am instructed, therefore, by my Government to demand the immediate release of the prisoners taken in the encounter at Carrizal, together with any property of the United States taken with them, and to inform you that the Government of the United States expects an early statement from your Government as to the course of action it wishes the Government of the United States to understand it has determined upon, and that it also expects that this statement be made through the usual diplomatic channels, and not through subordinate military commanders.

LANSING.

The answer of the de facto Government of Mexico to the foregoing telegram and to the long note of the United States dated June 20 (full text of which appeared in July issue of CURRENT HISTORY) averted the immediate danger of war between the two countries by granting the American demand for the release of the Carrizal prisoners. The full text, as translated by the Mexican Embassy at Washington, is as follows:

Washington, D. C., July 4, 1916.

Mr. Secretary:

I have the honor to transmit in continuation the text of a note I have just received from my Government with instructions to present it to your Excellency:

"Mr. Secretary:

"Referring to the notes of June 20 and 25 last, I have the honor to say to your Excellency that the immediate release of the Carrizal prisoners was a further proof of the sincerity of the desire of this Government to reach a pacific and satisfactory arrangement of present difficulties. This Govern-

ment is anxious to solve the present conflict, and it would be unjust if its attitude were misinterpreted.

"It was also the Mexican Government that earnestly suggested a plan for cantonments along the boundary line during the conference of Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. The Government is disposed now, as it has always been, to seek an immediate solution of the two points which constitute the true causes of the conflict between the two countries, to wit: the American Government believes reasonably that the insecurity of its frontier is a source of difficulty and the Mexican Government on its part believes that the presence of American troops on Mexican territory, aside from being a trespass on the sovereignty of Mexico, is the immediate cause of the conflict. Therefore, the withdrawal of American troops on one hand and the protection of the frontier on the other are the two essential problems the solution of which must be the directing object of the efforts of both Governments.

"The Mexican Government is willing to consider in a quick and practical way, and prompted by a spirit of concord, the remedies which should be applied to the present situation.

"Several Latin-American countries have offered their friendly mediation to the Mexican Government, and the latter has accepted it in principle. Therefore the Mexican Government only awaits information that the Government of the United States would be disposed to accept this mediation for the purpose mentioned above or whether it is still of the belief that the same results may be attained by means of direct negotiations between both Governments.

"In the meantime this Government proposes to employ all efforts that may be at its disposal to avoid the recurrence of new incidents which may complicate and aggravate the situation. At the same time it hopes that the American Government on its part may make use of all efforts to prevent also new acts of its military and civil authorities of the frontier that might cause new complications.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

"C. AGUILAR."

Having thus complied with higher instructions of my Government, it affords me pleasure to reiterate to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

E. ARREDONDO.

President Wilson, through the State Department, promptly answered this conciliatory communication in a like spirit, stating that the United States was prepared for the immediate exchange of views as to a practical plan for adjusting the differences between the two countries. The note follows:

Washington, D. C., July 7, 1916.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of July 4, 1916, in which you transcribe a note addressed to me by the Secretary of Foreign Relations of your Government, and to request that you will transmit to him the following reply:

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous note, transmitted to me by Señor Arredondo on the 4th inst., in which you refer to my notes of June 20 and June 25, and to assure you of the sincere gratification of my Government at the frank statement of the difficulties which have unfortunately arisen in our relations along the international boundary, and the unreserved expression of the desire of your Government to reach an adjustment of these difficulties on a broad and amicable basis.

The same spirit of friendship and of solicitude for the continuance of cordial relations between our two countries inspires my Government, which equally desires an immediate solution of the matters of differences which have long vexed both Governments.

It is especially pleasing to my Government

that the de facto Government of Mexico is disposed to give quick as well as practical consideration in a spirit of concord to the remedies which may be applied to the existing conditions. Reciprocating the same desire, the Government of the United States is prepared immediately to exchange views as to a practical plan to remove finally and prevent a recurrence of the difficulties which have been the source of the controversy.

Accept, Mr. Secretary, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. I am, Sir, yours very sincerely,

ROBERT LANSING.

General Carranza has indicated his willingness to co-operate on the lines suggested, and at this writing informal conferences between Señor Arredondo and Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, are believed to be paving the way for a joint patrol of the border and a peaceful settlement of the acute issue which had again brought the two countries to the verge of war.

Greece Submits to the Allies

GREECE mobilized her army on Sept. 23, 1915, two days after Bulgaria. Early in October, when the Allies landed at Saloniki, she enrolled 30,000 additional reserves, bringing her effective force up to nearly 200,000. She proclaimed absolute neutrality, but the Allies sensed a decided leaning of the King toward the Central Powers; it is supposed that this attitude is due to the influence of the Queen, who is a sister of the German Kaiser. There was considerable tension between the allied Governments and Greece throughout the recent Winter and Spring, which reached a crisis when Greece yielded without a protest to the occupation of important frontier fortresses by its old enemy Bulgaria. This complaisance to the Central Powers, followed by demonstrations on June 12 by a band of hoodlums escorted by policemen in uniform, visiting and hooting the French and British legations with the apparent approval of the Chief of Police, the offensive attitude of the Premier, and the benevolent sympathy of the

Royal House toward their enemies, determined the Entente Allies on firm steps to prevent a possible back fire.

Accordingly, on June 20, the following note was handed to the Greek Government, M. Zaimis having in the meantime succeeded M. Skouloudis as Premier:

By order of their Governments, the undersigned, Ministers of France, Great Britain, and Russia, representatives of the Guarantee Powers (*Puissances Garantées*) of Greece, have the honor to make to the Hellenic Government the following declaration, which they have also been ordered to bring to the knowledge of the Greek people:

As they have already formally and in writing declared, the three guaranteeing powers do not ask of Greece that she shall depart from her neutrality. Of this they give striking proof by putting in the first place among their demands the total demobilization of the Greek Army in order to assure tranquillity and peace for the Hellenic people. But they have many and legitimate grounds of suspicion against the Greek Government, whose attitude toward them is not in conformity either with its reiterated promises or even with the principles of a loyal neutrality.

Thus the Greek Government has too often favored the actions of certain foreigners who have worked openly with the object of misleading the opinion of the Greek people, of

falsifying the national conscience, and of creating on Hellenic territory hostile organizations contrary to the neutrality of the country and tending to compromise the security of the military and naval forces of the Allies.

The entry of Bulgarian forces into Greece and the occupation of the fort of Rupel and other strategic points, with the connivance of the Hellenic Cabinet, constitute for the allied troops a new menace, which imposes on the three powers the necessity of demanding immediate guarantees and measures.

Further, the Greek Constitution has been ignored; the free exercise of the universal suffrage impeded; the Chamber has been dissolved for the second time in less than a year against the clearly expressed will of the people; the electors have been appealed to (convoqués) while mobilization was in full swing, so that the present Chamber represents but an insignificant part of the Electoral College; the entire country has been subjected to a reign of oppression and police tyranny and coerced without regard to the lice tyranny and coerced without regard to the ter have not only the right but the imperative duty to protest against such violations of the liberties of the Greek people, of which they have been the guardians.

The hostile attitude of the Hellenic Government toward the powers which freed Greece from the foreign yoke and assured her independence, and the evident collusion of the present Cabinet with their enemies make it all the more necessary for them to act with firmness, relying on the rights they hold by treaty, which were confirmed, for the safety of the Greek people on each occasion when their rights and liberties have been threatened.

Consequently the guaranteeing powers find themselves compelled to require the immediate application of the following measures:

1. Real and total demobilization of the Greek Army, which must be put with the least possible delay on a peace footing.

2. Immediate replacement of the existing Ministry by a business Cabinet, (Cabinet

d'Affaires,) without political bias and providing all the guarantees necessary for the application of the benevolent neutrality which Greece has undertaken to observe toward the allied powers, and for a fresh appeal in good faith to the nation.

3. Immediate dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, followed by fresh elections on the expiration of the period specified by the Constitution, and after the general mobilization shall have restored the electoral body to its normal conditions.

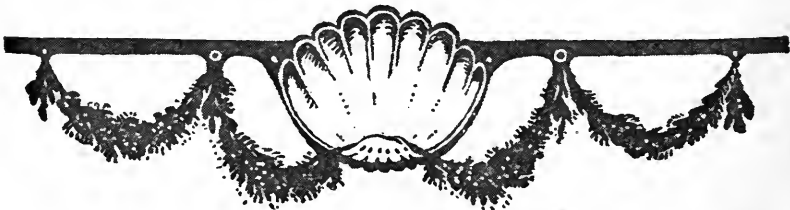
4. The replacement, in agreement with the allied powers, of certain police functionaries whose attitude, inspired by foreign instructions, has facilitated the commission of crimes against peaceable citizens, together with insults directed against the allied legations and their dependents.

The guaranteeing powers, animated still by the most benevolent and friendly spirit toward Greece, but determined at the same time to obtain, without discussion or delay, the application of these indispensable measures, can only leave to the Hellenic Government entire responsibility for such events as may happen if their just demands are not immediately accepted.

(Signed) J. GUILLEMIN,
F. ELLIOT,
DEMIDOFF.

When this note was delivered, British and French warships appeared before Piraeus and a practical blockade had been established.

Matters now moved swiftly. The Greek Government the next day accepted in their entirety the demands contained in the note. Orders were proclaimed demobilizing the army on June 27; new elections were ordered within forty days, and a Venizelos adherent, Zymbrakakis, was sworn in as Chief of Police at Athens on June 28. The Allies now feel secure that Greek neutrality will be maintained throughout the war.



The Second Year of the War in Africa

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY by a Staff Contributor]

IN August, 1915, CURRENT HISTORY gave some account of the rapid alienation of Germany's colonial empire, which, at the outset of the war, measured over a million square miles. It was made up of four sections of Africa, of the northeastern third of the vast Island of Papua, or New Guinea, and of groups of islands scattered over the Pacific, from New Guinea eastward. This widely spread empire was open to attack by several of the allied nations—England, France, Belgium, Japan, and, later, Portugal—while Germany, whose fleets were swept from the open seas, was wholly unable to support her forces there.

The first colonies to go were the insular possessions in the Pacific, taken over by British colonial troops from Australia and New Zealand—the nucleus of the famous Anzac forces—to whom French colonial forces from New Caledonia were added; and also by Japan, whose captures were for the most part turned over to Australia; at the same time Togoland, on the north shore of the great Gulf of Guinea, which indents West Africa on the equator, was captured by co-operating French and British forces. All these colonies were elements in the great scheme for a German colonial empire, developed by Prince Bismarck, beginning with 1885; and Bismarckburg, in Togoland, as well as the Bismarck Archipelago, north of German New Guinea, (Kaiser Wilhelm Land,) were intended to immortalize the great statesman's name.

The campaign of General Louis Botha gave to the Allies, and, more particularly, to the recently formed Union of South Africa, of which General Botha is Premier, the great region of German Southwest Africa, which thereon became a part of the realm jointly possessed by Briton and Boer. It is noteworthy that these conquests by her dominions beyond the sea bind these new nations more

firmly to Britain, since to safeguard them the protection of the British fleet and Britain's command of the sea are essential. Their acquisition, therefore, strengthens the bonds of the British Empire.

There remained two great German colonies in Africa—the Cameroon region, to the east of the Gulf of Guinea, so called by the early Portuguese navigator, Fernando Po, from the "Camerones," or "crayfish," which his sailors found in the river, an interesting etymology hidden by the German spelling, "Kamerun"; and, on the other side of Africa, the colony of German East Africa. Both these colonies are very large—larger than Germany and France combined—and much of them is covered with tropical jungle, spread over very mountainous country. In both, as events showed, the German authorities had been vigorously preparing for the expected world war, as the fact that they were able to fight continuously for many months without new supplies of ammunition sufficiently shows. They were also linked with Germany and with each other by an extraordinary system of wireless stations.

In both these German colonies fighting began at the very beginning of the war. In both there were considerable forces of German soldiers, and very much larger forces of well-armed native troops, under German officers. In both there was a network of strongly fortified German posts, with trenches, earthworks, barbed wire entanglements, (first used in Africa in the Boer war,) and the whole paraphernalia of modern warfare.

CAPTURE OF CAMEROON

The Cameroon colony was surrounded by British and French colonies—British to the northwest, French to the east and south, while on the west it was open to the sea, and therefore commanded by the allied fleets. The allied plan of campaign was to work from the circum-

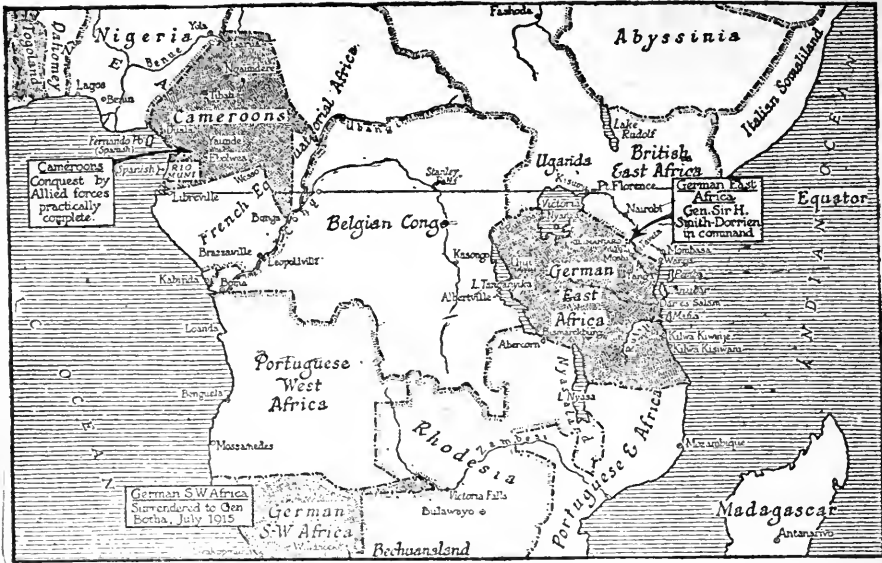


CHART SHOWING LOCATION OF THE FOUR GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA, WITH STATUS OF EACH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT YEAR

ference to the centre, closing in on the German forces as these were gradually driven together. Their progress was as follows:

At the beginning of January, 1915, the French North Cameroon column arrived before the German fortress of Garua, seeking to make a junction with the British forces sent from Yola (in British Nigeria) under Major Webb-Bowen. Colonel Brisset, in command of this French force, made his camp at Nassaroua, to the north of Garua, and on Jan. 10 Major Webb-Bowen joined him, bringing three three-inch guns and fifteen machine guns. In April Colonel Cunliffe arrived, and took command of the allied forces, French and British, a total of 900 combatants. Completely investing the German fortress, they began a five months' siege. Two heavy guns were later sent from Dakar, a more aggressive attack was begun, and, on the night of June 9-10, the Germans, hard pressed, tried to escape. They failed, and on June 10 hoisted the white flag. The Allies were not supplied with a truce flag to hoist in reply. One of their officers pulled off his shirt, which "looked white from a distance," and a parley was begun, Cap-

tain von Krailsheim finally surrendering unconditionally. On June 11 the allied forces entered Garua, replacing the German flag by the British flag and the tricolor.

At the close of June the allied forces, pushing on to N'Gaundere, found it evacuated. The French there celebrated the national festival of July 14. On Aug. 11 Captain Jean Ferrandi reached Kounde. From Tibati the allied troops moved against Yoko, in connection with a column which General Cunliffe was leading from Kontcha against Banyo, from which he moved on Nov. 16 against strong German positions on Mount Banyo. To the east, two columns setting out from Bertua and Dume, marched on Tina. These different forces were intended to come together in the direction of Yaunde, the last German stronghold.

At the southwest corner of the Cameroon colony, on the Gulf of Guinea, there is an "inset" of neutral territory, the Spanish Congo. Making their escape from Yaunde, the last German forces crossed the border into this neutral ground, where they were interned by the Spanish authorities. The completion of the conquest of the Cameroons was an-



GERMAN EAST AFRICA. LAST REMNANT OF GERMAN POSSESSIONS IN THE DARK CONTINENT, WHERE GENERAL SMUTS IS NOW LEADING THE FIGHTING FOR THE ENTENTE ALLIES

nounced on Feb. 18, 1916, in a cablegram from the Governor of British Nigeria, which stated that the German garrison at Mora, in the extreme north, had capitulated. Mr. A. Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed congratulations to General Dobell and General Cunliffe on the success of the forces under their command, and the organization of the Cameroons, under French colonial authorities, was begun. It is likely that both Togoland and the Cameroons are assigned, in the plans of the Allies, to France.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

German East Africa, which was developed from concessions in the back country of Zanzibar, is, to a large degree, bordered by the great African lakes—Victoria Nyanza makes a deep cut into it on the north, Lake Tanganyika forms the upper half of its western frontier, while Lake Nyassa forms the lower half. On the east is the Indian Ocean. The land frontier on the north is British East Africa; the land boundary on the west is the Belgian Congo. The land boundaries on the south are British Nyassaland and

Portuguese Mozambique. Thus the German colony is beset on all sides by allied possessions; now that Portugal has entered the war on the side of the Allies—following the seizure of fourteen German steamships in the estuary of the Tagus—there is no adjoining neutral territory to which the German forces can retreat as the defenders of the Cameroon colony retreated to the Spanish Congo.

We may infer the completeness of their preparation for war by the fact that the Germans in East Africa now complete their second year of fighting without having received any considerable supplies from the outside. Here, as on the west coast of Africa, they had strongly fortified posts dotted all over the colony, and strong native forces, numbering some 50,000—a very large army, considering the immense difficulties of the country, much of which is heavy jungle, on the sides of the highest mountains in Africa.

In such country all the advantage is on the side of the party which is on the defensive; one or two well-placed ma-

chine guns—and the Germans have large numbers of these—can keep back a very considerable force, where the use of artillery is almost out of the question. There is some artillery, however; the Allies have several times announced the capture of Krupp field pieces, the same 77-millimeter guns that are used against Verdun.

Until the Spring of the present year the allied campaign in German East Africa languished somewhat. General Smuts, the famous Boer leader, who is a member of General Botha's Ministry, was then sent thither, with the temporary rank of a Lieutenant General in the British Army. After his arrival things began to move, and, an interesting feature of the situation, the Belgians from the west and the Portuguese from the south co-operated vigorously and systematically with the British. Recent successes were as follows:

On May 13 General Tombeur, leading the Belgians, compelled the retreat of the German force near Lake Kivu, occupying the Kama range of hills, and capturing a Krupp 77. Toward the end of May a British force, working forward from Nyassaland under General Northey, penetrated twenty miles into German territory between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyassa, and compelled the Germans to evacuate Neu Langenburg, to the north of Lake Nyassa, capturing large quantities of ammunition. A nearby German garrison, at Marema, was invested. By the beginning of June the Belgians had penetrated 125 miles into German territory; their left rested on the River Kagera, while their centre had crossed

the River Akanjaru, and their right was approaching the town of Usumbura. The Belgian troops were everywhere well received by the natives, and established a provisional government in Ruanda.

Meanwhile, the British troops, working inland along the Pangani River, which flows into the sea to the north of Zanzibar, had come in touch with the Germans at Mikachesi on May 22. The enemy line was astride the railroad in the narrow neck between the Pare Mountains and the Panzani, and was strongly entrenched. On May 30 these trenches were assaulted and carried. The Germans retired up the railroad to Mkomazi, with the forces of General Smuts in pursuit. At the same time the Portuguese, operating from the south, had defeated the Germans at the mouth of the Rovuma River, near Kionga.

On Lake Victoria Nyanza the Island of Ukerewe was taken from the Germans, with two Krupp guns. On June 13 General Northey's forces occupied Alt Langenburg, while the Belgians took possession of the line between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria Nyanza, the British meanwhile taking Handeni. On June 22 it was announced that General Tombeur's Belgians had defeated the Germans at Kiwitawe, and had engaged them again on the road from Kiwitawe to Kitega; east of the River Ngokoma.

The allied strategy is exactly the same as in the Cameroons—to work from many points along the circumference, in toward the centre, where the end will come.

What Germany Has Lost in the Cameroons

CAMEROON, the important German colony on the central west coast of Africa, passed into possession of the Allies on Feb. 18, 1916, when the garrison of Mora, in the northern portion, capitulated. The first mention of this district is by early Portuguese navigators, who sought its shores for food and water. In drawing

their nets they found them laden with prawns, and named the district River of Prawns, or Rio dos Camarões; this was in the seventeenth century. Two hundred years later the Niger Trading Company, an English company, sent steamships to that section for legitimate commerce, although it is suspected the slave trade was surreptitiously the chief purpose. In

1857 a British cruiser, sent out to suppress the trade, while anchored in the Cameroon River, was visited by a delegation of native chiefs, who asked that England take possession of the Cameroon country, and in compliance with this request the commander hoisted the British flag and took possession. The British Admiralty revoked this action and ordered the flag hauled down. Twenty-two years later the chiefs again asked England to take possession, but no action was taken.

In 1840 Hamburg merchants opened trade relations with the natives of the West Coast, and in 1859 they had factories near the Cameroon River. In 1883 the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce recommended the annexation of the Cameroon coast, and on April 20, 1884, the German Chargé d'Affaires at London notified the British Foreign Office that the German Consul General would "visit" the West Coast of Africa with authority to conduct negotiations "connected with certain questions," and asked that the German officials be "furnished with suitable recommendations." Shortly thereafter two German warships appeared at the coast—one the *Möwe*, curiously enough the predecessor of the *Möwe* which recently made a sensational sea raid near the coast, achieving a dramatic escape from the British fleet and returning safely to Hamburg. On July 5, 1884, the German flag was raised at Togoland, and a few days later at the Cameroon River.

This was a shock to England, revealing the fact that Germany had entered the lists in the scramble for colonies in Africa. As soon as the news leaked out that Togoland and the Cameroon had been taken by Germany, British agents made treaties with native chiefs to se-

cure the mouths of the Niger and the Oil River, which were the choice possessions of that region.

The colony was increased in 1911 to an area of 295,000 square miles by the cession of part of the Congo territory by France in compensation for German concessions in Morocco. Its length is over 700 miles and its breadth 600 miles, being twice the size of the United Kingdom.

Edward Bond, in a study of the district for the Contemporary Review, gives some interesting data concerning it. About half the country is flat, with fine agricultural possibilities. The western part from the sea northward is mountainous, with some lofty peaks, one, the Mountain of Greatness, having an altitude of 13,370 feet. The forests contain much valuable hardwood, conspicuously ebony. The natives are Moslems, with Arabic civilization. Their chief occupation is stock raising. The chief town, Duala, had a population of 25,000, including 200 Europeans. It is well laid out and sanitary. In 1913 a railway 150 miles long had been built, another was under construction, and a third under survey. The total population of the colony is 3,500,000. There are four Government schools, with 868 pupils, and four missionary schools, with 24,000 pupils. At the time of the latest figures the imports were \$8,000,000 and the exports \$5,600,000.

The colony has been a liability to the German Government, the latest reported deficit reaching nearly \$2,500,000 per annum. However, it has the very brightest prospects, as everything that will grow in tropical Africa can be grown there and the temperate climate in the vast mountainous areas gives all the possibilities of a temperate zone.



France and Italy Reunited

By Anatole France

Foremost Living French Author

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

This address by Anatole France, reproduced here for its charm of style and its exquisite political tact, was delivered in Paris at a conference organized by Louis Barthou, former President of the Council, in honor of Italy's work in the war.

GATHERED here before the youth of our schools to render solemn homage to Italy, we should first salute with respectful sympathy Italy's Ambassador, [M. Tittoni,] whose presence among us brings us into the presence of his beloved land itself. Who could better incarnate that land in our eyes than the illustrious statesman whose political acts have done so much to bring about the union, consummated here today, of his country with England, Russia, and France? We acclaim him today, in this august Sorbonne, as he was acclaimed in the diplomatic tribune of our Chamber of Deputies in the historic days of May, 1915, when, on the Capitoline Hill, to the plaudits of Romans, the bell of the campanile announced to the universe that Italy was taking up arms for a just cause. * * *

I will express in as few words as possible my esteem and admiration, as a Frenchman, for that beautiful Italy which I have loved all my life; loved for her nature and her genius, loved for her cypress-crowned hills, her mountains of terebinthine shade, or, bare under the sun that gilds them, those other mountains whose very names set generous hearts a-throb; a Frenchman who has loved her for her harmonious shores, her lakes, her sea and her sky of divine smiles, her cities of marble and her villages high perched on rock, proud as citadels; who has loved her for her poets, her musicians, her artists, her historians and scholars, her deep past of thrilling grandeur, and her later past still palpitating with the struggles of the Risorgimento, which the morrow will crown with victory; who has loved her, in fine, with all the transports of passion, all the

delights of the voluptuary, all the meditations of the philosopher.

It is thus that Italy is loved in France. As for the proof of this attachment, you will find it in the grieved surprise caused among us by the political and economic estrangement which in recent years had separated the two nations.

With what satisfaction, too, did we see, after the beginning of the war, that Italy, refusing to be an accomplice in an unjust aggression, and denouncing the Triple Alliance, was giving us, as a foretaste of her friendship, security on our southern frontier!

And with what joy did we learn, on May 16, 1915, that she was uniting her arms with ours! There was reason then not only to rejoice but to admire Italy, for the war was not imposed upon her as upon us, or, rather, it was imposed upon her solely by her love of justice and regard for her destiny.

Italy took up this war, not because she thought it easy and sure, but, on the contrary, because, foreseeing that it would be long and terrible, she deemed the act wise and necessary. Since then she has fought with a soul resolute and serene, with a heart immovable, in firm and sincere solidarity with us.

In December she signed the pact of London, binding herself not to lay down her arms save in co-operation with the Entente Powers, and she gave to Belgium the assurance that she would not cease to fight so long as an inch of Belgian earth was still fouled by the foot of the invader. She proclaimed through the lips of her most illustrious statesmen: "Italy is resolved to continue the struggle with all her forces, at the price of all sacrifices, until she has realized her most

sacred hopes, restored international law in concert with the Allies, and with them assured among nations the blessings of independence, security, and reciprocal respect, which alone can restore calm to the universe." This great task accomplished, peace will rise like the sun over the world, and we shall see fulfilled the prayer of the eminent man in whom we have just been saluting all Italy, M. Tittoni:

"May the peace won by victory not be a peace, but peace itself, peace free from all war germs, peace seated solidly on the principles of nationality and of international justice."

Such is the meaning of the pact that binds Italy to us. Such are the generous conditions of her generous aid. Can we wipe out our debt to her with vain praises and sterile homages? No. In calmer days, when we shall have returned to the works of earth, of industry and of art, we will remember that from the Stelvio to the Isonzo, around peaks covered with eternal snow, in gorges whipped by glacial blasts, her precious blood flowed for the common cause.

Friends of Italy in these war times, we

shall remain her friends in the days of peace; fraternity in arms shall not be followed by hostility in business. We shall know how to reconcile the commercial, industrial, and financial interests of the two nations, and range into harmony the old barriers of figures, which are sometimes as cruel in peace as barbed wire in war.

Ladies, gentlemen, and you, young men, who shall long taste the fruits of this peace which shall have cost fierce labors and bloody sacrifices, remember always that your fathers, allies of this noble and fine Italy, allies of almost all civilized Europe, fought not for prey, like barbarians, not for insolent and cruel domination, like our adversaries, but for liberty against tyranny, for justice against iniquity, for the faith of treaties against perfidy, for peace against war. And let the example of the conquered (for we can regard our enemies henceforth as conquered) forever guard you from the brutal pride that has destroyed them, from their greedy desires, and from their disdain of the weak! Let their ruin teach you reason and justice, and persuade you that force without wisdom devours itself!

A German Ex-Chancellor's Comment on American War Sentiment

Prince von Bülow is the author of a book, "Deutsche Politik," in which he makes this comment upon the prevailing war sympathies in the United States:

Germany has noted with sore distress the biases and the unfriendly bearing of official and public America during the war, which are greatly to the empire's disadvantage. Such ruthlessness as has been manifested toward us by official America and by the public in the course of differences on the subject of the conduct of the submarine war we have never met with before, and it is probably unique in the history of the diplomatic relations of two great countries. The feeling of rancor at present entertained by very many Germans toward the American people, whom they so long regarded as honest friends, is but too comprehensible and is justified. This rancor is in no sense mitigated by the fact that by exploiting the present world situation America is in a fair way to become the wealthiest country on earth. * * * Such a song of triumph as that over the unprecedented economic advance made by the United States since the beginning of the war, uttered at the end of the year 1915 by the American Secretary of the Treasury with a compassionate side glance at Europe, decimated and impoverished by the world war, has seldom, if ever, been heard before.

War's Effects On the Upper Classes

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Italian Historian and Publicist

*"That in all the countries of Europe the upper classes will find themselves worse off after the war than before, all of them less rich, less powerful, less respected and less united, is one of the least fallacious predictions that can be made today. * * * And yet it was the upper classes that, in some countries willingly, in others unconsciously, brought about this war."*

DESTINY is being fulfilled; the force of events vanquishes the resistance offered by traditions, interests, and prejudices. At last England, too, institutes military service as an obligatory duty of all her citizens.

The last army of the ancient régime, that in military matters was still able to bring to mind the days preceding the French Revolution, disappears in Europe.

Military institutions are among those especially sensitive to the changes that occur in other organs of the social body, and also, by altering themselves, contribute most toward changing the others. Old England, therefore, has taken another step along the road that leads to her "continentalism," if I may be allowed to use such a barbarous word. Because the new military institutions will remain in effect after the war. A reform of this nature is not, and can not be, a mere transitory expedient; it is always the beginning of a new historical epoch. And thus once more we see confirmed that sort of iron law which appears to have dominated Europe since the time of the French Revolution, and which implies that all the other revolutionary forces that have agitated European society since the days of the French Revolution—the ideas, the principles, the interests, the parties—would have been much less active and would not have changed the face of the world so much if they had not been aided every once in a while by the shock of a great war.

There are innumerable examples of this. The abolition of serfdom in Russia was one of the many results of the Crimean war, as the constitutional régime was one of the effects of the war with Japan. The people of France received universal suffrage from the republic

that was the result of a war. The people of Germany got it from an aristocracy that wished with this concession to prepare them for the bloody effort of a great war. The wars of '59 and '66 forced the haughty spirit of the Hapsburgs to compromise with the spirit of democracy and liberalism of the times by granting to the peoples of the monarchy a constitution, political liberty, and national autonomy. That facility in making democratic concessions, which little by little, from 1860 on, has tempered the vigor and mode of action of the Italian Government, has been to a large degree a compensation given to the people in connection with the military burdens imposed by the new régime, burdens much more numerous and heavy than those imposed by the old one. And this list might be extended.

In short, for a century the upper classes have lost in the midst of wars many of those privileges to which they seemed most attached and in defense of which in times of peace they had spared neither pains nor cunning. The fact is not strange in itself; what is more strange is the fact that, in general, the upper classes during the past century have been, practically everywhere, war-like, militaristic, imperialistic, and supporters of a policy which, by multiplying wars, has obliged them to make these concessions; while the masses, and the parties representing the masses, though having the most to gain by war, have been, almost always and everywhere, pacific and opposed to all forms of imperialism.

This peculiar contradiction has been made especially apparent in the European war. That in all the countries of Europe the upper classes will find them-

selves worse off after the war than before, all of them less rich, less powerful, less respected, and less united is one of the least fallacious predictions that may be made today. To what degree the middle and popular classes will profit by this weakening of the rulers would be difficult to say, and it would be just as difficult to say if this recompense will be sufficient to indemnify them for the losses inflicted upon them by the war. But it is certain that the power and prestige of the upper classes and of the institutions to which they are attached through tradition or interest will be put to a severe test by the war, while the classes more numerous and poorer will be able to obtain important political advantages. And yet it was the upper classes that, in some countries willingly, in others unconsciously, brought about this war.

In sorting over my papers the other day I found an article published by Jaurès in *L'Humanité* on Sept. 12, 1906. This article read, in part, as follows:

"It sees that we are acting like bad citizens * * * in admonishing the nations, all the nations, the rulers, all the rulers, to be prudent, to be moderate, to show a wise and systematic desire for peace; in demonstrating that war in Europe would provoke a terrible moral and social crisis. * * * Guglielmo Ferrero wrote, a little while ago in his 'History of Rome,' that wars precipitate social crises by causing the explosion of the contradictions latent in the States. A great European war would unchain on the one side a nationalism, instinctive and reactionary, and on the other the revolutionary spirit; it would cause the appearance on one hand of a sort of Assembly of Versailles, less monarchical, less bigoted, but just as clerical and more militaristic, and on the other a sort of Commune, more systematic, but perhaps just as impotent. The crisis, although raging in all Europe, would be more violent and more profound in the democratic countries where the clash of the classes would not be attenuated by the authority of the past. France, therefore, would be in the centre of the cyclone and of the

danger. Now, we do not want to see France perish; nor do we want to see her weakened. And neither do we wish that the necessary social revolution be effected in a hurricane of blood, of fury, and of tears. For this reason we supplicate France to use for her own salvation that which may otherwise aggravate her danger and to convert into a means of salvation that force of liberty and of democracy which might, perhaps, in a day of storms, send her to the bottom in the midst of the deep abysses stirred up by the European crisis."

It would be difficult to find another page on which there could be expressed with more force and clarity the fear of war and its revolutionary energy that animated the parties considered revolutionary up to 1914. A fear which, for the rest, is not hard to explain, for the masses represented by those parties preferred peace to the benefits which might be brought to them by war, and they preferred peace, not merely because peace is more agreeable than war, but also because there never has been an instance where the multitude, the people, the many, have been revolutionary, except when there has been a lack of bread in the kneading trough or of coal on the hearth of the artisan and of the peasant. The true revolutionary spirit has never been found anywhere except among the upper and educated classes, and there never has been a revolution not set in motion by the outbreak of dissension in the centre of the governing classes. But ordinarily the upper classes attempt, or make, revolutions in their own interest, which makes it hard to understand the strange mania for committing suicide through a succession of wars, each greater than the other, that seems to have had possession of the upper classes of Europe for the last century.

The historian who could get to the bottom of this problem would perhaps be able to discover one of the essential mysteries of contemporary civilization and to decipher the meaning of all these tragedies that have ensued, one after the other, in Europe for a century.

The Battle of Verdun

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY]

THURSDAY, May 18.—At this stage the battle of Verdun reached a degree of violence surpassing, perhaps, that which marked the worst days of Vaux and Le Mort Homme. Beginning with May 17, the conflict increased steadily, except for a short interruption on May 19. The enemy, who continued to bombard the sector included between the Avocourt Wood and Le Mort Homme, during the night of May 17-18 launched several attacks against the Avocourt Wood redoubt, but was compelled to retire after suffering heavy losses. On our side, toward 3 in the morning, we carried a trench on the crest of 287-Meter Hill, which extends toward Haucourt. On the northeast of 304-Meter Plateau, we carried a fortified position. During the whole day, on May 18, an artillery duel continued, interrupted at 5 in the evening by a general attack on our lines. Our barrier fire broke several assaulting columns. At 7 the enemy made a new effort—two divisions (40,000 men) of fresh troops were launched against the Avocourt redoubt and 304-Meter Hill; the shock was severe, but, in spite of numbers, the waves broke before the fire of our batteries; only in the centre, a small work near 287-Meter Hill was invaded.

Friday, May 19.—This fruitless attempt did not discourage the Germans; the whole day of May 19 was consecrated by them to a terrible bombardment of our trenches; their fire, this time, extended to Le Mort Homme; it continued all night long.

Saturday, May 20.—The bombardment continued throughout the morning. Our adversaries were preparing an attack even more violent than the preceding. In the afternoon four divisions, that is

to say, two army corps, (80,000 men,) were thrown into the assault which had as principal objective Le Mort Homme.

A BLOODY CRISIS

Sunday, May 21.—The battle, which took on a character of extreme ferocity, was continued all night and through the whole day of May 21. Three divisions, as we have since learned, were employed in it. Ceaselessly, our artillery and machine guns mowed down the assailants, whose places were taken by others. At the price of tremendous efforts, the enemy succeeded in gaining certain trenches to the north and west of Le Mort Homme; at one time, even our second-line trenches were threatened. But the Germans, met by our fire, lost so many men that they retired in disorder.

Monday, May 22.—Night did not lessen the struggle. In spite of our barrier fire, which broke their assaults, the Germans succeeded in penetrating a first-line trench, to the north of Le Mort Homme. But they got no further. During the whole of May 21, one of the bloodiest, during which the struggle did not cease for an instant, we even succeeded in regaining ground on 287-Meter Hill. After reaching a trench on 287-Meter Hill, the enemy was driven out of it. A brigade, launched against Le Mort Homme, was crushed by our fire and an offensive by our grenadiers. Other troops were coming up to support these two regiments; our batteries dispersed them before they could get under way. Night did not lessen the struggle, but, already, the enemy seemed to have lost the biting edge of his energy; we gained certain advantages in the Avocourt Wood and on Le Mort Homme, while we were repulsing new

assaults. A counterattack permitted us to recover a part of the ground lost on May 20 and 21. We followed up this success throughout the day of May 22, at the same time driving out the Germans who, for four days, had held one of our works on 287-Meter Hill.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the right (east) bank the week had begun quietly; there was only artillery fire, of no great violence; but on May 21 our artillery concentrated its fire on the whole Douaumont sector. To the west our infantry attacked, in the Haudromont Woods, strongly intrenched quarries, carried them, and held their footing there, in spite of strong counterattacks. At the same time, at Vaux, we occupied a German trench.

This was only the prelude of an operation of greater scope prepared by our commanders. On the morning of May 22 powerful artillery, brought forward under cover, opened fire on the German lines from the Nawé Wood to the west of the Thiaumont farm, as far as the woods to the east of Fort Douaumont. The fire was extremely accurate and violent; trenches and barbed-wire entanglements were so pounded that our soldiers in a few minutes seized and held the enemy trenches. The assault covered a front of two kilometers, (1¼ miles,) enveloping Douaumont Fort itself, the ruins of which we carried, except one of the salients to the north of the work.

Tuesday, May 23.—Our progress on the right (east) bank, with their loss of the Douaumont lines, had the effect of bringing two furious enemy counterattacks, on both banks of the Meuse, during the night of May 22-23 and throughout the following day. To the west, 304-Meter Hill and its approaches toward Avocourt were particularly aimed at. The use of flaming liquids made it possible for the assailant to invade our trench for a brief period; our soldiers, coming forward again, drove him out. In the direction of Le Mort Homme he was not able even to get near our lines; all the troops that showed themselves were immediately dispersed by our fire. Then the bombardment was resumed along the whole of this sector, with large-

calibre shells; throughout the morning projectiles rained upon it. This terrible fire was the preparation for a new assault against the two flanks of Le Mort Homme, the valley of Esnes and the direction of Cumières. The first waves were mowed down by our artillery and machine guns without reaching our trenches. At nightfall, a second rush, not less violent, at one time reached our shelters. There, also, a vigorously conducted counterattack cleared the ground and threw the Germans back into their lines.

GERMANS IN CUMIERES

Wednesday, May 24.—But on the night of May 23-24 the enemy returned to the assault, aiming against Le Mort Homme, and, by a powerful effort, after very heavy losses, they got a footing in the village of Cumières. On Wednesday they tried in vain to come forward from this position; we even retook trenches on the south edge of the village.

Yet more violent and savage was the German counteroffensive against the woods of Haudromont and Fort Douaumont. During the night the enemy multiplied his assaults in thick masses, on which our fire inflicted terrible losses.

On May 23 and during the night of May 23-24 the enemy manifested increasing violence; his artillery reached an extraordinary power, but without succeeding in making us give up the ground we had gained. At intervals the guns ceased firing to allow of infantry assaults; these were at first repulsed; on the morning of May 24 Fort Douaumont remained in our hands, except for the northern projection and certain elements on the east. But during May 24 two new Bavarian divisions (40,000 men) were sent to the attack, and succeeded in reoccupying the ruins, pushing us back to the approaches, that is, to about the point we occupied before our attack of May 22. At the Caillette Wood the enemy was not even able to get near us.

Thursday, Friday, May 25-26.—On the evening of May 26 our troops, suddenly coming forth from their trenches, in turn attacked Cumières and the positions as far as Le Mort Homme, after a pro-

longed bombardment of the enemy lines. Led with skill and vigor, the assault brought us immediately to the first houses, whose ruins were at once defensively organized. In spite of the resistance of the Germans, our men made their way into the streets, and, house by house, carried the whole eastern quarter. On their left other elements took the trenches to the north of the Caurette Woods. Soon the whole Cumières position was half surrounded. The enemy made a vigorous counterattack; several waves broke under our fire. Finally, we retook half of Cumières and surrounded the other half. We had made 100 prisoners and captured two machine guns.

On the rest of the sector on the left (west) bank of the Meuse we had, during the night, carried with grenades several elements of trenches on the approaches of 304-Meter Hill.

Saturday, May 27.—On May 27 we gained a like success to the southwest of Le Mort Homme, where our soldiers took fifty prisoners. The enemy appeared to be passive.

Sunday, May 28.—At nightfall an attack was prepared in the Corbeaux Wood, directed against Cumières; our fire cut it short. At midnight the effort was renewed, with the same lack of success.

Monday, May 29.—On the morning of May 29 an intensive bombardment with heavy guns began, and continued with increasing energy until 1 in the afternoon. At that moment masses of the enemy appeared—a whole division (20,000) men came forth from the Corbeaux Wood, moving against Cumières and Le Mort Homme. Broken by our fire, a first wave recoiled; others came on, meeting the same fate; the assailants took cover in shell craters, but, when they came out to rush forward, our machine guns and rifles cut them down. These repeated assaults at last won for the enemy 300 meters of trenches. On the same day two violent attacks against 304-Meter Hill were stopped by our fire.

Tuesday, May 30.—At nightfall, after a bombardment even more violent than the preceding, a new assault was launched by the enemy from the eastern

slopes of Le Mort Homme to Cumières. A division which had recently arrived before Verdun took part in it. It had no better fortune than the troops sent forward on the day before. To the east of Le Mort Homme the assailants were mowed down; at Cumières, they failed to force us out of the southern edge of the village. Only in the centre, at the Caurette Wood, our front line was compelled to retire to the south of the Béthincourt road.

Wednesday, May 31.—The struggle was continued during the night of Tuesday to Wednesday. The first-line trench to the south of the Caurette Wood, leveled by the bombardment, had to be abandoned. The edge of Cumières, again furiously attacked, was taken from us. A counterattack pushed the enemy back to the edge of the village. Groups of Germans, taking advantage of the night mist which floated over the Meuse, advanced 1,200 meters from Cumières toward the Chattancourt station; they were met by so hot a fire that all were annihilated.

The enemy, succeeding at last in reaching the 295-Meter summit of Le Mort Homme, had been able to organize a strong work on the southwest slope. This we took on Wednesday, making 220 prisoners, including five officers. On the southeast slope we also took prisoners.

On the right (east) bank the assault of Fort Douaumont by two Bavarian divisions, previously related, had cost the enemy dear, for a slight gain which we reduced, on the morning of May 26, by retaking a trench. On the afternoon of the same day the Germans tried to dislodge us from the approaches to Fort Douaumont; two successive attacks were repulsed. Thereafter, the struggle was confined to persistent artillery fire.

WEST OF THE MEUSE

On the left (west) bank of the Meuse, where, up to May 31, such violent fighting had taken place, the stress of the struggle continually decreased. The enemy confined himself to frequent and furious bombardments of 304-Meter Hill and Le Mort Homme. But the principal offensives were made by us. To our successful attack on the slope of Le Mort

Homme, in the direction of Cumières, which gave us 220 prisoners, the enemy replied with a bombardment of very great violence, followed by a fruitless attack on the eastern slope. We then penetrated for 100 meters (328 feet) into the connecting trenches to the south of the Caurettes Wood, and on June 4 we halted, before it was clearly marked, an attack prepared against our new positions on 304-Meter Hill.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

Thursday, June 1.—On the right (east) bank of the Meuse there were events of quite other significance. After a bombardment which grew continually more violent, on May 31, on the following night, and on June 1, our whole front, from the Thiaumont farm to Douaumont and Vaux, was assaulted. The assaults were repeated, and were everywhere repulsed except between Fort Douaumont and Vaux Pond; that is, in the Caillette Wood, where the enemy succeeded in getting a footing in some of our trenches. The struggle continued throughout the afternoon and the whole night with extreme violence, extending toward Woevre as far as the village of Damloup at the foot of the eastern slope of the Vaux ridge.

The enemy, driven back, returned ceaselessly to the charge, sending forward on a narrow sector more than a division of fresh troops, launched with veritable fury. A document found on a prisoner proved that General Falkenhayn (Chief of the German General Staff) had given the order to advance at all costs, without regard to losses. The objective was Fort Vaux. The Germans succeeded in making their way forward only in the Caillette Wood, from which they reached the south of the pond; this conflict lasted five days.

DAY OF FURIOUS FIGHTING

Friday, June 2.—The artillery contest reached an exceptional degree of violence on June 2. Our reply was effective, for they failed to force the Vaux-Damloup sector; enemy masses which tried to take advantage of the bombardment were severely cut up. In spite of these losses, the Germans returned with increasing

fury; throughout the whole day their waves succeeded each other, especially those directed against the steep escarpments of the fort.

The Bavarian division, which led the principal attack, fought furiously. Our cannon and machine gun fire swept them away in masses, but others came on unceasingly. They could be seen on the open plain; our artillery found them out, hurling disorder among them. The troops thus scattered retired toward Dieppe-en-Woevre. The enemy's sole gain was the capture of a position among the first houses of Damloup.

Night did not stop the carnage. Through the sacrifice of their men the Germans were finally able to penetrate the northern ditch of the fort, but without being able to enter the work itself. We maintained our hold there.

Saturday, June 3.—Our exhausted adversaries did not seek to extend their success. Toward 8 in the evening, when the ground had been cut up by a prolonged bombardment, the enemy attempted to surprise the fort on the south-east, coming up the ravine which indents the ridges of the Meuse near Damloup. The masses launched in the assault, compact and vigorous, succeeded in penetrating the trenches; a counterattack immediately retook the ground lost and pushed the assailants back along the slopes.

Sunday, June 4.—In the morning they returned to the charge; our artillery forced them to retire. Then the bombardment began again with particular violence, especially against Fort Vaux. At 3 in the afternoon several German battalions, starting from Vaux Pond, tried to make their way up to the Firmin Wood, which carpets a slope representing a difference in level of 80 meters, (262 feet.) The fire of our machine guns broke down all these attempts. During the evening and night, from the Firmin Wood to Vaux and Damloup, violent attacks were resumed. They were unable to take the Firmin Wood. Violent attacks against the fort and village of Damloup were broken by our fire. The enemy then had recourse to flaming liquids; in the middle of the night they

tried to sprinkle the defenders of the fort with these. But, in spite of cruel injuries, our soldiers held firm and retained possession of the work.

Monday, June 5.—Bad weather and perhaps the weariness of the troops stopped the struggle on June 5.

Tuesday, June 6.—The German artillery continued to cover the fort with shells, rendering the approaches impassable for relieving troops; within the work our resistance had not grown weaker. The French Chief Command decided to reward the heroic defenders, in the person of their chief, Major Raynal, who was promoted to Commander of the Legion of Honor. He had to repulse a new and powerful attack on Tuesday evening, at 8, throwing back the enemy once more.

LOSS OF FORT VAUX

Wednesday, June 7.—On the night of June 6-7, as a result of the violence of the bombardment, all communication with the fort became impossible. Shortly before 4 in the morning, it was still in our possession. As early as March 9 the enemy had falsely announced that he had taken Fort Vaux by assault. But the conquest was still to cost him many thousands of lives.

As was foreseen, Fort Vaux, completely isolated because of the violence of the bombardment, fell into the hands of the Germans. But even then it was not taken by assault. The heroic garrison, having exhausted their ammunition, without water and without food, was compelled to capitulate. From German sources of information it was learned that Major Raynal was authorized by the Crown Prince to retain his sword, in recognition of his splendid defense. He has been interned at Mayence.

Thursday, Friday, June 8, 9.—During the night of June 8-9 two attempts to storm 304-Meter Hill, on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, met with failure. On June 9 the enemy made another series of attacks, directing his principal efforts against the west and south of the hill. In spite of the use of flaming liquids he

was not able to get close to our trenches; our barrier fire was able to stop him.

Saturday, June 10.—Two further assaults on June 10 were not more successful.

THE THIAUMONT FARM

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse the Germans continued to direct the fire of their artillery on the whole front stretching between Thiaumont farm and Fort Vaux, the sector occupied by the southern extremity of the Caillette Wood, Chapitre Wood, and Firmin Wood. Their gunfire, carrying beyond that line, reached the forts of Tavane and Souville, which join the batteries of the tunnel with those of the hospital. Our batteries replied energetically to this fire, under shelter of which, on several occasions, the Germans tried to get into our trenches.

On June 8 the two flanks of the Thiaumont position were reached; these attacks, although stopped by our barrier fire, permitted the enemy to penetrate into one of our works between Thiaumont and the Caillette Wood; their other assaults were broken.

Sunday, Monday, June 11, 12.—The Germans returned to the charge on the night of Sunday-Monday, to the west of Fort Vaux. Repulsed, they resumed the bombardment of the Thiaumont front, which seemed to be their principal objective. A gain at this point would allow them to reach the plateau of Fleury, facing our Souville works. An entire division was launched against the positions which cover the Thiaumont works to the north. In spite of repeated assaults, the regiments which took part in it were everywhere held back, the assailants suffering heavy losses.

During Monday evening, June 12, another assault was directed against the sector to the west of Thiaumont, in the direction of Bras. The Germans were repulsed, but succeeded in gaining a foothold in certain elements of trenches covering the slopes of a ravine between 321-Meter Hill and 316-Meter Hill, on the edge of the Navé Wood.

The Appalling Struggle at Fort Vaux

By Lieutenant C.

This letter, written by a French officer who took part in the last days' fighting before the fall of Fort Vaux, gives a glimpse of the heroism of the defenders and the awful nature of the combat.

WE had scarcely arrived at the right of Fort de Vaux, on the slope of the ravine, when there came an unprecedented bombardment of twelve hours. Alone, in a sort of dugout without walls, I pass twelve hours of agony, believing that it is the end. The soil is torn up, covered with fresh earth by enormous explosions. In front of us are not less than 1,200 guns of 240, 305, 380, and 420 calibre, which spit ceaselessly and all together, in these days of preparation for attack. These explosions stupefy the brain; you feel as if your entrails were being torn out, your heart twisted and wrenched; the shock seems to dismember your whole body. * * * And then the wounded, the corpses!

Never had I seen such horror, such hell. I felt that I would give everything if only this would stop long enough to clear my brain. Twelve hours alone, motionless, exposed, and no chance to risk a leap to another place, so closely did the fragments of shell and rock fall in hail all day long. At last, with night, this diminished a little. I can go on into the woods! The shells still burst all around us, but their infernal din no longer makes any impression on me—a queer trait of the human temperament. After that we are lodged in fortified caves where we pass five days in seclusion, piled on top of each other, without being able to lie down.

I bury three comrades in a shell hole. We are without water, and, with hands that have just touched the poor mangled limbs, we eat as if nothing were wrong.

We are taken back for two days into a tunnel where the lacrymal shells make us weep. Swiftly we put on our masks. The next day, at the moment of taking supper and retiring to rest, we are hastily called into rank; that's it—we are going to the motion-picture show. We pass through an infernal barrage fire that

cracks red all around in the dark. We run with all speed, in spite of our knapsacks, into the smother of broken branches that used to be a forest. Scarcely have we left a hole or a ditch when shells as big as a frying pan fall on the spot. We are laid flat by one that bursts a few yards away. So many of them fall at one time that we no longer pay any attention to them. We tumble into a ravine which we have named Death Ravine. That race over shell-swept, open country, without trenches, we shall long remember.

At last we enter the village—without suspecting that the Germans are there! The commanding officer scatters us along the steep hill to the left and says: "Dig holes, quickly; the Boches are forty yards away!" We laugh and do not believe him; immediately, cries, rifle shots in the village; our men are freeing our Colonel and Captain, who were already prisoners. * * * Impossible! Then there are no more Frenchmen there? In two minutes the village is surrounded, while the German batteries get a rude jolt. It was time! All night long you hear tools digging from one end to the other; trenches are being made in haste, but secretly. After that there is a wall, and the Germans will advance no further.

The next morning a formidable rumor—the Boches are coming up to assault Fort de Vaux. The newspapers have told the facts; our 75s firing for six hours, the German bodies piling up in heaps. Horrible! but we applauded. Everybody went out of the trenches to look. The Yser, said the veterans, was nothing beside this massacre.

That time I saw Germans fleeing like madmen. * * * The next day, the same thing over again; they have the cynicism to mount a battery on the slope; the German chiefs must be hangmen to hurl their

troops to death that way in masses and in broad daylight. All afternoon, a maximum bombardment; a wood is razed, a hill ravaged with shell holes. It is maddening; continuous salvos of "big char-iots"; one sees the 380s and 420s falling; a continuous cloud of smoke everywhere. Trees leap into air like wisps of straw; it is an unheard-of spectacle. It is enough to make you lose your head, yet we patiently wait for the outcome.

The barrage fire cuts our communication with the rear, literally barring off the isthmus of Death Ravine. If the attacks on our wings succeed, our two regiments are prisoners, hemmed in, but the veterans (fathers of families) declare that we shall not be taken alive, that we will all fight till we die. It is sublime.

"Keep up your courage, coolness, and morale, boys, and we will drive them back in good time."

It is magnificent to see that our last recourse is a matter of sheer will; despite this monstrous machinery of modern war, a little moral effort, a will twenty years old that refuses to weaken, suffices to frustrate the offensive! The rifles do not shoot enough, but we have machine guns, the bayonet, and we have vowed that they shall not pass. Twenty times the alarm is given; along the hill-side one sees the hands gripping the rifles; the eyes are a little wild, but show an energy that refuses to give way.

Suddenly it is already night. A sentinel runs up to the outposts: "There they are! Shoot!"

A whole section shoots. But are the outposts driven in? Nobody knows. I take my rifle to go and see. I do not catch a ball. I find the sentinels flat on their faces in their holes, and run to the

rear gesticulating and crying out orders to cease firing. The men obey. I return to the front, and soon, a hundred yards away, I see a bush scintillate with a rapid line of fire. This time it is they. *Taca-ta-ca, bzzi—bzzi*. I hold my fire until they approach, but the welcome evidently does not please them, for they tumble back over the ridge, leaving some men behind. One wounded cries, "Franchmen!"

I am drunk, mad. Something moves in the bushes to the right; I bound forward with set bayonet. It is my brave Sergeant, who has been out to see whether the Boches have all run away. * * * These are truly the most interesting moments of war; no longer the waiting, the anguish of bombardment, but the thrill of a free march into a glorious unknown—oh, that intoxication! I sing the "Marseillaise," the boys jubilate, all the successive attacks have failed. After this evening the offensive is going to slacken for several days.

The next day we are relieved at last. Another race with death, this time with broad daylight shining upon the horrible chaos, the innumerable dead, and a few wounded here and there. Oh! those mangled bodies, still unburied, abandoned for the moment. The danger excites us. A shell falls squarely among us, jarring us and bathing us in flame. My knapsack gets a sliver of shell; I am not touched; it is a miracle. In the evening we arrive at the ford of D. and have another race. The next day, at Verdun, the Germans are still shelling us at the moment when we mount the auto trucks. In the course of all these actions our losses certainly have been high, but they are nothing compared with the frightful and unimaginable hecatomb of Germans I have witnessed.



Sir Edward Grey's Diplomacy

By George Bernard Shaw

Famous Irish Author and Playwright

The widely debated utterance by Sir Edward Grey which furnishes Mr. Shaw with his text for the present article was published in full in the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*.

IT cannot be too clearly understood that, for the ending of the war as for its beginning, England is entire-ly in the hands of her Foreign Office, and that as long as Sir Edward Grey remains Foreign Secretary her interests, her honor, and, indeed, the future of Europe, as far as her diplomatic action can affect it, are absolutely at the mercy of Sir Edward's capacity and character.

This is a serious responsibility; and on the most favorable estimate of Sir Edward's genius the British Empire will be taking more chances than can be heartily enjoyed by any one but a confirmed gambler or a fanatical devotee of British junker government. That is why it is so startling to read, in an utterance of his which must be presumed to be as closely up to date as any utterance during war time can be, assumptions, and statements which have dropped out of currency among serious students of the war since public opinion began to steady itself toward the middle of 1915.

Sir Edward, it appears, is still going to negotiate on the assumption that he is engaged in a crusade against certain sentences written by Treitschke, for which the German Government and the German Nation are no more responsible (having mostly never read them) than the British Nation and the British Government are responsible for precisely similar sentences written by General Butler and other English militarist writers. And if the Imperial Chancellor should take it into his head to negotiate on the assumption that Germany is engaged in a crusade against Lord Roberts's British "will to conquer" and his aspiration to save the world by bringing it under the rule of gentlemen educated in the public schools of England, we can imagine what sort of understanding is

likely to be reached on these lines, and how long it will take to reach it.

Sir Edward is still under the impression that when Belgium appealed to Germany, France, and Britain for a pledge that her neutrality would be respected, Germany refused it and Britain and France gave it. This delusion may have helped out our recruiting at a moment when recruiting was the supreme consideration; but now that we have compulsory military service, and can afford to employ 200,000 soldiers as officers' valets, and are therefore sure of as many men in the army as we can prudently spare from civil industry, it is no longer necessary to resort to such expedients. The truth is, as Sir Edward can easily ascertain from his own White Papers, that each of the three powers consented to respect the neutrality of Belgium only on condition that the other two did so as well, which meant in effect on condition that the war did not occur. We must look this Belgian question straight in the face. The independence of Belgium is as much out of the question as the independence of Ireland, and always has been since she was set up as a buffer State between the great powers of the west of Europe. Unless and until Belgium can be placed under the protection of a supernational organization stronger than any of the national powers or their militant alliances, Belgium must fulfill her present destiny of being, as both Sir Edward and the Imperial Chancellor quite accurately call her, "a bulwark" for England and France against Germany. England is our castle; but Belgium is its barbican; and we cannot allow Belgium to surrender the barbican, nor can we hesitate, if she cannot hold it against Germany, to throw in our troops and defend it as if it

were Portsmouth, no matter how vigorously Belgium may protest.

That is our position and also the French position; and everybody in Europe knows it except the subscribers to the London one-cent illustrated dailies. Sir Edward and his colleagues secured popular support at the beginning of the war by holding up the neutrality of Belgium as something so sacred that only the very vilest of Huns would raise a weapon against it or march a regiment across a Belgian field. I ventured to differ with Sir Edward to the extent of saying that if our own military success were at stake we would violate the neutrality of heaven itself rather than give a German soldier half a chance of setting his foot in a Kentish lane; and what has happened in Greece has shown that I was precisely right, even to the very instance I gave of the landlocked country (Serbia) which might put us to the test.

Now, Sir Edward still insists that Germany must come to judgment on the neutrality question, even at the cost of giving away our own position in Greece as morally indefensible. Fortunately I, having in 1914 heroically resisted the temptation to use The Hague Conference and the 1839 treaty as a stick to beat Germany with, am now able to say, without making myself publicly ridiculous, that military necessity justified Britain in seizing the Greek islands and in claiming a right of way for her ally Serbia over the Greek railway through Athens, and to repeat that the German attack on France, a quite unnecessary breach of the peace of Western Europe, is the true Achilles heel of Germany's moral position. My fear is that any plenipotentiary of ours who goes into this difficult business with his judgment obscured and his attention distracted by pious horror at the short work which war makes of the moral recriminations of the military pot and the military kettle will have no chance against the German statesmen, who, though apparently no cleverer than our own, yet secure a considerable economy of discussion and directness of aim by hacking their way through moral humbug, and discarding, for European

as distinguished from domestic consumption, the Pecksniffian airs which impose on nobody outside their own constituencies, and only on the stupid and ignorant inside them.

The point is of cardinal importance because, I repeat, we cannot be too clear about the Belgian question. Our position is that until the present military basis of international relations is underpinned by a basis of supernational law, Belgium must be independent of Germany. The German position is that Belgium must be independent of France and Britain. What both belligerents really mean is that Belgium, though nominally independent of them, and indeed really so in peace, must in war side with one or the other of them; and naturally each desires the power of compelling her to side with it against the other. Now if this difference is to be settled by the belligerents only, it must be settled by blood and iron and not by Christmas cards and governesses' lectures. Germany being in possession of Belgium, and therefore in a position to say, with Wagner's dragon, "Ich liege und besitze," Britain must drive Germany out by fighting her or starving her. And Germany must hold Belgium tooth and nail against us to the utmost effort short of suicide she is capable of.

There is, however, a possible alternative. If the so-called neutral countries were to step in for the sake of putting an end to the intolerable situation that will arise (if it has not already arisen) from the establishment of a deadlock on the western front in which, though both sides may keep feeding in fresh drafts of men to be slaughtered every year, neither can shift the other, and were to make Belgium really independent both of Britain, France, and Germany by themselves combining to guarantee her soil against invasion, the belligerents would eagerly accept the guarantee the moment they became convinced that they were engaged in a Kilkenny cat fight; for both sides could claim to have achieved the independence of Belgium by a chivalrous feat of arms.

The initiative in such an intervention should come from America. A month

ago Britain had bright hopes of America coming in on her side. Those hopes have been shot away by General Maxwell in Ireland for the present; and in spite of the powerful war interests which exist in America, and which were revealed to London by well-circulated reports of the action of Mr. Tavenner in Congress last December, London and Washington are now back at the point reached in 1914, when I appealed through the press to President Wilson to come to the rescue of Belgium, and incidentally of the peace and order of Europe, by interfering on her behalf in the name of outraged humanity, without waiting for any specifically American grievance or leaning to either the British or the German side. Now that the Lusitania case is settled, the United States is again in the strong moral position of having no axe of her own to grind nor wrongs of her own to avenge. And I still believe that she must settle the Belgian question by moral force if neither the British nor the Germans can settle it by force of arms. Indeed, she ought to settle it anyhow in the interests of civilization; but as things are I must not pretend that the belligerents would unanimously welcome her interference if either saw its way to a victory that it could afford. The Imperial Chancellor is right when he says that there can be no status quo ante; but the substitution of a guarantee of Belgium by the comparatively disinterested powers for the present guarantee by powers who guarantee her only to have a grip on her throat would not be the status quo ante; and an acceptance of it would be a concession to the public opinion of the civilized world and not to the threats of a foe in arms. Sir Edward Grey's reply to the Chancellor that without the status quo ante "Belgium's independence is gone, as Serbia's and Montenegro's is gone, unless the Allies can get them up again," will not stand half an hour's consideration. The world, let us hope, is not yet so completely bankrupt that nothing good can be done unless the Allies do it.

When Sir Edward forgets that he is Foreign Secretary and remembers only his political idealism he speaks like a man in a trance, the world forgetting, but

unfortunately not by the world forgot. No doubt he is quite right in advising the Germans to make a revolution. The Germans not only gave the same advice to the Irish, but contributed rifles and ammunition as well. For that matter, there is not a country in the civilized world that would not be the better for a revolution once a fortnight or so. But I confess I wish Sir Edward would not call himself "we" when he is speaking for himself and his dreams alone, and is ignoring the most glaring facts of the situation. It would not matter if, like so many of our patriotic tub thumpers, his words traveled no further than the circulations of a cheap illustrated paper, or the walls of a public hall in England, or the railings of a London park. But Sir Edward, like myself, is quoted throughout Europe and America; and he should be more careful than I am, because he is the uncontrolled agent of Britain's foreign policy, instead of which he recklessly says things that would destroy my credit forever.

We all know that he was not prepared for war, because he never is prepared for anything that actually happens in the crude concrete world, even when it is thundering down on him like a mad motor bus; but when, in the teeth of the assurances of the British Admiralty and the British War Office, through his own Ministerial colleagues, that the command in Flanders was settled five years before the war began and that the British commander was studying the field during that period, and that the navy was fully prepared with five years' accumulation of ammunition, not to mention the fact that it would have been grossly dishonorable and criminally negligent of Britain if, after her understanding with France, she had neglected these precautions, Sir Edward declares that "we" were not prepared for war, the impression he produces on Europe is that the Machiavellian Grey of the German imagination answers to the reality. Again, when he says that "poisonous fumes were rejected by us as too horrible for civilized people to use," the amazed foreigner asks whether the British Foreign Secretary can really be unaware that Britain has-

tened to use them the moment the Germans demonstrated their practicability.

Surely, the foreigner thinks, Britain should blame herself for letting the Germans anticipate her lazy conservatism, as in the case of the Zeppelins, rather than plume herself on an affected humanity, of which war can know less and less until science reduces it to impossibility.

As to Sir Edward's fine old Whig dreams of nationalism and political freedom, and his "We want a Europe free," "France, Russia, and Italy are in the war to preserve everything that is precious to nationality," what effect must they produce on the neutral world, to say nothing of our highly critical enemies, when they see that national independence is now an impracticable superstitution, and that France in Morocco, Italy in Dalmatia, and Russia in Poland are no more aiming at freedom and national independence than Austria in Bohemia, Germany in Posen and Schleswig-Holstein, Britain in Egypt, India, or Ireland, or the United States (if they are wise) in Mexico? What sense is there in saying these things now to a world which can see nothing in them but the celebrated British hypocrisy which The London Times confesses and defends with affectionate pride as the homage Englishmen pay to virtue, and at a moment, too, when every ear is strained to catch the words of the autocrat of our Foreign Office?

And, oh! will Sir Edward never forgive or forget that rude omission of the Central Empires to come and talk it over quietly with him when the fat was in the fire, and every moment's delay, if there was to be a war, was adding an ounce to the weight of the threatening Russian steam roller? The Balkan difficulty proved how soothing the conversation of Sir Edward can be to men who do not mean to fight; but when their minds changed, and they were prepared to fight in certain contingencies, all Europe shrieked to Sir Edward Grey that straight question as to whether in these contingencies he was going to fight or not. Professor Gilbert Murray had writ-

ten a most conclusive book, with all the quotations from Sir Edward in italics, proving that he replied that peace was the immediate jewel of England's soul. When popular pugnacity revolted against this view, Mr. William Archer wrote another book proving up to the hilt that Sir Edward had, on the contrary, thrown his blood-stained sword in thunder down, and left no possible doubt as to our bellicose intentions. In short, Sir Edward having thought it best to shilly-shally, one of his two ablest literary friends collected all the shilly and the other all the shally, leaving the world to judge what the Germans were likely to have made of it when the one chance of averting war was to convince them bluntly that if they took on the French Republic they would have to take on the British Empire, too.

It may be that this was good statesmanship and that it was better to lure Germany to her doom and have it out with her once and for all. Or it may be that if the Germans had accepted that invitation to confer Sir Edward would have soothed them, and we should now all be taking our stalls for Bayreuth and our circular tickets for the Black Forest. But what is the use of going back to all that now? The Germans did not walk into Sir Edward's parlor; and by this time his obsession with their unkindness has worn out its interest. The Allies have now either to win the war or at least prevent Germany from winning it; and the old moralizings and recriminations of 1914 will not help us—will, in fact, hinder us most dangerously if our statesmen keep chewing them over instead of tackling the problem in front of them and dealing with it in terms of the strictest objectivity. Sir Edward's column and a half of assurances that the English are the natural administrators of Divine justice and that the Germans must be classed with "footpads, safe-breakers, burglars, and incendiaries," will not put a single German gun out of action, and may strain the patience of the neutrals with British self-love and their faith in British statesmanship to the point of doubting whether any material advantages can secure success to a side which talks like that, not only under the first

shock of war, but after nearly two years' reflection.

As I write these words the world is all discussing Sir Edward Grey's very latest utterance. The Imperial Chancellor has said that Sir Edward threatened war when Austria violated the treaty of Berlin by practically annexing Bosnia. The obvious reply to that was, "The Imperial Chancellor has paid me a compliment I do not deserve." The reply actually made by Sir Edward is, "That is a first-class lie." This is a very typical sample of Sir Edward's temper and manners. When Turkey threw in her lot with Germany in the war the Foreign Office announced that fact in a document which described our former protégés as "the degenerate Turks." And the Foreign Office would probably have been just as rude if it could have foreseen Gallipoli and Kut. Apparently it has not character enough to observe even the scrupulous civilities of a common duel, much less a conflict of empires. What likelihood is there of any nego-

tiations turning out happily if this is the style in which they are to be conducted? Already the Chancellor has been able to compel Mr. Asquith to climb down by saying, "If you take that tone, negotiations will be concluded before they have been begun." Yet Mr. Asquith was not personally offensive, and readily explained when the remonstrance came to hand. Sir Edward Grey has thrown in the Chancellor's face a personal insult for which, according to the Continental code, he ought to offer "satisfaction," (with pistols.) We may have an extra month of war because Sir Edward has lost his temper.

As long ago as 1906, in referring to a very horrible episode in the history of our occupation of Egypt, I expressed my opinion that Sir Edward Grey was unfitted by his character and the limitations of his capacity for the highly specialized work of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Nothing that has happened since has shaken that opinion.

An Austrian Reply to Sir Edward Grey

By Baron Burian

Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs

In a letter read by Count Tisza, Prime Minister, before the Hungarian Parliament on June 14, Baron Burian asserted that Serbia had been a tool of Russian aggression, and that Austria-Hungary was "drawn into this world war by the menace to the foundations of its existence." Baron Burian continued:

THE British Foreign Secretary denies the assertion of the Imperial Chancellor that, during the crisis in Russian policy after the annexation of Bosnia, England did not side with the parties striving for a settlement, but endeavored to aggravate the differences between Russian and Austria-Hungary and Germany. The British statesman calls this a first-class lie, and denies that England endeavored to stir up war over Bosnia. What Sir Edward Grey wanted

he must know best himself, but it is certain, as Dr. Bethmann Hollweg proved, that in Petrograd the British representative, who was a confidential adviser of the Russian Government, tried by every means in his power to stir up the differences that had arisen about the Bosnian question between Russia and us, and finally he expressed his disapproval and disappointment that the Russian Government had at last yielded to the accomplished fact, owing to the firm attitude of the monarchy and Germany. This is also confirmed by the report of our Petrograd Ambassador on March 6, 1909, in which he said that the British Embassy and its satellites showed great zeal in assisting M. Isvolsky in his policy of bluff.

When St. Petersburg again listened to

common sense and the inclination to stir up war had decreased in Russian circles, owing to the firm attitude of Austria-Hungary and Germany, the recognition of the situation was forced on M. Isvol'sky, as stated by our Ambassador on April 4, and without listening to the British the Czar's advisers went to Tsarskoe Selo and informed the Czar of the critical situation, whereupon approval was given to the abolition of Article 25 of the Berlin Treaty. The same day our Ambassador reported that the change had been accomplished, which did not escape the vigilance of the British diplomacy, and it endeavored to utilize this change for its final aims.

The British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Nicolson, now experimented with sentimentality, and attempted in this manner to widen the differences between the Central Powers and Russia. It is known how the English press assisted the British Ambassador at Petrograd. From the reports of our foreign representatives and those of Germany we perceive how little reliable they considered the peace policy of England.

[Baron Burián then dwells on the Balkan conference in London, and says that Sir Edward Grey's attitude was well intentioned in so far as he endeavored to further the solution of pending questions. Grey also was well meaning when, in dealing with a diverging standpoint, he did not conceal that close political relations with Russia did not allow England complete impartiality.]

At that time none of the great powers was openly challenged. But at the end of July, 1914, it was England alone, if she had really cared to maintain the peace, that could have saved it, if she had not backed up Russia when the latter opposed our justified attitude toward Serbia, and had declared her neutrality.

But today the causes of the world war are of no practical importance, but only the question—and therein I completely agree with the English Foreign Secretary—of who is responsible for the further prolongation of the war. Sir Edward Grey says the war will not come to an end because the Central Powers con-

sider themselves the victors and the Entente defeated, but that the Entente will not be defeated. Of course, we cannot order the Entente to admit its defeat, or to abandon hope of a favorable change in the situation. But in face of the clear facts things cannot be turned upside down.

If Sir Edward Grey believes that the Entente is not defeated, the Central Powers, with all due respect, can point out that they are still less defeated. A glance at the war situation decides the question of which party is taking up a standpoint quite out of keeping with the real situation. The reality is that, as the reward of our just cause and the superhuman efforts of our heroic troops, the scales of the world war in all the war theatres are in favor of our Quadruple Alliance, and that we shall not allow success to be snatched from us. We were dragged into war by force and in self-defense. This we shall never forget. After our splendid victories our aim in the war is to strengthen and make lasting our safeguards against repetitions of such malicious attacks. We make no exaggerated demands, but these safeguards we shall forge hard in the fire of battle and our holy enthusiasm.

Heaven alone knows how many hammer blows will still be necessary before we can rest on this new foundation for our Fatherland. In co-operation with her faithful allies, Austria-Hungary will not stop on the toilsome road of the development of our heroic strength before the final victory is attained. As is well known, our enemies expect the turning point in the fortune of war to come from those great and united efforts which they have already prepared long since, and from our exhaustion in all directions. We have done everything, and will do everything, without hesitation, that is necessary for the frustration of their intentions, and, relying on God's help, we hope that these expectations of our enemies will meet with complete disappointment. By prolonging the war they can only cause more suffering, but they will not be able to arrest the iron tread of fate. The peaceable dis-

position of the monarchy cannot be doubted, but, adopting Sir Edward Grey's words of May 10, we also can say that

Austria-Hungary and her comrades in arms cannot "suffer a peace which would not make good the crime of this war."

The Mistakes of the Allies

By Count Julius Andrássy

Hungarian Deputy and Former Minister

Count Andrássy was asked recently by a representative of the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin if he thought that the present war might have been avoided. His reply, translated for CURRENT HISTORY, is embodied in this article.

NEITHER Austria-Hungary nor Germany wanted the war. Austria-Hungary, however, was obliged to insist that Serbia's intrigues be punished and atoned for. Austria did not wish to give up its political rights. The Austro-Hungarian Government did not believe that the Czar of Russia would play the rôle of protector of assassins, but was firmly convinced that Russia would abandon Serbia and hand it over. The very fact that the Czar protected Serbia and the Serbian instigators of assassination showed that Russia had decided upon war long ago. The defense of Serbia at all hazards started the war, a war which once begun was in the nature of things bound to develop into a world conflagration. After the deed at Serajevo Austria could no longer allow Serbia to menace the stability of Austria-Hungary and promote, both openly and in secret, the ideas of the South-Slavic Pan-Slavists.

But the friends of Serbia made a grievous mistake. When our enemies, be they called Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, or anything else, even today, after the sword of the Central Powers has administered to them one severe defeat after the other, keep their mouths filled with talk of confidence in victory, it is mere phrase making. A glance at the present military situation is enough proof of the truth of these words.

Let us take, for example, the French. To me it seems indisputable that France will and must bleed to death at Verdun. That France entered into the war at

once is politically comprehensible and intelligible. The thought of "revanche" had lain in the Frenchmen's blood since Sedan. And, believe me, France would have drawn the sword still sooner if she had felt herself strong enough to do so alone. Already in the 80s Bismarck laid stress upon the fact that, despite mutual attempts at understanding, despite the cooling off of the idea of "revanche," France would attack Germany the moment she became possessed by the delusion that she would be the victor in this bloody passage at arms. This fact has not been changed an iota by all the efforts for peace made by individual statesmen and parties, nor by all the agitation in favor of living side by side in peace.

In July, 1914, Russia shielded murderous Serbia, the war began, and, politically, it was a matter of course that France fell upon Germany in an attack that she had secretly longed for during many years.

And today? After such a long world war? I go so far as to declare that we can no longer be defeated on the field of battle, neither in the West nor in the East, neither in the Southeast nor in the South.

And just because of this in March last year the English declared the economic war that scoffs at every article of international law. England and Germany. There is a chapter of world politics in itself. Germany did not hate England, nor did Germany seek England's life; just the reverse. When the world was still in complete peace the spectre of in-

vasion was raised again and again in England. In England, through word and pen and picture, the great mass of the people had been forced into the delusion that Germany wanted a war with England, that Germany wanted to swallow up England. Germany would appear on English soil some day with its armies and destroy everything.

Consequently it is the biggest kind of a political lie when the English statesmen continue to assert that England was forced to take up arms in order to protect Belgium. Oh, no! the constant and long-continued open and secret incitation of hatred against Germany in England was the only thing that made it possible for the English Government to take a hand in the war, not to protect Belgium, but to destroy Germany's dreaded and annoying competition. Or does any sensible man really believe that the year-long anti-German agitation and, I might say, cultivation of the spectre of invasion, was, or could have been, unknown to the English Government? Impossible, for the gentlemen of the English Government surely know how to read, and they are very shrewd.

England, too, has made a mistake regarding this war. To be sure, we hear the old phrases repeated in the speeches by Messrs. Grey and Asquith, but their words lack substance. The broth is still there, but the bits of meat, that is, the demands for the destruction of militarism and the smashing of Germany, are all missing. They still talk about the salvation of Belgium. That England really entered the war for that purpose is certainly no longer believed by any one. But because England, in order to destroy Germany, brought upon itself all the sacrifices entailed by the world war, and now, after twenty-two months of fighting, finds itself in the position of the worried tanner whose hides have floated beyond his reach, England is really the most undeceived of all the belligerents. Besides the ridicule, there is naturally the damage which will result from England being compelled to pay very dearly for having played the fool.

The only thing to be said about the Italians is that they have cut themselves

to the very quick by committing treason and breaking faith. Italy could have had everything for nothing, and now all she will get for nothing will be blows, and nothing else. The results of this world war for Italy will be the following: The loss through her own folly of the friendship of the Central Powers, the odium attached to treason, and failure to win the genuine friendship of her new allies. Italy followed the same policy as before.

Germany does not pursue a policy of conquest. The aim in the East and in the West is not the acquisition of land or an increase in territory, but the securing of the safety of the borders. In the West, as well as in the East and South, there must be a guarantee against a hostile attack. What is necessary will probably have to be annexed, but nothing more. So far as Poland is concerned, I have already declared openly on several occasions that a partition of Poland would be the greatest mistake. The war must not bring a realization of the shibboleth: "The fourth division of Poland." The Poles would regard that as annihilation.

As for the Entente talk of disrupting the Hapsburg monarchy, Austria-Hungary is not so divided politically as her enemies pretend. In our internal affairs we, too, have our battles and our feuds, but unity has always prevailed in the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary. Neither is it true that enmity existed between Austria and Hungary. I personally am the leader of a party that has already had the sharpest conflicts, but in the matter of foreign policy we were always guided by nothing but the interests of the common monarchy. Austria-Hungary will also hold out economically during the war, and the world will witness our economic collapse just as little as it will that of Germany.

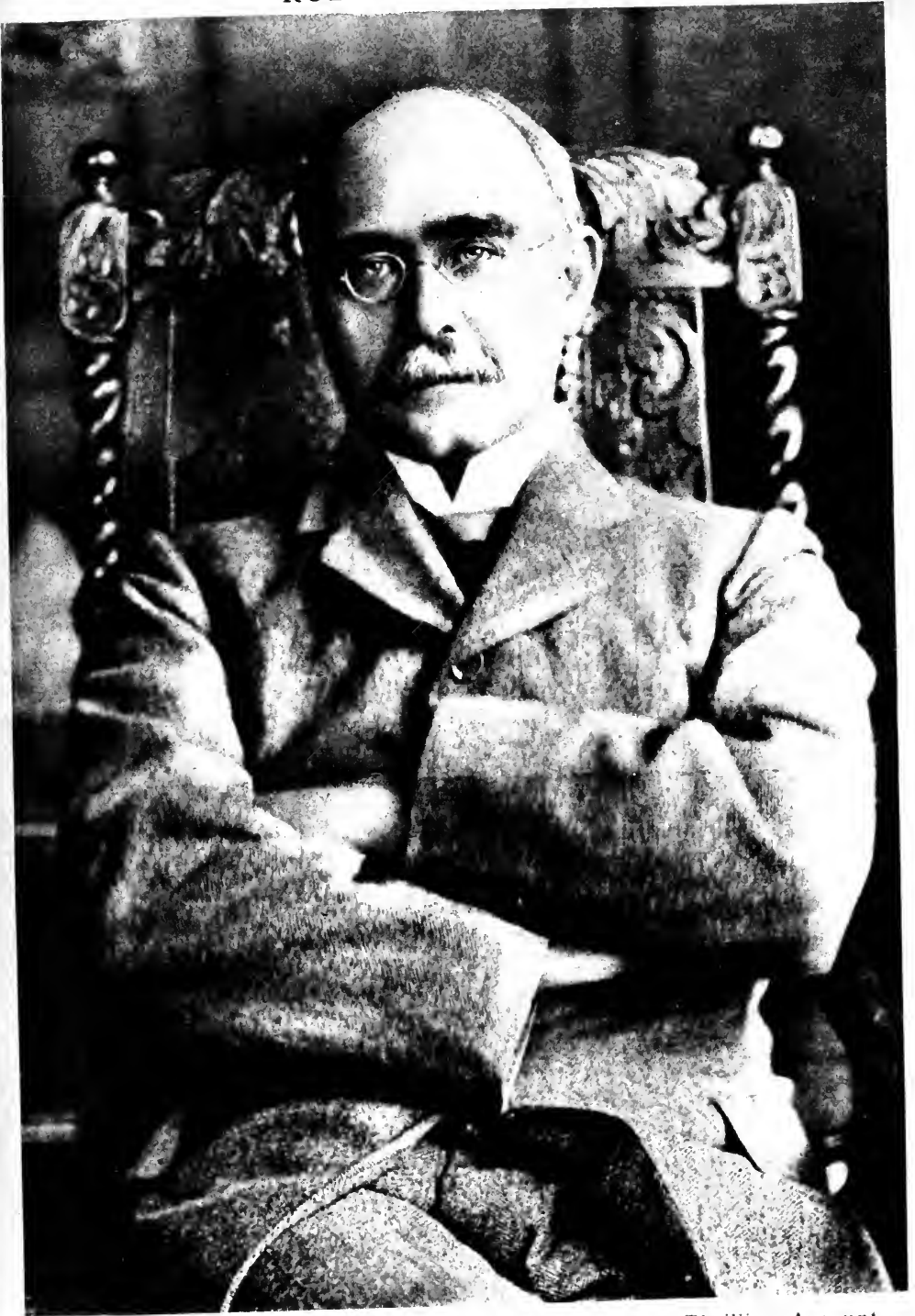
The end of the war will be coincident with the arrival of the moment when our opponents recognize this, when they finally become honest and admit to themselves that they had lost their reason in deluding themselves with the idea that they were able to smash Germany to pieces. This recognition will come. It must come. Then we shall have peace again.

H. R. H. EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES



Prince Edward, Now 22 Years Old, Is Captain of the Grenadier Guards and Is Called in England "Our Soldier Prince"

RUDYARD KIPLING



The Most Popular English Poet of Our Day. Whose Thrilling Account
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Current History

(Photo made for The London Sphere)

Lest We Forget

Who's Responsible for the World's Greatest War

By Richard Dobson

[A look backward at the end of the first two years of war]

ON the 23d day of June, 1914, Francis Ferdinand, Archduke and nephew of the Emperor of Austria, also Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian Army and heir to the throne, left Vienna to review army manoeuvres in the Province of Bosnia. On Sunday, the 28th day of June, he visited Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Archduke and his wife, the Duchess of Hornberg, rode in their automobile through the streets of Serajevo, and at a certain point of their progress they were fired upon by an assassin and both were killed.

Few crimes have aroused deeper horror throughout Europe and the world at large. Public opinion and the Governments of Europe were ready to uphold Austria-Hungary in any measure, however severe, that the Austrian Government might think necessary for the punishment of the assassin and his accomplices.

It was immediately apparent from the reports of representatives from the various capitals of Europe that the public of Austria-Hungary, as represented through the press, attributed the greater part of the responsibility of the dastardly crime to the Serbian Government, which, they said, had encouraged a revolutionary spirit and thus brought about a revolutionary movement among the Serbian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There is no question that there had been a strong Serb agitation for years previous to the murder of the Archduke and his wife, in the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This same agitation and revolutionary movement swept the provinces, (antedating the rule of Austria, and while they were yet a part of the Turkish Empire,) during the early

seventies, followed by the war of 1877-1878 between Turkey and Russia. At the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, Austria was given the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria gave her pledge to Turkey that her occupation of the provinces should not interfere with the sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey over them.

In 1908 Austria suddenly proclaimed the annexation of these provinces. On Oct. 7 of that year the annexation was celebrated at Serajevo—the city which, nearly six years later, was to witness the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne—by the firing of salutes and the ringing of the great cathedral bells, amid scenes of official rejoicing, but of popular indifference and apathy.

The Serbian Government at the time protested to the powers of Europe against the annexation as an insult and injury to the rights of the Serbian people. A war cloud loomed up ominously. Russia and several of the powers showed resentment, but after six months' tension Serbia was induced to abandon her claim and promised to live on good terms with Austria.

But Serbia was dissatisfied. Her national aspirations were not quenched, and were strengthened by her successes in the Balkan war of 1912-1913, a success which was, however, restrained by Austria in her opposition to Serbia's territorial expansion. As Serbia grew Austria's jealousy and suspicion of Serbian designs grew also.

The assassination of the Crown Prince sent a wave of anti-Serbian passion over Austria. Mobs in Vienna threatened the Serbian Legation. The entire Austrian press used severe and unbridled language, calling for quick punishment of the Serbian people. Rioters at Sera-

jevo and Agram demanded vengeance on the Serb population, and the members of the Serb party in the Provincial Council of Croatia were assailed by their colleagues with cries of "Serbian assassins." Signs were strongly in evidence that the popular resentment was encouraged and shared by the Austrian Government.

In view of these conditions, the disinterested powers sought to wield their influence in the direction of reconciling justice with peace. Though the attitude of public opinion in Austria, and perhaps to a less degree in Germany, was very plain, the intentions of the Austrian Government remained obscure. The Austrian Foreign Office was exceedingly reticent, especially with the British and Russian Ambassadors.

On July 7 the Austrian Government announced that the joint meeting of Austro-Hungarian Cabinets which had just taken place was only concerned with the question of domestic measures to repress the Pan-Serb propaganda in Bosnia. On the 8th day of July the Hungarian Minister, President of Hungary, made a pacific speech in the Hungarian Parliament defending the Serb subjects of the empire and eulogizing their loyalty.

July 11 the Serbian Minister at Vienna said that there was no reason to anticipate a threatening communication from the Austrian Government, and as late as July 22, 1914, the day before the ultimatum of the Austrian Government was received at Belgrade, the Minister-President of Hungary stated in the Hungarian Parliament that the situation did not warrant the opinion that a serious turn of events was necessary, or even probable.

It was known that Serbia had made known her readiness to accept any demands compatible with the sovereignty of an independent State. It was also known that the French, Russian, and German Governments held to the belief that the Serbian Government was not to blame for the crime, but that she must be ready to investigate, as well as put an end to, the murderous propaganda that had led up to it. It was also be-

lieved that it originated, partly, at least, on Serbian soil.

Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Secretary, advised Serbia to conduct herself in a spirit of moderation and conciliation. He also promised the German Ambassador at London to use his influence in the same way with the Russian Government. What more could be done at the time? There was no actual evidence that Serbian territory had been made the base of revolutionary operations against Austria-Hungary. The Serbian Government also stated that the two assassins implicated were both Austrian subjects, and that on a former occasion the Austrian Government had informed the Serbian Government that one of the assassins, was perfectly harmless and was under their protection.

It was generally assumed that before Austria took any definite action she would disclose to the public her case against Serbia.

The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente remained just as they had been for years. Said Sir Edward Grey to the German Ambassador: "We have been quite recently assured that no new secret element had been introduced into the Triple Alliance, and that the Triple Entente remained unchanged so far as England was concerned, and with France and Russia also, so far as we know." As late as May 23, 1914, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs had reaffirmed that the policy of the Russian State was as before, the Balkans for the Balkans, and it was known that any attack on a Balkan State by any great European power would be regarded as a menace to that policy.

As late as June 29, 1914, the Austrian Ambassador said to the English Foreign Secretary that "Serbia was regarded by them as being in the Austrian sphere of influence." Sir Edward replied: "If Serbia is to be humiliated, then most assuredly Russia could not remain indifferent and would not."

Sir Edward Grey said further: "It was not a question of the policy of Russian statesmanship at St. Petersburg, but of the deep hereditary feeling for the Balkan populations bred in the Russian

people for more than two centuries of development." This was known in European diplomacy in the past; it was one of the facts of the European situation, the product of the centuries. Patient work for years might change it, but you couldn't push it aside in a day.

On July 23, 1914, Austria showed her hand. She delivered an ultimatum at Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, and required an answer absolute within forty-eight hours. Ten demands were made on Serbia, as follows: The suppression of newspapers and literature, the suppression of nationalist societies, a reorganization of Government schools, the dismissal of officers from the army, the participation of Austrian officers in judiciary proceedings in Serbia, the prevention of all traffic in arms across the frontier, a full explanation of anti-Austrian utterances, immediate notification of the enforcement of these measures, the Serbian Government to publish on the front page of the official journal a prescribed statement amounting to a full recantation of her alleged errors, and a promise of amendment.

To these ten demands was annexed a very brief summary of the secret trial at Serajevo, without any corroborative evidence attached.

What independent nation could accept such an ultimatum and be worthy of independent national existence? Only twelve days intervened between this ultimatum and the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany. In the whirl of negotiations which ensued there was scarcely time for pondering.

When Sir Edward Grey learned of the ultimatum through the Austrian Ambassador at London he expressed grave alarm. There was no time to advise Russia or to influence Serbia. At this critical moment everything depended on Germany. Great Britain during those momentous forty-eight hours made three attempts at peace for Europe. Above all things the time limit of the ultimatum must be extended. Russia and Great Britain urged this at Vienna. Great Britain also urged Germany to join in pressing the matter on the Austrian Government. Berlin simply consented to

"pass on" the British message to Vienna.

Sir Edward Grey then urged that Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy should work together at Vienna and St. Petersburg for conciliation. France assented. Italy assented. Russia declared herself ready to compromise, and Germany said that she had no objections, if the relation between Austria and Russia became threatening.

Then the Russian, French, and British representatives at Belgrade were instructed to advise Serbia to go as far as possible to meet Austria. But it was too late. Austria would not extend the time limit. Serbia, however, anticipated the advice of Russia, France, and Great Britain, for on the afternoon of the 25th of July, 1914, several hours before the time limit had expired, Serbia made reply to the Austrian ultimatum. The reply was an entire acceptance of the Austrian demands, subject to the necessary delay in passing new laws and the amending of her Constitution, and subject also to an explanation of Austria-Hungary as to her precise wishes with regard to the participation of Austro-Hungarian officials in Serbian judicial proceedings.

Serbia's reply went far beyond what any of the great powers, not even excepting Germany, had thought possible for Serbia to submit to. The same day, the 25th of July, the British Ambassador at Vienna reported to his home Government that the tone of the Austrian press left the impression that a settlement was not desired, and he later reported to his home Government that the impression left on his mind was that the Austrian note was so drawn up as to make war inevitable.

In spite of the conciliatory nature of Serbia's reply, the Austrian Minister left Belgrade that very evening, July 25, 1914. Serbia then ordered a general mobilization of her army. The Serbian reply to Austria had been wired to Sir Edward Grey at London, and he immediately wired Berlin that he hoped Germany would urge Austria to accept. Germany again contented herself with merely "passing on" the expression of Sir Edward's hope to Vienna through the German Ambassador there. The

fate of such a message "passed on" may be guessed from the fact that the German Ambassador told the British Ambassador shortly afterward that Serbia had only made a pretense of giving way, and that all her pretenses to concession were a mere sham.

Austria declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914; on July 29, Russia ordered partial mobilization, and Austrian troops were bombarding Belgrade, Serbia's capital. On the 29th of July, Sir Edward Grey, at about 4 o'clock P. M., wired to Berlin once more on representations more favorable made by the German Ambassador in London, and also in accordance with a request from the Russian Government, "Urging the German Government, if they did not like the Ambassador's conference, to suggest any other form they pleased. Mediation," said Sir Edward Grey, "was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought proper, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace."

About midnight of the 29th day of July a telegram was received at the British Foreign Office from the English Ambassador at Berlin. He said: "The German Chancellor sent for me late at night and propounded the following question: Would Great Britain promise to remain neutral in a war, provided Germany did not touch Holland and took nothing from France but her colonies?" The German Chancellor refused to give any undertaking that Germany would not invade Belgium, but promised that, if Belgium remained passive, no territory would be taken away from her.

Sir Edward Grey's answer was a flat refusal, but contained the following exhortation: "The business of Europe was to work for peace; and that was the only question with which Great Britain was concerned. If Germany would now prove by her actions that she desired peace, Great Britain would warmly welcome a future agreement with her whereby the whole weight of the two nations would be thrown permanently into the scale of peace in years to come."

Up to and including the 29th day of

July the only conflict had been on the frontiers of Serbia and Austria; the chief fear was an outbreak between Russia and Austria. Russia had declared that she desired nothing greater than a period of peace to work up her internal improvement and advancement. Germany had declared that her interests were for peace, and France said that she would not fight except to help her ally.

There seemed, on the face of things, no insuperable difficulty in keeping the peace of Europe. But the inquiry of the German Chancellor let the cat out of the bag. Great Britain now knew that Germany was contemplating an attack on France. She knew also that the independence of the Low Countries, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, had for generations been considered one of the greatest obstacles to a general war, a strong lever for the peace and good-will of Europe. The neutrality of Belgium had been devised and consecrated as a safeguard by two international treaties signed by all the great powers of Europe and recognized by at least two generations of European statesmen. Germany had shown her hand and was ready to smash the main pivot of the concert of Europe. Having decided upon a war with France, Belgium was of supreme importance to Germany. She undoubtedly assumed that if she failed to occupy Belgium, France would, most likely, do so. Acting on that suspicion, Germany took the initiative; but the neutrality of Belgium had not been devised as a pretext for war, but to prevent war.

The British Government therefore on July 31 asked the German and French Governments for an agreement to respect Belgian neutrality, and the Belgian Government for an engagement to uphold it. France gave the necessary engagement the same day, Belgium the day after; but Germany made no reply. Silence was the gauntlet of defiance thrown down. German designs were alarmingly apparent. Late on the evening of July 29 Russia had offered to stop all military preparations if Austria would recognize that her conflict with Serbia had become a question of general European interest and would eliminate from her ultimatum

the points which involved a violation of Serbian sovereignty.

On the 31st day of July Russia informed the British Government that Austria had at last agreed to discuss the whole question of her ultimatum to Serbia, a thing that she had refused to do in the early days of the crisis. For a time there was a gleam of hope. It was suddenly quenched, however, when Germany on that very day dispatched an ultimatum to Russia that she must countermand her mobilization within twelve hours. (Yet at that very time mobilization had proceeded much further in Germany than in Russia, though general mobilization was not publically proclaimed in Germany until the following day, Aug. 1.) France began to mobilize on Aug. 1. The last proposal made by Sir Edward Grey that joint action should be taken between Germany, France, and Italy until Russia's answer should be received, was refused by Germany, and on that selfsame day the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg presented a declaration of war.

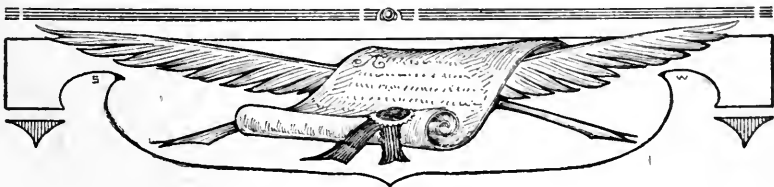
Yet on this same day, Saturday, Aug. 1, Russia assured England that she would on no account commence hostilities if the German army did not cross the frontier, and France also declared that her army should be kept six miles from her frontier so as to prevent collision. This was the situation de facto when very early on Sunday morning, Aug. 2, 1914, the German troops invaded Luxemburg, a small independent State, which had been guaranteed by all the powers the same neutrality as Belgium. The die was cast and the great war begun.

Intercourse between Germany and Great Britain continued for two days, but the crisis was reached in a heated interview between the German Chancellor with Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador at Berlin, over the word "neutrality," and the phrase "scrap of paper," which was followed by Germany's refusal to withdraw her troops from Belgium, by Belgium's appeal to England for aid under the treaty, and then by the declaration of war between Germany and Great Britain.

More Than 700 Graveyards in Galicia

Referring to the battlefields of Galicia and the efforts of the Austrian Government to bring some sort of order into the conditions prevailing in military burying grounds, the Berliner Vorwärts estimates that between the town of Gorlice and the heights of Tarnovo no fewer than 419 graveyards have been cleared of their unsightly surroundings, and says that wherever possible natural beauties in the landscape have been utilized to lend dignity to the enormous cemeteries.

All along the Dunajec graveyards are thickly strewn over the entire countryside. Russians, Austrians, Germans, Hungarians to the number of 40,000 are buried in the cared-for graveyards, a number which does not include those buried in masses in one grave. In West Galicia alone about 600 graveyards exist, and in other parts more than 100. From the Dunajec eastward the multitudinous graves of the Russians are seen stretching away into the eastern plains, an awful record of the death grapple of last year.



Germany Long Planned the War

As Evidenced by an Official German Report Issued in
March, 1913

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By William E. Church

Judge Church is an attorney and recognized publicist of influence. He entered the Union Army in 1861, and was Adjutant General on the staff of General Sheridan. Later he became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Dakota, and in 1890 moved to Chicago, where he now resides.

IT has been announced that the Prussian Government, with that characteristic regard for efficiency which not only overlooks no details but anticipates their probable usefulness well in advance of the event, has already prepared for presentation to any council or tribunal which may be formed at the close of the present war to discuss terms of settlement a compendium of official documents designed to clear Germany from responsibility for bringing on the war, and even from the odium incurred by violation of Belgium's neutrality.

It will perhaps contribute somewhat to a better understanding of the merits of Germany's pretensions on this subject to call special attention to a remarkable document which, although published in connection with the French Yellow Book, seems to have attracted little or no general public notice.

On April 2, 1913, the French Minister of War transmitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a copy of a document which he said he had just received from a reliable source and which he designated "An Official Secret Report Concerning the Strengthening of the German Army," dated at Berlin, March 19, 1913.

The immediate occasion of this report seems to have been the then recent enactment by the German Parliament of a law increasing the German Army. The document consists of several sections, of which the first is entitled "General Memorandum on the New Military Laws." The second, from which the following extracts are taken, is entitled "Aim and Obligation of Our National

Policy, of Our Army, and of the Special Organization for Army Purposes":

Our new army law is only an extension of the military education of the German Nation. * * * We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. * * * We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations, an outbreak should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870. * * * We must not arouse the distrust of our financiers, but there are many things which cannot be concealed.

We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. * * * On the other hand, we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war.

Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication. * * * The Egyptian school is particularly suited to this purpose. * * *

However this may be, we must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the east and west. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland, so as to prevent our enemy in the west from gaining territory which they could use as a base of operations against

our flank. In the north we have nothing to fear from Denmark or Scandinavia, especially as in any event we shall provide for the concentration of a strong northern army, capable of replying to any menace from this direction. In the most unfavorable case, Denmark might be forced by Great Britain to abandon her neutrality; but by this time the decision would have already been reached both on land and on sea. Our northern army, the strength of which could be largely increased by Dutch formations, would oppose a very active defense to any offensive measures from this quarter.

In the south, Switzerland forms an extremely solid bulwark, and we can rely on her energetically defending her neutrality against France, and thus protecting our flank.

As was stated above, the situation with regard to the small States and our north-western frontier * * * will be a vital question for us, and our aim must be to take the offensive with a large superiority from the first days. For this purpose it will be necessary to concentrate a large army, followed by strong Landwehr formations, which will induce the small States to follow us or at least to remain inactive in the theatre of operations, and which would crush them in the event of armed resistance. If we could induce these States to organize their system of fortifications in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection for our flank we could abandon the proposed invasion. But for this, army reorganization, particularly in Belgium, would be necessary in order that it might really guarantee an effective resistance. If, on the contrary, their defensive organization was established against us, thus giving definite advantages to our adversary in the west, we could in no circumstances offer Belgium a guarantee for the security of her neutrality. * * *

*The arrangements made with this end in view allow us to hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine. An ultimatum with a short time limit, to be followed immediately by invasion, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law.**

The attentive reader of these paragraphs will perhaps find occasion in them to doubt the entire ingenuousness of the German Chancellor's so-called "confession" made to the Reichstag of the wrong done by Germany in violating Belgium's neutrality and to conclude that perhaps he was merely following the familiar dictum that "the use of language is to conceal thought." To my

mind they disclose these very significant particulars:

1. That war against the Triple Entente was definitely determined upon a year and a half before it was actually begun.

2. The recognition by the German Government of the necessity for persuading its people that, while apparently offensive, the war would really be one of defense.

3. That the idea of "an ultimatum with a short time limit" subsequently applied in the correspondence with Serbia, with Belgium, and with Russia, immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, seems to have been deliberately adopted as a part of the plan of campaign, and, since no particular ultimatum to anybody on the subject was just then contemplated, it would seem fairly obvious that the questions as to the subject of the proposed ultimatum and the country to which it should be addressed were left open for future consideration and determination, as the occasion might require.

4. That it was originally intended to embroil Holland as well as Belgium in the general mêlée, doubtless with a view to acquiring complete control of the Scheldt and the protection of Essen. Why this part of the scheme was abandoned is not yet perhaps entirely clear.

5. That the real purpose of the proposed invasion of these neutral States was not to gain a short cut to France at its most vulnerable point, but to compel them to join Germany in an offensive and defensive campaign against France which would assure protection to the German flank. This view is emphasized by the proviso that if Germany could induce these States to organize their defenses in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection to the German flank the proposed invasion could be abandoned.

For a clearer understanding of an incident to which I propose now to advert I here reproduce the famous "Confession" in full:

Gentlemen: We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international

*The italics are not in the original document.

law. It is true that the French Government declared at Brussels that France *would respect Belgian neutrality* as long as her adversary respected it. We know, moreover, that France stood ready for an invasion. [A statement which, so far as the present writer is informed, is unsupported by any proof, and has been authoritatively denied.]

France could wait; we could not. A French attack on our flank on the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through.

It has remained for an American editor to evolve the startling proposition that, after all, Germany did not violate Belgium's neutrality, but that her action was strictly in accordance with the accepted principles of modern civilized warfare.

Briefly stated, the contention is that Germany cannot justly be charged with violating neutral territory by her invasion of Belgium contrary to the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1907, because, prior to such invasion, she had declared war against Belgium by the delivery to it of an ultimatum which, in effect, demanded of Belgium its permission for free and unobstructed transit of Germany's armies, with all their munitions and equipment, en route to France, under penalty of being regarded and treated as an enemy in case of refusal, and that upon Belgium's rejection of this demand a state of war immediately existed, which ipso facto destroyed Belgium's character as a neutral and transformed her into a belligerent.

The argument certainly has the merit of novelty. It does not even seem to have occurred to the German Chancellor when he made the memorable address above quoted, although he himself was the author of the rejected ultimatum.

To fully understand the situation it is necessary to recall that by the provisions of The Hague Convention defining the rights and obligations of neutrals in case of war on land (Convention V.) not only were belligerents forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the

territory of a neutral power, but neutral powers were expressly forbidden to allow any of the prohibited acts to occur on their territory.

Now, it is of the utmost importance to observe that in its "ultimatum" to Belgium Germany not only announced its intention of deliberately violating this solemn convention, to which both, in common with some forty or more other powers, were parties, for the purpose of enabling it more surely to reach the throat of its adversary, France, also a party, and with whom Belgium was at peace, but also demanded that Belgium should itself violate that convention and become a co-conspirator with Germany and facilitate its attack on France by doing one of the very things which Germany, as a signatory to the convention, had expressly forbidden it to do.

Thus Germany's own gross wrong is sought to be made the basis for an argument in justification of all the enormities since committed by it on the ground that a state of war existed, the character of which is quite similar to that which occurs when a householder is trying to eject a burglar.

Conceding that one nation may have the abstract right to declare war against another for any, or even for no, assigned cause, yet, in the forum of the civilized world's conscience, there should be at least some plausible excuse, and that, in the present instance, is wholly lacking. The argument relies upon Belgium's answer to Germany's ultimatum as a technically sufficient *casus belli*, and this, it will be noted, according to the plan of campaign above set forth, is just what Germany was looking for. The German Chancellor, however, characterizes it as Belgium's "rightful protest." Doubtless it served his then present purpose to appease the natural scruples of some of his worthy fellow-citizens not yet educated up to a just appreciation of the Prussian war doctrines.

The proposition amounts to this: That Belgium could preserve her neutral character only by consenting to and participating in the violation of her neutrality, and could continue to be entitled to the protection of The Hague Convention only

by conspiring with one of the signatory parties to violate it, to the prejudice of another signatory!

The solution of the problem is that Germany's demand upon Belgium, (reminding one forcibly of that made by the wolf upon the lamb he intended to devour, "How dare you muddle the water I am drinking!") made with the obvious purpose of either bullying her into a violation of her treaty obligations or putting her in a position of hostility to Ger-

many, was itself a gross violation of her neutrality, involving an utter disregard of the express provisions of a convention in which every signatory nation had a vital interest.

NOTE.—"The Secret Report" referred to in this communication, portions of which are therein quoted, will be found on Pages 130-133 of a volume entitled "Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War," published in London in 1915, and characterized on the second page of its preface as "A Government Publication."

Two Irish Mothers

By MARY FLOYD McMULLEN

"Mother, I hear the bugle's voice,
The roar of throbbing drums—
And I hear a struggling Country call
To all her fighting sons."

"By the blood of an ancient race
And the pride of an ancient name,
I would not have thee bide at home
Though my heart should break in
twain."

That night I heard the banshee wail—
The night he marched away—
My eldest son, my gallant lad,
Through lanes all sweet with May!

They have brought a bright blade home!
O Mother Mary, ease my pain!
Far in an alien land he lies
Who ne'er will come again!
* * * *

"Mother, I hear a mystic voice
Whispering imperiously:
'Arise and cast the Tyrant off—
Thus Erin shall be free!'"

"My son, my son, my only son,
'Tis the voice of death and shame,
That strives to lure thee from the love
Of loyalty's fair name."

Again, again the banshee wails!
God, have pity! Pity and save
The soul of one who passed tonight—
Who fills a traitor's grave!

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of current thought in all the warring countries, as represented by their leading writers and more influential periodicals.

The Working Classes in the War

By Dr. Lensch

Socialist Deputy in the Reichstag

Extracts from a noteworthy article in Professor Delbrück's monthly review, Prussische Jahrbücher.

IT is to be assumed without fear of contradiction that the present world war is in reality a duel between Germany and England. Another fact, which is none the less true, but which has not been fully recognized, is that this war is the first in history in which the working classes represent a determining political factor. To a very considerable degree the outcome of the war depends upon their attitude, and this is true above all of the working classes in the two principal hostile countries. For many decades past the English working classes have been held up to their German confrères as a model. They have been acclaimed as sober, practical, non-revolutionary, out and out patriots, and absolutely non-international.

It is worth while in the light of the latest experiences of this war to examine whether this diagnosis of the British workman is really true, and whether it is desirable to hold up their attitude as an example to German proletarians.

England's security has depended upon the supremacy of the seas and made the establishment of a strong standing army superfluous. This meant that England lost that organizing influence which a conscript army exercises upon the entire national organism. The defect produced by the absence of universal service is one of the essential causes why England today represents the oldest social system in the European States. Right down to our day English individualism character-

izes the trade unionism of that country and has robbed it of a great part of its natural strength.

The absorption of the individual into a great central organism such as distinguishes the German unions is antagonistic to the English idea of freedom, hence England's trade union movement is split up into a large number of small groups: In Germany 2,750,000 workmen are organized in forty-eight societies, while in England 3,300,000 workmen are "united" in 1,153 different unions. The working classes in England are the governed classes in the State, but in a State which rules the world. This remarkable position has created a curious psychology in the English workman. That he is able to lead a better mode of life in comparison to the Continental workman is merely a reflex action of England's world position. The preservation of English world supremacy is the unconditional assumption of all English workingmen politics. That is to say, the English working classes wish to shake off the supremacy which the English classes exercise over them, but at the same time they desire to see the supremacy which their aristocracy exercises over the world continued. It is obvious that such a remarkable conflict of interests should bring the English working classes into antagonism with those of other countries. It is hardly necessary to mention the contempt which they feel for the workers of other countries, and which they do not

take the trouble to conceal. The English trade unionists have never shown any interest in the workmen's battles of other lands. When some years ago a general strike was fought out in Sweden German workmen contributed \$430,000, but the English only \$17,000.

This double-sided, contradictory constellation of interests has brought the English working-classes into a state of intellectual dependence upon the aristocratic classes, and greatly deprived them both of capacity and inclination to independent policy. A drastic example of the depressing helplessness with which they meet the great decisive questions of today is afforded by their attitude toward the introduction of universal service.

What has been the attitude of the Labor Party toward the introduction of universal service? It is sufficient for us to indicate that the working classes, in a crisis which means a turning point in world history for England, were without ideas and just as helpless as children in a dark room. Their helplessness can find no more grotesque expression than the catchword which leads them, and according to which their army of hirelings is the Palladium of English liberty; while, on the other hand, universal service is a monstrosity born of absolutism.

The English working classes have never been obliged to wage class warfare with the bitterness and energy such as, for example, has been the fate of the German workman. Nobody desires to depreciate the severe struggles which English proletarians have waged to obtain recognition as the fundamental of their social rise, but in comparison to the working classes of other countries their lot has been much easier, and it was in the very nature of things that in Germany, which as a competing State has had to work its way upward under the greatest difficulties against the overwhelming superiority of the ancient Queen of the Seas, the social antagonisms have taken a more acute form. For the English aristocracy this was a pleasant fact, just as it was unpleasant for the ruling classes in Germany.

The absence of social strife in England has led to that intellectual poverty which

has been revealed in glaring colors during the war. National conceit, political helplessness, and a total absence of intellectual interests, these are the consequences of England's historical development.

By the relative absence of a proper class feeling and the discipline of class strife, the laboring classes have missed a great number of social elements which make for their good. Class warfare is by no means an invention and a catchword of the devil, but it means that social democracy possesses a powerful nationalizing force, and is aware of it. By it the lower strata of society are aroused to life and consciousness. In all previous social communities they have been nothing other than a dead, heavy mass. They took no part in the life of the nation; they were not really living members of the nation; but only its rump, on whose back the upper classes fought out their struggles. In modern democracy arose for the first time a substratum, in which the call to class feeling found an echo, and in that it criticised the form of existing society, it learned to feel itself a member of that society; yet it has only been able to attain its present position by a constant fight against the ruling classes. The three great democratic institutions of modern society—compulsory school attendance, universal service, and universal suffrage—have contributed essentially to the organization of the class war and to the building up of a national cultural community. That which the school begins in the child is continued in the youth by the service of arms, and the democracy of public life completes it in the man.

The inestimable progressive influence of class warfare in the cultural-national sense has fallen in a far less degree to the good of the English proletarian. It is true that in one way he stood less in need of it than the German. The insular world-controlling position of the empire has concerted exceedingly favorable conditions for cultural and national exclusiveness, and yet the terrible intellectual damage which England's working classes have suffered through their favorable social position is enormous. The absence

of intellectual interests is perfectly horrifying, and, in fact, is characteristic of all classes of English society. Roughly, only half of the English workmen have the right to vote. The Labor Congress in 1882 and 1883 voted with a great majority against the introduction of universal suffrage. The upper strata of skilled workmen would not share a common vote with the badly paid mass of workmen for whom they had no interest. Hence this great mass in England today is still intellectually dead and without political influence. The real position of things will only appear after the war. If England does not succeed in preserving her world rule undiminished, then the promise of a labor policy has vanished. Even now it is quite obvious to the Englishman that after the war tremendous social struggles will commence. The shaking of England's world power means the undermining of the entire social organism, and the consequences of this it is impossible to foresee.

But with the downfall of England's world supremacy an obsolete type of society goes under. England has already fought for her supremacy in the wars against the French Republic and the First Empire. France stood for the same

historical type as England. The societies of both empires were founded on individualism. England, who was at the height of her development, was victorious. Today England is fighting against another enemy whom she has not been able to defeat, an enemy which represents a more progressive historical social principle—that of social organization. What individualism has contributed to the inward enrichment of humanity will not be lost, but the wars of our time require forces which the nations cannot mobilize on the basis of a society composed of individuals. Only socialized nations can do that, but out of it a new principle arises which is directly opposed to that prevailing in England. We are approaching a turning point in the world's history not less historically important than that on whose threshold England stood 300 years ago. At that time a new type of man of world-historical importance came into being in England—the free individual; and now history is at work to evolve gradually a new type—the social-communal organized man. The creation of the necessary conditions for this higher evolutionary type is the historical work which Germany is about to achieve.

Is the War Making Russia Poor or Rich?

By Z. Katzenelenbaum

Russian Financial Writer

[Translated from *Russkia Vedomosti*, Moscow, for CURRENT HISTORY]

A YEAR and a half ago it would have seemed strange to ask whether the war could bring any financial benefits to Russia. At the end of 1914 it seemed clear that war carried with it ruin and impoverishment for the belligerents. Economists and the general public agreed in that view. There may have been a difference of opinion on the degree of the effect on each of the warring countries, whether it would be felt more sharply in Russia or in Germany, for instance, and how long one or the other would be able to stand it

economically; but the thought that a country may prosper through war had never been entertained then by anybody.

The war dragged on, continuing much longer than expected, demanding more powerful exertions than anticipated. It seemed that the ruin caused by the war should have grown more extended every day. But in actuality something very different is taking place. The impoverishment of the belligerents has not only not grown more and more marked with every new day of the war, but, on the

contrary, there have arisen doubts in the minds of the public as to the correctness of the original prognosis regarding the economic effects of war.

And the facts are indeed such as to support grave doubts of the old-established view, not only in the mind of the general public, but even in the mind of the financial expert. The war is now costing Russia more than 30,000,000 rubles daily, and up to date it has eaten up about 20,000,000,000, i. e., more than the entire annual income of the whole nation. These sums have been expended, from the economic point of view, non-productively. New material values have not been created as a result of that expenditure. The Government debt has more than doubled, having increased by 13,000,000,000 to 14,000,000,000. Would this not indicate the impoverishment of the country?

But, on the other hand, a country cannot be called impoverished if its inhabitants are not. The growth of the Government debt, if it is not followed by a series of other phenomena, may mean, in the worst case, only the disorganization of the Government finances, the illness of the State Treasury. But disorganized finances do not indicate the impoverishment of a country. The two things may often go together, but they are by no means identical. One can imagine economic prosperity under a demoralized financial system, and such instances in economic history are not unknown. Only when the population of a country is impoverished can one speak of the ruin and impoverishment of the nation.

But has the population of Russia grown poor during the present war? The commercial-industrial classes in all countries, in belligerent as well as neutral, are jubilant over the profits caused by the war. After a momentary confusion the world's industrial class adapted itself very rapidly to the new conditions. Forging the plows into swords, they have become the suppliers of swords to the fighting nations. Also Russia's commercial-industrial class is prospering, and one hears no complain-

ing from it. Russian industries, in nearly all branches, are being run at high profits. There are, of course, exceptions. The brewing industry has suffered, but the sad voices of the brewers are drowned in the chorus of the whole class. As to the merchants, their profits have risen with the steady rise in the prices of all articles. A higher price is of advantage to big, middle, and petty business alike.

Have Russia's land owners suffered through the war? There have seemed to exist certain circumstances justifying such an assumption. The scarcity of labor for agricultural purposes, the rise in wages, could result only in a decrease of the arable land area. The land leased from owners by peasants has grown much smaller in area, as the rural population had its hands full with its own land. Then the manufacture of alcohol, a considerable source of income for the land proprietors, has stopped. Nevertheless, one hears no complaints from that quarter. The agrarian banks report that the payments are coming in very regularly this year, which proves the sound condition of the land-owning class. It would appear that the very profitable realization of the crops has covered the deficit due to the decrease in the amount of arable land.

Let us turn to the main part of our population—the peasantry. Has the village become impoverished through the war? Quite the opposite view has come to be generally held. Not only persons who come in accidental contact with our village report prosperity, but the country press is reporting the same. The village drinks no more, it is receiving pensions, it sells profitably its bread, cattle, and dairy products. The signs of its prosperity are the increase in the deposits in our savings banks and the frequently noticed reluctance of our rural population to dispose of its accumulated products.

As to the labor class, matters are not so brilliant. Some canvasses show that labor conditions have grown worse during the war. But Russia's labor class is indeed not very large, and a rise in wages has come through the war in

every branch of labor. Some of the more qualified lines of labor receive wages higher than ever before.

There remains the suffering middleman of the town, where the high cost of living is so keenly felt. But this group is largely distributed among the classes just named. Then there are the *intelligentsia*

and some groups of officials; but, being in such a minority, how could these affect the general picture of the economic condition of the country? With the industrial, commercial, land-proprietary, peasant, and even labor classes prospering, it is evident that the general condition of the country is prosperous.

German Scholars Explain Their Manifesto

By Dr. Max Planck

Professor in the University of Berlin

Speaking for the ninety-three German scholars and artists who signed the famous appeal to the "World of Culture" at the beginning of the war, Professor Planck addressed this letter to Professor H. A. Lorentz of the University of Leyden, who in turn forwarded it to Sir Oliver Lodge:

Berlin, March, 1916.

HONORED COLLEAGUE: The well-known appeal to the "World of Culture," which was signed by ninety-three German scholars and artists and published in August, 1914, has, owing to the terms in which it was drawn up, led to mistaken conceptions as to the attitude of the signatories, as I have repeatedly discovered to my regret. According to my personal view, which, as I know, is in all essentials shared by many of my colleagues, (for example, by Adolf von Harnack, Walter Nernst, Wilhelm Waldeyer, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff,) that appeal, which reflects in its composition the patriotic excitement of the first weeks of war, was intended to signify and could signify nothing but an act of defense—above all of protection of the German Army against the bitter accusations brought against it, and an explicit declaration that the scholars and artists of Germany refuse to separate their cause from the cause of the German Army. For the German Army is nothing but the German people in arms, and the scholars and artists are, like all other classes, inseparably bound up with it.

That we cannot, of course, be responsible for every single action of every

German, whether in war or in peace, I am glad to assert again with emphasis, although I regard this as no less obvious than that we are not as yet in a position to pass a final judgment in any scientific sense of the term on the great questions of the history of the present day. Only a subsequent, many-sided, and objective examination can decide in which quarters will be finally fixed the primary responsibility for the failure of the efforts for peace and for all the human suffering which has been caused—an examination whose results we await with a quiet conscience.

For the moment we Germans have only one task, so long as the war lasts—to serve our country with all our powers. But what I specially desire to insist on to you in particular is the firm conviction, which even the occurrences of the present war can never shake, that there are regions of the intellectual and moral world which lie outside the struggles of nations, and that an honorable co-operation in the maintenance of these international cultural values, and also no less a personal respect for members of an enemy State, are not inconsistent with glowing love and energetic work for one's own country. Your always devoted;

Dr. MAX PLANCK.

Germans in the United States

By A. Schalek de la Faverie

Principal Librarian of the National Library of France

[Translated from *La Revue*, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY]

AN efficient and enduring Germanic régime in the United States would be absolutely opposed to the very principle which serves as a basis of the Constitution. It would falsify all the movements of interior policy and the Federal Administration. It would bring out at every instant the incompatibility which separates the two countries. * * * To try to reconcile tendencies so contradictory would lead to a rupture; either the German-Americans would proclaim themselves straightout Germans and would seek to cut a breach in the State, or the Americans, denying the fundamental principles which presided over their establishment in the New World, would find that they had risen in vain against the tyranny of George III., only to end by bowing before the colossal fantasies of Wilhelm II.

Everything proves that the campaign set in motion by the Germans of Germany with a view to drawing into their orbit the Germans of the United States will bear no savory fruit. It can create troubles, as it has already done, setting in motion a movement more or less fraught with the menace of war, bringing into play the largest financial and economic interests; but it will not be able to inflict a vital injury on a young nation whose ideals are absolutely opposed to those of Germany.

In the United States, in spite of present appearances, in spite of the data of statistics, Germany's hour is past.

While Spain, France, and England were striving and struggling together, paying with their blood for the organization of a new continent, what was Germany doing? Through innumerable trials, beneath the blows of internal and external attacks, she was tearing herself to pieces during a century, and during

the next century seeking to find herself. Her poverty-stricken children went to beg for shelter and bread from America.

While ancient France sought to found on the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi a new France, while the Anglo-Saxon Puritans, long our rivals, then our allies, to fix their establishment and proclaim their independence have by turns struggled against and beside us, the Germans brought to America nothing but the small change of their thwarted wishes and of their complaisant aptitude for small jobs. They worked on a margin for the common good. The concession of their devotion was always exercised with the private thought of working for their own interest. They never felt the spirit of solidarity which, from the least to the greatest, animates all the workers in the same patriotic task. So that in the United States they have received more than they have given, and, having had no share in the first battles fought to establish a new nation, the German-Americans have had the dangerous idea of playing a subversive rôle which has all the appearances of treason.

It is hardly probable that such methods of action will lead to an immediate war, but they are preparing war for the future. The menace of German militarism imposes the necessity of American militarism.

Such will be the most important consequence of the present crisis in the United States: The Germans, in return for the hospitality which they have received, will have taught the citizens of the United States the urgent need of creating, with little delay, a standing army, of consecrating immense sums to perfected armaments, of applying, in a word, the best of their activity to the madness of military exigencies.

And when the laborious and peaceful

hive which is the United States shall have changed itself into a vast munition factory, turning out rifles, cannon, shells, a new era will open for the New World which will astonish the half-ruined Old World.

It will be the triumph of the doctrine

to which Monroe attached his name. After Pan Germanism and Pan Slavism we shall see Pan Americanism obliged to pass from the defensive to the offensive, from business to conquest, under the urging of an irresistible militarism inspired by Prussian militarism.

Germany's Shortage of Daily Bread

By Dr. Paul Michaelis

This study of the food situation in Germany was written for the Berliner Tageblatt by Dr. Michaelis shortly after the organization of the War Food Bureau, with Adolf von Batocki at its head, and is specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

THE new President of the War Food Bureau has surrounded himself with a board of extremely expert persons, who may be expected, in theory, to be in a position to make a survey of the vast food question. But one could wish that he had also assured himself of the advice of an intelligent housewife, who perhaps could best tell him where the shoe pinches the consumer. For people have gradually become somewhat doubtful of all the fine measures adopted by the governing classes, who stick our economic life into the stocks without, despite the enormous display of ingenuity and labor, accomplishing that which in normal times is taken as a natural presumption, namely, that the individual housewife receives at the right moment and without loss of time what is necessary to enable her to satisfy the needs of her family.

Of course it must be admitted that in the present circumstances the individual must retrench. We cannot increase our very scanty supplies at our pleasure, and therefore we must cut our coat to suit our cloth. This is gradually becoming apparent to everybody, and there surely is no lack anywhere of a hearty desire to adapt one's self to conditions. The only thing that arouses resentment is the fact that even the minimum allowance of what could be supplied often is not available, and that, furthermore, even the work of distributing the quantities of foodstuffs on hand is accompanied by endless circumlocutions and wasteful losses of time.

To date there have been things in the official regulation of the market for foodstuffs that have not functioned well. Not only has the mass of the people been aware of this for some time, but also in the governing circles this faulty distribution has been recognized. If this were not the case there would be no sense now in creating the War Food Bureau in addition to all the existing war organizations. The question is merely: Is there really nothing there, for even the Kaiser can't get blood out of a stone? If, however, this decisive question can be answered in the negative on good grounds, then it is to be hoped that Herr von Batocki will do better than his predecessors.

Bad as last year's harvest was, it would have been sufficient to supply the entire German people with bread and potatoes in quite a different manner from that used in the harvest year of 1915-16. We can talk this over quite openly, now that the final figures on the results of last year's harvest have been made public. It is true that we had a bad harvest last year in the case of the most important kinds of grain. Nevertheless, something more than thirteen million tons were harvested of the principal grains, rye and wheat. If, immediately following last year's harvest, the entire crop of grain had been made available for the maintenance of the people, a much higher bread ration could have been given to the individual inhabitant than in reality was granted.

Women in Trousers Are Doing Men's Work All Over England



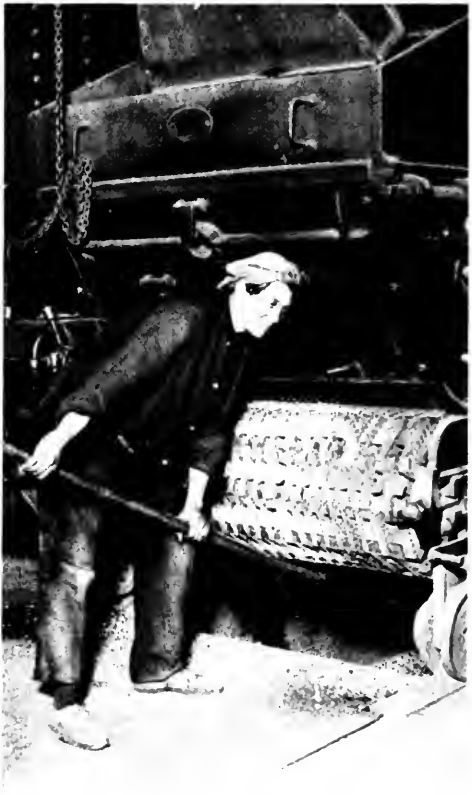
Women Malsters at Burton-on-Trent
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



Market Gardeners Loading Tomatoes
(Photo © Topical Press Agency)



Girl Millers in Nottingham
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

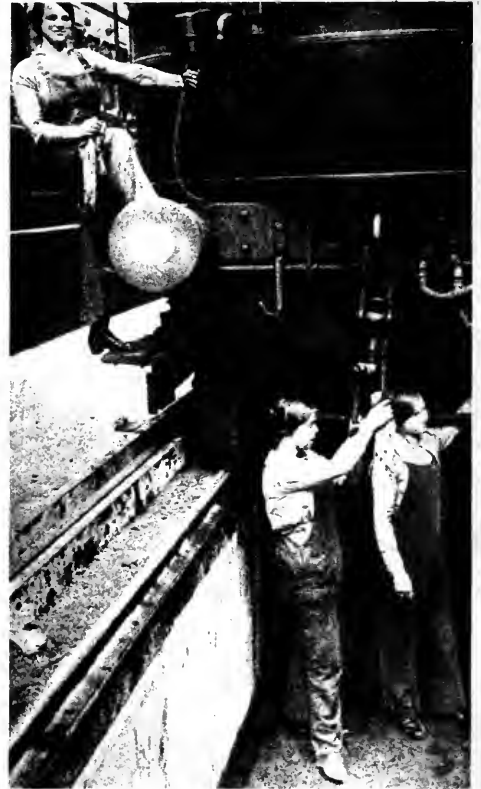


A Girl Who Cleans Ashes From
Furnaces
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

How War Has Transformed the Dress of English Women Workers



Women Shipwrights Working for the Navy



Girls Doing the Work of Railroad Men



"Lady Workers" On the Land at Evesham



Women Doing Heavy Work As Carters

Thirteen million tons equal 260,000,000 "zentner" [a "zentner" is 110 pounds] of grain fit for bread. If we subtract from this some 50,000,000 "zentner" for seed and similar losses, there still remains 210,000,000 "zentner" of grain available for human consumption. Properly ground a pound of grain will turn out a pound of bread. So, if we take the high estimate of 70,000,000 souls as the population of Germany, every individual could have received a yearly allowance of three "zentner" of bread, which figures out about six pounds a week, without, be it well noted, there having been any necessity for "stretching" the flour with an addition of potatoes, and without any of the bran having been baked up in the bread.

And the fact has not been included in this estimate that we also imported a not unimportant quantity of grain from Rumania, a quantity that at first was something less than 100,000 tons a month, but that rose to more than 200,000 tons a month by April. As the military authorities need more than the average amount of grain for the maintenance of the troops in the field, we may allow them all the imports from Rumania. It may also be admitted that it was not possible or necessary to divide the entire crop of grain among individuals. But all this does not explain why, during the last year, there were only about 200 grams [about 7 ounces] of flour available per capita per day. The bread ration, even without the admixture of potatoes and despite the poor harvest, could have been materially larger than it really was.

The anomalous relation of the grain harvest to the bread ration has also been verified in the Budget Committee. Dr. Wendorff, a Deputy who is exceptionally well posted on this subject, has estimated that 2,200,000 tons of grain have simply disappeared. That means 44,000,000 "zentner." It is true that this calculation has been disputed on the part of the Government, but it doesn't impress us that the objections raised on that side have sufficiently explained the deficit that has actually been found. It is very likely that Dr. Wendorff was

right when he said that the millions of tons that were missing had been thrown into the feed troughs. It must also be admitted that the individual cattle raiser is sorely tempted to feed up grain that is fit for bread when his stock is hungry and other fodder is scarce and dear. In such cases it doesn't do much good for the newspapers constantly to repeat: "The man who uses grain fit for bread as fodder sins against the Fatherland."

It is not necessary to throw stones at any individual or any class, but especial stress must be laid upon the fact that so long as it is indispensable for the nourishment of the people anything like the using of grain for fodder dare not be repeated under any circumstances. It was the business of the authorities to prevent this misuse of a supply of food that could not be replaced. They have not understood how to set aside the entire harvest of grain at the proper time for the nourishment of the people. It is possible that this was due to their lack of jurisdiction. In this matter, too, it is not our desire to make additional reproaches. The one thing that we must demand in the present circumstances is that it must be done better this time.

Fortunately the harvest outlook is materially better this time than it was a year ago. It is to be hoped that we shall harvest a much larger crop of grain than we did during last year's poor harvest. But nothing could be more serious than, in the confidence of a larger crop, to slacken the reins and again to fail to understand how to prevent great quantities of grain from disappearing without leaving a trace. The President of the War Food Bureau, with his extremely broad powers, is in a position to make sure of the grain supply. We may expect that he will avail himself of this liberty of action in such a way as finally to relieve us from the necessity of eating potato bread and to provide every individual member of the empire with a sufficient amount of bread.

In the case of other articles of food last year conditions were almost worse than in the matter of the bread supply. It will always remain incomprehensible

how, with a record crop of potatoes that was far above 50,000,000 tons, we were finally compelled to cut down the consumption of potatoes to an insufficient ration. It is just as incomprehensible how sugar, something that the German Empire has in superabundance, could suddenly become scarce. We shall finally be obliged to state that the supply of milk, butter, and meat has been far below the quantity available according to statistical calculations. Of course, drastic action will have to be taken at last in

this sphere, too. But bread still remains the most important and most necessary article of food. It must be supplied to the people in sufficient quantity and in a more efficient manner than formerly after the coming harvest. That even with the poor harvest of last year it would have been possible to increase the bread ration materially is indubitably shown by statistics. That in the future the nation shall again be assured of its daily bread is the greatest task involved in the feeding of the German people.

"If You Desire War, Embrace Pacifism"

Under the signature of "Grosclaude," a French publicist utters this warning in Le Figaro of Paris:

OUR country has been invaded for twenty months, hundreds of thousands of our brothers and sons are dead or mutilated, ruins have accumulated, sacrileges been endured. It is the expiation for the negligence of loyal and trusting people who refused to see Germany in arms planting her heavy guns on our frontier and silently pushing to the very bases of our fortresses the formidable vanguard of her military spies and commercial agents.

Two millions of barbarians in pointed helmets have flung themselves upon our land. If Paris was saved from their profanation, it is because a Gallieni rose before them, as a St. Genevieve had risen in the past. If they are breaking themselves upon our lines of defense it is because, under the direction of the Joffres, Castelnaus, Fochs, Pétains, Gourauds, Mangins, Marchands, and other war leaders, our whole nation is enriching with its blood the furrow of victory which, tomorrow, will be dug onward to the Rhine. Nobody doubts this any longer in France, and beyond the border they are becoming resigned to it.

The sublime serenity of martyrdom for the faith of right and fatherland adorns the faces of our heroes in their sufferings, and this darkness of a dying world is illumined by the most radiant

hope. We do not wish to be pitied, and we feel ourselves loved. Permit our solicitude, in return, to voice its alarm if you do not perceive close to you the peril beneath which we have almost succumbed.

Two million helmeted Germans are less to be feared on our soil—you will realize it soon—than fifteen million masked Germans on your own. You are only in the "before the war" stage. We went through that stage—without recognizing it. Be less blind than we; defend yourselves before it is too late. If you let your German millions submerge your commerce, strangle your industries, manipulate your politics, and dominate the choice of your public officials; if they succeed, in short—a thing that would be more frightful than all else—in beclouding your conscience, hitherto so free and forthright, then, woe to you, noble America, lost through the most fallacious illusion!

A few years ago—on the eve of the Agadir incident—a little book, admirably fashioned to penetrate into all minds and hearts, was published simultaneously in France, England, America, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Finland, Holland, Italy, Japan, Sweden—and even in Germany. It was Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion." What Mr. Angell designated by this title was the fear felt by all nations, including ours, of seeing the peace of the world disturbed to the detriment

of quite nations by their bellicose neighbors. That book did its work—its poison achieved its evil mission. The most frightful of wars has been let loose upon nations enervated by the mental opiates of that false prophet. Is it necessary to write a volume crammed with arguments and figures, and to put it on sale on the same day in all countries still belonging to the civilized world, to show how fatal to us has been that "great illusion" which veiled the dark design of the ravaging colossus bent upon enslaving and debasing the world; an object which it has not yet despaired of attaining by ways the most abominable:—by Zeppelins that bombard the civil population, by submarines that sink steamers laden with women and children, by suffocating gases, by floods of burning benzine hurled against loyal defenders, by the blowing up of factories in neutral countries, by diplomatic treachery, and, in addition, by intruding in

the domestic politics of nations for which it professes friendship?

Brother Americans, you whose sense of "struggle" has taught you the advantage of marching straight at a peril without turning away your face, look at us, meditate on our lot, and consider what that execrable, stupefying drug, pacifism, has made of our Europe.

The wisdom of the ages has declared, "Si vis pacem." ("If you desire peace, prepare for war.") Our wisdom of today tells you with the same certitude, "If you desire war, embrace pacifism." I offer that motto to your illustrious Roosevelt. It is with emotion that we see him urging upon you an active prudence. We are counting upon him to put before your eyes the lesson of our dreadful example. And, fallen into the ambush whither we were traitorously attracted, we raise out of the night the saving cry of the chevalier: "On guard, America! The enemy is upon you!"

The Heart Cry of England's Women

By Flora Annie Steel

Author of "On the Face of the Waters" and other novels

WHAT can we do for thee? England! Our England! Through the hearts of how many British women have not those words echoed during the last nineteen months of war! In that first rush of almost overwhelming desire to be at work for her, somewhere, somehow, to take our part with the men who were flocking to the colors, they beat in on our brains with almost maddening force; for we could do next to nothing. We were told, in so many words, to sit at home and spin or knit! So we sat and we knitted; aye! even those of us who felt that we could do some things better than they were being done by men.

Then, more than a year ago, came an appeal for workers from the Board of Trade. Those of us who think, those of us who are keen, cabled "victory" to each other. But a year has passed, and victory has not come. Application after

application for definite information has been met by evasion, by statements that the time was not yet ripe, that trade unions stood in the way, that the age limit must be enforced. That sort of thing takes the heart out of humanity. I know thousands of women into whose souls the iron has entered. I am one of them. Two years ago it hurt me to be told I was too old to work. I was keen as mustard; strong beyond compare. Now I am growing blind, perhaps with unshed tears; anyhow, I am past hard manual labor.

And it is just because this is so, just because I have missed my chance, that at this present time I am appealing to other women who are not quite so old to forget everything save the fact that they are British women.

Let the dead past bury its dead. For of a surety if we women do not come forward now in our thousands, nay! our

millions, our nation will as surely go under, as a great nation, as the green Spring leaves pass to their Autumn grave. There is no question of this.

After months of procrastination, months on months during which the writing on the wall was visible day and night, we are at last waking up to the need for combined national action, we are at last beginning to read our doom if we do not act at once. In this great crisis of our nation it must not be said that the women hung back, that they would not lend a hand.

Millions of men have gone to the front; under 200,000 women are as yet employed in making munitions. This low figure is not the woman's fault; the whole organization for tapping the supply of female labor is beneath contempt; on all sides rank prejudice and crass selfishness stand in her way. But what of that?

She is British born. Say what men will, the traditions of her country are her traditions; its courage, its tenacity, aye! everything it has is hers in that they are mother-born.

It is not, my sisters, that we have not been patriotic. We have been abundantly so. But we have possessed our souls in

patience, we have taken the lowest place, we have done as men have bidden us to do—we have kept the home fires burning.

But now, when every available man will be fighting, when there shall be no fear, no favor in the citizen's first duty of defense, we women have more to do than boil the kettle against one man's return. Yes, even if it comes to communal fires, we must keep the credit of our country fair and square. Her industries are being depleted of their men; we must renew their vigor—nay, we must increase it!

Why? Because we hold the future in the hollow of our hands! Because the unborn millions to come will be born of us! Ours is the part to see to it that the future generations shall live in liberty; so ours is the duty to work our hardest now for the freedom of the world.

Not only because we are patriotic, not only because these fair islands of ours are heart-dear to us; but because deep down in every woman's heart—aye, even, in the girl child's—there lies the instinct of the future, the vision of a Promised Land, where there shall be no more strife, but peace unutterable.

War, Peace, and the Future

By Ellen Key

The noted Swedish champion of woman's rights in a recent pamphlet discusses the European situation and the outlook for the future.

HOW is mankind to prevent wars from occurring? Is it at all possible to bring this about, and what may be the means? My conviction that war can be abolished is as firmly rooted in my mind as is my belief that it will also be possible some day to humanize what we term humankind. But we must first make some radical changes in our ways of looking at this matter. For instance, so long as the pulpit and the leaders in the educational world proclaim that it is entirely consistent with the plans of Providence to carry on war, and that Christianity can

go hand in hand with warfare, just so long will it be useless to advocate peace in home or school.

I am convinced that one of the instruments for making war less of a possibility in the future would be the nationalizing of all those industries that are essential to military and naval mobilization. In this way there will be removed certain temptations of individuals to profit by the carrying on of war.

Any alliance between nations for the purpose of making common cause in war is bound to prove disastrous finally, because almost always the independence

of the smaller countries is at stake. Peace treaties that tread on the sovereignty of other nations invariably lead to war at some future time.

The art of statecraft has deteriorated in Europe since 1870. Militarism depresses the free will and the political and economic development of the people. War is only to be prevented where the higher statesmanship is given unhampered opportunity, where an idea and an ideal are afforded the chance to foster and bind closer the interests of the masses.

The motive that should have obtained in Europe and should have actuated the political leaders is a kind of co-operation for the purpose of erecting a barrier against the barbarism of the East. Instead of this the lesser statesmanship succeeded in sundering the real culture bearers of western Europe. No other remedy seems to be logical for future

peace than that the advanced European nations bury their own differences and stand like a wall against that barbarism which fundamentally does not have its home among them.

That many generations may yet have to succeed each other before this light can rise for the nations of western Europe there can be little doubt. I am far from believing, as many do, that the present war will increase the possibility of peace in the future. It may be that greater political activity on the part of European women and the working classes will influence the existing understanding of what constitutes national power, honor, and glory. But notwithstanding all this, it may take hundreds of years before the insanity of the world war will see itself conquered by the common sense policy of world organization through reason.

German Defeat Through Exhaustion

By H. G. WELLS

[From his new book, "What Is Coming?"]

After a long war of general exhaustion Germany will be the first to realize defeat. This does not mean that she will surrender unconditionally, but that she will be reduced to bargaining to see how much she must surrender, and what she may hold. It is my impression that she will be deserted by Bulgaria, and that Turkey will be out of the fighting before the end. But these are chancy matters. In the character of the settlement much will turn upon the relations prevailing between Germany and her present rulers. All Europe outside Germany now hates and dreads the Hohenzollerns. No treaty of peace can end that hate, and so long as Germany sees fit to identify herself with Hohenzollern dreams of empire and a warfare of massacre and assassination, there must be war henceforth, open, or but thinly masked, against Germany. It will be but the elementary common sense of the situation for all the Allies to plan tariffs, exclusions, special laws against German shipping and shareholders and immigrants for so long a period as every German remains a potential servant of that system.



Human Documents of the War Fronts

Behind the dry official reports of military events is a vast fund of emotional human interest. It is the aim of this department of CURRENT HISTORY to give the best available glimpses of that side of the war, as found in private letters, personal experiences, and thrilling episodes of courage, humor, or pathos.

Killing the Slightly Wounded

By A. Pankratoff

[Translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE other day, quite unexpectedly, I ran into Lieutenant X., better known as the Junior Subaltern.

This was the fourth time I had run across him since the beginning of the war—at Insterburg, where the Junior Subaltern was leading his company toward Königsberg; then in the trenches beyond Tarnovo; then in the vicinity of Lublin, during the great retreat; and now, the fourth time.

"I am stationed twelve versts from Czernowitz," he went on to explain. The Junior Subaltern is really so young that you can't help envying him. His face shines with health. His eyes are always laughing. His speech is very simple, but impressive; but he does not like to talk; he would rather listen, and laugh responsively with his eyes.

Fortune had brought us together; several men sitting down to a common meal. We talked freely about everything. The conversation turned to the German habit of finishing all the wounded enemies they find after a successful battle. During the forest fighting last August one of us had come across sixty Cossacks who had been but slightly wounded, and whom the Germans had hanged on the trees.

"We avenged them, however; the Germans got something to remember!" said the narrator.

Lieutenant X.'s eyes sparkled with animation.

"Well," he said, "of course they deserved it! Of course it is a crime to kill

the wounded. But, gentlemen, there are cases when it is impossible not to kill the wounded."

"What on earth do you mean?"

"Just what I said! There is such a thing as rightful killing of the wounded!"

We insisted, and the Junior Subaltern narrated a recent experience of his, "somewhere in Bukowina." He had been in command of a party of scouts. His regiment had just arrived to take the place of another infantry regiment. And the first thing to do was to become acquainted with the locality and to learn the dispositions and intentions of the enemy. The Junior Subaltern was sent out with his company. At one place the opposing armies were separated by a ravine, which forked out toward our trenches. Lieutenant X. knew that the men of the regiment he was replacing had become acquainted with the Austrians, and that the enemies by day came together at the bottom of the ravine by night, entertained one another, and gossiped.

"War is burdensome, gentlemen!" explained the Junior Subaltern, "and we all long for even the semblance of human intercourse with the other chaps. * * * And there happened to be a prolonged and tiresome spell of calm between battles, and so the men of the regiment we were replacing and the Austrians had long smokes together, exchanging pipes. But every one remembered—and nobody held it against any one—that the course

of cigarettes must be closely interwoven with the course of bullets on the morrow. * * * Yet, yet—oh, if we were only chivalrous knights, conducting a picturesque tournament, instead of common Russian cannon fodder fighting common Austrian cannon fodder. * * *

Of course our young friend wanted to do the magnanimous thing by the enemy, sending round word to them, "Here we come! Get ready!" But what he did do was to take advantage of the quiet exchange of the two Russian regiments and the total ignorance in which the Austrian members of the nightly smoking club in the ravine still remained, and to creep noiselessly forward to the spot where the friends of the night before were on guard. The Austrian sentinels—three of them—dozed, wrapped in their blankets. The Russians crept stealthily forward. * * *

"What else could we do?" asked the Junior Subaltern. "Humanitarian ideas are in blank contradiction to the present war. Civilians at home may try to judge everything in accordance with these ideas. Well, we know they are mistaken. Oh, they are simply ridiculous!" ended the Junior Subaltern, his good-natured, broad face blushing at making such a bold statement in company.

"Such nonsense!" he went on. "Of course, at the back of our minds the horror of it is always present. But what else can you do? Standing in blood up to your throat, and knowing that you have to protect your men, to protect yourself. * * * And what difference does it make to them whether you shoot them or throttle them? * * * About a hundred paces from those three sentinels there were at least a hundred others, and two hundred yards off were the Austrian trenches. The least noise, a groan, the stifled cry of a wounded Austrian would be the end of everything for my scouts; and there were only thirty of us. That was when I gave the order not to leave any wounded alive. * * *

It was an evident relief to him to be interrupted.

"Oh, yes, I remember!" said one of us. "I was in camp when the Austrian officer, routed out in his sleep, was

brought in on the run in his nightshirt. The whole thing went rapidly and well, and you took a machine gun from the Austrians!"

Another of us said:

"I don't see what you are driving at! There's no analogy at all! What you did was no hitting of those who were down already. All sorts of conventions and international law would justify you!"

"Well," answered the Junior Subaltern, "did I not say that there was such a thing as justifiable killing of the wounded, for us as for the Germans? Besides, I got decorated for the job! Ouch! It is going to thaw! I know, because my wounded leg aches!"

His smile was so frank and his face so full of the bloom of youth as he thus changed the subject that it was quite evident that he did not change it from any false modesty, but simply because the subject—including his own distinguished part in it—had no further interest for him.

"You have been wounded?"

"Yes. Two bullets in my leg, one in my arm, one in the abdomen."

"And you are still alive?"

"As you see! It was that devilish machine gun! The bullet that entered my abdomen cut through the intestines, touched my stomach, and came out by my back. When I regained consciousness I heard the doctor saying: 'Put this one aside; he will die in a minute or two!' And some of my men dug a nice grave for me and wrote my name and the date on a board, and sat down patiently to wait for my funeral. But I didn't die. So the surgeon had to send me to hospital. But when the ambulance was starting I heard him say: 'It's not a bit of use! He'll die on the way there!' But I cheated the doctors. I'm quite a rare specimen!"

"You are indeed!" And we all laughed, so contagious was Lieutenant X.'s laughter.

"The Medical Council," he went on, "explained it by the fact that, for two whole days previously, I had had nothing to eat * * * hadn't had time! It was on the Stripa. The moment our regiment arrived at — we had to fight."

Heroism and Pathos of the Front

By Lauchlan MacLean Watt

This touching bit of genuine literature, penned by a poetic Scot "somewhere in France," deserves to rank as a classic among war letters.

OUT here in the land of war we sometimes feel very far from those we love; and then, as though we had walked somehow right through reality, our thoughts are lifted oversea, and the mirage of home floats like a dream before us. The magic stop is touched in many ways. Little do the brave lads speaking to us in camp or hospital know how often they have brought us underneath its spell.

Just a week ago, in a tent where the wounded lay, I was beside the bed of a fine young Scottish soldier, stricken down in the prime of his manhood, yet full of hope. The thought of the faces far away was always with him upholdingly. In fact, the whole tent seemed vibrant with the expectation of the journey across the narrow strip of blue which sunders us from home. This Scottish youth had been talking, and it was all about what tomorrow held for him. His mother, and the girl that was to share life with him—these were foremost in his thought. His face shone as he whispered, "I'm going home soon." Everything would be all right then. What a welcome would be his, what stories would be told by the fireside in the Summer evenings! But he made the greater journey that very night. We buried him two days later, where the crosses, with precious names upon them, are growing thick together. Surely that is a place most holy. There will be a rare parade there on Judgment Day of the finest youth and truest chivalry of Britain and of France. Soft be their sleep till that reveille!

We got the Pipe Major of a famous Highland regiment to come over; and when the brave dust was lowered, while a little group of bronzed and kilted men stood around the grave, he played the old wail of sorrow of our people, "Lochaber No More." I heard it last when I

stood in the rain beside my mother's grave; and there can be nothing more deeply moving for the Highland heart. The sigh of the waves along Hebridean shores called to me there, among the graves in France.

The men who lie in this hospital are those who could not be carried further, meanwhile, and they have been dropped here, in passing, to hover between life and death until they make a move on one side or other of the Great Divide. So it is a place where uncertainty takes her seat beside the bed of the sufferer, watching with ever unshut eye the fluctuating levels of the tide of destiny. It is a place where the meaning of war gets branded deep upon you. The merest glimpse solemnizes. Of course, the young may forget. The scars of youth heal easily. But the middle-aged of our generation will certainly carry to the grave the remembrance of this awful passion of a world.

Here, of course, you meet all kinds of men, from everywhere. They were not forced to come, except by duty, in their country's need. They were willing in the day of sacrifice, and theirs is that glory deathless.

One has been burned severely. How he escaped at all is a miracle. But they are all children of miracle. Death's pursuing hand seems just to have slipped off some as he clutched at them. This man looks through eye-holes in his bandages. He is an Irishman, and the Irish do take heavy hurts with a patient optimism wonderful to see.

There is also a fine little Welshman, quite a lad, who has lost his leg. He has been suffering continually in the limb that is not there. Today he was lying out in the sun, and he looked up cheerily at me. "Last night," he said, "for about half an hour I had no pain. I tell you I lay still and held my breath. It was so good I scarcely could believe it. I thought

my heart would never beat again, at the wonder of it."

The usual picture postcard of the family is always close at hand. One North of Ireland man, up out of bed for the first time, was very full-hearted about his "missis and the childer." Said he with pride, "She's doin' extra well. She's as brave as the best of them, and good as the red gold—that's what she is."

Another poor fellow, in terrible pain, asked me to search in a little cotton bag which was beside him for the photograph of his wife and himself and the little baby. "It was took just when I joined," he whispered. "Baby's only two months old there."

One day those who were able were outside, and a gramophone was throatily grinding the melody out of familiar tunes, with a peculiarly mesmeric effect. Suddenly the record was changed to "Mary of Argye." The Scotsman by whose bed I was standing said: "Wheesht! D'ye hear thon? Man, is it no fine?" And the tears ran down his cheeks as he listened. It was a poor enough record. In ordinary times he would have shouted his condemnation of it. But he was now in a foreign land—a stricken, suffering man. And it made him think of some woman far away beside the Forth, where he came from. And his heart asked no further question.

At the head of the bed of some of them you will see a blue paper. "You're looking grand today," said I to a young fellow. And he replied, "Is there anny wonder, Sir, wid that scrap o' paper there?" For it was the order for home on the first available opportunity. "Sure, won't the ould mother be glad to see me?" he continued. "The sunshine here is beautiful, but sunshine in the ould cuntry is worth the world."

"Good-bye, Sir!" they sometimes cry. "I'll be away when you come round again." But perhaps next time a sad face looks up at you, for the day so eagerly anticipated has been again postponed.

It is always home, and what the dear ones there are like, and what they will be thinking yonder, that fills up the quiet hours toward restoration, as it strength-

ened the heart and arm of the brave in the hour of terrible conflict.

The endurance, patience, and courage of the men are beyond praise—as marvelous as their sufferings. I can never forget one who lay moaning a kind of chant of pain—to prevent himself screaming, as he said.

Last night we had a very beautiful experience. We were searching for a man on most important business, but as the wrong address had been given, that part of it ended in a wild-goose chase. Nevertheless we were brought into contact with a real bit of wonder. It was an exquisite night. The moon, big, warm, and round as a harvest moon at home, hung low near the dreaming world. The trees stood still and ghost-like, and the river ran through a picture of breathless beauty. We had got away beyond houses, and were climbing up through a great far-stretching glade. The road before us was a trellis of shadow and moonlight. Suddenly we had to stand and listen. It was the nightingale. How indescribably glorious! The note of inquiry, repeated and repeated, like a searching sadness; and then the liquid golden stream of other-world song. How wonderfully peaceful the night lay all around—the very moonlight seemed to soften in the listening. And yet again came the question with the sob in it; and then the cry of the heart running over.

The valley lay lapped in luminous haze, a lake somewhere shining. But there was no other sound, no motion, no sign of life anywhere—only ourselves standing in that shadowy glade, and that song of the beginnings of the world's sadness, yearning, and delight, somewhere in the thicket near.

It was difficult to believe that we were in a land of war; that not far from us lay ruined towns of ancient story; that the same moonlight, so flooded with delight for us, was falling on the uninterred, the suffering, and the dying, and the graves where brave dust was buried. It was all very beautiful. And yet, somehow, it made me weary. For I could not help thinking of the boy we had laid down to rest, so far from home, and the piper playing "Lochaber No More" over his

grave. And of the regiment we had seen that very day, marching in full equipment, with the pipers at the head of the column, so soon to be separated from the peat fires and the dear ones more widely

than by sundering seas. And we hated war. God recompense the cruel ones who loosened that bloody curse from among the old-time sorrows which were sleeping, to afflict again the world!

A Day in a German War Prison

By Wilhelm Hegeler

Popular German Novelist

The strange mixture of races on the western front is here depicted by a noted German author in the form of a prison guard's narrative of his daily life.

THERE they lie in a gloomy room of the railroad station, the English prisoners, together with their allies from the Old and New Worlds. The room used to be the waiting room for non-smokers, and it is no darker or uglier than any of the other rooms, only it seems so because of its occupants.

"Service at the Zoo." Every one of us knows what this means—duty with the prisoners. Our soldiers have invented good-natured nicknames for the Turcos, Indians, and Algerians that they meet here: "The men from the monkey theatre," "The Masqueraders," "The Hagenbeck Troop." But they walk past the Englishmen in silent hatred. A little sympathy is needed, even for banter.

The prisoners' room is empty, except for a few inmates who for various reasons could not be sent away. I am on duty here today. Crumpled forms squat on mattresses along the wall like multi-colored bundles of clothing. Not much is to be seen of their faces. Only a black arm, a lank yellow hand, a gaudy blue sash, a pair of wide red trousers stand out. There they crouch in the same stoical calm as they did before their houses in the distant Orient, with the exception that they, with the instinct of wounded animals, hide their faces.

An Englishman lies on a bed opposite them. He looks at me expectantly as if he wants to say something. But although I am not forbidden to talk with the prisoners, I feel no necessity for doing so.

An hour goes by. From time to time I give a drink to the Orientals who ask

me for it through gestures. At last the Englishman can keep silent no longer and asks:

"Will they treat us very severely?"

I shrug my shoulders. "People feel angry at the English. Our soldiers assert that they waved white flags and then threw hand grenades."

"I don't know anything about that. That may have been the case earlier, but I have been in the war only eight days. A week ago I was in Newcastle with my wife."

He takes a tin case from under his shirt, opens it, and looks at it for a long time. Then he shows me the case, which contains the picture of a woman, his wife. Then he takes a piece of paper from his trousers pocket and shows me that, too. A name and address are written on it.

"That is the man who bound up my wound on the field of battle. He was very good to me. After the war I shall write to him."

After a long period of silence he begins to talk again. But I do not think further conversation timely. I only pay attention once and that is when he explains to me his grade in the service and his rate of pay. He is something like a Sergeant and says, pointing to his insignia: "A common soldier gets only so much; with this insignia he gets so much more, and when he has both, as I have, he gets so much." He names the munificent sum with visible pride.

Then the door opens and my comrade announces in a tone that implies something unusual: "A Belgian in a German uniform." I look at the man in astonish-

ment. Why is he allowed to run around without any guard in particular? The expression of his face is rather stupid. He sits down near the stove and crosses his legs comfortably. I ask him how he got the uniform. He answers in Flemish. Before an explanation is possible the hospital corps men bring in six or seven Englishmen on stretchers. Now quick work is necessary. Mattresses must be spread out on the floor and the people changed from bed to bed. The room is filled with inquisitive hospital corps men and soldiers. I shove them all out. When the door is finally closed again I count my prisoners and find the Belgian is missing. I rush outside to look around the station platform. There stands my Belgian on the doorstep. I seize his arm in an almost friendly manner and invite him to come inside again. At last he tells me how he got the uniform. He insists he got it in the hospital in the place of his own tattered one. I shake my head incredulously, but the chauffeur who brought the prisoner hurries up and verifies the story.

Now the station commandant comes along and is also of the opinion that the prisoner must get some other kind of clothing. "But," he orders, "first ask the staff doctor if his uniform can be taken off without any danger to his wounds." I don't have to do this, because the wound is on his upper thigh. I hunt up an unclaimed English cloak and, with visible relief, the Belgian warrior crawls out of the German lion's skin.

New prisoners are brought in—Frenchmen, Scotchmen, and Canadians. Many of the first-named cough frightfully. When they are asked where they got that, they answer that they have had it the whole Winter long. There is a lank, powerful-looking noncommissioned officer among them. He makes a sign to me and confesses confidentially that he is very hungry. I tell him he must have patience, as there will soon be coffee and bread given out.

"Bread? Black bread?" He curls up his nose. "May I not have a little pastry, perhaps?"

"You just try our black bread," is my reply. "It is the same as we have our-

selves. We are better than we are supposed to be in France."

"Yes, that's true," he agrees. "They told us that the prisoners were badly treated in Germany. Now I see that such is not the case. Besides, they tell you the same thing about our prisoners in France. But they, too, do not have it so bad. On the contrary. I have seen some of them myself in Brittany. They get a quart of cider a day. There was an enormous crop of apples last Summer. And there is enough to eat. And besides that, they are allowed to stroll through the city a couple of hours every afternoon."

I permit myself to make a mental reservation regarding the last assertion, but a Frenchman brought in a little later makes the same statement.

A fairly educated and intelligent Canadian joins in the conversation and puts the question that occupies all of them the most: "What sort of a fate awaits the prisoners?"

"You will have to work a few hours a day. Still, you are paid extra for that."

"It is tough to have to sit in close rooms all the time."

"No," I answer, "the wooden houses are surrounded by broad, open places. I, myself, have seen Englishmen playing football in a prison camp."

Then his eyes sparkle and he lets slip the remark: "That is certainly better than in Canada." Presumably he refers to the camp of the civilians interned there. I ask him why he enlisted. He colors up and answers, with a somewhat embarrassed smile: "Well, I knew that my country was in danger, so I wanted to aid it." And this smile seems to me to betray less the embarrassment of a man looking for a clever answer than that of an educated person not liking to use pathetic expressions. For the entire man has the appearance of frankness and decency.

In these days when fresh batches of prisoners are coming along all the time I have answered many more questions. They are almost always the same questions and receive the same answers. I

have also seen convoys of unwounded prisoners wending their way by day and by night along lonely roads not so very far back of the front. I have repeatedly asked prisoners how they were being

treated. Many had requests to make; none had a complaint. On the other hand, I saw many acts of kindness performed by the doctors, by the sisters, and, not the fewest, by the soldiers.

A Letter Smuggled Out of Germany

By a Neutral

Portions of a private communication from a neutral writer in Germany to a friend in a neutral country.

WE are all becoming vegetarians. So far, though there is much grumbling and a good deal of discomfort—and in some cases illness and some suffering among invalids—we personally cannot complain. The consumption of meat in Germany in the last quarter of a century had increased enormously, and it is doubtful whether any of us would have imagined two years ago that the steadily growing pressure of the British fleet would have brought about such an entire change in our diet. We now get one-quarter of a pound of meat and two eggs per head per week. This sounds very dreadful, but, on the other hand, vegetables are abundant and asparagus cheaper than I ever remember it. The fish supply is still excellent, though there is not much butter or oil to cook it in. People of means as yet suffer little.

When I happened to go to Cologne last week there was an excellent wagon restaurant dinner of fish, meat, sweet cheese, and dessert for about 85 cents, but the difference between now and six months ago is that whereas the waiter formerly handed you the dishes and let you help yourself, the practice is now for the waiter to deal you out a small piece of each course, much to the discontent of some of my fellow-passengers. The maintenance of this railway restaurant service is, of course, intended for the edification of traveling neutrals.

Berlin, to outward appearance, is just as gay as ever. The long Summer days caused by turning the clocks ahead an hour have been aided by beautiful weather. All the racecourses have been active, and I believe that as much as a

million and a half marks a day have passed through the pari-mutuel. Golf, for which the Germans have found no German name, and lawn tennis are popular. I hear that the rubber difficulty has affected the supply of balls badly. "What have you to grumble at?" you may ask. We grumble because everybody not in the official world is weary of the war—utterly weary of it. Germans cannot understand why the Allies persist. This week we are all beflagged on account of the defeat of Italy, which is supposed to be "finished." There is news, too, that Sweden is likely to be active.

All this good news, however, does not affect the desire for the end of the war and the realization of German victory. Our German neighbors speak as though Germany were a man in possession of a huge check which he is unable to cash.

The belief is universal that we shall have a victorious peace before the Winter, and the poor, of whose disaffection you have heard, have only that consolation, for their food conditions are trying, even to people accustomed to live poorly. Their talk is always of *Knappheit*, (scarcity.)

It is said that twenty-two submarines have been turned out of the Schwartzkopf factory in the last eight months. That there are plenty of Zeppelins and Parsevals can be gathered from the number that fly over Berlin each fine day. They are so numerous that the public no longer take any notice of them. I have heard it whispered that since the beginning of the war forty-seven Zeppelins have been lost, "chiefly by accident." I

have also heard it said that the new Zeppelins cost \$625,000 each.

You need not believe all you read in the German newspapers about fashion restrictions. Laws may be passed, but I see no sign of any change, and the ladies in the *Unter den Linden* in the mornings seem to be dressed (making allowance for German vagaries of taste) rather like those in the Paris fashion plates, which we get from Switzerland.

In my last letter I told you of the extensive use to which paper was being applied. All the shops supply paper string for wrapping packages, and I see now that the soldiers' knapsacks are made of some kind of paper, which is apparently quite as good as leather.

War talk and war rumor are the chief subject of German conversation everywhere. How the Kaiser's train was lately bombed by English or French aviators

and several servants killed; how the naval authorities are puzzled what to do with the fleet, but all are agreed they cannot divide it—it cannot operate in the Baltic and in the North Sea at the same time; how Swedish officers are being trained in Berlin for Finland; how the import of all objects of art, Oriental carpets, pictures, &c., has been prohibited; and how Verdun, where the losses were at first great, proceeds steadily on now as an artillery wall with comparatively few casualties.

We hear nothing from England directly, but we get the English, Swedish, and Swiss newspapers, and, making allowances for the censorships imposed by all these countries and for the German censorship, we believe we are fairly well informed as to what is going on. Much is expected from America's intervention. Enfin, nobody wants or expects a third Winter in the trenches.

Marconi, the Wizard of the War

By Harold Begbie

HERE is the one universal man of this world war. It is odd to look at him, smoke with him, and laugh with him, reflecting that a thought of his brain is spun like a spider's web all over the bloody battlefields of Europe, all over the seas of the world, and high above the clouds. His invention, you feel, should belong to some legendary hero. It is too immense a thing for a man still living, and a young man—a young man who has moods of frivolity, who loves to laugh, and who is perfectly simple, modest, and unassuming.

"Here is a man," I said chaffingly, my hand on his arm, (I was speaking to a High Anglican,) "who is reducing us all to materialism."

Marconi smiled at the time, but later on he said to me, "You don't really think, do you, that my work makes for materialism?" Then in his quiet way he added, "I often think that d'Annunzio came pretty near to truth when he suggested that wireless is something of a

symbol for religion. We send our thoughts through silence to one who is invisible. And a good deal of the process is still a mystery. In any case, the universe is mysterious enough. The more I investigate, the more I wonder."

When we were talking of wireless in the war he said to me, "I only wish I might tell you what it has done. It really is rather romantic. Some day I think people will be a good deal astonished, the Germans not less than other people. But, you see, we mustn't talk about these things. We are all sworn to secrecy, and, of course, the whole essence of it is the silence in which it works. People say that without wireless the war would have been quite different. That is true enough. But very few people know how extraordinarily and universally this business of wireless has penetrated the whole region of strategy and organization. Some day, however, the story will be told. It will make pretty reading."

He shifted on his chair for a minute or

two, and then said slowly and thoughtfully: "There are other matters we are not allowed to talk about. But I feel it might be a good thing if we did talk about them. Why they are not talked about I cannot conceive."

"What things do you mean?" I asked.

"International relations," he replied.

"Let us begin with the relations which exist between Italy and England. Why cannot the people in Italy be told what England has done and is still doing for them? Our statesmen know it, and they are grateful enough; but the people do not know it. And those people know other things, on the contrary, which puzzle them. They say to themselves, England is our ally, and England is the greatest coal-producing country in the world; why, then, do we have to pay £8 a ton for coal?—surely England must know how hard it is for us to keep our manufactures going.' And they do not understand why the British Board of Trade should prohibit them from exporting to England manufactured articles the raw material for which they imported from England on the understanding that they would be able to export the finished article. Italy is enthusiastic for the war, and her feelings for England are as cordial as ever; but these things I have spoken about worry the people, worry the democracy, and some one ought to put them right."

He spoke of the need for greater human sympathy, and criticised statesmen for too often leaving human sympathy out of their considerations. "In all countries it is the same," he said, "and yet surely statesmen must see—the thing stares them in the face—that people are drawn together far more by natural affinities than by political in-

terests. Our people in Italy, for example, would be far more pleased and delighted by some trivial act of consideration on England's part than by a huge loan. How grateful they would be if your people did something in the matter of freight to help their exports! I wish we could get more humanity into Government offices. This war is such a chance. With a very little trouble the Allies might create fresh enthusiasm for the Alliance among all the democracies. Italy ought to be told what England has done for her. And your people ought to be told what Italy has done (I am not speaking of her fight against Austria) for England. It would pull us closer together. It would give a more vital spirit to all we do. It would be something like a light brought into a dark room. There is too much darkness. I am all for perfect confidence between the allied nations, and you cannot have this perfect confidence where the democracies are so largely in the dark. Let us have light—the light of information and discussion. I want my people and your people to be enthusiastic for each other—the democracies, I mean—so that during the war and after the war they may both feel how natural and how helpful it is for them to be allied together."

I find that this is the subject uppermost in his mind. He visits all the battle fronts, goes up in the air in aeroplane and balloon, descends under the sea in submarines, and is in touch with the whole wireless of the war; but his thoughts are with the wasted opportunities of statesmen who might be drawing the democracies of the Alliance so much closer. He has drawn the battlefields close together. He would far sooner draw the peoples together.

Adventures of a French Trooper

CHRISTIAN MALLET was a trooper in the Twenty-second Regiment of Dragoons when it marched out of Rheims on the declaration of war and hastened to the aid of the Belgians. He tells the story of the following ten

months in his book, "Impressions and Experiences of a French Trooper, 1914-1915," (E. P. Dutton & Co.) They advanced in forced marches, spending ten, fifteen, twenty hours in the saddle, once covering nearly eighty miles in twenty-

four hours. They went forward and retreated in baking sun or pouring rain, knowing little or nothing of destination or purpose.

On Sept. 6 his regiment was in the thick of the battle of the Marne: "The struggle extended all around us from one horizon to the other, and if it was incomprehensible to our officers it was still more so to us private soldiers. In the torrid mid-day heat we kept advancing, without knowing where or why." For two days they marched hither and yon, "under the scorching sun, gnawed by hunger, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue. All around us the guns thundered. And we knew nothing, absolutely nothing."

On the 8th his cavalry division was sent to intercept and seize a German convoy, and they started off, overjoyed that at last they had a definite thing to do. A detachment feeling its way through a wood was surprised by the Germans and saved itself only by dashing through, with horses ungirthed, saddles slipping, kits unbuckled. The Germans were all around them and they made for the depths of the forest, where they took shelter in a deep, thickly grown gorge. For three days neither men nor horses had food or drink.

The patrols learned that the enemy held all the issues from the forest, "and we were taken in a vise, prisoners in this gulf of trees, reduced to dying of hunger and thirst." Near the end of the first day in the gorge two officers of Uhlans came riding by on a road just above their hiding place. "Now they were right on us, so near we could have touched them, and they did not know there were two hundred carbines that could have knocked them over at point-blank range. * * * Suddenly their faces contracted, as if confronted by some apparition. This French regiment must have seemed to them a phantom of the forest, some impossible and illusory vision seen in the-shadow of the leaves. Their horses stopped short and, for the space of a second, their riders looked like two figures in stone. Then in a flash they understood and fled at full speed."

So, the alarm being given, it was

necessary for the Frenchmen to seek other concealment and to throw the enemy off the scent by taking ways that would seem impassable for horses. They went on through the almost impenetrable forest, frightening herds of deer, across gulches and fallen trees, men and horses trembling with hunger and fatigue. But they still joked together and passed the jest from one to another. Instead of reaching the heart of the forest they presently found themselves near its edge. And in front of them, stretching some miles along the road, were the convoys they had been sent to take. Surrounded by the enemy, they waited for the darkness of the night and made as silent a dash as possible in the hope of eluding the Germans.

On and on they went with silence all around them, except for the hooting of owls that sometimes followed and sometimes preceded them, until, finally, thinking they had reached safety, some of the men, giving way to fatigue, bent forward on their saddles, "drunk with sleep." They had fallen into a trap. Suddenly "the black forest seemed to spit fire," a hail of bullets battered them, men and horses fell, and the remaining troopers galloped furiously away. Portions of the two squadrons met and reformed afterward, charged the enemy, got away, reconnoitred, were separated—all this time within the enemy's lines—wandered about, blundered into German detachments, almost fell into the enemy's bivouac, and, on the fifth day spent without food or drink and almost without sleep, they were rescued by some squadrons of French Hussars.

M. Mallet saw these troops approaching, but could not see whether they were French or German. "I looked, I looked with my eyes pressing out of my head. * * * At times I forced myself not to look. I looked again, counted twenty, and then devoured space with my eyes. * * * I turned my reeling head toward my comrades and I fell on the grass crying like a madman, in words without sequence."

Early in May of last year M. Mallet, by that time become a Lieutenant, was in the first-line trenches at the battle of

Loos. At the head of his men he charged the German trenches through barriers of fire, suffocating vapor, and exploding shells, carrying one trench after another, until he was wounded in his shoulder on the parapet of the last trench. They took the position, and Lieutenant Mallet, with a hole in his shoulder as big as his fist and the blood running down his back, found himself in sole command of his own and another company. He refused to go back. "Some one," he says, "passed me a flask of ether and I propped myself against the parapet." They dug themselves in, they repulsed attacks, they worked and fought all day. After ten hours of it M. Mallet set forth to try to find his Colonel, knowing, he

says, "what could be done if the will to do were strong."

"Sometimes I had to climb over pyramids of bodies, sometimes I had to go outside the trench, amid the whistling of bullets and the noise of shells which were bursting on all sides. * * * A continuous groaning sound escaped me, my sight became blurred and I walked as if in a delirium. I went round the same sector several times, asking every one where the Colonel was. And they would ask me 'What Colonel?' I had forgotten, and then everything became vague."

At last some stretcher bearers found him and carried him to the nearest aid post, whence he was sent to the hospital.

A Japanese Prayer for Those Killed in the Great War

By a Resident of Tokio

UNUSUAL preparations were made one morning in Shussanji, or the Going-out-of-the-Mountain Temple, a quaint little place of worship hidden away in a labyrinth of crooked streets in a poor quarter of Tokio—preparations for a celebration on the Sumida River to pray for the repose of the souls of all those slain in battle, regardless of nationality, and to scatter scraps of paper bearing the image of Jizo Sama over the waves, one for each departed spirit.

The chief priest, an aged man, with his assistants and the supporters of the temple had been busy for days in advance and all was ready. The red and gold altar of Shussanji was heaped up with offerings of rice and fruit, and a plain wooden tablet had been placed there bearing the words:

"To console all those souls who have passed into the Beyond because of War."

The old priest, his bald head shining, clad in his coarse cotton robe of gray, officiated before the altar, and when the last prayers were uttered, the people formed a procession to the Sumida River, that was but a short distance away.

Near a bridge an unusual craft was waiting, a deep cargo-junk roofed over with canvas bearing bold black Buddhist symbols, and at the bow fluttered a white cotton banner on which was written in large black characters:

"A service to console the spirits of the whole world's departed ones."

Quickly the priest and his parishioners embarked and squatted down upon the cushions spread over the bottom of the boat, and the central figure in the religious ceremony, as gray and faded as the robes he wore, took up his position in front of the altar. A piece of soiled embroidery did duty for an altar cloth, and there was set up a tarnished statue of Jizo Sama. Just below were three wooden tablets. The central one read: "Pray for the whole world's departed ones' souls"; the others: "Pray for the great victory of the Imperial Army," and "*Pray for the great victory of the Allies.*"

The priest placed some sweet-scented squares of incense upon the coals in a small brass brazier, and as the clouds rose into the air the boatman with his

long bamboo pole pushed off from the shore, the holy man's voice was heard chanting a sutra—all the worshippers, old women and young, men and children, murmuring in undertone "Name Amida Butsu!"

Thus the floating temple turned down stream, taking a passage between the cargo-laden junks with their bellowing sails, motor boats and small steamers, noisy tugs pulling passenger scows, and all the traffic that is borne upon the bosom of the city's muddy watercourse that empties into the shallow reaches of Tokio Bay.

Out upon the Sumida the ceremony of scattering the papers was begun. Old and young with their hands full leaned over the sides of the junk throwing away the sacred papers with the effigy of Jizo Sama stamped thereon—each meant for the solace of the soul of some soldier slain in battle. Those who have mourned dear ones slain in France, Belgium, or Russia would have been touched to the quick by this simple service of humble Japanese people, given for all that great host of unknown who have laid down their lives for their countries.

And while the priest intoned, the incense rose into the air, the metal and the wooden drums were beaten, the worshippers chanted unceasingly, and the squares of paper fluttered out of the boat on all

sides and were carried away by the wind over the water to make a long wake behind the vessel.

For three hours the temple junk floated down the river, the papers falling noiselessly over the waves, as the banks of the Sumida were passed. Now the course of the strange craft was underneath a bridge, or past factories with their tall smoking chimneys, by densely crowded rows of dwellings, by groups of grimy workmen, and as far as Tsukijima, the island at the mouth of the river, the boatman poling out into the calm waters of Tokio Bay shrouded in its gray fog.

A halt was made at noon, when the wholesome fare that had been prepared at Shussanji was brought forth, thin white wooden boxes filled with rice and vegetables, while an old woman brewed the tea over a little charcoal fire.

The spot at which the stop had been made was a sacred one, for in that exact place a Jizo Sama stone had been buried under the water. Here after the simple noonday meal a special service was held before the boat returned upstream.

At the conclusion of this service a long narrow piece of wood was driven into the sandy bottom of the bay. The inscription upon it read literally as follows:

"Herewith the service is held for the whole-world-departed-soldiers-to-console-tablet."

King Victor Emmanuel at the Front

[Translated from *L'Illustrazione Italiana* for CURRENT HISTORY]

FOUR automobiles were climbing up the military road from Caporetto.

Up there, between Mount Corada and the Cormons road, two little black dots—two aeroplanes—appeared in the sky.

At a certain point the airmen found themselves over the road, perpendicularly above the four autos. They seemed to fly lower, to examine, as though to see whether it was worth while to waste a bomb on them. But the decision was, no! Then, with a brisk movement, they turned their prows,

put on speed, disappeared in the distance. And, as the automobiles resumed their normal speed, one of the passengers turned, smiling:

"A lost opportunity!" It was Joffre the Taciturn, coming back from a visit to the trenches of the upper Isonzo. Cadorna, Porro, the Duke of Aosta, turned toward the second car. The King, his gray cap pressed down over his eyes, was also laughing; and he repeated:

"A lost opportunity!"

While the battle of Gorizia was raging

furiously along the Isonzo an automobile, flying along the road, met a line of wagons carrying ammunition to the front. King Victor Emmanuel bade his chauffeur go a little to one side, leaving the road clear.

"Let the ammunition pass!" he said; "my men need it urgently at this moment. The King can wait!"

As he sat at breakfast among the rocks an infantry soldier passed. The King called him:

"Don't you want to eat a mouthful?"

The man flushed red and cast down his eyes. He knew not what to reply. The King said:

"Oh, it's only a little cheese and the bread you get every day!"

And the soldier had to sit down in the meadow beside his sovereign and to share the rations of the King.

The King is incredibly abstemious. When General Joffre was his guest at the Italian Army Headquarters the King offered him a banquet with the following bill of fare:

Vermicelli soup,
A plate of meat,
Fruit,

the supper of a college student. The King wishes to share not only the dangers of his soldiers but also their privations.

What the War Has Done to Petrograd

By Perceval Gibbon

English War Correspondent

WHEN I was last here in Petrograd the war in the west of Russia was still distant from the capital. Warsaw was intact, Vilna was still the headquarters of Rusky's rearguard. What of horror and disorder the war had wrought among the civilian population was far from here; the throng upon the Nevsky Prospect had not seen the women kneeling in the snow at Warsaw, begging of the passersby. The great dining room of the Hotel de France reflected nothing of the misery of the Jews who straggled the length of the long and awful Polish roads, who died in ditches, or ate grass like beasts; the opera was open, and there was drink to be had by those who knew their way about. Now, it is otherwise. Hindenburg's great drive, with artillery banked twenty batteries deep, so that each square yard of earth had its bursting shell, has altered the geography of Russia; Warsaw and Vilna have gone the way of Brussels and Antwerp, and there are thirteen million refugees adrift in Russia. From Kiev to Nijni Novgorod their distress afflicts the country. Petrograd, that was a great city of two million people, is now a

greater city by a million of added population that must, for the larger part, be fed by the contributions of the charitable; there is something in the Russian conception of the situation—something altogether too Russian and subtle for a foreigner to comprehend—which forbids their being set to work for their living.

The few thousand of them who had a little money salted away, professional men, men with business and savings in cash, and so forth, are those who clutter the hotels, and have raised the prices of rooms and apartments to three or four times the normal rates. There were rooms I had in Petrograd at the commencement of the war which cost me 200 rubles a month—say £20, or \$100; when, upon my arrival a few days ago, I inquired for them again, I was told that they were vacant for the moment, and could be had for 700 rubles a month—and an offer of 600 was refused. The others, those of the refugees who have got away with their skins and nothing more, wretched men, women, and children whose mere existence the war has undermined and made precarious, live like birds, fed at "feeding stations" twice a

day by the charities organized to that end. There is one such station near the great railway depot which serves the Baltic Province railways. Here is a shrine to St. George of Russia, a very splendid affair, before which there are never less than half a hundred lighted candles. Ladies in the large white coifs of Russian Red Cross sisters are busy washing babies, serving food, giving out clothing—a great and gracious work. Among those who come for food are always a dozen or so of lonely folk, men or women, who wait when the distribution is over, to go upon the platforms and see the arrival of the trains. They are people who have been separated, in the crush and stress of flight from the threatened areas of the war, from their families—wives who have lost their husbands and children, bewildered men who were husbands and fathers, whom war has divorced and made childless. There are children, too, orphans for all that any one can tell, adrift upon a world that has gone blood-mad. These wait, taking their food when it is given to them, sleeping on the floor, patient and docile as only Russians, who have yet the Orient alive in their veins, can be patient, watching the incoming of the trains with indomitable hope that from some reeking third-class carriage, foul with festering humanity like a tomb, there may descend to the daylight the faces for which they watch.

And sometimes they come. Any of the ladies can tell you of such incidents—of the quavering yell of incredulous recognition and joy that thrills the crowd like an alarm; of the spectacle of a man, crazy with gladness, tearing his way through the thronged strangers, of the strained white face, tragic with fear and hope, that meets him, and relaxes in tears of utter relief at the last.

A million refugees, ranging from millionaires to penniless peasants, make a difference to any community. One effect in Petrograd has been to help to make the ruble a coin of no fixed value. Other things have aided; the great excess of imports over exports; the disorganization of railroads, and so forth, have played their part; and the result

helps to make the city still further unrecognizable. Some commodities that are scarce have increased in cost by three to four hundred per cent.; others, equally scarce, have hardly increased at all. The ruble, that was once worth about a hundred cigarettes, or a cab ride of an hour, or a luncheon of two courses, or extra-special consideration when presented as a *douceur* to the doorkeeper of a Ministry, now varies in value two or three times a day. That is at the banks, when one changes foreign money, but what is worse, is the fluctuation of prices in the shops. A rumor strikes root among the traders that there is a block of traffic on the Archangel line, and at once values jump like fleas—values that were already exorbitant. Sugar that costs in the morning 8d. per pound, fetches 1s. 3d. before evening; wood for fuel, with a forest at the doors of the city that stretches thence to the Bering Straits, see-saws between five rubles and fifteen a “sazhen.” And for a sample of fixed rates of commonplace articles, the things which ordinarily cost nothing to speak of, the penholder for writing this article, as ordinary a piece of timber as ever came out of a tree, cost 50 kopecks—say, one shilling.

The shopkeeper has a shibboleth of explanation, to which he is as faithful as a lover. He explained my penholder by the excuse that railway freights had risen. A Russian comic paper recently had a cartoon—a man complaining of the price of a diamond dog collar, with the plausible jeweler leaning across the counter to explain to him. “You see,” the jeweler was saying, reasonably, “the war has put the railway freights up so much that our diamonds are costing us more.”

The truth of the matter is that Russia is organized for war in precisely the same degree as England. In both countries the hope is tenacious that the existing arrangement of life and the social order may avail to win the war, despite the enemy's miracles of national organization and solidarity. In neither country do those in charge of national destinies desire to see new elements surge into power to supersede them; in both, the existing order is on its trial.

"A Plague o' Both Your Houses"

By Dr. Georg Brandes

Famous Scandinavian Critic

Dr. Brandes has asserted ever since the war began that both sides are to blame. The article herewith, translated for CURRENT HISTORY, appeared recently in the Politiken of Copenhagen under the title "An Appeal." It attracted much attention and was answered by William Archer in an open letter which we also reproduce.

EACH of the great powers declares that the war it is waging is a war of defense. They have all been attacked; they are all fighting for their existence. For all of them murder and lies are necessary means of defense. Then, since none of the powers, by their own showing, wanted war, in Heaven's name let them make peace!

Peace, however, after the passing of twenty-two months appears further away than ever. Each group of warring powers must lead civilization to victory, which self-same civilization either is called intellectual superiority, or right, or liberty, or the civilian spirit as against militarism.

Civilization! The first fruit of this civilization has been that the truth-destroying Russian censorship has spread itself over the whole earth. The second is that we have returned to the time of human sacrifices. But there is this difference, that in the days of the old barbarism four or five prisoners of war would be sacrificed to a dreaded deity, while now we offer up four or five million to the idols that we worship.

It is Lamennais who says: "Satan inspired the oppressors of the people with a devilish thought. He said to them: 'Take from every family the strongest men and give them weapons. I will give them two idols which they shall name honor and faithfulness, and a law which they shall call dutiful obedience. They shall worship these idols and blindly subject themselves to this law.'"

We follow this warfare against militarism, during which the force of militarism spreads itself to the only nation that had kept itself apart and free from it. Everywhere civil power is set aside—the civil power and spirit of the supremacy of which over the military

power war has been waged for more than a century.

We follow this conflict for liberty, during which liberty's spokesman, as well as the champions of force, stop each ship, search each cargo, and open every letter, even private correspondence between neutrals.

We follow this warfare for a higher culture, during which Germany has trodden Belgium under foot; Austria-Hungary, Serbia; England, Greece; Russia, East Prussia and Poland; this warfare for right, during which right everywhere is robbed of its strength and consideration of State takes its place; this battling for the independence of the smaller nations, during which this very independence is being violated from both quarters, set aside, destroyed.

In the countries at war, as a matter of course, the chief desire of the armies is to gain victories. But the civilian population everywhere moans for peace. The Governments, which sit high on horseback, press the spurs against the side of the tired animal. The wish for peace dare not find expression. In the neutral countries public opinion considers it unjustifiable to speak of peace. Public opinion, on the whole, takes sides with this or that of the fighting units, and meanwhile forgets to put its weight in the scale for peace.

Of the neutral powers at present, one is of greater consequence than all the others together. Does the United States of America prefer to make money out of the war rather than use its influence to bring about peace? All in all, does no one stand for peace except common sense and wholesome sentiment?

That peace cry soon to be heard in all countries is called cowardly. But if hu-

mankind keeps silent the very stones will cry aloud from among the ruins. Their cry is not one of revenge, but of peace. And where the stones stay silent, fields and pastures will cry out, watered, as they are, with blood, and fertilized with human bodies.

The rule of spite is over the whole world. The solitary joy is to inflict injury in the interest of self-preservation. Torpedoes are being launched with great success. Excellent results mark bombardments. Here a single individual shoots down his twentieth flier, and there is great jubilation. Ask the question, Why do you rejoice? The answer is, The purpose justifies the means!

Cruelty is termed duty, sympathy is now treason. The Germans suffer hunger and misery; the allied peoples rejoice. The Belgians and Serbians are coerced and brought down; the Germans jubilate. The Poles go hungry, the Jews are reduced to the most miserable poverty. Those at war are unable to make amends for all the misfortunes. All the nations at war are proud of the heroic self-sacrifice of their men and their perseverance. From both sides we hear that the lowest passions have been let loose among their opponents, and, sad to say, both are right.

The Central Powers declared that they desire peace. But there is no evidence to show that they wish to concede anything to attain peace. The allied nations do not want peace until they obtain that "definite victory" for which they have been aiming with slight success for almost two years.

Whatever is to happen in the future, however many battles may be won or lost, no matter how many valuable ships may be sunk or airships shot down, however many men are killed, wounded or taken prisoners, one thing is certain—all must end with a truce and negotiations.

Why not, therefore, begin negotiations now? It does not seem as if there were much to be gained by continued murder. Peace is like the Sibyl's books or treasures, which one must buy, but which become scarcer and more costly with each day that passes.

We know this: We shall await the com-

ing of annihilation. But there will be no annihilation—only wholesale murder. None of the battling groups can be exterminated. And if some say that it is not the purpose to crush Germany, only its militarism, then it is just the same as saying that there is no thought of injuring the porcupine, but merely to tear out its quills.

Both parties want to keep on to the bitter end. With each day this bitterness increases. What may be gained by postponement of peace negotiations is lost many times over by the continuation of the war.

It really seems as if there were no other means for settling human strife than through mines and grenades. How will the future judge this? The verdict will be that in the whole of Europe there was to be found not one statesman. With a single great statesman on each side, the world war would never have broken out. With one great statesman in either group the war would not have lasted a year. As it was, the Generals took the power from the statesmen.

The future will have this to say: It was a time when men regarded the era of the religious wars as barbarous, yet failed to comprehend that national wars were much worse. It was a time when men looked upon the wars of Cabinet Ministers as antiquated, and could not understand that commercial struggles were still more crude. The history of the religious wars constituted a dismal farce. The history of the world war was a stupid tragedy.

It would be better for this war to end without too great humiliation for either side. Otherwise the humiliated group will merely ponder on how to begin the next war. And it should be remembered that whatever humiliation may be inflicted on the enemy, it can bring restitution of not a single human life. Every human life is of value. All men are not alike, but there is slight consolation, when one side loses a thousand, in the fact that the enemy lost ten thousand. Who knows but that among the one thousand there was an individual who would have brought great glory to his country and become the benefactor of

mankind for all time? There may have been a Shakespeare or a Newton, a Kant or a Goethe, a Molière or a Pasteur, a Copernicus, a Rubens, a Tolstoy among the hundreds of thousands of twenty-year-old Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, Belgians, Russians who have fallen. How does the change of a frontier line, the conquest of a province, measure against the loss of such a personality? The gain is but temporary, the loss irreparable. Whatever is won concerns only a nation; the loss is a loss to the whole human race.

We see how during the war the wealth of mankind dwindles so that at last there will be no one able to pay the cost. But

the loss of human values, the most serious kind of impoverishment, is not realized. What we are witnessing is that the white race is destroying its established superiority in the minds of the black, the brown, and the yellow peoples. The whites have employed the others, have praised them for cutting down white men. What else can we expect than that such tools will recoil upon the users?

The press of the warring countries has considered it a particular task to incite to further fury; to enhance the measure of enthusiasm. The press ought to remember that the destructive hatred thus engendered will long survive the war itself.

The Sin of Color-Blind Neutrality

By William Archer

Noted English Critic

The foregoing "Appeal" by Dr. Brandes was answered by William Archer in an open letter entitled "The Giant Lie," which he followed up a little later in *The London Daily News* with a spirited retort to the Danish Minister of the Interior on similar lines, under the title "The War Machine: Did It Start Automatically?" The two articles are essentially one, and are herewith presented in their entirety.

A PLAGUE of both your houses!" is the burden of an appeal for peace issued by Dr. Georg Brandes in the Copenhagen Politiken. This is a not quite unnatural attitude of mind into which a good many neutrals have lately fallen. They are sick and tired of the war. They have forgotten, if they have ever understood, the circumstances of its origin. Absorbed in the material horrors of the struggle, they lose sight of the ideals at stake. They blame the Allies for declining to sacrifice these ideals more than they blame the Central Powers for scorning and outraging them. Thus their neutrality takes on a pro-German tinge, of which perhaps they are scarcely aware, but which is none the less deplorable. That is why I have ventured to address to Dr. Brandes a letter, of which the following are the opening passages. The remainder must appear in another form.

Dear Mr. Brandes:

You have published "An Appeal" to the belligerent powers to return to sanity and

arrange terms of peace. In the abstract, such an appeal must command the sympathy of every humane and reasonable man. Yet this pronouncement is disappointing to your admirers and friends—if I may so style myself—inasmuch as it is not really calculated to further the end you have in view. Will you allow me to tell you why, in my judgment, it must fall on deaf ears?

Not, certainly, because we are disinclined to hear you. To whose judgment should we listen more gladly? You are unquestionably the first critic of the age, and probably the leading intellect of the whole neutral world, at all events, on this side of the Atlantic. You are not only a scholar, but a man of the living world. You have fought a splendid fight for freedom of thought, and have expressed in no uncertain terms your detestation for political tyranny. Whose approval could have done more to encourage us? To whose considered and reasoned criticism could we have listened with greater respect?

But, as a matter of fact, you have withheld from us both these advantages. You have carried the art of neutrality to a very high pitch. You stand indifferent between truth and falsehood, between humanity and inhumanity, between right and wrong. I am almost inclined to say to you, with one who was no neutral in the fight for freedom:

"Kennst du die Hölle des Dante nicht,
Die schrecklichen Terzetten?"

—and then to refer you to the remarks on neutrals in the third canto of the "Inferno."

Is it possible you do not see that this war, mad and monstrous though it be, is a war in which everything turns on the question of right and wrong?—a question not to be dismissed with a shrug and a verdict of "Rogues all!" Your "Appeal" begins thus:

Each of the great powers declares that the war it is waging is a war of defense. They have all been attacked; they are all fighting for their existence. For all of them murder and lies are necessary means of defense. Then since none of the powers, by their own showing, wanted war, in Heaven's name let them make peace!

Suppose, my dear Master, that you had taken to law instead of literature, and had become a Judge; suppose that two men were brought before you, each declaring that he had been murderously assaulted by the other, and one of them unquestionably in possession of the other's watch, purse, and pocketbook; should you feel that you had done all your duty demanded if you said, "They are doubtless both liars, or both hallucinated; bind them over to keep the peace, and let the one who holds the swag return (say) the watch, but keep the rest of the plunder"? Should you not consider the possibility that one of them might be telling the truth? Should you not call evidence on the point and examine it carefully? Should you not recognize some antecedent probability that the man who was certainly armed to the teeth, and certainly took the other unprepared, was the real aggressor? And should you not think that probability heightened if you found his pockets bulging with tracts which declared fighting an act of religion, and robbery under arms the chief duty of man?

"What is truth?" said jesting Pilate"—and took up an attitude of ironic neutrality.

But in this matter there is a truth and there is a falsehood; and the merits of the present situation, as of the whole war, depend upon the question: Who is the liar? If Germany is telling the truth—if she was the victim of an unprovoked attack—then we, in carrying on the war, are merely piling crime upon crime. Even in that case Germany would not be entirely justified. Nothing could excuse her invasion of Belgium, nothing could cleanse her hands of the blood of that unhappy country. But many of her other proceedings would wear a very different aspect. Much may be pardoned to a man wantonly attacked and fighting for his life, which would be unpardonable in one who was himself the aggressor. Submarine ruthlessness, indiscriminate civilian-slaying, poison gas and liquid fire are not pretty or chivalrous methods of warfare; but a man set upon by assassins is not to be severely censured if, in his defense, he hits below the belt.

But if the man who hits below the belt,

who sticks at nothing, who resorts to every base and diabolical device he can think of, is not the attacked, but the attacker, the man who willed and planned and executed the murderous assault—what are we to say of him? what are we to do with him? Is it to the interest of the world at large that he should get off scot-free and be able to tell himself that his spirited policy was in some measure successful, though the fight was not quite the "frischer, fröhlicher Kriek" he had hoped for? And is it the part of a good European to be neutral not only in act but in feeling, and to urge that in the interests of humanity the bandit should be allowed to get away with his booty? We shall fight on, my dear Master, in spite of your disapproval, because we believe that the worst thing that could happen to humanity would be the triumph of the giant Lie, and of the abominable devices of massacre which it has called to its aid. * * *

Here I must break off. In the sequel I attempt to justify the expression "the giant Lie," and express (among other things) my surprise that Dr. Brandes should speak bitterly of England's opening of neutral letters and say no word of Germany's sinking of Scandinavian ships and murder of Scandinavian seamen.

DID THE WAR MACHINE START AUTOMATICALLY?

I ventured recently to remonstrate with Dr. Georg Brandes on the color-blind neutrality displayed in his appeal for peace at any price. The same defect of vision does something to mar an otherwise admirable and inspiring address delivered the other day to the "Radical Youth" of Dr. Brandes's fatherland by the Minister of the Interior, Herr Ove Rode. I make no apology for quoting at length this striking passage:

We still seem to hear the dull reverberation of the march of millions to the frontiers, almost two years ago; and, through the tramp of feet and the clatter of hooves, the shrill, insistent asseverations from high places that no one willed the war, no one wanted it, no one was attacking, every one was standing on the defensive. If this be true, then the ironclad system which the world had created snatched the reins from the hands of its creators. The machine came to life and threw the men aside. A vast amount of genius and strength had for generations been expended on perfecting an organism of steel and explosives, into which human beings entered only as mechanical details. Everywhere it was designed, we were told, solely for the preservation of peace! But one day in July, 1914, the machinery was in full working or-

der, screwed up to its highest pitch, needing only the releasing of one spring to set the wheels in motion. Suddenly the spring clicked and the mountain of steel and flame came to life and hurtled forward. The cannons set off for the frontier of their own accord, and men mechanically followed. The rush, once started, could not be stopped. The fairy tales of many nations tell of two magic words, one of which can set forces in motion, while the other can arrest them. The second is forgotten, and disaster follows. Humanity is now desperately seeking for the word that can stay the rage and ruin of war. All over the world people are racking their brains for the forgotten spell. Not long ago they thought they had found it in America—but it was not the right word.

This is a brilliantly imaginative picture of what happened—or rather is alleged to have happened—in Germany. When the Kaiser says, "Ich hab' es nicht gewollt" —"I did not will it"—he is practically pleading that the machine came to life of its own accord, and ran away with him. And so, very probably, it did. Very probably there came a moment when he felt, to his dismay, that things had got beyond his control, and he stood, like Frankenstein, gazing horrorstruck at his Monster's mad career. But we must remember—what I fear Herr Rode forgets—that all this talk of machines and monsters is only metaphor and mythology. The cannons did not roll off spontaneously to the frontiers. They were set in motion by the deliberate will of certain men—probably a quite small number of men. The Kaiser may or may not have been one of them—if he was not, that merely proves him to be a noxious nullity. But whoever these men may have been, it is quite certain that they were in Austria and Germany, and nowhere else.

Can Herr Rode doubt that the war machine of his fable, the war machine par excellence, was that which was made in Germany, along with a philosophy declaring it to be the noblest and most beneficent of human inventions? Just as the British Parliament is the mother of Parliaments, so the German war machine is the mother of war machines. It is, or rather it was in 1914, a long way the first in mechanical perfection. The other war machines of Europe, though forced

most unwillingly to attempt a ruinous emulation of the German model, were well known to be inferior in instant efficiency. Even if there were no direct evidence of the Allies' will to peace, it would be incredible on the face of it that they should wantonly have challenged the German monster. But the positive evidence is overwhelming for any one who has eyes to read. I will only refer here to the notorious fact, which Herr Rodé seems to forget, that the magic words which let the monsters loose were in every case spoken by the Central Empires, first by Austria, then, to right and left, by Germany. And for the operation of the German machine, Herr Rode has only to look, like the Chancellor, at the map of Europe. Everywhere it has been checked; but everywhere it showed a terrific initial velocity, eloquent of the intense will to conquer which had inspired the men who perfected it.

It needs no sociological investigation to assure us that we, and our fathers, and our grandfathers—in short, all partakers in purblind, covetous, cantankerous human nature—must share the general responsibility for the fact that war is still possible in the world. No one pretends that the stupidity and sluggishness of imagination which has hindered the coming of the millennium is peculiar to Germany. Nor is it doubtful that the capitalistic organization of society, which is common to all Europe, fosters the tendency. It creates on the one hand the class which is ever longing for fresh continents to exploit, and on the other hand it provides a plentiful supply of "Kanonenfutter." We are all responsible in so far as we have failed to remedy the social injustices and extirpate the economic superstitions which lie at the root of war in general. But that does not make us all equally responsible for this particular war. It is foolish, no doubt, to build a town of inflammable instead of fireproof materials; but when a man sets fire to his neighbor's house, and the whole town is reduced to ashes, we do not say that all the citizens are equally guilty of arson. We send to penal servitude the man who actually kindled the blaze.

Those Whom the War Has Broken

By John Galsworthy

Eminent English Novelist and Playwright

[By arrangement with The London Morning Post]

I DON'T know how other people feel, but when in the streets there passes some poor fellow who a few months ago was stronger and more active than one's self, had before him many more years of enjoyment and utility, almost a boy, perhaps, and who is now to be forever like a bird with a broken wing or a ship with a mast gone and half of its sails trailed down, there comes on one a sensation like no other that this war produces.

Death, of course, by every form of violence, is snatching his millions, but we must all die some time; the waters close quickly—a little hole, a few bubbles, a sore heart or two, and the river flows on. All the other miseries, whipped on by that fell huntsman, War—starvation, destitution, imprisonment, anxiety, grief—if they do not kill you, they pass. Maiming abides. The armless, legless, the blinded, the paralyzed—all live on into the green years when the wilderness will bloom again and flowers grow where this storm once withered the face of the earth; on into the calm years when men will look back and rub their eyes. It is this which comes down on the heart of him who sees the maimed men go by—this sensation of watching, from far on in the future when there shall be not another trace left of that hurricane, thousands upon thousands stricken out of full life into a half ex-

istence, thousands upon thousands who, but for the merest chance, might be ourselves.

Maimed for the duration of the war—that would be bearable, but maimed for the duration of life is the sacrifice that these have made and that we shall have

to watch. And the grimness of it is that with each year which leaves the war further behind we shall watch and feel for them the less—a hard saying, but true—and they will feel the waste of their powers the more. And that is why now is the time to roll up every penny that we can, to put a sure foundation beneath these injured lives, so that however much we sag away from gratitude and justice in the future—and sag we shall, as sure as men are men—we shall have guaranteed our country against the crime of taking the best from



JOHN GALSWORTHY

her sons, for her reservation, and leaving them like hulks on the beach of fortune.

This war is the nation's war as no war yet has ever been. Each man maimed in it has lost his limb, his sight, his power of movement, in service of us all; and we shall be skunks to fail them. Yet, if I am not mistaken, such social conditions and feeling will follow this struggle throughout Europe—not at once, but within a few years—that everything which reminds people of it will come to

be anathema; no hope then for the maimed of anything beyond what we have already secured for them! It is now that from ourselves, and from our Government, such money must be got, and such a comprehensive scheme laid out as to banish all fear of national shame. Pensions are all very well, but nothing is enough, short of our being able honestly to say that no man totally disabled in this war, however long it lasts, is left uncared for, and no man partially disabled left without such opportunity of suitable and dignified work as shall keep him in self-respect and a decent economic position. That is the minimum of justice, and less than the minimum of gratitude.

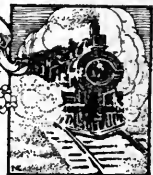
This is a deceptive moment. Labor is so scarce that the partially disabled easily find jobs, which peace will soon take from them. None of us would now admit that we shall ever forget the bravery and sacrifices of our soldiers and sailors, that we shall ever come to turn a cold shoulder on the maimed among them. The hot iron never thinks that it will cool; but cool it always does. Wait till danger is removed, till social troubles recommence, till we reap what the war is sowing! If full provision is not made while the war lasts it will never be made. We must put it out of our own power to betray our best instincts, under the chilly pressure of a troubled future. The funds raised and asked for up to now are as a drop in the jug of ultimate need.

The present moment, I repeat, is dangerous from the very fact that our hearts are warm with gratitude to these sufferers. We look round and see that for the time being they all are, or can be, provided for; the demand for the maimed exceeds, as one might say, the supply. But look forward! Ah! there's the rub—we are not good at looking forward! The

British nose is short, and it would seem we seldom see beyond it. "Tiens! une montagne!" We are always riding up, and knocking our noses against, mountains that we never dreamed were there! It is a national habit that may help to foster a light-hearted tenacity in the able-bodied, but will hardly assure the well-being of those who have lost limbs, or sight, or power of movement for their country. They have a right to ask that we do not leave the dark mountain of their future unobserved until our noses crash into it.

The other day I was taken over "The Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops," in the Fulham Road. This is a queer world of ours—in those workshops men who have been through hell and left part of themselves behind are making toys, and the toys are remaking them. It seemed to me the most steadily busy place I was ever in, and I think the most hopeful.

Nothing keeps regret away like work. They work their fifty hours a week at the fair wages of the trade—no sweating, no undercutting; and in the first eight months they have made a net profit. The work has already been described much better and more exactly than I can do it; I only want to say that it struck me as the very thing wanted. We could not do better—it seems to me—than assist "The Lord Roberts Memorial" Committee to carry out their scheme of establishing these workshops all over the country, with canteens and recreation rooms attached, on such a scale that, however many of the partially disabled the tides of this war cast up, not one hereafter, in the most bitter times of bad trade and unemployment, may be able to say with truth: "I want a decent job, and can't get one."



Rebuilding the Foundations of International Peace

CONTRIBUTED TO CURRENT HISTORY

By Oscar S. Straus

Member Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague; Former Ambassador to Turkey; Chairman New York Public Service Commission

WE are in the habit of thinking and speaking about this war chiefly in relation to its colossal magnitude, its unspeakable horrors, sacrifices, sufferings, and losses. There is another aspect of much deeper significance, which is destined to have even a more lasting effect upon civilization and upon the relations of nations, one to the other, than these unparalleled physical results, namely, the influences growing out of the dominance of one of the two moral standards now in deadly conflict.

This conflict made itself apparent at the close of the Middle Ages and with the rise of independent political communities following the Reformation. In 1513 Machiavelli set forth in "The Prince" the doctrine that in matters of State ordinary moral rules did not apply, and his work soon became the political manual of the rulers of States. There were many writers and statesmen who took the opposite view, and, fortunately for humanity and human progress, this principle of lawlessness in international relations was strongly combated by Grotius in 1625. In his book, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," moral ideas which had been in European thought for a century or more

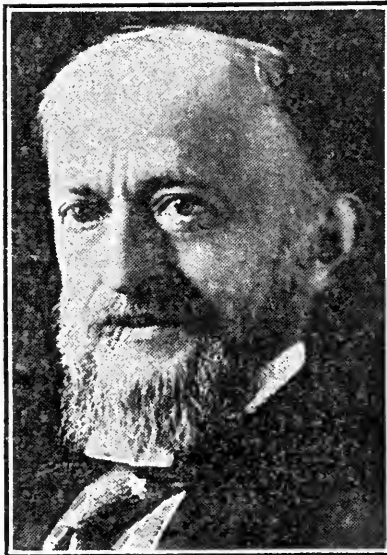
were therein clearly stated, systematically arranged, and logically applied to what should be the regulation of dealings between States. Following this, international law was developed and began

more and more to take the place of the system of dominant sovereignty which had existed in the Middle Ages. No set of principles more clearly marked the progress of civilization than the progress of the substitution of moral principles in the relationship of States for the so-called right resting upon the might of the strongest.

THE REAL ISSUES

Within a period of a little over six years—from 1864 to 1870—Prussia, following the teachings of the Machiavellian school, carried to a successful issue three wars of

aggression. Under the dominating genius of Bismarck she took Schleswig-Holstein, supplanted Austria in the leadership of the Teutonic peoples, and wrested the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from France. When at Versailles, in the Hall of Mirrors, King William received from the hands of the rulers of Germany the imperial crown, Prussia's dream of centuries became a reality. It well may be asked, Has that vision exercised an influence upon the causes and brought about the present war



OSCAR STRAUS
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in the desire of the Prussian militarist to extend the German dominion over Europe and the world? The teachings of this school have been restated by some of the foremost of the leaders of German thought; by her national historian, Treitschke, whose lectures on politics have had as commanding an influence upon the ruling powers in Prussia as Machiavelli had upon the rulers of his day.

Treitschke holds that every treaty or promise made by a State is understood to be limited by the necessities of that State; that "a State cannot bind its will for the future over against other States"; that international treaties are no absolute limitation but a voluntary self-limitation of the State and only for such time as the State may find it to be convenient and consistent with its interests. As another illustration of his views he declares: "It is ridiculous to advise a State which is in competition with other States to start by taking the catechism into its hands." All of these ideas were adopted and expanded by Bernhardt, the faithful disciple of Treitschke, whose Berlin lectures in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were listened to and appear to have had a marked influence upon the leading officers and officials of Germany.

The German Chancellor in his speech to the Reichstag on Aug. 4, 1914, adopted the doctrine of necessity as a justification for the invasion of Belgium, notwithstanding the treaty which guaranteed her neutrality. He said, "We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law."

CONFLICTING IDEALS

The German designations for these two conflicting schools of thought are: (1) The *Realpolitiker*, who hold that in the relation of nations there is no room for moral considerations; in other words, that might makes right; and (2) the *Idealpolitiker*, who maintain that the relationship of nations should rest upon moral principles. The one doctrine is

predicated upon State absolutism, that each State is primarily and ultimately concerned for itself and itself alone, that its interests are not only paramount to but override even its obligations; that when in its judgment its necessities demand, treaties, however specific and solemnly made, shall not be binding. The other school maintains that, while nations are not yet as fully amenable to moral considerations as the individuals within their boundaries, yet States in their relations with one another must observe their international obligations and recognize the principles of international law that have been developed in the progress of civilization.

Sir Edward Grey in refusing to consent to the invasion of Belgium instructed the British Ambassador to ask for his passports, and stated that Great Britain would feel bound to take every step in its power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of the treaty to which Germany, as well as Great Britain, was a party. The issue thus made brought in direct conflict, as no other war in history has ever done, the two standards of international morals to which I have referred.

FORMS OF ABSOLUTISM

Underlying the issues just stated is yet another, and that is the conflict between absolutism and democracy or constitutionalism. If the doctrine of international or external absolutism prevails, then it will necessarily strengthen the forces of absolutism within the victorious nations, and to that extent will weaken, if not obliterate, democracy, and fortify the Bismarckian policy of "blood and iron" and the triumphs of militarism, with all that these changes may signify.

How long nations dedicated to justice and liberty under constitutionalism can withstand this spirit of militarism, or, as Spencer terms it, of rebarbarization, is a subject which should give us in America great concern.

When President Monroe in 1823 announced our continental policy it was predicated upon the fact that America had a set of interests entirely apart from those of Europe, and that Europe had interests entirely apart from us. That was

true then, but in a far less extent is it true now, since the application of steam and electricity to peaceful and warlike arts. Distance no longer separates nor protects the nations of one continent or hemisphere from the other. Armies can be transported across oceans with greater rapidity and facility than on land, and submarines can traverse unseen and spread havoc over all the seas. We can no longer rely on our isolation, for we are no longer isolated in the physical sense, as we were in 1823, and certainly not in relation to our commercial interests. The latter is true of all other nations. Whether we will or not, we are a much nearer and a more intimate member of the family of nations, and must take our share of the responsibilities this more intimate relationship involves. Should the spirit of the victor nations after the war be one of international absolutism, it cannot fail to come in conflict with both our international and our national ideals and principles.

AMERICA'S NEW DUTY

The reconstruction of the world after this war will be our concern as much as it will be the concern of the belligerent nations. But it will be urged that the Monroe Doctrine forbids us to take part in European concerns. The answer is: The framers of our continental policy nearly 100 years ago could not and did not foresee the veritable miracles that have transformed, as it were, oceans into lakes and shortened the distance between America and Europe from thirty days to less than five days, and the time of communication to a few seconds. Reading, as we should, Monroe's Doctrine in the light of these changed conditions, we find there a warrant, if not a duty, even in its language, for our country's participation in the world's reconstruction.

The language is: "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. *It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense.*" Is it not clear that if the doctrine of might should prevail and the

policy of militarism triumph, the power of defense would be the only protection that nations would have against one another, and that the Machiavellian doctrine of the necessity of States would be the final arbiter of the rights of States? If this be true, does it not clearly become our duty not only primarily in our own interests, but, secondarily, in the interests of the world, to insist upon taking part in re-establishing upon a firmer basis the safeguards of international law without which international treaties can have no value?

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

In the days of slow wars an interval separated a state of peace from the state of war. Nations could more readily postpone their preparations for war until the war clouds threatened and could postpone the raising of armies until the time approached for using them, but all this is changed. The present war began after an ultimatum of only a few days, and immediately thereafter the armies of Germany were on the march through Belgium.

At three different periods during the last twenty-eight years I saw at close range at Constantinople the play of the diplomacy of the great European powers. With rare exceptions, in important and vital issues, the diplomacy of the stronger nations won out and that of the weaker nations correspondingly failed.

It is a mistake to believe that armies and navies lie useless when not engaged in war. As a matter of fact, armies and navies are the potential forces behind diplomacy when vital interests are at stake, and their potentiality is in the background and is often the controlling factor in obviating the development of conditions that lead to war, or that project nations into war, even at times against their own will.

Let us not deceive ourselves by failing to see that this war has let loose throughout the world the spirit of conquest, the hunger for territory, and the rivalry for domination on land and sea. Even our efforts to maintain our neutrality, instead of making for us friends, have

made us envied, distrusted, and, by some nations, hated. But, entirely apart from the menace of foreign attack, if we are to be an effective influence either now or hereafter in the promotion of the peace of the world, the measure of our influence will certainly not be in proportion to our weakness, but in proportion to our available strength. It is said by some that to enlarge our naval and military forces will of itself be provocative of war, in that it will prompt the spirit of militarism. This is true where armaments are piled up for the sake of domination or of conquests, but armaments for defense, subordinated, as they always must be under our form of government, to the civil power are not promoters of militarism, but a bulwark for law and justice, and for the security of all those ideals which constitute civilization.

ROOTS OF THE PRESENT WAR

A war such as this could never have engulfed the nations had their international relationships and foundations been rightfully constructed. For many years past, and especially since the Franco-Prussian war, historians, statesmen, and publicists foresaw that a condition of armed peace, with its ever-increasing burden of competitive armaments, would inevitably lead to war unless a reconstruction could be effected.

Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at the Court of Berlin at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, in his "Studies in Diplomacy" distinctly stated that the alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria, which became the Triple Alliance when Italy joined it in 1882, would necessarily be a portent of war, or, to use his words: "It is in fact armed peace that the three powers have organized, and can peace under arms be lasting?" The Marquis of Salisbury in 1897 made the statement that "The federation of the European nations is the germ of the only possible mutual relation of these States which can protect civilization from the frightful effects of war." The German Chancellor in his speech in the Reichstag on Aug. 19, 1915, said, "An unassailable Germany would give us a new Europe," and then added, "An

England able to dictate its will to the world is inconsistent with the peace of the world." He was right in his diagnosis when applied to his enemy, but wrong when applied to his own country. His statement is itself an additional proof that the dominance of power is not safe in the hands of any one nation, and can only be intrusted for the security of each nation in the hands of the united nations.

THE HAGUE PEACE PLANS

It is quite the vogue now to refer with ridicule to the two Hague Conferences and to the efforts made to avert the catastrophe toward which Europe was so rapidly drifting. The tendencies were in two diametrically opposite directions, which have been graphically described as Utopia and Hell. If the pacifists, who animated and encouraged their Governments to participate in the Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and who looked with hopefulness upon the results that would follow, have met with disappointment, certainly they have not fallen further away from the realization of their ideals than have the militarists in the hopeless remoteness of the results they aimed speedily to achieve by the war which now engulfs the world. In other words, the failure of the militarists has certainly been as decisive and infinitely more appalling than has been the failure of the peace advocates in achieving their end.

The deduction to be drawn from the failure of both sides makes it clear that there must be an international reconstruction upon an entirely different basis than that which has brought about the awful cataclysm of European civilization. All the nations that are now arrayed against one another in their death-dealing trenches want peace, yet each regards with hostility every effort of neutral nations to bring about peace, because no one of them is willing to make concessions which will insure the peace of justice as distinguished from the pride and obsession for victory. The same considerations that apply at the present time will apply with equal force and with even more emphasis to the relationship of nations for the maintenance

of peace after this war is over. This world war is a distinct proof that neither pacifism without might nor might unless dominated by right can be effectual in securing a permanent peace.

PAST PEACE PLANS

As we survey the history of nations we find three distinct methods of world organization which were developed, tried, and found wanting. The first of these was the dominance of nations by great world powers such as Greece under Alexander, whose invincible phalanxes dominated Europe, Asia, and Africa. The disciplined power of Rome which supplanted that of Greece was another example. But as Greece was supplanted by Rome, so Rome in turn was overthrown by the onrush of the northern barbarians. Following the Napoleonic wars there was developed a second method of keeping the peace—the system of the Balance of Power and of the Concert of Europe, under which, instead of one dominant nation, several nations united in offensive and defensive alliances. This plan developed in our day in a third arrangement, by which it was hoped that peace and order would be maintained among the nations through group alliances; namely, the Triple Alliance on the one side and the Triple Entente on the other. This dual arrangement, dividing Europe into two vast and powerful camps, it was hoped, would have the effect which is epitomized in the expression that "one sword will keep the other in its scabbard." But this war proves that it has had a contrary effect; it has multiplied the swords on both sides, it has developed militarism as never before and has piled up those crushing armaments that are today clashing against one another in the most frightful and bloody war in all history.

These several methods and plans from Alexander the Great to William II. each in turn collapsed with increasing frightfulness. They were built upon false foundations; they were built as strongholds for war and not as strongholds for peace. It follows by the logic of history that the world must seek other methods than those which have so woefully failed to maintain peace. It must be a righteous

peace, for peace, to be lasting, must be founded on justice and respect for law.

Any future plan, to be lasting, must take into consideration the two antagonistic schools to which I have referred, and in so doing reconstruct international relationships, not as heretofore exclusively on the basis of war, but dominantly on the basis of peace. This cannot be done by the dominance of a single power. It cannot be done by a division of power. That also has proved a failure. It must be done by a unity of power; by placing the might of the united nations as guardians of the rights of each nation, on the same principle as we constitute the joint power of the forty-eight States of our Union as the guardian of the right of each State.

RIGHTEOUSNESS NOT ENOUGH

"While righteousness exalteth a nation," the present war gives incontrovertible proof that righteousness will not protect a nation unless all other nations are likewise exalted by righteousness. When that time arrives we shall have reached the millennium, which from present indications is sufficiently remote to justify a search for ways and means that will serve the purpose of the world in the intervening time. It is a fact, which we would deceive ourselves in failing to recognize, that fundamental changes in the progress of mankind have rarely, if ever, been possible save by war or as a sequel to war. All history teaches that war will not be banished until the leading and more powerful nations become civilized enough to create an organization that will not only induce but will force resort to other means than war, and that will be able to impose necessary and fundamental changes without war.

The greatest curse of war is that it settles international differences by the force of might and not by the arbitrament of right, and differences so settled will continue in the future as in the past to breed war. National weakness does not make for peace. On the contrary, as the world is at present constituted, it invites a disregard for fundamental right; it invites aggression and war. Power and preparedness within limitation have a

restraining influence and are most helpful in leading controversies to settlement by peaceful negotiations. A nation without power is compelled to submit either to conquest or to humiliating conditions. When vital differences arise between strong and weak nations they are more likely to lead to war than when they arise between two strong nations. We need not look far for examples. The present war in its origin affords a striking instance.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Many plans have been devised, but none in my judgment has laid a better foundation for international peace than the one adopted by the League to Enforce Peace. That plan, briefly stated, consists of three provisions. First, all justiciable questions shall be subject to an international court. Second, all questions that are not subject to judicial determination shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation. Third, the powers shall use their joint forces, economic and military, against any one of their number who goes to war before submitting its differences as provided in the foregoing provisions.

Some such plan was recommended by Sir Edward Grey and proposed by him to Germany as a safeguard against aggression on the part of the Triple Entente on July 30, 1914. This proposal was embodied in a telegram to the British Ambassador at Berlin. He said: "If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it as far as I could through the last Balkan crisis; and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hope-

ful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the powers than has been possible hitherto."

Unfortunately this proposal was put forward only at the eleventh hour, when misrepresentation, irritation, and suspicion had poisoned the air; all of which emphasizes the fact that arrangements for peace must be made in advance not only of mobilization but of the irritations which produce war, and that such arrangements must be made with the same precautions and preparedness as the nations have hitherto given to preparations for war. In other words, the methods must be reversed, and instead of internationalizing war the nations must internationalize peace.

NEW DAY OR DARKER NIGHT

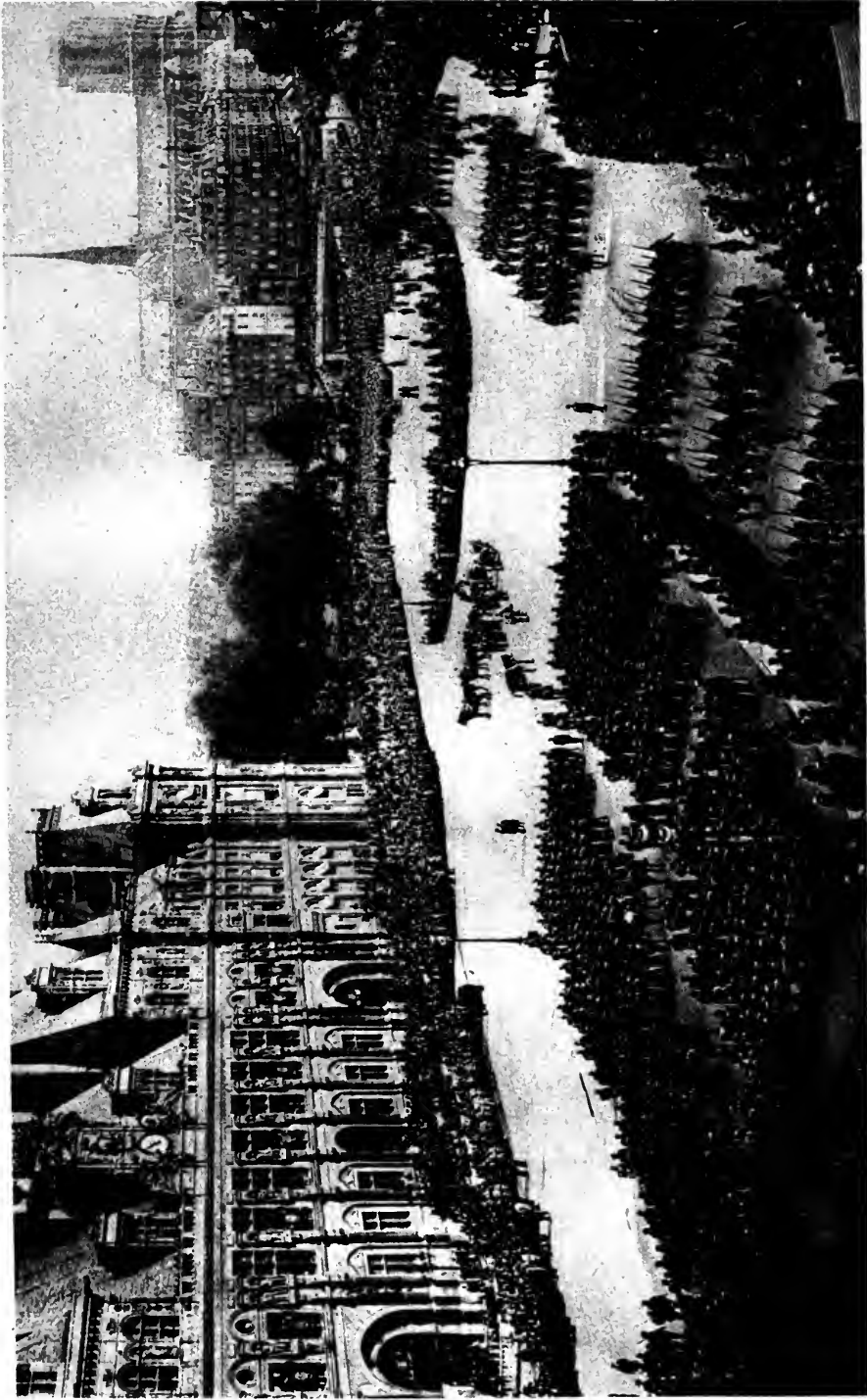
It is to be hoped that out of the extreme suffering and sacrifices that this war imposes there may arise supreme wisdom among the nations. Either there will be a new day or a darker night. All depends upon how this war shall end, and what bulwarks the nations shall erect against future cataclysms.

In conclusion, let me repeat, America, though not a belligerent, is as much concerned in the world's peace as are the nations at war. We must take a part in the reconstruction. Norman Angell significantly says that if we do not mix in European affairs Europe will mix in our affairs. We owe it to ourselves, to humanity, and to the world to lend our best efforts and make our fullest contribution to that reconstruction which must come.

Civilization has been undermined. The temples of the false gods have tumbled into ruin. This most barbaric and colossal war has not put God, but man, on trial. It has put existing international relationships on trial; it has put expediency and the doctrine of might on trial. It has revealed the fact that we cannot have one standard of morals within a nation and a different and lower standard as between nations.

All the machinery that has been devised in the past for the maintenance of peace has been left to volunteer effort. The resort to treaties of arbitration, to The Hague Tribunal, to Commissions of

FUNERAL OF GENERAL GALLIENI, WHOSE TAXICAB ARMY SAVED PARIS



Cortege Passing the Hotel de Ville, Paris, On Its Way to the Hotel des Invalides. Notre Dame Cathedral Is Seen in the Distance

(Photo from Official Press Bureau)

BRITISH SCOUTS IN PERIL BETWEEN THE TRENCHES



Caught in the Glare of a German Illuminating Bomb. Their Only Chance of Escape Is in Lying in the Position of Dead Bodies

Inquiry, was in every case voluntary. We must use at least as much compelling force for the preservation of peace as has heretofore been put forth in preparations for war. Let us hope that out of the bloody trenches will arise a new international conscience which will put no geographical limitations upon right and justice. To unlock the portals of the future peace and happiness of the nations we must use other instruments than the "blood-rusted keys" of the past.

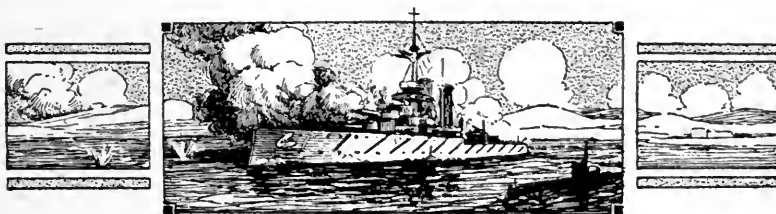
Instead of a General Staff in each na-

tion preparing for war, there should be a General Staff of the united nations preparing for peace. Bluntchli was perhaps right in his opinion that the federation of Europe would be easier to bring about than was that of the German Empire. Federation gives cause for hope—hope that out of the agonies and appalling sacrifices of this war may arise a higher sense of international justice and a nobler humanity under the protecting shield of the united powers of the united nations.

Kitchener's Grave

By LILY YOUNG COHEN

In woe's black watch, bereaved, earth weeps,
 But the proud sea his body keeps
 And calls triumphant to the land
 In tones none may understand:
 "Though for your fame he choose to fight,
 I am the measure of his might!
 Ah, never, now, in vaulted gloom
 Shall sleep the hero of Khartum;
 But in my arms—exalted, fond—
 I'll lull him in the great beyond,
 And so his resting here with me
 Will give new meaning to the sea.
 No graven tablet may I bear,
 Nor in mere words his deeds declare,
 But, better yet, from my deep throat
 Will ever clang a martial note
 To glorify this son of Mars
 And keep the memory of his wars.
 To children on the beach at play
 I'll sing the name of K. of K.,
 While in the roaring tempest's boom
 Will sound the message of Khartum,
 And, e'en in calm, on every shore
 Of him I'll chant forevermore.
 Thus, his unfettered spirit brave
 Shall live forever in the wave.
 And so, O Land, grudge not that he
 Sleeps his last sleep here in the sea!"



Ending Barbarous Warfare

Chemical Inspectors to Prevent the Making of Poison Gas and Weapons of Frightfulness

By Solomon Reinach

French Essayist and Historian

Solomon Reinach, distinguished member of the Institute of France and author of more than sixty books—including "Apollo," a general history of art, which has run through many editions in many languages—has written an important paper on "How Peace May Be Preserved After the War." He advocates a plan that could be executed by the League to Enforce Peace, of which former President Taft is the head. In discussing the necessity of practical measures to make the peace lasting, Professor Reinach says:

IT would be a dangerous mistake to believe that any readjustment of frontiers could afford a sufficient guarantee for future peace, or that war indemnities, protective tariffs, and the like could oblige the peacebreakers to renounce their schemes. We are no longer in 1815, when fortresses were considered obstacles to aggression, when financial disabilities involved disarmament. The treaty which shall put an end to the present war would do nothing for the interests of mankind if it were like any of the former ones. Why? Because, the character of war and warfare having undergone a complete change, the conventions and treaties which put an end to warfare cannot, in any degree, resemble those of the past.

At the future congress, among the seats reserved for the delegates of the great powers, one seat should remain vacant, as reserved for the greatest, the most redoubtable though youngest of powers—science in scarlet robes.

That is the new fact; that is what diplomacy should not ignore, if that imminent and execrable scandal is to be averted—the whole of civilization falling a victim to science, her dearest daugh-

ter, brought forth and nurtured by her, now ready to deal her the death blow.

As early as 1870 the great historian Michelet wrote that machinery would transform warfare, but that the mechanism of spreading death would soon find a rival in military chemistry. Michelet was a prophet. Fortresses are bygone things. The depths of the sea, the realm of the clouds, are open to machines which can work, unseen, any amount of evil. Military chemistry has only just made its appearance, but we know that whole regions can be turned into deserts by using poison gas on a large scale. Wireless electricity has not yet contrived to explode factories or destroy distant towns as by an earthquake; but that is by no means impossible and may be realized this very year. An Englishman recently wrote to *The Daily Mail* that Germany should not be allowed to have ports, because any port might be used by her for the building of 1,000 submarines, which could, in the space of a night, without a declaration of war, destroy the English and French Navies. But that gentleman did not realize that there were other means of wholesale destruction and murder, which might just as well be prepared in time of peace and used without a warning—1,000 armed aeroplanes carrying high explosives; 10,000 tons of poison gas, and the like.

Any precaution taken against Germany alone would be futile. Even a small country, having at its disposal the frightful implements of future warfare and using them without a scruple, might become a terrible danger to the whole world.

Let us conclude that, in 1916, if the remodeling of frontiers, the financial compensations, &c., still retain their raison

d'être, because in conformity with justice, they can not and should not be considered as the more essential elements of the future settlement. The all-important question is the muzzling of the mad dog.

If, in a civilized country, the police hear of a factory preparing poison, that factory is at once suppressed and the directors punished. What is true for a civilized State should be true for the world at large, for the consensus of States. Such a consensus exists in the matter of keeping down plague and cholera; the only thing now necessary and urgent is to extend its action to a scourge more fatal than either cholera or plague, the scourge of destructive science, because it destroys the best.

The following means should be adopted by the future congress of peace:

Every State would pledge itself to renounce the fabrication of submarines, warplanes, torpedoes, high explosives, (excepting for industrial purposes,) guns of more than two inches, poison gas, (excepting for industrial purposes,) and, in general, any instrument or contrivance which the Inspectors, sent out by the permanent Peace Committee at The Hague, would consider as adaptable to purposes of wholesale destruction and manslaughter.

The Inspectors, (engineers and chemists,) numbering 100, and nominated for ten years, should continually travel about the world, have the right to visit any arsenal or factory, and, in general, every place where weapons of war and destruction could be prepared. They would issue permits for certain industrial fabrications and see that they were not used for improper purposes. Should they discover the fraudulent beginning of some prohibited manufacture, they would send an immediate report to The Hague committee. Orders would be issued for the speedy destruction of the factory; if disobeyed, the town or country would be placed under boycott and subjected to a heavy fine, while an aerial expedition, starting from The Hague, would destroy the factory, and, if necessary, the adjoining town.

As a first result of the congress, all countries, whether belligerent or not,

should, under penalty of being outlawed, deliver all the forbidden weapons they possess. Such weapons, with the ammunition pertaining to them, would be stored in the great arsenal of the Peace Committee near The Hague, superfluous ones being sold as metal for the benefit of their possessors. The great peace arsenal, alone allowed to keep in repair the prohibited weapons and ammunition, would be guarded by a body of 5,000 wardens of peace, an international force mostly selected from the population of minor countries, such as Switzerland, Scandinavia, &c. That force would receive orders from the Peace Committee alone and only act when the necessity should be recognized of suppressing some unlawful manufacture or preparatives. Thus the Peace Committee would be in the same condition as the Chief of Police in a great town, where possible evildoers, although much more numerous than policemen, cannot resist them, because they are either unarmed or lack the perfected weapons and the big guns. A very small force, furnished with all the applications of science to warfare, would easily preserve the peace all over the world. It need not interfere in semi-civilized States, which could eventually be controlled by the menace of an international boycott and blockade.

Renan and Berthelot once dreamed of a great scientific discovery which would put in the hands of a well-meaning tyrant or of a small minority of friends to mankind, a terrible instrument of coercion, thanks to which nothing could be initiated against the welfare of humanity. But they seem to have overlooked the fact that such an instrument could become the property of an enemy of mankind and enable him to destroy the liberty of the world. That is what has almost been the case. The lesson of 1914-16 should not be lost. The dreams of Renan and Berthelot must be realized, but to the advantage of liberty and justice, not for their suppression. Humanity must have its police, and science must supply that police, and that police only, with sure means of holding in respect the predatory nations, the international banditti and world raiders.

The War and German Christianity

By Boyan

Eminent Russian Publicist

HERE weigh upon the soul of Germany two crimes — one against humanity, the other against God. Beginning with the Kaiser's address to the people from the balcony of his palace, and ending with the latest speech of the Chancellor, all the faculties of the German mind have been strained toward obliterating the first of these two crimes. Germany declares through all of her bugles that the war on her part was not offensive, but defensive; not for aggression, but self-protection; not for murder, but punishment. But in order to awaken the beast in man it became necessary for her to inspire him with rancor and fear.

To the path of crime against humanity the Germans were led by their mighty science and incomparable technique—by all that which we call materialistic progress. This progress has bottled up the old German romanticism and philosophy as a cork seals fermenting wine. When new instruments for slaughter were invented it became necessary to put them to test. Thus the tissue of militarism grew up on the bases of heroic romanticism, atheistic philosophy, and practical Kultur. In this sense the German crime was, perhaps, legitimate.

When it appeared that the kettle of Germanism reached its maximum heat the steam had to be released, and the method did not matter. So the Doctor Fausts and the Knight Lohengrins turned into vulgar murderers, while the children of poetical Bavaria and Tyrol surpassed in cruelty the butchers of Brandenburg. A victim of a psychopathological and physico-chemical process, the nation in whom the valves of conscience and sane political thought were hermetically sealed burst open, overflowing its limitations in a raging, turbid torrent. It is the task of humanity to restore that stream to its

original limitations, establishing a régime under which German insanity will pass away.

Much more complicated and profound is the second German crime—the crime before God. Its gigantic shadow has enveloped Germany, overshadowing all the rest; men call it vandalism and barbarism. For Germany challenged not only the political, nationalistic, and economic credos of humanity, but also the religious credo of man. Germany dared to extend its hegemony even over Christianity. So long as the guns thunder this may not be generally recognized, for the epos of war has absorbed the ecstasy of piety. But that hour is near when the truth of God will triumph in this war as dazzlingly as the truth of man. The sceptre of Christianity, bent by German violence, will be straightened again. * * *

The Germans have invented along with their howitzer—die grosse Bertha—also their own god of victory. If the Germans could but separate their own God from the God of their opponents, just as they have excluded German law from international law, German civilization from European civilization, German ethics from French, Russian, English ethics, then they would naturally do no injury to the body of Christendom. At the worst, there would take place something that has already happened in Germany—a religious reformation. The modern Luther, Wilhelm, would declare his modern Christian dogmas, the subjection of the weak to the strong, the privilege of might over right. Instead of icons and crosses there would appear in the temples of the militant Christianity machine guns and shells. Prussian junkers with blood-stained hands would serve as pastors.

But Wilhelm is no Luther. Wilhelm hugs the true altar of Peter, the symbol of love and forgiveness. Wilhelm does

his work not in spite of Christ, but in His name, for his own glory. Adapting his work to the name of Christ, the German Kaiser appointed himself high priest of the Lord, desecrating the Saviour's name. Before this act, which shocked the conscience of the world and turned Christianity off its foundations more than the Inquisition or any petty sectarianism, even the flames of Nero pale into nothingness.

Nero burned Rome for the glory of aesthetics. Wilhelm burns the world for the triumph of Christianity. He declares himself a medium of God's will, an emissary of the Lord on this earth. As against Christ's meekness he offers cruelty. The world was once saved by redemption. This time it shall be saved by extermination. "Don't spare the skulls of your enemies," says one of the

German orders. And the German ministers, scientists, writers explain that to vanquish savagery one must use savagery; that spilled blood will save that which is still unspilled.

The task of humanity is, therefore, to restore not only the law of man but also the law of God. The religious conscience of Germany should not concern us; let them keep to their own God. But our God, the God of the oppressed and the lowly, we shall not deliver to them for abuse.

In this sense the present war is the crusade of the twentieth century. This crusade may either bring back under the wings of Christianity an erring nation or may lead it entirely to paganism. For the semi-Christian and semi-pagan German Kultur, evidently, the end is at hand.

America's Gifts to War Sufferers

Mr. Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey, recently estimated the total contribution of the United States to war relief funds at about \$30,000,000. If the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium is included the total gifts of Americans to the war sufferers considerably exceed Mr. Morgenthau's estimate. The cost of that work alone was \$5,000,000 a month. In addition there is the large work of the Rockefeller Foundation in Serbia and the American Ambulance in France, which is supported by Americans at a cost of about \$1,000 a day. The Red Cross announced that in nineteen months of war it had sent abroad supplies valued at \$1,093,000.

The totals raised in this country up to the middle of June by some of the principal relief organizations are as follows:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Belgian Relief Fund..... | \$1,106,865 |
| American Jewish Relief Fund..... | 4,100,000 |
| Committee of Mercy (with other organizations)..... | 930,361 |
| Armenian Fund | 734,419 |
| Polish Fund | 386,000 |
| Serbian Relief Committee..... | 279,569 |
| Lafayette Fund | 140,000 |
| Fund for Relief of Women and Children of France..... | 190,000 |
| Vacation War Relief Committee..... | 271,000 |
| General German Relief Fund..... | 525,886 |

To these must be added many special funds and gifts, among the most important of which is the fund obtained at the Allied Bazaar in New York, between \$1,500,000 and \$2,000,000, for the Allies' war relief work.

More than \$3,000,000 was appropriated by the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation during the six months ended Jun 30, 1916, the first half year of the commission's existence. Of this amount more than \$2,000,000 already has been expended.

Of the total of \$2,159,985 expended during the six months, Belgium was by far the greatest beneficiary, \$1,290,292 having gone for relief in that country or among Belgians in other countries. Armenian and Syrian relief was next with \$360,000, and Serbian relief third with \$148,894. An appropriation of \$1,000,000 for relief work in Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania is yet to be expended.

Is a Decisive Victory Possible?

View of French Women Pacifists

CURRENT HISTORY presents herewith a translation of a remarkable pamphlet issued last December by the French section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. A prominent member of this committee is Mlle. Madeleine Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland, the famous author. A copy of the original document was sent to each member of the Chamber of Deputies with an appeal for some action that would make an understanding between the belligerents humanly possible when the proper time came. The pamphlet was misunderstood and suppressed, and the homes of several of the signers were searched with the idea that they had been in communication with German propagandists; but the agitation soon died down, for it could not be denied that these women were loyally giving their time and strength to their country's burdens. Their view of the probable outcome of the war is different from the usual masculine view, and it will be interesting to see how nearly events justify it in the end.

FOR sixteen months the men of France have been facing death and doing their whole duty at the front. For sixteen months we women at home have been seeking ours with anxious hearts. In the first days, after the natural gestures of despair, our duty was to regain control of ourselves. In the presence of the calm and resolute attitude of those who were leaving, the fear of being unworthy of them, of weakening them by our tears, gave us strength. We had to stifle our complaints under pain of dishonor. And because it was necessary, without knowing how, we rose from a state of despair to one of resignation. The situation called for more, it called for action—work for the soldiers, work for the prisoners, care of the wounded, succor of the refugees, the orphans, the idle. We did and are still doing all this, but almost without thinking, only too eager to give a little to those who are giving themselves entirely; yet in doing it we are conscious that all this is nothing, and that in the face of such events these poor acts are not enough. And so, little by little, we have let ourselves be carried beyond these daily duties by the vision of our nation in arms, fighting for its independence. Far from the struggle, we desire, at any cost, to remain faithful to our living and to our dead.

Does our duty end with charitable activity and hero worship? Do we no longer have to think, judge? *Can it be our duty to submit to war with docility as to an ordeal all in the course of nature?*

In order to be able to reply from our peaceful homes, let us make the painful effort of at last looking at war face to face. In one year more than 5,000,000 deaths, 5,000,000 alone in their agony! Among these corpses, more than 600,000 of our own! Twice as many wounded, ill, infirm, without counting the prisoners! Throughout our own Northern France, Belgium, Galicia, Poland, the Balkans, cities and villages in ashes, the country devastated; countries larger than the whole of France put to fire and sword, millions of inhabitants led into captivity or driven from their homes; the whole population of Poland wandering on the highways, dying of cold and hunger; the massacres of Armenians by the Turks, the massacres of Belgians and Serbs by the Germans and Austrians, the massacres of Jews and Galicians by the Russians; every nation of Europe decimated, ruined!

And even that is not the worst. For these dead, these millions of dead, are not the rank and file of each nation. As though war chose its victims, those it has killed and is killing every day are the best of us, are those who have led the way and risked themselves without calculation; the artisans and the élite, those who were the centre of life, initiative and hope in each city, each occupation.

Must we consider the other phase of this waste? The entire sap and wealth of France is ebbing with the blood of the French. How many good workmen are already lost to their work? The labor of the past, the precious reserve of the country, is being destroyed by each hour

of war. At present France is spending about one hundred million francs a day, or about three billions a month; that is to say, in six weeks the expenditure exceeds that of an entire year of peace. It can also be said that in fifty days France spends the amount of the indemnity Germany imposed upon her in 1871—five billions. *Five billions every fifty days!*

Such is this war whose benefits have been sung to us. Let us note to begin with that *it differs from all other wars*. It is no longer a brilliant and rapid war in which, after several manoeuvres and brilliant victories, one of the adversaries has confessed himself vanquished; it is an incessant and obscure war, a war in the trenches, a war of inaction where each of the adversaries, clinging to the earth, devotes himself to defending it foot by foot, determined to fall on the spot rather than really draw back; and when they do withdraw it is to renew indefatigably the same superhuman effort a few paces further back.

A heroic and implacable war such as this has no example in history. Yet our ideas lag behind, fixing themselves on events, and we persist in repeating the phrases of former times: "Decisive action, crushing defeat, rout, victory," when these words are visibly inappropriate.

What is the reason for this sudden transformation? It is that up to the present the immense mass of citizens remained far from war and that the encounter of several armies decided the outcome. For the first time in the history of the world *entire nations* have risen and been hurled at each other; more than twenty million men, young and old, are facing each other.

Nations which for a year have given their daily consent to such a sacrifice *all believe in the justice and the sacredness of their cause*. And so from all sides one hears the same phrases: defense of the fatherland, liberation of the oppressed, conquest of a permanent peace. Whatever may be the crime of certain Governments, it is a painful but highly important fact that everywhere the soldiers believe they are fighting for the very existence of their countries.

That is what explains the fact that every army, even the most discredited, is fighting with unprecedented heroism, with such heroism that the staffs on all sides are obliged to render homage to the courage of their adversaries. It is willful blindness and lack of loyalty to deny that mutual esteem in which the brave of each camp hold one another.

Such is this war, unique in history because for the first time every country has given itself, heart and soul. In such a war, where entire peoples struggle for life, the massacres are going on in the same positions and always without results. History offers no example of this almost perfect equality in the armies, of this expenditure of strength ending in powerlessness. Even in the Orient, where there have been and may still be great advances and retreats, the assailant has in vain imagined that he had gained a real victory. The capture of Warsaw, according to the Germans, was to be the beginning of the Russian downfall and was to mark the end of the war on that front. Instead, they have for many months marched beyond their promised land, and the fight is going on without any change. Tomorrow, a prey to the same mirage, enemies and allies are going to penetrate toward the Orient. Imagination is for a time going to place the allurements of final victory at Constantinople. For sixteen months the goal has receded at the moment it seemed to be reached. The invaded people still refuse with increasing energy to admit themselves conquered. Perhaps men will end by understanding that a people cannot be mastered like an individual, and that no force on earth can triumph over a great nation resolved not to yield.

Every nation can and should resist force indefinitely. No nation can henceforth win by force. If we still understand victory to mean reducing the enemy to powerlessness, then in a war of all the nations we must say without hesitancy that victory, like defeat, has become impossible. No nation can conquer, but neither can any nation be conquered. And if by victory we mean "holding out," we must say that after a year of war all the nations are victorious and all seem

invincible. Then instead of living in anguished waiting for the morrow, let all our people, freeing themselves of anxiety as of all vain ambition, understand that during the last year they have won an immense victory by that improvised but unshakable resistance which will be the wonder of the future. On the other hand has not the hour come to recognize that this war, which resembles no other war, cannot end like former wars? Must we endure months more of agony in order to comprehend that this present war, both by the courage of the combatants and the perfection of the machinery, is destined to remain a *war without results?*

It may seem hard to renounce the enthusiastic hope of the first months, and difficult to admit that superhuman sacrifices *have only served to save the fatherland without transforming the future.* But, has such a transformation ever been possible by means of war? Should we not turn elsewhere for this just hope? For a year people have repeated everywhere and in all the fighting countries that the war is at least going to renew the face of the world, that it is going to liberate us suddenly from all oppression, all enemies, all war, but that in order to bear such fruit it must be pursued to the bitter end. Instead of obstinately repeating that obscure formula, should we not sincerely ask ourselves what inestimable good could result for us from an indefinitely prolonged war?

Will what we gain at the end be "conquests"? No one in France has seriously thought of such a thing. Neither from the point of view of justice nor of utility could any one in this country dare openly to uphold such wild pretensions in the face of France and Europe.

Is the crushing of Germany and Austria what is intended as the outcome of this war? What does that mean? If it means the annihilation of 100,000,000 human beings it is not even worth re-futing.

Is it merely the political dismemberment of the Central Powers? Then we should need to be told by what processes any one can expect to impose such changes

on a people, and, even supposing they were imposed, by what processes any one can expect to force a serious acceptance of the new régime, when all history proves the impossibility of maintaining a Government established by force.

Is it merely the exhaustion of the enemy that is desired? Do we want to reduce him to the last limits of poverty through a war of several years? But do we not then risk condemning ourselves to a like condition? And can we, moreover, foresee how far the resistance of a great modern nation whose existence is threatened can go? Facts all tend to prove that, in spite of daily expenses, the difficulty of getting provisions, and the daily loss of life, a great nation, determined to make any sacrifices, can, by limiting its consumption and by calling new classes each year, dispose of practically inexhaustible reserves.

The partisans of a war to the death have long since given up the idea of crushing the enemy. What they are promising us now is the liberation of all oppressed peoples and the establishment of permanent peace by means of this war.

The liberation of oppressed nations? We are evidently forgetting that very diverse powers, Russia, for example, besides Prussia and Austria, share the honor of holding them under their sceptres. For a certain number of them it would seem as though a democratic transformation of Europe, of which they are a part, would be more to be desired than a sudden secession. For others, on the contrary, the only legitimate solution would be complete autonomy. But from whatever side we view the question, the claims of these different nations suggest problems so complex that they can be solved only in time of peace, and that only great congresses can handle them. Besides, it goes without saying that neither annexation nor transfer of territory can rightly be sought contrary to the wishes of the population.

Permanent peace? Do we sincerely believe that we can win it and suddenly assure it by force of arms? Do we really believe that we can destroy the mili-

tarism of Prussia and other countries by means of war, as a village is destroyed? Do we flatter ourselves that we can bring about a reduction of armaments in Europe one of these days by dint of cannonading? Can we not see that future peace, whether lasting or uncertain, depends much less upon battles than upon the wisdom of Governments and the constant will and determination for reform of each nation? Do we not see that all real progress must come about within each nation, and through it, never from without? Do we not see that the ruinous forces of war have merely increased with the months, and will be as formidable in Europe as ever?

There remains a last hypothesis—the war must be carried to the bitter end for economic reasons. We need to deprive the enemy of all power to compete with us. At any cost we need to ruin the commerce and industry of Germany, and not stop, this time, half way.

But can we confound war and industry? In reality *no military victory can assure the economic superiority of one country over another*, for that superiority depends almost exclusively upon the activity and skill which the citizens of the two countries display in the exercise of their trades. Likewise, no military defeat will prevent 100,000,000 ingenious and persevering men from working as in the past, from producing and selling their products cheaply, and from exporting them.

Is the idea of growing rich through war more acceptable? It is not a question of growing rich *during* the war. We all know what each day costs. We are trying, on the contrary, to forget those streams of billions exhausted in a few weeks, by repeating to ourselves that Germany and Austria will some day bear the burden of these expenses. And so the idea of a formidable war indemnity imposed upon the enemy is one of the most popular of all the ends attributed to war. That is as true in Germany as here. We should, before all, then estimate the total expense, the burden of which we are to place on the enemy. Our share, counting the expenses and losses borne by France, Belgium, England,

Italy, Russia, and Serbia, in fifteen months of war, has already amounted to a sum not far from 100,000,000,000 francs. Even supposing a country could pay such a sum, it is evident that in order to force it to do so it would be necessary to have inflicted upon it a defeat such as a people has never known even through a Napoleon or a Caesar. And after such a crushing defeat with its accompanying entrance into Berlin, it would be necessary to maintain this all powerfulness, and to continue this protectorship for the thirty, forty, or fifty years during which the payments would be made. To prolong the war for material gain, by refusing to resign ourselves to the losses already suffered, is to prepare the way for new losses.

Such is this war—a war without any probable military issue, a war sterile for the future. At the beginning of this pamphlet we asked ourselves whether it was our duty to submit to it as to a natural ordeal, such as fate brings and takes away. In replying in the affirmative would we not be admitting our weakness and cowardice? War is made by men, they remain the masters of war. It will last as long as they wish. It would seem as though the noncombatants had only one peril to guard against: that of yielding before the hour. This is a real peril, but there is another—*besides the crime of a premature peace there is that of a uselessly prolonged war*. Is speaking of a war without results, then, the equivalent of speaking of a peace without conditions? Who does not see the difference and even the contradiction of the two formulas? Though there seems to be no chance for the war to end in any decisive action, it is both a necessity and a sacred duty for a people like ours never to yield to the force of the enemy, never to accept unjust conditions which might be offered to us. Whatever happens, a peace which directly or indirectly jeopardizes the political and economic independence of France and Belgium must be refused, for one people cannot be allowed to submit itself to the will of another people.

We do not, as in a fit of criminal folly, ask our country to sue for peace. But

we do not believe that the hour for ending the war has been written in advance in the book of destiny. Peace will not come by itself. It must not be waited for as for a miracle; it must be prepared like a work of man which will be what the efforts of all make it.

If all the nations are bent upon massacre, it is because they are separated by a tragic misunderstanding. Each side is sure that the other wants to humiliate it, ruin it, wipe it out. What proof has it? Noisy and fanatical manifestations, rumors, legends, race tendencies or historical traditions. It is because these fears feed upon themselves that they grow constantly and endlessly. And yet, will not peace sooner or later assume the form of an understanding between the two powerful groups of nations which cannot dream of such a thing as suppressing each other? Does it not presuppose some understanding preceded by some truce? It is difficult to conceive

how the States at war can ever treat if they make it a point of honor to declare themselves unwilling to treat.

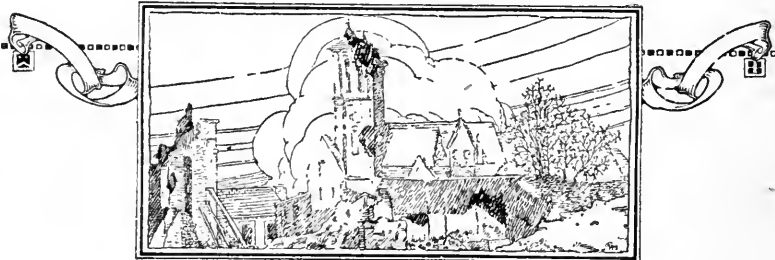
Does it not seem as though we women, who are distractedly seeking our real duty, had a part to play at the present time? The combatants in spite of hardships, of which they alone know the full weight, deny themselves any words or thoughts which would distract them from the bloody work to which they are bound. They are fighting in silence. Yet at times, almost timidly, they turn to us. They ask us whether the war is progressing and whether peace is near. While they are watching over us, face to face with the enemy, they are hoping that we, too, are watching over them. *Can we tell them that we take no interest in the future, that the war will end when it can? Would not their ardor be greater if they were sure that we would not leave them at their heroic mission one hour more than is necessary?*

753 French Communes Devastated

A total of 753 communes or townships have been partially or totally destroyed through military operations in France since the beginning of the war, according to statistics gathered by the Ministry of the Interior and published July 1. These communes are distributed over eleven of the departments of France, including those in Ardennes still occupied wholly by the Germans, who are in possession of 2,554 towns of the total of 36,247 in all France, or 7 per cent.

Houses to the number of 16,669 have been destroyed and 29,594 partially destroyed in these communes. In 148 communes the proportion of houses destroyed exceeds 50 per cent., while it is 80 per cent. in 74 towns and less than 50 per cent. in the remainder.

Public buildings destroyed in 428 communes were 331 churches, 379 schools, 221 town halls, 300 other public buildings of various sorts, and 60 bridges. Of these buildings 56 had been classed as historic monuments, including the Town Hall of Arras and the cathedral and Town Hall of Rheims. Three hundred and thirty factories which supported 57,000 persons were destroyed.



The German War Profit Tax

[A SEMI-OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF THE PRESENT LAW]

By Dr. Paul Marcuse

GERMANY passed a law on Dec. 24, 1915, which is usually called the war profit tax law, and which the press of other countries declares to be almost equal to confiscation. Of course, every war requires an increase of taxation, and even a victorious nation cannot expect to unload all losses and burdens caused by the war on the enemy. Besides this, the law does not impose any new taxes, but is preparative and only a logical continuance of a taxation started by Germany some years ago.

The war tax law of 1913 (Wehrbeitragsgesetz) was a tax imposed once on the income and the property of all individuals and on the surplus accumulated by all corporations. Individuals only (excluding corporations) were further subjected to a tax collected every three years on their increase of property (Besitzsteuergesetz.) Thus corporations were only slightly affected by these taxes, although it may be admitted that a taxation of both corporations and their shareholders would have been a double taxation of the income gained by corporations.

The tax imposed on the increase of property of individuals will be due for the first time in April, 1917; so that at this time mainly the increase of property gained by individuals during the war would be subject to taxation.

Not to tax the profits gained by the large corporations would have been not only unfair, but would have meant that stockholders having spent this increase would be exempt from taxation while only economizing individuals would suffer a penalty by paying the tax alone. Therefore the war tax law undertakes to tax the profits of corporations gained in excess of their average profits in time of peace.

How high the tax will be is still undecided and will greatly depend on the need

of funds; that the tax naturally will be higher than the taxes levied heretofore goes without saying.

So it seemed necessary to prevent corporations from dividing their rich dividends between their stockholders at the present time and leaving low bank accounts after the end of the war. The law therefore proposes to exclude from dividing as dividend 50 per cent. of such excess profits.

The details of the law are as follows:

1. Subject to the law are all stock corporations (Actiengesellschaften, Commanditgesellschaften auf Actien) with limited liabilities (G. m. b. H.) building and loan associations (Genossenschaften), mining corporations.

2. Excess profit is the profit of three consecutive business years, the first of which includes August, 1914, over and above the average peace profit. Average peace profit in the sense of the law is the average of three of the five preceding business years, leaving out the best and the poorest year. For instance, corporations whose business year is the calendar year will have to compare the profits of 1914-1917 with the average profits of the years 1909-1913. In the case of corporations organized less than eight years ago the average peace profit is estimated at 5 per cent. of their capital.

3. Profit in the sense of the law is the profit as shown by the balance, subject, however, to the following: Business men and corporations always thought it good policy to protect themselves against any drawbacks by creating strong reserves in their assets, which therefore contain real profits. These reserves, which are in fact undivided profits, have always been treated by our tax laws as profits and were subject to the income tax. The new law also considers such undivided profits as profits which are to be added to the profit shown in the balance sheet.

4. Fifty per cent. of such excess profits is to be held as a special reserve (Sonderreserve), and is to be invested in domestic bonds. This reserve is indivisible and may not be touched by the corporations, not even to be used for paying debts. In case of a corporation already having declared its profits for 1914, any sum voluntarily placed on a surplus account has to be transferred as a special reserve and invested accordingly, while corporations without such voluntary reserve will be required to hold in reserve an amount equal to the excess profit of two

years. In case of decrease in gain during the two and three years the special reserve may be reduced proportionately.

5. Branches of foreign corporations are subject to the law only as far as their profits derived from their German branch exceed their average peace profits. Excess profits

and average peace profits in this sense are identical with the profit on which a State income tax levies the taxes.

6. The balance sheet must be filed with the State Government; in Prussia most likely with the tax board (Einkommensteuer-Veranlagungs-Kommission).

New Austrian Income Taxes

HEAVY new income taxes have been imposed in Austria as a result of the war. They apply both to domestic and foreign corporations and to private individuals.

Domestic corporations will pay 10 per cent. tax on that part of their increased income that does not exceed 5 per cent. of the invested capital, 15 per cent. for increased income in excess of 5 per cent. but not over 10 per cent. of invested capital, and 5 per cent. more for each 5 per cent. of invested capital until the tax reaches 35 per cent.

Foreign corporations pay on their increased income as follows: \$40,600, 20 per cent.; \$40,600 to \$81,200, 25 per cent.; \$81,200 to \$142,100, 30 per cent.; \$142,100 to \$203,000, 35 per cent., and above \$203,000, 40 per cent.

No war tax is imposed should the in-

creased income not be in excess of \$2,300 per year. This applies to domestic as well as foreign businesses.

Personal incomes increased in 1914, 1915, and 1916 over the previous five years' average are to pay the new war tax as follows:

For an increase of \$2,030, or part thereof, (exceeding \$609,) 5 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$2,030, or part thereof, 10 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 15 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 20 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 25 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 30 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 35 per cent.; for each additional increase of \$4,060, or part thereof, 40 per cent.; for the amount of increase above \$101,500, 45 per cent.

On the Rocks a Fourth Time

Professor Collins of Christiania University writes in the Tidens Tegn:

Four times in the course of four centuries has a single European State been so powerful and so ambitious that it has sought to win the overlordship of Europe, and thereby of the world: The Spain of Philip II., the France of Louis XIV., the France of Napoleon I., and now, at last, Germany. Four times have less powerful military States formed a great coalition to avert a new Roman Empire, built upon conquest.

The dream of universal monarchy, inherited from the Romans, has three times suffered shipwreck, and is presumably on the point of running on the rocks a fourth time. And this time may not improbably prove to be the last. In that case it is a new era of which we are witnessing the unspeakable birth-pangs.

England has in every case acted in its own well-considered interest, but at the same time, whether purposely or not, in the interest of the whole European family. To the advantage of all, no less than to their own, the British have kept the way open toward a far higher form of world State than any universal monarchy.

The Allies' Economic Conference

Plans for "War After War"

ONE of the chief events growing out of the war has been the Economic Conference of the Entente Allies, which sat in Paris on the four days June 14 to 17, 1916. Eight Governments were represented—France, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Russia, and Serbia. The conference had a twofold object: First, to consider the tightening of the blockade of the Central Powers and carrying as far as possible the present scheme of economic strangulation; second, to lay the foundations of an economic union which will foil German plans of commercial penetration after the war. The decisions reached by the conference are not binding upon the different countries, but form the basis on which each country is now expected to frame legislation, negotiate commercial treaties, and generally mold its economic policy.

The great difficulty which lies in the way of the realization of the aims of the conference is the British policy of free trade. As was explained in a special article, "Is England Going to Abandon Free Trade?" published in *CURRENT HISTORY*, April, 1916, the high tariff advocates have revived their agitation and are demanding immediate consideration of a new tariff policy. In the choice of delegates to the conference they scored a point. Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade and a very strong free trader, was unable to go to Paris, and his place was taken by the Marquess of Crewe, whose free-trade views are less pronounced, while the delegation included Bonar Law, the Colonial Secretary and leader of the higher tariff party, and William Morris Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Hughes, indeed, was the most conspicuous figure at the conference. Not only did he come from a far distant country as the representative of a workingmen's Government, but during his visit to the Old World he carried on a vigorous and unexpected

campaign in favor of an economic counteroffensive against Germany, thus becoming for the time being the leader of one side in the great controversy between the rival schools of English fiscal policy.

ADDRESS BY BRIAND

The conference sat in private, but, in addition to the resolutions printed at the end of this article, a good deal of light has been thrown on the ideas of the Allies by speeches and statements by leading statesmen. For example, Aristide Briand, the French Prime Minister, when welcoming the delegates on the first day of the conference, delivered an address in the course of which he said:

To conquer is not enough. In addition to a military union which will assure our military success, and to a diplomatic union which will be formed for future reciprocal penetration and pooling of common interests, we have an economic union, which will guarantee, through fruitful harmony, the intensive development of our material resources, the exchange of allied products, and their distribution throughout the world's markets. * * *

The war has shown us the extent of economic slavery to which we were to be made subject. We must realize that the danger was great and that our adversaries were on the eve of success. Then came the war. The war, with its immense sacrifices which it demands, will not have been in vain if it brings about an economic liberation of the world and restores sane commercial methods. We are all determined to shake off the yoke which was being forced upon us and to resume our commercial independence in order freely to join it to that of our allies. * * * If it is proved that old mistakes nearly enabled our enemies to exert an irremediable tyranny over the world's productive forces you will resolutely abandon them, and tread new paths. * * *

But your gaze will also be turned to the grave duties which will be placed upon the allied Governments when the time comes to proceed with the commercial, industrial, and maritime restoration of our various countries. Several of these countries have gone through a period of enemy occupation which has respected neither natural resources nor accumulated stocks nor factory equipment. The great work of restoration

which demands the effort of all the Allies will without doubt call for special measures of recuperation at the expense of the vanquished foe, measures of defense and protection during the period of making good the damage done, also measures of collaboration for the mutual utilization of the natural resources of the Allies.

Finally, there will open up a future which we can regard with justified confidence, a future for which a permanent system of our economic relations must be prepared. Thus, after having organized the necessary defense against a common danger, we must consider the conditions of the practical utilization of our internal economic alliance.

MARKS A NEW ERA

Baron de Broqueville, the Belgian Premier and War Minister, speaking at the conclusion of the conference, declared that its aim had been absolutely achieved. "The close co-operation, of which we have formulated the basis," he added, "marks in the material domain, as in the moral, the opening of a new era. Some have tried to force the admission that we have been preparing for peace with a war grouping. For defense—yes; for war—no. What is being organized today is a protective union against war. To France, who conceived the first idea of this conference, we pay the full tribute of our admiration."

The document containing the resolutions was signed by the principal representatives of the allied nations in the following order:

FRANCE

M. Clémentel, President of the conference, Minister of Commerce and Industry.

M. Gaston Doumergue, Minister of the Colonies.

M. Sembat, Minister of Public Works.

M. A. Métin, Minister of Labor and Social Insurance.

M. J. Thierry, Under Secretary for War.

M. L. Nail, Under Secretary for Marine.

BELGIUM

Count de Broqueville, Premier and War Minister.

Baron Beyens, Foreign Minister.

M. Van de Vyvère, Finance Minister.

Count Goblet d'Alviella, Minister of State.

GREAT BRITAIN

Marquess of Crewe, Lord President of the Council.

Mr. A. Bonar Law, Colonial Secretary.

Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia.

Sir George Foster, Minister of Commerce of Canada.

ITALY

Signor Tittoni, Ambassador to France.

Signor Daneo, Finance Minister.

JAPAN

Baron Sakatani, formerly Finance Minister.

PORTUGAL

Senhor Affonso Costa, Finance Minister.

Senhor Augusto Soarès, Foreign Minister.

RUSSIA

M. Pokrowski, Controller of the Empire.

M. Prilejaieff, Secretary to the Imperial Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

SERBIA

M. Marinkovitch, Minister of Commerce.

CLEMENTEL'S ANALYSIS

When the text of the resolutions was made public, M. Clémentel issued an important statement, in the course of which he said:

The measures unanimously adopted by the conference of the allied Governments mean much more than just the desire for economic expansion. We are going to conduct this economic struggle in French fashion by organizing the labor of the peoples according to their genius, not, in German fashion, to enslave them. Our enemies are continuing to forge weapons of oppression. The dye trust has just grouped with the Badische anilin factories worth more than \$200,000,000. Their avowed object is to maintain after the war the supremacy thanks to which Germany was furnishing 87 per cent. of the world's consumption of dyestuffs.

Dumping is the favorite German weapon. But that is not all, for now the German effort is commencing to get control of primary products, especially certain metals. Against all these measures the Paris conference has made its plans. The economic superiority of the Allies is obvious. To assure it there has not been for one moment any question of adopting a uniform customs policy. Each ally remains absolutely independent. Each product will be the subject of separate negotiation between the States interested in it. Such combinations will be infinitely varied.

Another principle of the allied Governments in this war of legitimate economic defense is to attack no one. The neutral countries have nothing to fear. We are at work to set them free.

The manner in which the Central Empires have conducted the war has been shown by immense economic destruction. Not only have they systematically destroyed all the factories which were within range of their shells, but, further, in the invaded regions which they are administering, their work has been the work of destruction. The plants which produced the necessities of war have had to work at high tension to supply Germany's needs. Those which manufactured commodities which could compete with

German industry have been completely plundered. Not only have the raw materials been taken away, but the machines have been dismantled and sent to Germany. In other factories nothing remains of the means of transmitting power, while the copper has been in great part taken away. Finally, the raw material in stock has found its way into Germany.

The Central Empires will have to give back what they have taken.

Every one knows how the eleventh article of the Treaty of Frankfurt (of 1871, by which Germany and France agreed to maintain in perpetuity the principle of most-favored-nation treatment as the basis of their commercial relations) has been in the hands of the Germans a powerful economic weapon. That clause cannot be reaffirmed. Again, the free handling of raw materials is an essential factor in the economic power of a nation. The Allies are today determined no more to leave these essentials to others.

The Allies have undertaken to submit, during a period which will be decided by them, merchandise of enemy origin to prohibitory or other special regulations which will enable them to oppose efficaciously every attempt at dumping. This understanding is all the more necessary now that Germany has built up in her territories considerable stocks of goods which have largely been made of material from the invaded regions.

The Allies will make arrangements to draw upon one another for everything which is required for their industries. They will thus considerably reduce the purchases they formerly made in the enemy countries. To take advantage of their natural resources they will help one another as much as possible in regard to finance, scientific and technical research, and improvements in transportation.

These plans taken in their entirety constitute a complete program of economic action, the realization of which the Allies are going to undertake without delay.

POLICY DEFINED BY HUGHES

Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, speaking at the meeting of the British Empire Producers' Association in London on June 21, was very outspoken as to the forces which are said to be opposed to a policy of economic warfare against Germany. These were some of his chief points:

There are still people in Britain today who, for one reason or another, stand more or less openly for a reversion after the war to things as they were before the war. They want to renew what they euphemistically term "our friendly relations with Germany" after the war. Many of these men are agents of Germany, now during the war they are caretakers of Germany's interests

in Britain. Naturally, the German economic domination of the world would have been impossible had her organization not included many of the influential citizens of the country upon whose vitals she was feeding, who acted, though in many cases they did not perhaps realize the fact, as the instruments, the tools of Germany.

They view with the utmost apprehension the suggestion that Britain should organize her industries and thus slam the door upon their hopes. Of course, they are very careful to cloak their real motives under a cloud of high-sounding words. I do not for a moment include all those who oppose the coming change—for it is coming—among those persons. Many are slaves to mere doctrine; others are the dupes of designing and interested persons. We have to deal with all these, but the only opposition we need fear is that whose roots are imbedded in German gold. We have not only to fight the Germans in Germany, but the agents of Germany in Britain.

How and where are we to begin? I think at the resolutions of the Paris Conference. Their adoption by the allied powers will effect little short of an economic revolution. I believe that through them we can strike a blow right at the heart of Germany. I believe that, rightly used, they are a great charter guaranteeing us and the allied nations, and, indeed, the civilized world, economic independence. It would be intolerable if, after we had sacrificed millions of lives and thousands of millions of treasure in order to prevent Germany imposing her political will upon us, we should slip back into her economic maw.

You know that the Central Powers have recently entered into a very close economic alliance, and Germany is using all its genius for organization to make it effective. At the close of the war we shall have to face not only the Germany of 70,000,000 that we knew, and whose power we felt, but the united forces of the Central Empires, with a population of 120,000,000. Then the neutral nations, growing rich while we grow daily poorer, are making great preparations to capture the world's markets and oust us from our position.

The material basis of every industry is its raw material. Without this industry is helpless. The Paris Conference sets out the position in one of its resolutions. Common-sense and our own bitter experiences have made us realize how vital to national safety and welfare the raw materials of our basic industries are. We have seen what the control of dyes, tungsten, spelter, and other metals by Germany means to this nation. It is profoundly true that if one great power controlled practically all the supplies of such things as copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, petrol, rubber, and cotton, all the world would be suppliant at its feet. We do not want to control the world's supplies of raw materials,

but we must control enough for our own national and economic purposes.

Let us realize that Germany is a great nation, that she will never yield until she is decisively beaten on the field of battle, that as she realizes that with defeat her cherished dreams of world empire must be forever shattered and in their place come a horrid reality of economic chaos, of revolution, in which dynasties shall topple to their fall, she will fight to the end on the field of battle and on that of trade with all the tremendous power springing from perfect national organization. Nothing short of a resolution as determined as her own, an organization as complete as hers, will enable us to conquer on both fields.

Before his departure for Australia, by way of South Africa, Mr. Hughes completed with the British Government a plan for marketing the manufactures of Australia in Great Britain instead of as before the war in Germany and other countries. Mr. Hughes also conferred with representatives of South Africa, the West Indies, and India on the subject of the sugar industry with regard to the control of that industry after the war.

AMERICAN TRADE INVOLVED

The proceedings of the Allies' Economic Conference have roused a good deal of curiosity, and in some cases anxiety, as to the effect of the proposals upon the commerce of neutral countries. The matter was brought up in the United States Senate on June 29 by Senator Stone of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. On his motion a resolution was adopted calling on President Wilson to acquaint the Senate, if possible, with the meaning and the extent of the decisions of the Paris Conference.

Senator Stone intimated that he feared the treaty or agreement entered into by the Allies might prove harmful commercially to the United States unless provisions were made in revenue or tariff legislation then pending in the House to safeguard American interests. While on its face the Paris undertaking bound the allied powers only to present a united commercial front to the Central Powers, there was a suspicion that the trade boycott might extend to neutrals after the war.

"The situation," said Senator Stone, "presents considerations that are pos-

sibly of great interest to the United States, and it seems to me that when the Committee on Finance comes to consider revenue legislation it should be informed, as far as possible, as to the exact character of that conference, and of the treaty said to have been entered into."

Senator Stone laid stress particularly on a statement issued by the British Board of Trade, which among other things said that "the Allies declare their common determination to insure the re-establishment of countries suffering from acts of destruction, spoliation, and unjust requisition, and decide to join in devising means to secure the restoration of those countries by giving them a prior claim on raw materials, industrial and agricultural plans and stock, and mercantile fleets, or by assisting them in re-equipping themselves in these respects."

This statement further declared that "the Allies are to conserve all their natural resources during the period of reconstruction after the war for common use," and that "in order to defend their commerce against economic aggression resulting from dumping or other modes of unfair competition the Allies decided to fix by agreement a period during which the commerce of the enemy powers will be submitted to special treatment, and goods originating in their countries will be subjected to prohibition or to a special régime of an effective character."

A step toward making the United States independent of other countries for dyes was announced when the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee brought into the House of Representatives on July 1 the Revenue bill, which is intended to raise \$210,000,000 additional revenue. It is proposed that there should be protective duties for a limited period on the importation of dyestuffs for the purpose of encouraging the American manufacture of dyes to relieve the existing shortage. Another section of the bill provides against dumping.

TO DEFEND OUR TRADE

A further step toward formulating a definite American policy of defense

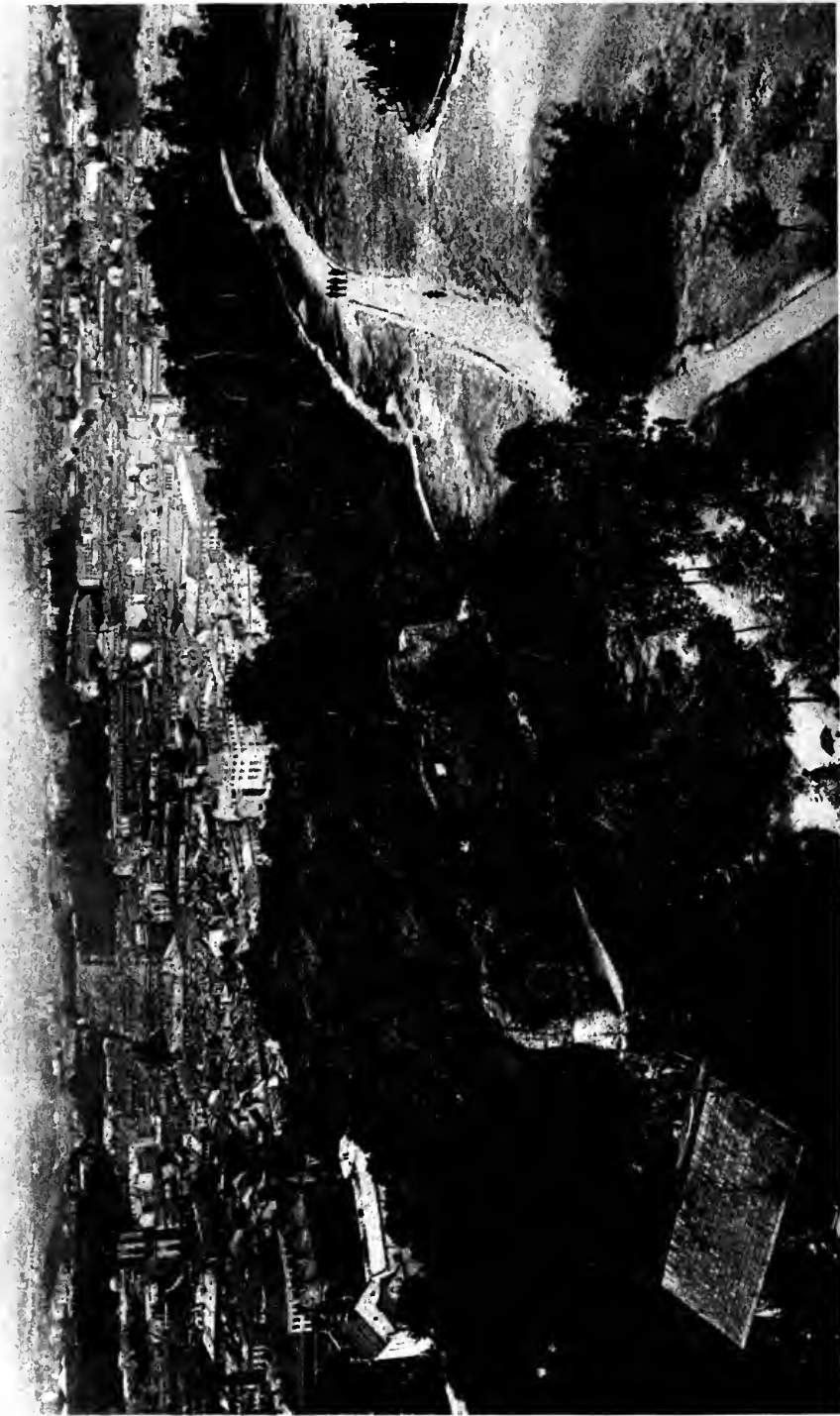
RUSSIAN EMPEROR GREETING HIS VICTORIOUS TROOPS



The Czar and Czarevitch On a Visit to the Russian Battle Front in Galicia; a Regiment of Cossacks Is Being Reviewed by the Emperor's Staff

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

PANORAMA OF LEMBERG, THE CAPITAL OF GALICIA



This Austrian Railway Centre Is One of the Main Objectives of General Brusiloff in the Great Russian Offensive

against European trade-war measures was taken by the United States Senate in the debate of July 10. Senator Stone, (Democrat,) Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, outlined the situation and was supported by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, (Republican,) who demanded that the State Department be asked to get all possible information in regard to what the Central Powers, as well as the Allies, intend to do to protect themselves commercially after the war.

After submitting to the Senate a report of the recent economic conference of the Allies at Paris, Mr. Stone called attention to what would happen if Germany should be the victor. He pointed out that the formation of a customs union between Austria-Hungary and Germany would include 120,000,000 people and probably draw within its influence Switzerland, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Finland in a vast Zollverein of Central Europe. On the other hand, the Entente allies, he said, had already given us a fairly definite suggestion of their policy, and it was impossible to escape the belief that they had in mind a co-operative plan to accomplish economic results which would not be in accord with the interests of the United States. He declared:

The chief mutual purpose of the allied nations is to wage a commercial war against Germany after Germany has been defeated. There has been no attempt to disguise their purpose. But I am impressed with the apprehension that there is a purpose of a larger reach. There is talk of an international understanding among the allied powers that they will work with each other and for themselves as against not only Germany but the rest of the world. The underlying purpose is to aid each other in recouping and rehabilitating themselves. There is a tendency toward a vast and exclusive industrial union.

In support of this Senator Stone quoted from the speech recently delivered by William Morris Hughes, the Australian Premier, in the British Parliament, in which the purpose was declared to hold the sea-carrying trade and control the markets of the world. He suggested that Great Britain would undertake through a commercial union to control the world's supply of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, petrol, rubber, and cotton, so

that "all the world would be suppliant at its feet." Senator Stone continued:

Perhaps it would be only natural for these nations, victorious in war, to turn a cold, icy face to America and all the rest of the world—crush Germany industrially as well as physically—and join in a common effort to rebuild their shattered fortunes by concerted action, without deference to other nations. That policy would be short-sighted, resulting in retaliatory measures, and wounded nations would suffer most if they entered upon a struggle with the neutral nations who might be most helpful to them in a time of such dire stress. But their views and ours may not be in accord.

OUR STRONGEST WEAPON

Senator Lodge followed Senator Stone by urging the passage of a resolution calling for full information regarding the trade-war measures now on foot among both groups of European belligerents. To have all possible information, he said, was the first and obvious step toward self-defense. He continued:

At this time the economic situation must be largely a matter of pure speculation. All we know is that the greatest war which has ever afflicted mankind has been raging for two years in Europe and that, whatever its physical and political results may be, such a convulsion cannot but bring in its train, when peace comes, enormous economic changes. What the powers will do when peace comes, whether defeated or victorious, no man may say; but we may be perfectly certain they will devote every effort to restoring normal conditions and bringing back as rapidly as possible sound economic conditions in their respective countries. That they will attempt legislation or agreements for that purpose is not an unreasonable inference.

What concerns us in the United States, and alone concerns us, is to be as well prepared as we can be for the future, which necessarily cannot be known, but about which we can only guess. We know that the results will be of the most far-reaching character.

The only wise course for us is to be prepared for any contingency. There are two forms of preparation—the physical and the economic. We ought to make every possible preparation for our own defense by sea and by land. I believe we are about to make suitable preparation by sea. I wish I could say the same as to our preparation by land. We must have such defense as will secure our own peace and satisfy the world that we are not to be attacked either on our Pacific or Atlantic Coast by anybody.

We know that the temporary prosperity, so called, due to the vast expenditure of foreign money in this country during the last two years, is wholly artificial and unreal. It cannot last. Purchases for foreign account

are said to be declining already, because the Allies are now largely supplying their own needs. Those vast expenditures will cease absolutely on the coming of peace, and we shall find ourselves in a world where the purchasing power of the nations who have hitherto bought of us in normal times will be immensely diminished. We shall also find ourselves in a world where capital has been destroyed in unheard-of amounts, industry paralyzed, and all the stricken countries working in desperation to restore their industrial fortune.

We shall be required to meet also what is generally referred to as industrial organization. If we are to meet some of the international combinations likely to occur, some of the tariffs likely to be imposed, we must

remember the weapon in our hands is the fact that we have the best market in the world for import and export, and if we hold that weapon with a strong hand the nations of the world will think twice before they throw that market away or attempt to destroy exports essential to their being.

They will try to close the gates of trade and commerce upon us in many directions. In order to organize our industries to make them a bulwark against the economic struggles we may have to face, the first thing is not to cripple but to encourage them. We must put them in condition to stand behind the people and the Government, to meet any tests, and make the world understand we cannot be invaded either physically or economically with impunity.

Text of Economic Program Adopted by Allies

THE important economic conference of the Entente allies, held in Paris, June 14-17, formulated an elaborate plan of trade warfare against the Central Powers, both for the tightening of the present war blockade and for the curtailing of German commercial activities in the years succeeding the restoration of peace. The text of the resolutions adopted, as transmitted by Ambassador Sharp to Secretary Lansing, is given below in full:

A—Measures for duration of the war.

1. Unification of laws and regulations prohibiting trading with the enemy as follows:

The Allies will forbid their nationals and all persons residing in their territory all commerce with:

Inhabitants of enemy countries of whatever nationality.

Enemy subjects wherever resident.

Individuals, commercial houses, and companies whose business is controlled entirely or in part by enemy subjects or which are subject to enemy influences, and who will be listed.

They will prohibit the entry into their territory of all merchandise originating in or coming from an enemy country.

Endeavor will be made to establish a system for canceling contracts entered into with enemy subjects and detrimental to national interests.

2. Commercial houses owned or exploited by enemy subjects on territory of the Allies will be placed under sequestration or control. Measures will be taken to liquidate certain of these houses as well as their merchandise, the sums thus realized remaining under sequestration or control.

3. Besides the prohibitions of exportation

rendered necessary by the internal condition of each ally they will complete not only in their territory, but also in their dominions, protectorates, and colonies, the measures already taken against provisioning the enemy.

By unifying lists of contraband of war and prohibitions of export, and especially in prohibiting the exportation of all merchandise declared as absolute or conditional contraband of war.

By subordinating the granting of authorization for export to neutral countries whenever such exportation might be effected to enemy territory either by creating a controlling board in these countries through mutual agreement of the Allies or by special guarantees, such as limiting the quantity exported, Consul control, &c.

B—Transitory measures for the commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime period of reconstruction of the allied countries.

1. Proclaiming their solidarity for the restoration of the countries, victims of destruction, spoliation, and abusive requisition, decide to investigate in common the means of restoring to such countries as a special privilege or of aiding them to renew their raw material, industrial and agricultural machinery, live stock, and merchant marine.

2. Noting that the war has terminated all the treaties of commerce which united them with the enemy powers, and considering that it is essential that during the period of economic reconstruction which will follow the cessation of hostilities the liberty of none of the Allies shall be hampered by the possible pretension on the part of the enemy powers of a claim to the most favored nation treatment, the Allies agree that the benefit of this treatment shall not be accorded to such powers during a number of years which shall be

decided by means of a mutual understanding between the Allies.

The Allies mutually agree for a number of years, and in the greatest measure possible, to provide compensating outlets in such cases where disadvantageous consequences may result for the commerce by the application of the agreement mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

3. The Allies declare themselves united in preserving for the allied countries in preference to all others their natural resources during the period of commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime reconstruction, and to this end they agree to establish special arrangements which will facilitate an exchange of resources.

4. In order to protect their commerce, industries, agriculture, and navigation against an economic depression resulting from dumping, or against any other unfair method of competition, the Allies decide to come to an agreement to fix a period of time during which the commerce of the enemy powers shall be subjected either to prohibition or to a special system which shall be efficacious. The Allies shall reach an understanding by diplomatic channels regarding the special regulations to be imposed during the period above mentioned upon ships of the enemy powers.

5. The Allies shall seek measures to be taken in common or separately to prevent the exercise in their territories by enemy subjects of certain industries or professions of interest to the national defense or economic independence.

C—Permanent measures of mutual aid and collaboration between the Allies.

The Allies are resolved to take without delay the necessary measures to rid themselves of dependence on enemy countries as regards raw material and manufactured articles which are essential to the normal development of their economic activity.

These measures should tend to assure the independence of the Allies not only regarding those matters concerning the sources of supply, but also those touching the financial, commercial, and maritime organization.

In order to carry out their resolution the

Allies will adopt such means as seem to them most appropriate according to the nature of the merchandise and following the principles which govern the economic policies.

Especially they may have recourse to subsidized enterprises under the direction or control of the Governments themselves, or to payment to encourage scientific and technical researches, the development of industries, and natural resources, or to customs tariffs, or to temporary or permanent prohibitions, or even to a combination of these various means.

Whatever means may be adopted, the end sought by the Allies is to increase in large measure the production of the whole of their territory, so that they may maintain and develop their economic situation, and independence with respect to the enemy.

So as to permit a reciprocal sale of their products, the Allies engage to take measures destined to facilitate exchange thereof as much by the establishment of direct and rapid services of transportation by land and sea at reduced rates as by the development and amelioration of postal, telegraph, and other communications.

The Allies agree to bring together technical delegates to prepare measures suitable to unify as much as possible their laws concerning patents, marks, or origins, and trademarks.

The Allies will adopt in regard to the inventions, trademarks, literary and artistic works created during the war in an enemy country a system as uniform as possible and applicable after the cessation of hostilities. This system shall be elaborated by the technical delegates of the Allies.

D—The representatives of the allied Governments, realizing that, for their common defense against the enemy have resolved to adopt a similar economic policy under conditions determined by resolutions taken, and, recognizing that the efficiency of this policy depends absolutely upon the immediate putting into effect of these resolutions, agree to recommend their respective Governments to take without delay all suitable measures for enabling this policy to produce immediately its full and entire effect, and to communicate to each other the decisions reached for the attainment of this purpose.

The Trade War Against Germany

By Philipp Heineken

General Director North German Lloyd Company

THAT they hate us, all our big and little enemies in the northwest, the west, the south, and the east, and that they have sworn to bring about our economic and political ruin, is

known to us; we already have an almost compassionate smile for this hate and this impotent desperation, especially as we see the military hopes and plans of our enemies go to pieces against the

iron shield of our army and navy. But that this hate is able to cause such a dreadful confusion in the heads of the political economists of these countries and make them forget all the laws of economic logic, as is shown in this preaching of a trade war against us, is one of the most difficult riddles of this great time.

The remarkable part of all this is not that the future trade war is to be carried on against the Central Powers with every means at hand—for instance, preferential tariffs within the British Empire for English goods—that is, reciprocity in imports and exports, complete exclusion of the great German and Austrian shipping companies from the passenger and emigrant ports by forbidding them to land or take on passengers in any port of the united hostile countries, the handicapping of the freight business of these companies through the imposition of high fees, &c.—but that our enemies are naïve enough to believe that the Central Powers would calmly put up with all this without replying with countermeasures in the economic field. On the one side it is wished entirely to prevent the exportation of German goods, either fully manufactured or half made up, and of raw materials in the future. But right here the plan already fails to work out entirely as desired, as there will be some persons willing to make concessions in favor of certain German articles which our enemies, even with the most serious efforts, cannot do without forever, or which they cannot produce in as good quality, despite all endeavors and the most ruthless stealing of patents “Made in Germany”!

Regarding German imports from hostile foreign countries, too, the people over here are not worrying overmuch. Paper lies still, and it requires only a stroke of the pen to rob the Central Powers of every hope of being able to obtain raw materials from foreign lands in the future; yet it is secretly hoped or taken for granted that Germany and her allies will continue thankfully to receive such articles, for the most part manufactured, as the members of the Multiple Entente cannot unload upon the neutrals!

Here is where we find the first contradiction, for a Germany damaged by a lack of export trade and forced to be content with a passive trade balance would hardly be in a position to resume her importation from abroad upon its former scale. Quite aside from this, it betrays a serious lack of knowledge and logic regarding economic matters when a person believes that Germany could be permanently excluded from her former mighty import business without causing the heaviest kind of damage to the exporting countries concerned. What would become of a manufacturer who had been conducting his business for decades upon the basis of a certain annual production, and who should suddenly, from some reason or other, chase away his former best customer without first having made arrangements for a substitute in another quarter? Well, the answer would not be very hard to find. The manufacturer would find the other markets surfeited, and consequently could find no place to sell his goods; in other words, he would be suffocated by his own overproduction and go bankrupt. Exactly the same fate threatens the countries that exported goods to Germany up to the outbreak of the war. Those heavy exports that went to Germany simply cannot be disposed of elsewhere. The American cotton, the California fruit, the coffee of Brazil, to which the German market is closed during the war, would be hard hit if this condition, according to the plans of our enemies, were to be made permanent in time of peace.

So far as England is concerned, and in line with what we have learned during this war, such an injury to the economic life of the people of the neutral countries would be rather an incentive than an obstacle to further progress along the road chosen in the active and passive boycott of Germany. For there is certainly no doubt in intelligent circles in neutral countries as to what may be expected from Albion's lust for economic expansion after the war, nor that that land, now ostensibly fighting for the rights of the weaker, would hesitate a moment, under certain circumstances, unscrupulously to sacrifice both its pres-

ent allies and the neutrals in its own interest.

Happily, not only neutral countries would have to regret the loss of the German market, but England itself, in the form of its colonies, would be seriously hit by such a change in the conditions of the export trade of the world. It seems, however, that on the other side of the Channel they have already entirely forgotten that Chamberlain's broad idea of a "Greater Britain" in an imperialistic-economic sense was wrecked in its day principally on the opposition of the colonies, with Australia in the lead, because they feared the loss of their non-English, and principally their German, export field. Nothing has happened since then to change these facts. Today the English colonies in Africa, India, Australia, &c., would suffer just as much as Germany herself through the loss of the German export market for their products, such as fats, oils, wool, cotton, tobacco, jute, fruits, &c.

It is significant that just at the present juncture there is an increase in the number of voices among our enemies that declare the rigorous prosecution of the trade war against Germany to be simply impossible. An English member of Parliament declared recently that not a single one of the propositions designed for the economic injury of Germany could be put into effect without at the same time injuring English trade. A boycott of German trade after the war would only have the effect of driving all the neutrals into Germany's arms, as she would naturally make them particularly advantageous terms. In a similar manner, in connection with the financial-political conference of the Multiple Entente at Paris, it was asserted from the Liberal side in the British Parliament that the boycotting of German trade implied an extremely dangerous policy from which England itself would suffer the greatest damage. According to the speaker, a permanent peace must be based upon the principle that Germany, after she had made atonement for her crime (!) should be forgiven. Peace must accord Germany an honorable posi-

tion among the nations. We are convinced from our successes up to now on land, on water, and in the air, that the decision as to who will have to ask forgiveness will be placed in our hands; but one thing, at least, is certain, and that is that Germany simply cannot be isolated economically without entailing the destruction of the entire international economic system and burying our enemies as well as the neutrals under its fragments.

So it appears all the more remarkable to us Germans when the chauvinistic part of the hostile, principally the English press, with the support of the enemy Governments and of representative trade bodies, (compare the acts of the English Chambers of Commerce Congress at the end of last February,) agitates for this completely utopian idea of eliminating Germany from the world market with an energy worthy of a better cause. If we do not wish to deny that our opponents have any intelligence or logic at all, there is really but one explanation of this phenomenon: Our opponents from the beginning had no illusions at any time as to the uselessness of the entire agitation, but something had to be done to compensate for their military failures, and at the same time some slogan must be created which would again rekindle the enthusiasm of our enemies for the war that had so seriously slackened, and this slogan was the economic destruction of Germany after the war. And besides, by means of this threatened boycotting of the Central Powers, our enemies already wish to create an artificial object of compensation which they would be willing graciously to renounce at the peace negotiations when calculated against the military successes of Germany and her brave allies. In a word, they want to "bluff" us in the good old English style! There is a very simple remedy for this, and that is to keep cool and leave everything in the hands of our brave brothers, who, out there on sea and land, are upon the best road toward laying the foundations upon which Germany will be able to build the economic future that seems right to her.

Admiral Jellicoe's Official Report of the Battle of Jutland

Vice Admiral Sir John Jellicoe's official report of the North Sea naval battle, which the British call the battle of Jutland and the Germans the battle of the Skagerrak, was made public on July 6. It is universally regarded in Great Britain as establishing the battle as a British victory. The German and English estimates of each other's losses are still widely at variance. The most conservative British estimate places the total German loss at 109,220 tons, as compared with a British loss of 112,250 tons. The German Admiralty continues to admit losses amounting only to 63,000 tonnage, as against an asserted British loss of about 125,000 tons. These discrepancies can be adjusted only after the publication of full German official reports. Readers desiring a good tactical summary of Admiral Jellicoe's narrative will find it in the brief commentary of Admiral Bridge immediately following Jellicoe's statement.

ADMIRAL JELICOE'S report to the British Admiralty is the fullest official account thus far available of the famous battle off the coast of Jutland, though even here the full list of ships and commanders is "withheld from publication for the present, in accordance with the usual practice." Following is the full text of all the vital portions of the document:

Be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the German High Sea Fleet was brought to action on the 31st of May, 1916, to the westward of Jutland Bank, off the coast of Denmark.

The ships of the Grand Fleet, in pursuance of the general policy of periodical sweeps through the North Sea, had left their base on the previous day in accordance with instructions issued by me. In the early afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, the first and second battle cruiser squadrons, the first, second, and third light cruiser squadrons, and destroyers from the first, ninth, tenth, and thirteenth flotillas, supported by the fifth battle squadron, were, in accordance with my directions, scouting to the southward of the battle fleet, which was accompanied by the third battle cruiser squadron, the first and second cruiser squadrons, the fourth light cruiser squadron, and the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth flotillas.

The junction of the battle fleet with the scouting force after the enemy had been sighted was delayed owing to the southerly course steered by our advanced force during the first hour after commencing their action with the enemy battle cruisers. This, of course, was unavoidable, as had our battle cruisers not followed the enemy to the southward the main fleets would never have been in contact.

BEATTY IN THE LEAD

The battle cruiser fleet, gallantly led by Vice Admiral Beatty, and admirably supported by the ships of the fifth battle squadron under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, fought the action under, at times, disad-

vantageous conditions, especially in regard to light, in a manner that was in keeping with the best traditions of the service.

Admiral Jellicoe estimates the German losses at two battleships of the dreadnought type, one of the Deutschland type, which was seen to sink; the battle cruiser Lützow, admitted by the Germans; one battle cruiser of the dreadnought type, one battle cruiser seen to be so severely damaged that its return was extremely doubtful; five light cruisers, seen to sink—one of them possibly a battleship; six destroyers seen to sink, three destroyers so damaged that it was doubtful if they would be able to reach port, and a submarine sunk. (In the foregoing Admiral Jellicoe enumerates twenty-one German vessels as probably lost. The last British report placed the total at eighteen.) In concluding Admiral Jellicoe says:

The conditions of low visibility under which the day action took place and the approach of darkness enhanced the difficulty of giving an accurate report of the damage inflicted or the names of the ships sunk by our forces. But after a most careful examination of the evidence of all the officers who testified to seeing enemy vessels actually sink and personal interviews with a large number of these officers, I am of the opinion that the list shown in the inclosure gives the minimum numbers, though it is possible it is not accurate as regards the particular class of vessel, especially those which were sunk during the night attack. In addition to the vessels sunk, it is unquestionable that many other ships were very seriously damaged by gunfire and torpedo attack.

LOSSES STATED

I deeply regret to report the loss of his Majesty's ships Queen Mary, Indefatigable, Invincible, Defense, Black Prince, Warrior,

Tipperary, Ardent, Fortune, Shark, Sparrow Hawk, Nestor, Nomad, and Turbulent. Still more do I regret the resultant heavy loss of life. The death of such gallant and distinguished officers as Arbutnot, Hood, Captain Sowerby, Captain Prowse, Captain Cay, Captain Bonham, Captain Charles J. Wintour, and Captain Stanley B. Ellis, and those who perished with them, is a serious loss to the navy and to the country. They led officers and men who were equally gallant, and whose death is mourned by their comrades in the Grand Fleet. They fell doing their duty nobly—a death which they would have been first to desire.

The enemy fought with the gallantry that was expected of him. We particularly admired the conduct of those on board a disabled German light cruiser which passed down the British line shortly after the deployment under a heavy fire, which was returned by the only gun left in action. The conduct of the officers and men was entirely beyond praise.

On all sides it is reported that the glorious traditions of the past were most worthily upheld; whether in the heavy ships, cruisers, light cruisers, or destroyers, the same admirable spirit prevailed. The officers and men were cool and determined, with a cheeriness that would have carried them through anything. The heroism of the wounded was the admiration of all. I cannot adequately express the pride with which the spirit of the fleet filled me.

It must never be forgotten that the prelude to action is the work of the engineroom department. During an action the officers and men of that department perform their most important duties without the incentive which a knowledge of the course of action gives to those on deck. The qualities of discipline and endurance are taxed to the utmost under these conditions. They were, as always, most fully maintained throughout the operations. Several ships attained speeds that had never before been reached, thus showing very clearly their high state of steaming efficiency. Failures in material were conspicuous by their absence.

Of the medical officers Admiral Jellicoe says:

Lacking in many cases all essentials for performing critical operations, with their staffs seriously depleted by casualties, they worked untiringly with the greatest success.

The hardest fighting fell to the battle cruiser fleet, says Admiral Jellicoe, the units of which were less heavily armored than their opponents, and he expresses high appreciation of the handling of all the vessels and commends Admirals Burney, Jerram, Sturdee, Evan-Thomas, Duff, and Leveson, and continues:

Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty once again showed his fine qualities of gallant leader-

ship, firm determination, and correct strategic fighting. He appreciated situations at once on sighting the first enemy's lighter forces, then his battle cruisers, finally his battleships. I can fully sympathize with his feelings when the evening mist and fading light robbed the fleet of that complete victory for which he had manoeuvred, for which the vessels in company with him had striven so hard. The services rendered by him, not only on this but on two previous occasions, have been of the very greatest value.

FROM BEATTY'S REPORT

Vice Admiral Beatty's report to Admiral Jellicoe particularly mentions the work of the Engadine, Commander Robinson, which towed the Warrior seventy-five miles during the night of May 31, and continues:

It is impossible to give a definite statement of the losses inflicted on the enemy. Visibility was for the most part low and fluctuating. Caution forbade me to close the range too much with my inferior force. A review of all the reports leads me to conclude that the enemy's losses were considerably greater than those we sustained in spite of their superiority, and included battleships, battle cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers. This is eloquent testimony to the very high standard of gunnery and torpedo efficiency of his Majesty's ships. The control and drill remained undisturbed throughout, in many cases, despite the heavy damage to material and personnel.

Our superiority over the enemy in this respect was very marked, their efficiency becoming rapidly reduced under punishment, while ours was maintained throughout. As was to be expected, the behavior of the ships' companies under the terrible conditions of a modern sea battle was magnificent without exception. The strain on their morale was a severe test of discipline and training. The officers and men were imbued with one thought—a desire to defeat the enemy.

RARE BRAVERY OF A BOY

The fortitude of the wounded was admirable. A boy of the first class, John Travers Cornwall* of the Chester, was mortally wounded early in the action. He, neverthe-

*Cornwall joined the navy in August, 1915, and went into the training school. He had been at sea only a few weeks when he was killed. The Captain of the Chester in a letter to the boy's mother says: "He remained steady at his most exposed post at the gun waiting for orders. His gun would not bear on the enemy. All but two of the crew were killed or wounded, and he was the only one who was in such an exposed position, but he felt he might be needed, and indeed he might have been, so he stayed there standing and waiting under a heavy fire, with just his own brave heart and God's help to support him. I cannot express to you my admiration of the son you have lost from this world. I hope to place in the boy's mess a plate with his name on and the date and the words, 'Faithful Unto Death.'"

less, remained standing alone at a most exposed post quietly awaiting orders until the end of the action, with the gun's crew dead or wounded all around him. His age was under 16½ years. I regret that he has since died. I recommend his case for special recognition, in justice to his memory and as an acknowledgment of the high example set by him.

In such a conflict as raged for five hours it was inevitable that we should suffer severe losses. It was necessary to maintain touch with greatly superior forces in fluctuating visibility, often very low. We lost the *Invincible*, the *Indefatigable*, and *Queen Mary*, from which ships there were few survivors. The casualties in the other ships were heavy. I wish to express my deepest regret at the loss of so many gallant comrades, officers and men. They died gloriously.

SIGHTING THE ENEMY

Extracts from Vice Admiral Beatty's report give the course of events before the battle fleet came on the scene of action. At 2:20 o'clock in the afternoon the *Galatea* reported the presence of enemy vessels. At 2:35 o'clock considerable smoke was sighted to the eastward. This made it clear that the enemy was to the northward and eastward, and that it would be impossible for him to round Horn Reef without being brought to action. The course of the British ships consequently was altered to the eastward, and subsequently northeastward.

The enemy was sighted at 3:31 o'clock. His force consisted of five battle cruisers. Vice Admiral Beatty's first and third light cruiser squadrons, without awaiting orders, spread eastward, forming a screen in advance of the battle cruiser squadron under Admiral Evan-Thomas, consisting of four battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* class. The light cruisers engaged the enemy and the cruiser squadron came up at high speed, taking station ahead of the battle cruisers. At 3:30 o'clock Vice Admiral Beatty increased the speed to 25 knots and formed the line of battle, the second battle cruiser squadron forming astern of the first, with two destroyer flotillas ahead.

Vice Admiral Beatty then turned east-southeast slightly, converging on the enemy now at a range of 23,000 yards. The fifth battle cruiser squadron was then bearing north-northwest 10,000 yards distant. The visibility was good.

Continuing his report, Vice Admiral Beatty said:

The sun was behind us. The wind was southeast. Being between the enemy and his base, our situation was both tactically and strategically good.

BOTH FLEETS OPEN FIRE

Both forces opened fire simultaneously at 3:48 at a range of 18,500 yards. The course was altered southward, the enemy steering parallel distant 18,000 to 14,500 yards. The fifth battle squadron opened fire at a range of 20,000 yards at 4:08. The enemy fire then seemed to slacken. Although the presence of destroyers caused inconvenience on account of smoke, they preserved the battleships from submarine attack.

Two submarines being sighted, and a flotilla of ten destroyers being ordered to attack the enemy with torpedoes, they moved out at 4:15 o'clock simultaneously with the approach of German destroyers. The attack was carried out gallantly with great determination. Before arriving at a favorable position to fire torpedoes they intercepted an enemy force consisting of one light cruiser and fifteen destroyers. A fierce engagement at close quarters ensued, and the enemy was forced to retire on their battleships, having two destroyers sunk and their torpedo attack frustrated. Our destroyers sustained no loss, but the attack on the enemy cruisers was rendered less effective.

The *Nestor*, *Nomad*, and *Mineator*, under Commander Edward Bingham, pressed the attack on the battle cruisers and fired two torpedoes. Being subjected to a heavy fire at 3,000 yards, the *Nomad* was badly hit and remained between the lines. The *Nestor* also was badly hit, but was afloat when last seen. The *Petard*, *Nerissa*, *Turbulent*, and *Termagant* also are praised.

These destroyer attacks were indicative of the spirit pervading the navy and worthy of its highest traditions.

From 4:15 to 4:43 o'clock the conflict between the battle cruiser squadrons was fierce and the resolute British fire began to tell. The rapidity and accuracy of the Germans' fire depreciated considerably. The third German ship was seen to be afire. The German battle fleet was reported ahead and the destroyers were recalled.

Vice Admiral Beatty altered his course to the northward to lead the Germans toward the British battle fleet. The second light cruiser squadron closed to 13,000 yards of the German battle fleet and came under heavy but ineffective fire. The fifth battle squadron engaged the German battle cruisers with all guns, and about 5 o'clock came under the fire

of the leading ships of the German battle fleet.

The weather became unfavorable, Vice-Admiral Beatty's ships being silhouetted against a clear horizon to the Germans, whose ships were mostly obscured by mist.

Between 5 and 6 o'clock the action continued at 14,000 yards on a northerly course, the German ships receiving very severe punishment, one battle cruiser quitting the line considerably damaged. At 5:35 o'clock the Germans were gradually hauling eastward and receiving severe punishment at the head of the line, probably acting on information from their light cruisers which were engaged with the third battle cruiser squadron or from Zeppelins which possibly were present.

At 5:56 o'clock the leading ships of the British battle fleet were sighted bearing north, distant five miles. Vice Admiral Beatty thereon proceeded east at the greatest speed, bringing the range to 12,000 yards. Only three German battle cruisers were then visible, followed by battleships of the König type.

THE BATTLE FLEET

Vice Admiral Jellicoe then takes up the story of the battle fleet. Informed that the Germans were sighted, the fleet proceeded at full speed on a south-east by south course during two hours before arriving on the scene of the battle. The steaming qualities of the older ships were severely tested. When the battle fleet was meeting the battle cruisers and the fifth battle squadron, great care was necessary to insure that the British ships were not mistaken for the German warships.

Vice Admiral Beatty reported the position of the German battle fleet at 6:15 o'clock. Vice Admiral Jellicoe then formed the line of battle, Vice Admiral Beatty meantime having formed the battle cruisers ahead of the battle fleet, and the fleets became engaged. During the deployment the Defense and Warrior were seen passing between the British and German fleets under heavy fire. The Defense disappeared and the Warrior passed to the rear, disabled.

Vice Admiral Jellicoe considers it probable that Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot, the Rear Admiral who was lost on board the Defense, was not aware, during the engagement with the German light cruisers, of the approach of their heavy ships owing to the mist, until he found himself in close proximity to the main German fleet. Before he could withdraw his ships were caught under a heavy fire and disabled. When the Black Prince of the same squadron was sunk is not known, but a wireless signal was received from her between 8 and 9 o'clock.

Owing principally to the mist, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time. Toward the close of the battle only four or five were visible and never more than eight to twelve.

ADMIRAL HOOD'S SQUADRON

The third battle cruiser squadron, under Rear Admiral Horace Alexander Hood, was in advance of the battle fleet and ordered to reinforce Vice Admiral Beatty. While en route the Chester, Captain Lawson, engaged three or four German light cruisers for twenty minutes. Despite many casualties, her steaming qualities were unimpaired.

Describing the work of the third squadron, Vice Admiral Beatty said Rear Admiral Hood brought it into action ahead of the Lion "in the most inspiring manner, worthy of his great naval ancestors." Vice Admiral Hood, at 6:25 P. M., was only 8,000 yards from the leading German ship, and the British vessels poured a hot fire into her and caused her to turn away. Vice Admiral Beatty, continuing, reports:

By 6:50 o'clock the battle cruisers were clear of our leading battle squadron and I ordered the third battle cruiser squadron to prolong the line astern, and reduced the speed to eighteen knots. The visibility at this time was very indifferent, not more than four miles, and the enemy ships were temporarily lost sight of after 6 P. M. Although the visibility became reduced, it undoubtedly was more favorable to us than to the enemy. At intervals their ships showed up clearly, enabling us to punish them very severely and to establish a definite superiority over them. It was clear that the enemy suffered considerable damage, battle cruisers and battleships alike. The head of their line was crumpled up, leaving their battleships as a target for the majority of our battle cruis-

ers. Before leaving, the fifth battle squadron was also engaging battleships.

The report of Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas shows excellent results were obtained. It can safely be said that his magnificent squadron wrought great execution.

GERMANS IN RETREAT

The action between the battle fleets lasted, intermittently, from 6:17 to 8:20 o'clock at ranges between 9,000 and 12,000 yards. The Germans constantly turned away and opened the range under the cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens as the effect of the British fire was felt, and alterations of the course from southeast by east to west in an endeavor to close up brought the British battle fleet, which commenced action in an advantageous position on the Germans' bow, to a quarterly bearing from the German battle line, but placed Vice Admiral Jellicoe between the Germans and their bases.

Vice Admiral Jellicoe says: "During the somewhat brief periods that the ships of the High Sea Fleet were visible through the mist, a heavy and effective fire kept up by the battleships and battle cruisers of the Grand Fleet caused me much satisfaction. The enemy vessels were seen to be constantly hit, some being observed to haul out of the line. At least one sank. The enemy's return fire at this period was not effective and the damage caused to our ships was insignificant."

Vice Admiral Beatty's report covering this period says the German ships he was engaging showed signs of punishment. The visibility improved at sunset at 7:17, when he re-engaged, and destroyers at the head of the German line emitted volumes of gray smoke, covering their capital ships as with a pall, under cover of which they turned away and disappeared. At 7:45 the light cruiser squadrons, sweeping westward, located two German battleships and cruisers. At 8:20 Vice Admiral Beatty heavily engaged them at 10,000 yards. The leading ship, being repeatedly hit by the Lion, turned away in flames with a heavy list. The Princess Royal set fire to a three-funneled battleship. The New Zealand and Indomitable reported that the ship they engaged left the line heeling over

and afire. At 8:40 the battle cruisers felt a heavy shock as if struck by a mine or torpedo. This was assumed to be a vessel blowing up.

Vice Admiral Beatty reported that he did not consider it desirable or proper to engage the German battle fleet during the dark hours, as the strategical position made it appear certain he could locate them at daylight under most favorable circumstances.

TORPEDO BOAT ATTACK

Vice Admiral Jellicoe reports that, as anticipated, the Germans appeared to have relied much upon torpedo attacks, which were favored by low visibility and by the fact that the British were in the position of a following or chasing fleet. Of the large number of torpedoes apparently fired only one took effect, and this was upon the Marlborough, which was able to continue in action. The efforts of the Germans to keep out of effective gun range were aided, he says, by weather ideal for that purpose. The Germans made two separate destroyer attacks. The first battle squadron at 11,000 yards administered severe punishment to battleships, battle cruisers, and light cruisers. The fire of the Marlborough was particularly effective and rapid. She commenced by firing seven salvos at a ship of the Kaiser class, and then engaged a cruiser and next a battleship. The Marlborough was hit by a torpedo at 6:54 P. M., and took a considerable list to starboard, but reopened fire at 7:03 at a cruiser. At 7:12 she fired fourteen rapid salvos at a cruiser of the König class, hitting her frequently until she left the line.

During the action the range decreased to 5,000 yards. The first battle squadron received more of the enemy's fire than the remainder of the fleet, excepting the fifth squadron. The Colossus was hit, but not seriously.

The fourth squadron, led by the flagship Iron Duke, engaged a squadron consisting of the König and Kaiser classes with battle cruisers and light cruisers. The British fire was effective, although a mist rendered range-taking difficult. The Iron Duke fired on a battleship of the König class at

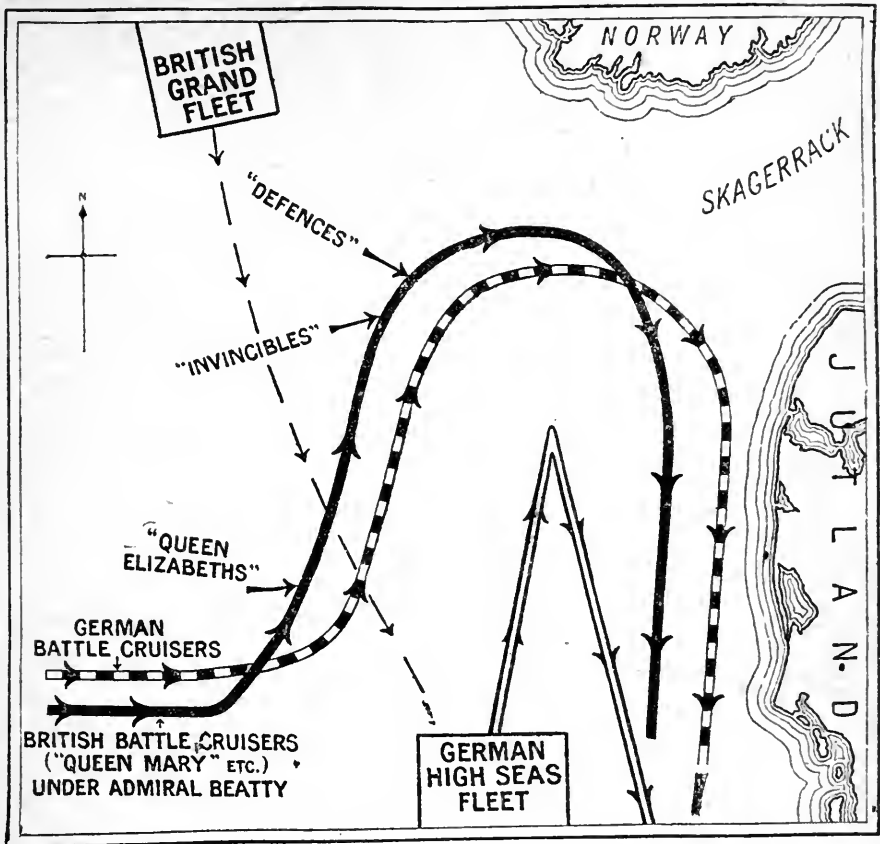


CHART OF THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND, SHOWING APPROXIMATELY THE COURSE OF EACH FLEET DURING THE ENGAGEMENT

12,000 yards. The hitting commenced at the second salvo, and only ceased when the target turned away. Other ships of the squadron fired principally at German ships as they appeared out of the mist and several of the German vessels were hit.

The second squadron under Admiral Jerram engaged vessels of the Kaiser or König classes and also a battle cruiser, which apparently was severely damaged. A squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Heath, with the cruiser Duke of Edinburgh, acted as a connecting link between the battle fleet and the battle cruiser fleet, but did not get into action.

NIGHT OPERATIONS

The German vessels were entirely out of the fight at 9 o'clock, says the report.

The threat of destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary to dispose of the fleet with a view to its safety, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. Vice Admiral Jellicoe manoeuvred the fleet so as to remain between the Germans and their bases, placing flotillas of destroyers where they could protect the fleet and attack the heavy German ships.

The British heavy ships were not attacked during the night, but three British destroyer flotillas delivered a series of gallant and successful attacks, causing heavy losses. The fourth flotilla, under Captain Wintour, suffered severe losses, including the Tipperary. The twelfth flotilla, under Captain Stirling, attacked a squadron of six large vessels of the Kaiser class, taking it by surprise

and firing many torpedoes. The second, third, and fourth ships in the line were hit and the third blew up. The destroyers were under a heavy fire of German light cruisers. Only the Onslaught received material injuries. The Castor sank a German destroyer at point-blank range.

The thirteenth flotilla, under Captain Farie, was stationed astern of the battle fleet. A large vessel crossed in the rear of the flotilla after midnight at high speed. Turning on her searchlights, she fired heavily on the Petard and the Turbulent, and the latter was disabled. The Champion was engaged for a few minutes with four German destroyers, while the Moresby fired a torpedo at a ship of the Deutschland class and felt an explosion.

SEARCHING FOR THE FOE

Concluding his account of the battle, Vice Admiral Jellicoe wrote:

At daylight on the 1st of June the battle fleet, being southward of Horn Reef, turned northward in search of the enemy vessels and for the purpose of collecting our own cruisers and torpedo boat destroyers. The visibility early on the first of June was three to four miles less than on May 31, and the torpedo boat destroyers, being out of visual touch, did not rejoin the fleet until 9 A. M. The British fleet remained in the proximity of the battlefield and near the line of approach to the German ports until 11 A. M., in spite of the disadvantage of long distances from fleet bases and the danger incurred in waters adjacent to the enemy's coasts from submarines and torpedo craft.

The enemy, however, made no sign, and I was reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the High Sea Fleet had returned into port. Subsequent events proved this assumption to have been correct. Our position must have been known to the enemy, as at 4 A. M. the fleet engaged a Zeppelin about five minutes, during which time she had ample opportunity to note and subsequently report the position and course of the British fleet.

The waters from the latitude of Horn Reef to the scene of action were thoroughly

searched and some survivors from the destroyers Ardent, Fortune, and Tipperary were picked up. The Sparrow Hawk, which had been in collision, was no longer seaworthy and was sunk after the crew was taken off. A large amount of wreckage was seen, but no enemy ships, and at 1:15, it being evident that the German fleet had succeeded in returning to port, our course was shaped for our bases, which were reached without further incident on Friday, June 2.

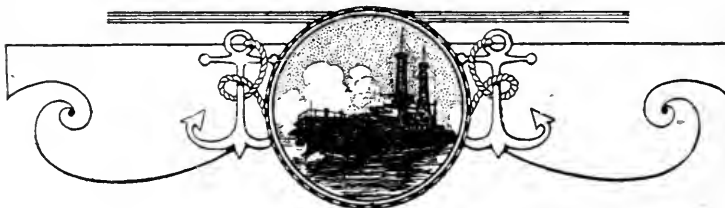
The cruiser squadron was detached to search for the Warrior, which had been abandoned while in tow of the Engadine on the way to the base, owing to bad weather setting in and the vessel becoming unseaworthy. No trace of her was discovered, and subsequent search by the light cruiser squadron having failed to locate her, it was evident she had foundered.

The fleet was fueled, replenished its ammunition, and at 9:30 P. M., on June 2, was reported ready for further action.

Two estimates of the total tonnage lost by the Germans in the Jutland battle have been made by British officials. The more conservative one, who included in his list only vessels "seen to sink" and based his estimate on the theory that the battleships sunk were of the oldest dreadnought type, gives the German tonnage lost as 109,220, as compared with a British loss in tonnage of 112,350. He concludes that the Germans lost two battleships of the dreadnought type of 18,900 tons each, one of the Deutschland type of 13,200 tons, the battle cruiser Lützow of 28,000 tons, five cruisers of the Rostock type, making a total of 24,500 tons for this type; six destroyers, aggregating 4,920 tons, and one submarine of 800 tons.

The more liberal estimate places the German loss at 117,220 tons, as follows:

One dreadnought of the Kronprinz type, 25,480 tons; one of the Heligoland type, 22,440 tons; battleship Pommern, 13,000 tons; battle cruiser Lützow, 28,000 tons; five Rostocks, aggregating 24,500 tons; destroyers aggregating 4,000 tons, and a submarine of 800 tons.



The Battle of Jutland Analyzed

By Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge

British Naval Veteran and Expert

TO my mind in general the engagement shows highly distinguished strategic conception, highly capable tactical leading, great readiness to seize initiative, and admirable support of their leaders by all ranks. It was a brilliant achievement for the British Navy. To put the situation succinctly, it may be said that before the battle the British fleet at sea was divided into two parts, one force under Sir David Beatty, and the other, the battle fleet or main body, under the Commander in Chief, Sir John Jellicoe. This distribution of the ships was the dominating factor in bringing on the battle. Had the whole British fleet been massed and close together, it is more than likely that no battle would have occurred at all. So with the British fleet divided the Germans were encouraged to give battle with Beatty. Sir David, determined to get them into a fight, arranged the management of the action so that he could draw them nearer and nearer to Jellicoe's main body, which was coming up in support. He thus greatly shortened the interval between the first collision and eventual participation in the action by Jellicoe's battleships.

Even to a layman it must be plain that this was a tactical performance of the highest merit. The tactical merit was fully equalled by the dash and courage with which Beatty entered into the fight as he became aware that the whole strength of the German High Sea Fleet was soon to be on the scene. Jellicoe in bringing up his main body manoeuvred so as to get between the Germans and the coast of Jutland, which practically meant between them and their own bases. This manoeuvre, with the enemy not inclined to help you in it, must be a difficult one, and the fact that it was successfully executed in spite of the very unfavorable effect of the misty weather, which occasionally hid the enemy, raises its merits still higher. The dash and courage are shown in the British being

able to engineer this manoeuvre at all. It drew on the German fleet until the distance between Beatty's fleet and the main body of the British fleet was less—considerably less—than that between the German battle cruisers and their main body before Beatty began the action. That alone shows the effect of Beatty's move in trying to hold the German fleet in action.

In the early stages of the battle Beatty's force was considerably further away from the main British fleet than later on, owing to Beatty's rushing so fast after the Germans. After Beatty had got the Germans into the encounter he was able to keep them fighting until Jellicoe and his fleet arrived. When Jellicoe got to the scene of action the result of the battle was decided, for no longer did the Germans want to wait.

Our main body not only came up in time to take a decisive part in the battle, but was for more than two hours in the action. When one considers the distance at which the main British fleet was from Beatty's force in the early stages it is important to realize that effective strategy dictated that it was desirable for us to avoid the appearance of being in too great force, for had the enemy known the British fleet was ready to attack him in force he would have had every reasonable excuse to go away, without giving battle. Our only hope of engaging him was to employ tactics that would hide the real strength of our fighting force.

A satisfactory thing about the whole engagement, without going into minute details, was that the naval materials and appliances of today, which had not been long enough in use to permit of our knowing how they might be employed, were successfully handled and proved almost free from breakdown. The gunnery of the British fleet was the more accurate of the two. This was due not only to very thorough training,

but also to the cool and deliberate manner in which the guns were fired. The Germans, in the earlier stages of the battle, fired more rapidly, but after their early shots they showed no accuracy of aim. As to the whole engagement, after reading Admiral Jellicoe's report, I can say unhesitatingly that it was one of the most decisive the British ever fought. In fact, there are only three others, to my mind, which outvie it in respect to strategy and final result. These are Lord Hawkes's battle of Quiberon, Nelson's battle of the Nile, and Nelson's Trafalgar.

Interesting evidence of the decisive character of the victory is shown by the fact that during the month of June the British vessels which had been shut up in the Baltic since the beginning of the war have been returning day after day to British ports. This shows that the Germans have less control than ever of the seas.

The losses sustained by the British fleet were not greater than experts expected they would be in modern naval warfare for an engagement of this character. In all sea fights in which there has been vehement fighting the losses have been considerable, and in the early days of any particular kind of naval material, such as the period in which we are at this moment, the losses of ships on both sides have been almost a regular feature of battles. No one ever objected to the brilliancy of Admiral Robert Blake's performances because in the action several of his ships were sunk.

To Admiral Bridge's clear summary may be added the following extract from an official statement issued by the British Government through its embassies:

Seen in its broadest aspect, the battle stands out as a case of a tactical division of the fleet, which had the effect of bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. Such a method of forcing an action was obviously drastic and necessarily attended with a certain measure of risk. For great ends, however, great risks must be

taken, and in this case the risk was far less great than that which St. Vincent accepted off Cadiz, and this division fought unsupported the battle of the Nile, the most complete and least debated of all British victories. Then the two portions of St. Vincent's fleet were divided strategically, with no prospect of tactical concentration for the battle.

In the present case there was only an appearance of division. The battle fleet was to the north and the battle cruiser fleet to the south, but they formed, in fact, one fleet, under a single command, and were acting in combination with one another. They were at the time actually engaged in carrying on, as they had been in the habit of doing periodically, a combined sweep of the North Sea, and Admiral Beatty's fleet was, in effect, the observation or advance squadron.

[The statement then goes into a description of the battle, and concludes:]

It was a beaten and broken fleet that escaped from the trap. Many of its units had been lost; its gunnery had become demoralized, and no one can blame its discretion in making for home at its topmost speed and leaving the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea. For this, in a word, was the result of the battle. What the enemy hoped to achieve we cannot tell. Whatever their efforts signified, it failed to shake our hold upon the sea, and that is what really matters.

We have fought many indecisive actions, but few in which the strategical result was further beyond discussion, few which have more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy fleet might be able to accomplish. It is by such standards that history judges victories and by such standards that the country cherishes the memory of the men who prepared and won them. Current opinion will always prefer the test of comparative losses.

Let these standards be applied, and it will be found that the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories.

German Admiralty's Official Report of Battle of the Skagerrak

The German Admiralty issued a report June 29 on the battle of the Skagerrak. In consequence of the mail blockade, the full official document has not reached this country, but the abstract printed below, which was officially furnished for transmission by wire, is comprehensive.

THE High Sea Fleet, consisting of three battleship squadrons, five battle cruisers, and a large number of small cruisers, with several destroyer flotillas, was cruising in the Skagerrak on May 31 for the purpose, as on earlier occasions, of offering battle to the British fleet. The vanguard of small cruisers at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon (German time) suddenly encountered ninety miles west of Hanstholm, (a cape on the northwest coast of Jutland,) a group of eight of the newest cruisers of the Calliope class and fifteen or twenty of the most modern destroyers.

While the German light forces and the first cruiser squadron under Vice Admiral Hipper were following the British, who were retiring northwestward, the German battle cruisers sighted to the westward Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruiser squadron of six ships, including four of the Lion type and two of the Indefatigable type. Beatty's squadron developed a battle line on a southeasterly course and Vice Admiral Hipper formed his line ahead of the same general course and approached for a running fight. He opened fire at 5:49 o'clock in the afternoon with heavy artillery at a range of 13,000 meters against the superior enemy. The weather was clear and light, and the sea was light with a northwest wind.

After about a quarter of an hour a violent explosion occurred on the last cruiser of the Indefatigable type. It was caused by a heavy shell, and destroyed the vessel.

About 6:20 o'clock in the afternoon five warships of the Queen Elizabeth type came from the west and joined the British battle cruiser line, powerfully reinforcing with their fifteen-inch guns the five British battle cruisers remaining after 6:20 o'clock. To equalize this su-

periority Vice Admiral Hipper ordered the destroyers to attack the enemy. The British destroyers and small cruisers interposed, and a bitter engagement at close range ensued, in the course of which a light cruiser participated.

The Germans lost two torpedo boats, the crews of which were rescued by sister ships under a heavy fire. Two British destroyers were sunk by artillery, and two others—the Nestor and Nomad—remained on the scene in a crippled condition. These later were destroyed by the main fleet after German torpedo boats had rescued all the survivors.

While this engagement was in progress a mighty explosion, caused by a big shell, broke the Queen Mary, the third ship in line, asunder at 6:30 o'clock.

Soon thereafter the German main battleship fleet was sighted to the southward, steering north. The hostile fast squadrons thereupon turned northward, closing the first part of the fight, which lasted about an hour.

The British retired at high speed before the German fleet, which followed closely. The German battle cruisers continued the artillery combat with increasing intensity, particularly with the division of the vessels of the Queen Elizabeth type, and in this the leading German battleship division participated intermittently. The hostile ships showed a desire to run in a flat curve ahead of the point of our line and to cross it.

At 7:45 o'clock in the evening British small cruisers and destroyers launched an attack against our battle cruisers, who avoided the torpedoes by manoeuvring, while the British battle cruisers retired from the engagement, in which they did not participate further as far as can be established. Shortly thereafter a German reconnoitring group, which was parrying the destroyer attack, received an attack

from the northeast. The cruiser Wiesbaden was soon put out of action in this attack. The German torpedo flotillas immediately attacked the heavy ships.

Appearing shadow-like from the haze bank to the northeast was made out a long line of at least twenty-five battleships, which at first sought a junction with the British battle cruisers and those of the Queen Elizabeth type on a northwesterly to westerly course and then turned on an easterly to a southeasterly course.

With the advent of the British main fleet, whose centre consisted of three squadrons of eight battleships each, with a fast division of three battle cruisers of the Invincible type on the northern end, and three of the newest vessels of the Royal Sovereign class, armed with fifteen-inch guns, at the southern end, there began about 8 o'clock in the evening the third section of the engagement, embracing the combat between the main fleets.

Vice Admiral Scheer determined to attack the British main fleet, which he now recognized was completely assembled and about doubly superior. The German battleship squadrons, headed by battle cruisers, steered first toward the extensive haze bank to the northeast, where the crippled cruiser Wiesbaden was still receiving a heavy fire. Around the Wiesbaden stubborn individual fights under quickly changing conditions now occurred.

The light enemy forces, supported by an armored cruiser squadron of five ships of the Minatour, Achilles, and Duke of Edinburgh classes coming from the northeast, were encountered and apparently surprised on account of the decreasing visibility by our battle cruisers and leading battleship division. The squadron came under a violent and heavy fire, by which the small cruisers *Defense* and *Black Prince* were sunk. The cruiser *Warrior* regained its own line a wreck and later sank. Another small cruiser was damaged severely.

Two destroyers already had fallen victims to the attack of German torpedo boats against the leading British battleships and a small cruiser and two

destroyers were damaged. The German battle cruisers and leading battleship division had in these engagements come under increased fire of the enemy's battleship squadron, which, shortly after 8 o'clock, could be made out in the haze turning to the northeastward and finally to the east. Germans observed, amid the artillery combat and shelling of great intensity, signs of the effect of good shooting between 8:20 and 8:30 o'clock particularly. Several officers on German ships observed that a battleship of the Queen Elizabeth class blew up under conditions similar to that of the *Queen Mary*. The *Invincible* sank after being hit severely. A ship of the *Iron Duke* class had earlier received a torpedo hit, and one of the *Queen Elizabeth* class was running around in a circle, its steering apparatus apparently having been hit.

The *Lützow* was hit by at least fifteen heavy shells and was unable to maintain its place in line. Vice Admiral Hipper, therefore, transshipped to the *Moltke* on a torpedo boat and under a heavy fire. The *Derfflinger* meantime took the lead temporarily. Parts of the German torpedo flotilla attacked the enemy's main fleet and heard detonations. In the action the Germans lost a torpedo boat. An enemy destroyer was seen in a sinking condition, having been hit by a torpedo.

After the first violent onslaught into the mass of the superior enemy the opponents lost sight of each other in the smoke by powder clouds. After a short cessation in the artillery combat Vice Admiral Scheer ordered a new attack by all the available forces.

German battle cruisers, which with several light cruisers and torpedo boats again headed the line, encountered the enemy soon after 9 o'clock and renewed the heavy fire, which was answered by them from the mist, and then by the leading division of the main fleet. Armored cruisers now flung themselves in a reckless onset at extreme speed against the enemy line in order to cover the attack of torpedo boats. They approached the enemy line, although covered with shot from 6,000 meters distance. Several German torpedo flotillas dashed forward to attack, delivered torpedoes, and re-

turned, despite the most severe counter-fire, with the loss of only one boat. The bitter artillery fight was again interrupted, after this second violent onslaught, by the smoke from guns and funnels.

Several torpedo flotillas, which were ordered to attack somewhat later, found, after penetrating the smoke cloud, that the enemy fleet was no longer before them; nor, when the fleet commander again brought the German squadrons upon the southerly and southwesterly course, where the enemy was last seen, could our opponents be found. Only once more—shortly before 10:30 o'clock—did the battle flare up. For a short time in the late twilight German battle cruisers sighted four enemy capital ships to seaward and opened fire immediately. As the two German battleship squadrons attacked, the enemy turned and vanished in the darkness. Older German light cruisers of the fourth reconnoissance group also were engaged with the older enemy armored cruisers in a short fight. This ended the day battle.

The German divisions, which, after losing sight of the enemy, began a night cruise in a southerly direction, were attacked until dawn by enemy light force in rapid succession.

The attacks were favored by the general strategic situation and the particularly dark night.

The cruiser *Frauenlob* was injured severely during the engagement of the

fourth reconnoissance group with a superior cruiser force, and was lost from sight.

One armored cruiser of the *Cressy* class suddenly appeared close to a German battleship and was shot into fire after forty seconds, and sank in four minutes.

The *Florent*, (?) Destroyer 60, (the names were hard to decipher in the darkness and therefore were uncertainly established,) and four destroyers—3, 78, 06, and 27—were destroyed by our fire. One destroyer was cut in two by the ram of a German battleship. Seven destroyers, including the G-30, were hit and severely damaged. These, including the *Tipperary* and *Turbulent*, which, after saving survivors, were left behind in a sinking condition, drifted past our line, some of them burning at the bow or stern.

The tracks of countless torpedoes were sighted by the German ships, but only the *Pommern* (a battleship) fell an immediate victim to a torpedo. The cruiser *Rostock* was hit, but remained afloat. The cruiser *Elbing* was damaged by a German battleship during an unavoidable manoeuvre. After vain endeavors to keep the ship afloat the *Elbing* was blown up, but only after her crew had embarked on torpedo boats. A post torpedo boat was struck by a mine laid by the enemy.

[The report closes with a summary of the German losses as already published.]

German Official Account, Based on Statements of British Prisoners

A supplementary narrative of the battle of the Skagerrak, in the form of a telegram based on statements of 177 British prisoners, was transmitted officially on June 20 by the German Admiralty. The text is as follows:

THE British forces participating in the battle were the reconnoitring forces under Vice Admiral Beatty and the main body of the British Navy under Admiral Jellicoe. The reconnoitring

forces comprised six battle cruisers—the flagship *Lion*, the *Queen Mary*, the *Princess Royal*, and the *Tiger* as the first division, and the *Indefatigable* and the flagship *New Zealand* as the second division. The first division was complete, but *H. M. S. Australia* of the second division was absent for secret reasons. Besides these ships, there were under Beatty's command five swift battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* type and

a large number of small modern cruisers, the names of thirteen of which were verified by each of the prisoners. There were also two destroyer flotillas, comprising about forty destroyers, among which were the most modern types.

The main body of the fleet engaged in the battle was composed of three battleship squadrons of from six to eight dreadnoughts each, one special squadron of three of the most modern battleships of the Royal Sovereign type, one division formed by the battle-cruisers *Invincible*, *Indomitable*, and *Inflexible*, a squadron of armored cruisers comprising six ships, and at least ten small cruisers and four flotillas of from eighty to one hundred destroyers.

When Beatty sighted the German reconnoitring forces to the east he formed a middle line with his six battle cruisers and turned southeast. The ships of the Queen Elizabeth type also turned southeast and attempted to join the battle cruisers. Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon the Germans opened fire at a distance of about eighteen kilometers, [approximately eleven miles.] Shortly after 6 o'clock a huge explosion occurred on board the *Queen Mary*, midships, on the port side. Two other explosions followed, and the forward part of the ship sank rapidly. At the fourth and most severe explosion the entire ship sank. This was the work of from only five to ten minutes.

Scarcely had the *Indefatigable* arrived on the scene of the accident when she was also shaken by an explosion. The ship capsized and sank so quickly that of the fourteen men who were in the fighting top only two were rescued. These two are apparently the only survivors of the *Indefatigable's* crew of about 1,000. After the sinking of these two ships Admiral Beatty signaled to the Thirteenth British flotilla to attack the German battle cruisers. The order was understood only by the nearest destroyers and was regarded by several of the prisoners as a desperate resort. In this attack the most modern British destroyers, the *Nestor* and the *Nomad*, were sunk. Their crews were later rescued from rafts and lifeboats by German torpedo boats.

In the meanwhile, the ships of the Queen Elizabeth type approached. The distance between the British ships and the German cruisers had diminished to ten kilometers, [approximately six miles.] The British battle cruisers steamed northward at high speed and were soon out of range. The Queen Elizabeth type ships continued battle, turning northward in order to "cut off the enemy," as ordered by Beatty. Soon one of the Queen Elizabeth type ships left the British line with a heavy list. The prisoners state expressly that it was the *Warspite*. The wireless sent by the *Turbulent* that the *Warspite* was sunk was intercepted by about eight British destroyers.

The rescued prisoners disagree as to the time of Admiral Jellicoe's arrival with the main body of the fleet. Prisoners from Jellicoe's fleet state that they were steaming southward in several columns when they received Beatty's first wireless transmitted by the small cruiser *Galatea*. Thereupon Jellicoe gave the order to continue southward at top speed. The prisoners saw only the flames from Beatty's artillery when Jellicoe turned north and formed a line toward the northwest and west. The battle cruisers of the main body, the *Invincible*, the *Indomitable*, and the *Inflexible*, were ahead with the armored cruisers. At this time the British battleship *Marlborough* was hit by a torpedo which is said to have been fired by a submarine. If so, the submarine must have been British, since there were no German submarines in the battle.

A British armored cruiser attacked a large isolated German ship which steered slowly southward. At the same time the British main body opened fire. When the armored cruisers returned to the main body, the *Defense* was missing. By this time the *Warrior* had large holes midships just above the waterline. Shortly after the British main body entered the battle a German shot set fire to the *Invincible*, an explosion followed, and the ship sank. The Germans shot at long range and annihilated the destroyer *Acasta*, standing near the head of the line. The reports of other prisoners about the movements of the British main body

until dark conflict. The point on which they agree is that at dark the British Navy steered northward in columns. The destroyer Tipperary asked permission to turn southward alone to attack the Germans. Permission was granted, but she encountered the German flotilla and was defeated and sunk. The survivors were rescued by the Germans. Beatty's thirteenth flotilla had failed to join the battle cruisers and turned southward at dark. It encountered several large ships which it mistook for British. The Germans opened fire and destroyed the Tur-

bulent. All the officers and a part of the crew were lost. The survivors were rescued by German torpedo boats.

Almost all the British prisoners expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that the British made no effort to rescue them, although almost all the best British ships participated in the battle. The survivors of the Queen Mary and of the Indefatigable had been in the water for almost four hours before they were rescued by the Germans. They had already given up all hope, for nothing had been seen of the British ships for hours.

Vivid Story of an Eyewitness

By a British Naval Officer

AT 3:45 on May 31 action stations were sounded off by the buglers, and this was the first indication vouchsafed to us that anything out of the common was about to take place. Accordingly we all dashed off to our posts, because "action" is only sounded off when there is more or less of an emergency; thus it behooves one to get to one's place as soon as possible. When we were closed up and reported correct the news came through that a light cruiser had sighted two destroyers and some smoke to the eastward, and was in pursuit. So we who were not in the know thought that possibly we might see a Hun light cruiser and no more.

Then suddenly we got the report, "Enemy in sight," and I think every one's heart gave a jump. At last, after all these months of weary waiting and preparation, were we going to get a look in at the be-all and end-all of our existence—action with the German fleet? However, there was not much time to think, for the orders came through quick enough now. The guns were loaded, and then round trained the turret on to our first target, a small light cruiser nearer to us than is healthy for such craft. "Fire!" an eternity—and then, bang, and away goes our first salvo. The shots fell near the enemy, but she scuttled away. We let her have another

salvo, then ceased fire, and turned our attention to bigger game that was now within range—the German battle cruisers.

We, the fast battleships, were, as has already been stated, astern of the battle cruisers and had opened fire between ten and twenty minutes of their first shots. Now we all of us got going hard, the battle cruisers and ourselves against the German battle cruisers and the German High Sea Fleet, which had now put in an appearance. So, in spite of the stories of the Germans, they were most undoubtedly considerably superior to the British force present, and remained so until the arrival of the Grand Fleet some hours later, and yet, in spite of this overwhelming superiority, they only succeeded at this stage of the battle in sinking two of our big ships at a huge cost to themselves, because there can be little doubt that up to then they got as good as they gave and a bit more.

The firing now became very general indeed, and the continued roar and shriek of our own guns, coupled with one's work, left little opportunity to think about outside matters. The only predominant thing I, in common with others, remember was the rapid bang, bang, bang of our smaller secondary armament, as we thought; but during a lull we discovered that this was the German

shell bursting on the water all round the ship with so loud an explosion that it could be heard right deep down in the heart of the ship. We were at this time receiving a very heavy fire indeed, our own battle cruisers having become disengaged for twenty minutes to half an hour, so that the fire of the whole German fleet was concentrated on us. However, we stuck it, and gave back a good deal, I fancy.

Especially unpleasant, though, was a period of half an hour during which we were unable to see the enemy, while they could see us most clearly. Thus we were unable to fire a shot and had to rest content with steaming through a tornado of shell fire without loosing off a gun, which was somewhat trying. However, about 6:30 the sun silhouetted up the Germans and completely turned the tables as far as light was concerned, and for a period of some twenty minutes we gave them a most terrific dressing down which we trust they will remember. Then down came the mist again, and we had to close them right down to four miles in the attempt to see the enemy, and four miles is, of course, about as near as one likes to get to the foe, as torpedoes then come into play.

It was at this stage that, owing to some temporary defect, the Warspite's helm jammed, and she went straight at the enemy into a hell of fire. She looked a most wonderful sight, every gun firing for all it was worth in reply. Luckily she got under control quickly and returned to the line, and it was this incident that gave rise to the German legend that she had been sunk.

The action continued with unabated fury until the arrival of the Grand Fleet somewhere about 7. It was just before this that the Invincible had met her fate, as also the Defense and Black Prince—the two latter, apparently, in a gallant attempt to save the Warrior, which was successful in so far that the crew of the Warrior were saved, although the ship had eventually to be abandoned.

The arrival of the Grand Fleet relieved

the tension upon us somewhat, and the battle cruiser force went on ahead, while we dropped back, content to let the Grand Fleet finish off the work, but the Germans were not "having any" as they say in America, and almost immediately turned to run, pursued by our fleet. We were, of course, considerably superior now, but it was little use. For about half an hour the Grand Fleet and ourselves were firing, during which time it is pretty certain that we inflicted very material damage on the enemy, but after that the failing light and the very evident desire of the enemy to get away from such unpleasant company rendered it impossible to turn an undoubted success into a certain and decisive victory, for by that the navy means annihilation.

And at last, about 9, we discontinued the action, but continued to follow them. Right through the darkness there were constant destroyer attacks, and the sky was lighted up the whole night by the flashes of the guns and by fires caused among the enemy by our shells. It was in fact a very awe-inspiring sight.

As is known, the enemy succeeded in attacking the Marlborough, but fruitlessly, as she returned to port, and is no doubt once more at sea.

We continued to cruise about all night and the next day, offering battle to the enemy, but they were scuttling back to security, and we saw nothing of them, and so finally returned home, the battle cruisers and ourselves content that we had been able to attack and hold the German fleet, though we were so inferior in numbers, until our Grand Fleet could join issue with the enemy; and our battle fleet, well satisfied that they at last, after twenty-two months' dreary waiting, had in the end got near enough to give the Germans a taste of our metal. But of course our contentment was clouded by the disappointment that the German fleet had escaped its doom by a chain of circumstances beyond our control. Please Heaven that if, and when, they come again they will not go back, and one more menace to our peace will be destroyed.

Naval Losses of Britain and Germany

By Archibald Hurd

Naval Expert of The London Telegraph

THE battle of Jutland marks a stage in the naval war; for some time nothing will be seen of the High Seas Fleet. The strategical victory of the British fleet became apparent as soon as it was known that the enemy had fled back to port. With each day that passes the material victory is being revealed in its true light. The Admiralty made no secret of our losses; they were immediately announced. The Germans, anxious to produce psychological effects at home and abroad, determined on a policy of concealment.

The course of the disclosures as to the fate of German ships merits examination:

First—It was admitted that “the small cruiser Wiesbaden was sunk” and that the Pommern—the character of that ship not being mentioned—had also been destroyed; the light cruiser Frauenlob was “missing,” with “some torpedo boats.” The rest of the High Seas Fleet, it was declared, “had returned to our harbors.”

Second—It had to be confessed by the Germans that the light cruiser Elbing had been sunk, because neutrals had rescued some of the crew.

Third—A week after the return of the High Seas Fleet to its bases a statement was issued to the effect that “one battle cruiser, (the Lützow,) one ship of the line of older construction, (the Pommern,) four smaller cruisers,” (the Wiesbaden, Elbing, Frauenlob, and Rostock,) and “five torpedo boats” (really destroyers) represented “the total loss.”

Fourth—It is now known that the battle cruiser Seydlitz was run ashore to save her from sinking; she is practically a wreck, and useless for months, if not forever, but has been got into port. It is asserted by travelers who have returned to Amsterdam that the battle cruiser Derfflinger sank “on being towed into Wilhelmshaven,” and it is reported from Copenhagen that the Pommern was not the battleship which was

torpedoed in the Baltic by a British submarine in July last, but a new battle cruiser which, after that battleship had disappeared, was named, for territorial reasons, after the German State, thus perpetuating its association with the navy. The story of the sinking of the dreadnought battleship Ostfriesland awaits confirmation.

It will be seen that considerable progress has been made since the Germans, having raced back to port in confusion, chased by Admiral Jellicoe, put into circulation the story of their “victory,” without waiting to count their losses.

It is certain that the truth as to the injury suffered by the enemy has not yet been revealed. But sufficient is known to indicate that the reduction of the size of his fleet has been great, particularly if the relative standing of the two navies be remembered.

It may be of some interest to consider what have been the losses suffered on both sides of the North Sea since the war opened on Aug. 4, 1914, if we accept Germany's own assessment of the damage which was inflicted on her on May 31. We are justified in making two corrections in the German official declarations on the evidence now available; the Pommern was a new battle cruiser, sister of the Lützow, being the vessel of that type of the 1914 programme, and the Seydlitz, for all present purposes, may be regarded as no longer effective, if, indeed, she can be repaired during the course of the war. Either she or the Derfflinger may be put down as definitely lost.

Of course, British officers and men are convinced by their eyes, as well as their acts, that a number of other German ships, including at least one battleship of the Kaiser class, and possibly two, as well as two or more battle cruisers, will never fly the Prussian naval ensign again. But on that matter we shall not be wrong in awaiting Admiral Sir John

Jellicoe's dispatch before attempting to reach any definite conclusion, though personally I am sanguine. For our present purpose let the amended German admissions—two battle cruisers, the Lützow and Pommern, and four light cruisers—be accepted in making a calculation as to the relative progress of attrition.

On that basis, what has been the reduction of effective naval strength so far only as capital ships and cruisers are concerned? The ships that count most in all fleets today are those belonging to what is generally described as the dreadnought era. The dreadnought battleship and battle cruiser, apart from their armament and armor, are remarkable for the advance of speed, due to the introduction of the marine turbine—all honor to the Hon. Sir Charles Parsons, the inventor. The increase of speed in the capital ship reacted on smaller cruisers; in fact, a fresh impetus was given to the improvement of all classes of vessels by the investigations of Lord Fisher's Designs Committee in 1904. We gained a lead, and other nations have followed our example. So we may first set out the ships of the dreadnought era (displacements in parentheses) which have been lost in the war, the statistics being based on official admissions:

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|--|
| Nil. | | Nil. | |
| BATTLESHIPS | | | |
| Tons. | | Tons. | |
| Invincible (17,250) | *Goeben (22,640) | | |
| Indefatigable.. (18,750) | Pommern (28,000) | | |
| Queen Mary... (27,000) | Lützow (28,000) | | |
| — | †Blücher (15,500) | | |
| — | ‡Seydlitz (24,600) | | |
| Totals. 3 of (63,000) | | 5 of (118,740) | |

*The Goeben is ineffective in the Sea of Marmora. †The Blücher was a contemporary of the Invincible. ‡The Seydlitz is probably as good as destroyed.

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--|
| Nil. | | Nil. | |
| BATTLE CRUISERS | | | |
| Tons. | | Tons. | |
| Amphion (3,440) | Karlsruhe (4,822) | | |
| Arethusa (3,560) | Magdeburg (4,478) | | |
| — | Köln (4,280) | | |
| — | Mainz (4,280) | | |
| — | Emden (3,598) | | |
| — | Dresden (3,396) | | |
| — | Königsberg ... (3,348) | | |
| — | Nürnberg (3,396) | | |
| — | Leipzig (3,200) | | |
| — | Rostock (4,820) | | |
| — | Wiesbaden (5,600) | | |
| — | Elbing (4,300) | | |
| Totals... 2 of (7,000) | | 12 of (45,238) | |

The above statements show that Ger-

many's losses in the most modern and effective ships—even if she fared no worse than she declares in the battle of Jutland—have been far heavier actually than ours since the war opened. But the real significance is only extracted from the figures, if they be considered on a proportionate basis. Ignoring the 1914-15 shipbuilding programs of England and Germany, about the carrying out of which there may be some doubt, the position in dreadnought battleships and battle cruisers built and building was on the outbreak of war as under:

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|------------------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| 35, of 818,100 tons | | 19, of 450,250 tons | |
| BATTLE CRUISERS | | | |
| 10, of 215,800 tons | | 8 of 186,120 tons | |
| Totals. 45 of 1,033,900 tons | | 27 of 636,370 tons | |

Consequently, while on this showing we have lost 6.6 per cent. of our strength in battleships and battle cruisers, Germany is the weaker by 18.5 per cent. of hers. In other words, her proportionate loss has been nearly three times as great as ours.

What is the position as to light cruisers which may be regarded as belonging to the dreadnought period? We possessed thirty-eight, and Germany twenty-seven. In the course of the war we have lost one of these, as well as the Amphion, slightly older; Germany has been robbed of twelve. On that basis our loss has amounted to 5.2 per cent., while the enemy has been weakened by nearly 45 per cent.

But both fleets have sustained other losses of good ships belonging to the years immediately preceding the dreadnought era—vessels which were still effective. I have endeavored to prepare a list of such losses in the following table, taking as a basis predreadnought vessels not older than fifteen years, and thus excluding ships belonging to the last century. Any such arbitrary rule is apt to be misleading, but a line must be drawn somewhere. So we may rule out ships of the predreadnought era launched before 1900. We must include in German losses the battleship Pommern, sunk in the Baltic last July:

BATTLESHIPS

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|-----------------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| King Edward VII. | Tons. | Pommern | Tons. |
| King Edward VII. | (16,350) | | (12,977) |
| Triumph | (11,955) | | |
| Russell | (14,000) | | |
| Totals. 3 of (42,305) | | 1 of (12,977) | |

ARMORED CRUISERS

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| Natal | Tons. | Scharnhorst | Tons. |
| Natal | (13,550) | Scharnhorst | (11,420) |
| Argyll | (10,850) | Gneisenau | (11,420) |
| Good Hope | (14,100) | Yorck | (9,350) |
| Monmouth | (9,800) | Friedr'h Karl | (8,858) |
| Defense | (14,600) | Pr'z Adalbert | (8,858) |
| Warrior | (13,550) | | |
| Black Prince | (13,550) | | |
| Hampshire | (10,850) | | |
| Totals. 8 of (100,850) | | 5 of (49,806) | |

LIGHT CRUISERS

| BRITAIN | | GERMANY | |
|----------------------|---------|--------------|---------|
| Pathfinder | Tons. | Bremen | Tons. |
| Pathfinder | (2,940) | Bremen | (3,200) |
| | | Undine | (2,672) |
| | | Ariadne | (2,618) |
| Totals. 1 of (2,940) | | 3 of (8,490) | |

That appears to be a far less satisfactory statement than the earlier one. How does it appear on a percentage basis? In the years 1900-5 we laid down sixteen battleships (predreadnoughts) to Germany's fourteen, so that our loss has been much greater actually and relatively than Germany's. But, on the other hand, we had a very large reserve of slightly older vessels, of which more must be said later on, and we initiated the building of dreadnoughts a year before Germany. Turning to armored cruisers, we began in the same period twenty-three, while Germany put in hand only six. Both navies have been much weakened, ours by eight vessels and the Germans by five. But while our proportionate reduction has been only 34 per cent., in the case of Germany it has been about 83 per cent. In light cruisers of the older types she has also come off worst.

It is in the matter of the yet older ships that we have received the greatest injury, and that fact is due largely, though not entirely, to the Dardanelles operations. Of battleships belonging to the last century, there have gone the Bulwark, (launched 1899,) Formidable, (1898,) Irresistible, (1898,)—three ships we could ill spare—Ocean, (1898,) Goliath, (1898,) and Majestic, (1895,) and we have also had to deplore the Aboukir, Hogue, and Cressy of the armored classes, as well as the Hermes, Hawke, and Pegasus. But, in spite of all that has

happened, we possess today thirty-one predreadnought battleships to Germany's nineteen, and twenty-three armored cruisers to one really effective ship of that type—the Roon—in the German fleet, though, let it be added, Germany has two obsolescent vessels—the Fürst Bismarck and Prinz Heinrich.

During every day of the war—a period of 678 days—the British Navy has been commanding the seas. It has been exposed to the enemy's submarines and to the vicissitudes of weather. It has been compelled to take risks. On the other hand, the German fleet has surrendered all the advantages flowing from the command of the ocean communications of the world. We have been drawing for ourselves, as well as the Allies, fresh military strength from the seas; at the same time, by denying their use to the enemy, we have weakened him.

There is no gain without loss. We have had to regret not so much ships, though many have been destroyed, as officers and men. That is the item in the war ledger that is full of sadness. We can, however, contemplate the depletion of material with equanimity. It is demonstrated by the figures that have been quoted that in men-of-war of the latest construction and the greatest efficiency we possess today a larger margin of strength than we possessed when the war opened. Our superiority must be considered, not in the light of the actual number of effective ships destroyed, but in relation to our relative strength when the war opened. That examination shows what proportion of the original modern fleet still remains for the protection of British interests. The position is consoling. For obvious reasons the additions which have since been made to the British forces cannot be taken into account, and therefore the revelation of our standing is, in fact, less gratifying than it would appear were it possible to deal with the matter in all its fullness.

But one fact emerges from this consideration of the naval position. Despite Germany's "victory" of May 31 we hold the seas in greater force than at the beginning of the war.

The Attack On the Petrolite

Story of the Events That Produced the Recent Peremptory Note to Austria-Hungary

SECRETARY LANSING'S sharp note of June 21 to the Austro-Hungarian Government, demanding redress for the attack upon the American oil steamer *Petrolite* in the Mediterranean on Dec. 5, 1915, has an interesting story behind it, which has not had its share of public attention. The *Petrolite*, a tank steamer returning to this country in ballast, was compelled to furnish provisions to an Austrian submarine after having been made the target of twelve or fourteen explosive shells, at least one of which struck the vessel, damaging it and injuring a member of the crew.

The first definite report of the event came to the State Department through the Navy Department in the following telegram from Commander Blakely of the United States Cruiser *Des Moines*. The message had been sent from Canea, Crete, on Dec. 6, and read as follows:

The *Des Moines* has received the following radiogram from the American ship *Petrolite*, bound from Alexandria, Egypt, for New York: "Attacked by submarine this (Sunday) morning about 5:20 in latitude 32 degrees 35 minutes north, longitude 26 degrees 8 minutes east. One man wounded, not seriously. (Signed) Thompson, Master." In answer to my inquiry I have received the following information: "Submarine carried Austrian flag. Officers said she looked like a big cruiser. Man wounded by an exploding shell. *Petrolite* belonged to Standard Oil Company and was commissioned April 14, 1915. At the time she was attacked she was about 350 miles west of Alexandria and just southeast of the Island of Crete, distant about 120 miles."

When the *Petrolite* reached Philadelphia on Jan. 16 the commanding officer, Captain Thompson, filed a protest next day at Washington, furnishing affidavits to the effect that his vessel was shelled after he had stopped the engines, and that, when he refused to sell supplies, he had been compelled to furnish them by threats. According to Captain Thompson he was in his cabin on the morning

of Dec. 5 when his second officer reported the presence, about four miles astern, of a submarine. The submarine began firing just as the Captain reached the deck. Immediately, he says, he gave the order to stop, and swung the vessel around broadside to let the submarine know her identity. Still the firing continued. One shell exploded in the engine room, severely injuring Larsen, a Danish member of the crew. Captain Thompson went out in a small boat to the submarine, which was flying the Austrian flag, and the commander of the under-seas craft demanded provisions, declaring that he would have to take them by force if he did not get them by other means. Captain Thompson says he was warned that the *Petrolite* had better not try to escape, and, as a guarantee that she would not, the Austrian commander took off one of the American sailors from the small boat, threatening to shoot him if any attempt were made to evade his demands. The affidavit adds that when the submarine commander was told that a member of the *Petrolite's* crew had been wounded he merely laughed.

The United States Government, after a careful investigation of the evidence, sent a brief note calling for a disavowal of the *Petrolite* attack on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government. The latter sent an unsatisfactory reply, which reached Secretary Lansing on Feb. 25. Neither of these two notes has been given to the public in full, but from semi-official sources the gist of the Austrian reply is ascertained to be as follows:

(1) That the commander of the Austrian submarine fired on the *Petrolite* because he thought the vessel was about to attack the submarine, the assertion being made that the submarine commander based this belief on the statement in his report to the Viennese Admiralty that the *Petrolite* changed her course.

(2) That while the *Petrolite* flew the American flag the commander of the Austrian submarine labored under the belief that the

vessel was an enemy tank ship flying the American flag "as a trick."

(3) That the Austrian submarine commander reports that the Captain of the Petrolite furnished the submarine with provisions voluntarily and refused to accept pay for them, and that the submarine did not forcibly take provisions from the American steamer.

After further investigation, the United States Government has found the facts to be widely at variance with the explanation offered by the Vienna authorities, and is compelled to regard the conduct of the commander of the submarine in attacking the Petrolite and in coercing the Captain as a deliberate insult to the

American flag and an invasion of the rights of American citizens. The Austrian contention that the Petrolite's Captain voluntarily gave up supplies is flatly contradicted in the American note of June 21, printed in full below; likewise the claims that warning shots were fired across the Petrolite's bow before she was shelled, and that her appearance was such as to justify the submarine commander in mistaking her for a cruiser. The United States Government therefore asks that an apology be made, that the commander of the submarine be punished, and that a suitable indemnity be paid for injuries sustained.

American Note Demanding Redress for Austrian Attack on the Petrolite

THE note of Feb. 25 from the Austro-Hungarian Government, which attempted to defend the submarine attack of Dec. 5, 1915, upon the American steamer Petrolite, has been found unacceptable by the United States Government. The rejoinder takes the form of a memorandum from Secretary of State Lansing to Ambassador Penfield, the full text of which follows:

Department of State,

Washington, June 21, 1916.

Frederic Courtland Penfield, United States Ambassador, Vienna:

Evidence obtained from the Captain and members of the crew of the steamer Petrolite, and from examination made of the vessel under direction of the Navy Department, convinces this Government that the Austro-Hungarian Government has obtained an incorrect report of the attack on the steamer. With particular reference to the explanation made by the Foreign Office, the following information, briefly stated, has been obtained from sworn statements of the Captain and members of the crew:

No shot was fired across the bow of the steamer as a signal to stop. When the first shot was fired the Captain was under the impression that an explosion had taken place in the engine room. Not until the second shot was fired did the Captain and crew sight the submarine, which was astern of the steamer, and therefore they positively assert that neither the first nor the second shot was fired across the bow of the vessel.

The steamer did not swing around in a course directed toward the submarine, as alleged in the report obtained by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but the Captain at once stopped the engines and swung the vessel broadside to the submarine, and at right angles to the course of the vessel, in order to show its neutral markings, which was manifestly the reasonable and proper course to follow, and it ceased to make any headway. On the steamer was painted its name in letters approximately six feet long, and the name of the hailing port, and, as has previously been made known to the Austro-Hungarian Government, the steamer carried two large flags some distance above the waterline, which, it is positively stated by the officers and crew, were flying before the first shot was fired, and were not hoisted after the first shot, as stated by the submarine commander.

The submarine commander admits that the steamer stopped her engines. The Captain of the Petrolite denies that the vessel was ever headed toward the submarine, and the examination of the steamer made by an American naval constructor corroborates this statement, because, as he states, the shell which took effect on the vessel, striking the deck house, which surrounds the smokestack, was fired from a point forty-five degrees on the starboard bow. This was one of the last shots fired and indicates that the ship was not headed toward the submarine even up to the time when the submarine ceased firing. The Captain states that the submarine appeared to be manoeuvring so as to direct her shots from ahead of the steamer. The submarine fired approximately twelve shots. The majority of the shots were fired after the ship

had stopped and had swung broadside, and while, as even the commander of the submarine admits, the steamer was flying the American flag. The Captain of the steamer denies that he advised the commander of the submarine that the damage to the steamer was insignificant. He states that he advised him that the steamer had been damaged, but that he had not had an opportunity to ascertain the extent of the damage. The seaman who was struck by a fragment of shell sustained severe flesh wounds.

If the ship had intended to ram the submarine, she would not have stopped her engines, and this must have been evident to the submarine commander. Naval authorities agree that there could have been no danger of the ship ramming the submarine until it was headed straight for the submarine and was under power, and even then the submarine could have so manoeuvred as to avoid collision. The Petrolite was two miles away from the submarine. The engines and funnel of the Petrolite were at the stern, and from the general appearance of the ship no experienced naval officer could have believed that it had opportunity or sufficient speed to attack, even if it had been steaming directly toward the submarine. The conduct of the submarine commander showed lack of judgment, self-control, or willful intent, amounting to utter disregard of the rights of a neutral.

According to the sworn statements of the Captain of the steamer and a seaman who accompanied him to the submarine, the commander of the latter stated that he mistook the steamer for a cruiser. This statement is at variance with the statement in the Austro-Hungarian Government's note that the Captain of the submarine asserted a false manoeuvre on the part of the steamer prompted the submarine to continue to fire.

The Captain of the steamer swears that he informed the commander of the submarine that he had only sufficient provisions to reach the port of Algiers, and that he would deliver provisions only under compulsion. He states positively in his affidavit and in conversation with officials of the department that he did not give provisions readily, nor did he say it

was the duty of one seaman to help another, and that he refused payment because he felt that he was being compelled to deliver food in violation of law.

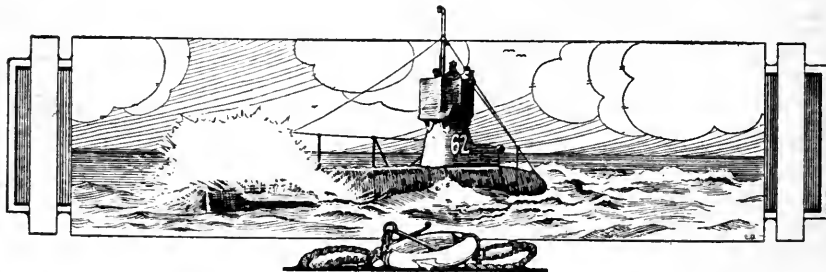
The statement of the Captain of the Petrolite is entirely at variance with the report of the submarine commander. The correctness of the Captain's opinion that the wounded seaman was held as a hostage to guarantee the delivery of food seems clear. Obviously, the commander of the submarine had no right to order the seaman to remain on board. The fact that this order was given showed that the commander insisted that food was to be delivered to him, otherwise the seaman would naturally have accompanied the Captain back to his vessel. The outrageous conduct of the submarine commander and all the circumstances of the attack on the Petrolite warranted the Captain in regarding himself as being compelled, in order to avoid further violence, to deliver food to the commander of the submarine.

In the absence of other and more satisfactory explanation of the attack on the steamer than that contained in the note addressed to you by the Foreign Office, the Government of the United States is compelled to regard the conduct of the commander of the submarine in attacking the Petrolite and in coercing the Captain as a deliberate insult to the flag of the United States and an invasion of the rights of American citizens, for which this Government requests that an apology be made; that the commander of the submarine be punished; and that reparation be made for the injuries sustained by the payment of a suitable indemnity.

Please communicate with Foreign Office in sense of foregoing.

You may add that this Government believes that the Austro-Hungarian Government will promptly comply with these requests, in view of their manifest justness and the high sense of honor of that Government, which would not, it is believed, permit an indignity to be offered to the flag of a friendly power or wrongs to its nationals by an Austro-Hungarian officer without making immediate and ample amends.

LANSING.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

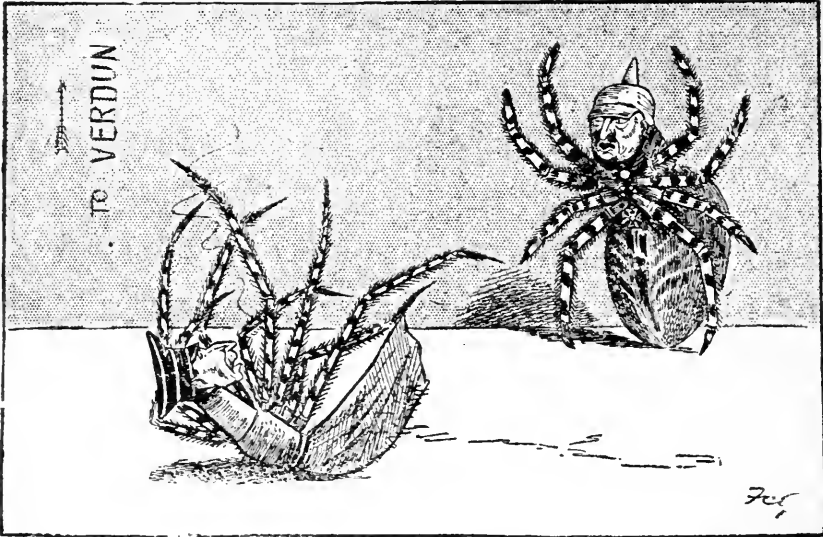
[German Cartoon]

The Holy War



[A German artist's dream of a Mohammedan uprising against the British in India and Egypt.]

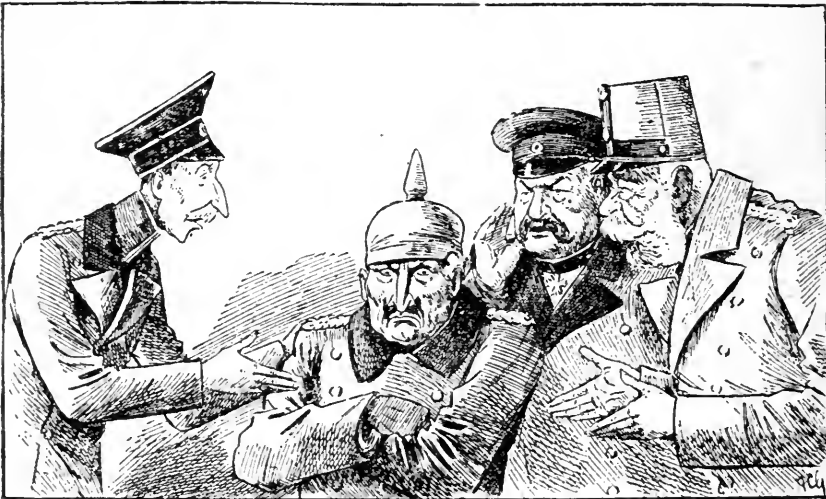
Troubles of the Crown Prince



THE KAISER SPIDER: "What! down again, Willie? Never mind—remember King Robert Bruce's spider! Try again!"

WILLIE: "Oh! strafe that Scottish spider! He only fell six or seven times! I've been down sixty or seventy, and I get bumped worse each time! Why don't you try it yourself?"

Wanted!



—From The Westminster Gazette.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR: "I want reinforcements!"

HINDENBURG: "I want my Army Corps back!"

THE CROWN PRINCE: "I want every man you can spare me!"

THE KAISER: "But where are they to come from?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Toward the Abyss



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

THE KAISER TO HIS ALLY: "Forward! We are making progress."

[Russian Cartoon]

A World Bandit

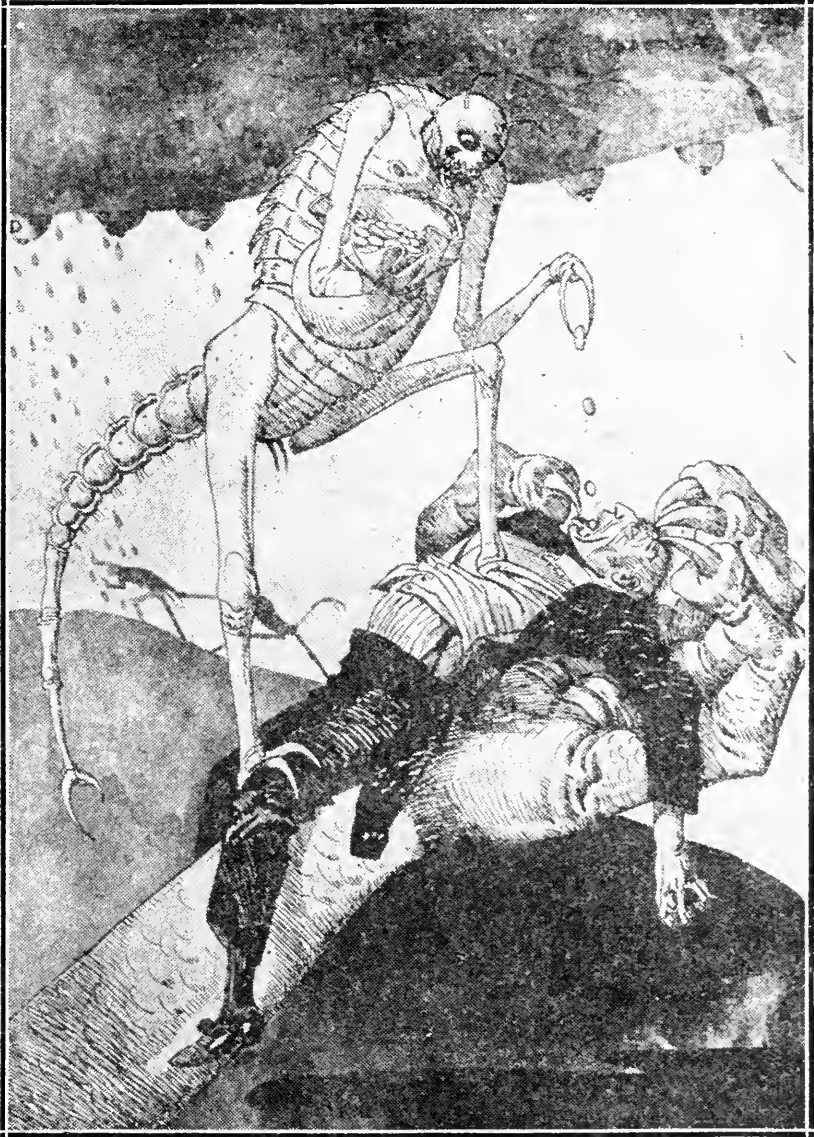


—From the *Mucha*, Warsaw.

The Crown Prince Hohenrobber.

[German Cartoon]

British Profit Hunger



English statesmen never get enough on earth; so much the more certain are they to get it in hell.

[French Cartoon]

German Arms



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

“Come, officer, give me your sword.”

“We have no sword, but I will pass you my bottle of vitriol.”

[English Cartoon]

Gott Strafe!



—From *The Sketch*, London.

HANS (*watching the enemy through the trench periscope, and hailing them*):
“Vot vos you?”

THE ENEMY: “Munsters.”

FRITZ: “Monsters! Gott in Himmel! Vot vos ve up against now?”

[Hungarian Cartoon]

Let Joy Be Unconfined



—From *Borszem Janko*.

“Dance, children, dance till you fall; I am not weary.”

[French Cartoon]

In Galicia



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

The Latest Joy Ride of the Cossacks.

[German Cartoon]

The Horn of Plenty



—By T. T. Heine of Munich.

But the Flood It Pours Over the Earth Is Red.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Injured Innocent

"Germany is a peace-loving nation and never did desire war."—German Chancellor's Reichstag Speech.



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

"Can't yer *SEE* what a peace-loving man I am?"

[German Cartoon]

“The Lying-Slander Traffic”



“So long as England’s cables are intact she can still send her chief article of export all over the world as usual.”

[French Cartoon]
The Russian Drive



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

A Simple Shove of the Shoulder.

[French Cartoon]

In the Hospital



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

“Don’t be discouraged; you can soon go to the front again.”

[English Cartoon]
The Home Run



—From *London Opinion*.

The game will be finished on the stroke of the hour.

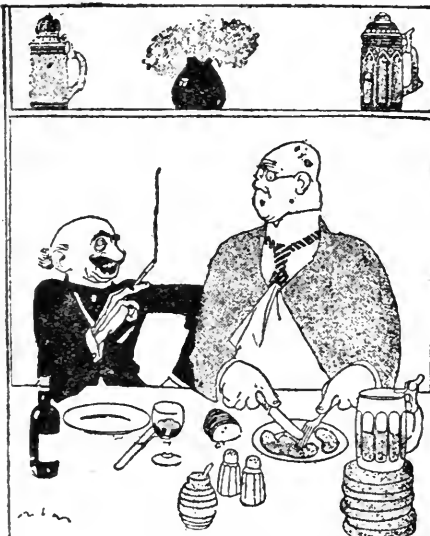
[French Cartoon]
Austrian Tactics



FIRST SOLDIER: "I believe we are de-camping."

SECOND SOLDIER: "Be quiet! It's a manoeuvre which the official bulletins call 'breaking contact.'"

[Spanish Cartoon]
A Conceded Claim



—From *L'Esquella*, Barcelona.

"Every German, you may be sure, is worth three men of any other nation."
"Certainly! Especially at meal time."

[Italian Cartoon]
Overworked



—From the *Mondo Umoristico*, Milan.

"And you, Baroness, what have you done for the Red Cross?"

"I have taken part in ten benefit balls, three theatricals, and a grand reception with illuminations."

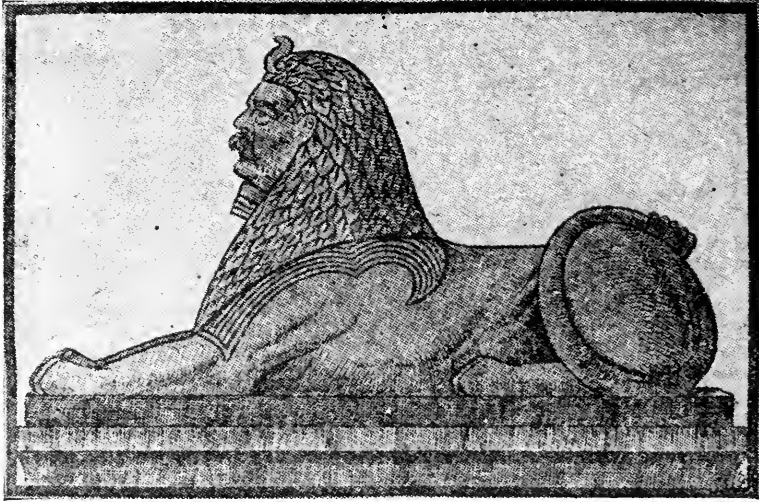
[English Cartoon]

King of the World

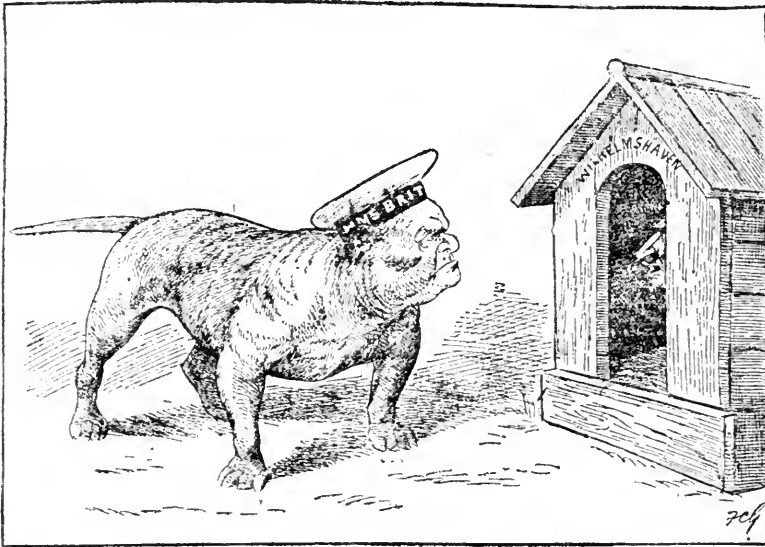


The Only Ruler Whose New Conquests Are Undisputed.

Kitchener of Khartum



After the Jutland Fight



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

THE GERMAN: "Why don't you go away? I licked you!"

THE BRITISH BULLDOG: "Licked me! You mean you escaped by running away. If you think you licked me, why don't you come out?"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Secret Diplomacy



—By Louis Raemaekers.

Planning the First Moves in the Great War.

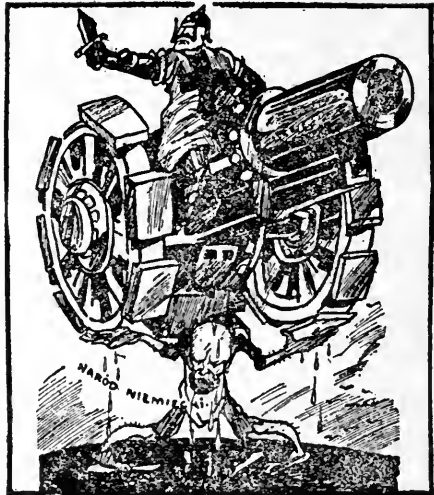
[Italian Cartoon]
The Battle of Jutland



—From *Fischietto*, Turin.

"Wilhelm demands the trident, and he most certainly got it."

[Russian Cartoon]
Before Verdun



—From the *Mucha*, late of Warsaw, now of Moscow.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: "Hi! You up there. I can't carry this thing much longer."

[French Cartoon]
An Irrefutable Argument



—From *Le Matin*, Paris.

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "William has not sent me a telegram on our strategic withdrawal from the Italian front."

ARCHDUKE EUGENE: "It was difficult for him to felicitate us * * *"

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "Why shouldn't he? I congratulated him on his naval battle."

[Australian Cartoon]
The Blossom of Victory



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

WILHELM: (pulling the petals): "Dis year, nest year, zumtimes, nevair."

[English Cartoon]

“Der Tag”



—Raemackers in *Land and Water*, London.

ADMIRAL WILHELM: “Thank God, the Day is over.”

Music Hath Charms—



—From The Baltimore American.

A Substitute for Preparedness.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events

From June 12 Up to and Including

July 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- June 12—Germans make unsuccessful assaults on Thiaumont.
- June 13—Canadian troops recapture lost British positions southeast of Zillebeke; Germans take trenches west of Thiaumont.
- June 16—French check German assaults on Hill 320 and Hill 321 and at southern edge of the Caillette Wood.
- June 17—French take the offensive in the Vaux region and carry part of German trenches north of Hill 321.
- June 18—Germans repulsed at Dead Man Hill.
- June 21—Germans make new drive near Rheims.
- June 22—Germans capture new first-line trenches between Fumini Wood and Chenois, in the Fort Vaux sector.
- June 24—Germans gain a foothold in Fleury.
- June 26-28—British begin heavy offensive against German lines along the entire front; Germans launch an attack in the Champagne district.
- June 30—French recapture Thiaumont work.
- July 1—British and French troops begin great offensive in the Somme River region and smash seven miles of the enemy's line, taking two towns and 2,000 prisoners.
- July 2—British occupy Fricourt, on the Somme; French capture Curlu and Frise; continued deadlock on Verdun front.
- July 3—French capture five towns on the way to Peronne; French lose Damloup work, near Vaux, but retake it.
- July 4—Germans reinforce lines on the Somme front; French take two villages near Assevillers; struggle for La Boisselle; French again lose Thiaumont work.
- July 5—French carry second German lines from the Clerly-Maricourt road to the Somme and cut the railway to Chaulnes.
- July 6—British in new offensive crush German lines from Thiepval southward and eastward to Contalmaison.
- July 8—French capture Hardecourt and Mamelon; British gain footing in wood east of Montauban and tighten grip on Ovillers.
- July 9—French troops south of the Somme sweep forward on two and one-half-mile front and capture Biaches.
- July 10—French take Hill 97, overlooking Peronne; Germans enter Trones Wood, but British advance east of Ovillers and La Boisselle.
- July 11—British carry their line into Contalmaison; Germans gain footing in Damloup battery, at Verdun.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- June 12—Russians capture Dobronovtze, ten miles northeast of Czernowitz.
- June 13—Terrific battle around Tarnopol; Austrians relinquish Torgovitsa fortifications.
- June 14—Russians advance along the lower Stripa, force the Dniester at several points, advance along the Zale-Szczky-Kolomea railway, and attack Hindenburg's line north of Pinsk.
- June 16—Russians dislodge Austrians on the River Blulichevka between Kozin and Tarnovka.
- June 17—Russians separate the three main Austrian army groups operating between the Pripet and Bukowina; Czernowitz in ruins.
- June 18—Russian Army enters Czernowitz; Germans routed on the Styr.
- June 20—Austrians check Russian drive between Lutsk and Kovel; Russians advance on the southern flank toward Kolomea and Halich.
- June 22—German lines from France take over defense of the Kovel-Lutsk region and attack Russians in three groups.
- June 25—Russians resume great offensive in Volhynia.
- June 26—Germans storm Russian positions southwest of Sokul and take many prisoners.
- June 30—Russians take Kolomea, pass the mouth of the Stripa, and push westward; Germans in the north cross the Niemen.
- July 1—Russians capture towns north and south of Kolomea; Germans report capture of Russian positions west of Kolki and southwest of Sokul.
- July 3—Germans, reinforced, take offensive north of Lutsk.
- July 4—Russian cavalry patrols cross the Carpathians and enter Hungary; Prince Leopold's line broken near Baranovich.
- July 5—Russians cut railroad in Galicia between Dalatyn and Korosniezo and rout General Bothmer's army south of the Dniester.
- July 7—Russians begin tremendous offensive on the Riga front; Bothmer's army flanked out of Galician positions between the Stripa and Zlota Rivers.
- July 11—Russians drive forward toward fortresses of Vladimir-Volynski.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- June 12—Italians advance in the Assa Valley, the Pasubio sector, and along the Posina-Astico line.

June 13—Italians capture strong Austrian line in the Lagarina Valley.

June 16—Austrians repulsed on the Asiago plateau between Monte Pari and Monte Lemerle.

June 17—Italians carry Austrian positions of Malga, Fossetta, and Monte Magari, between the Frenzela Valley and Marcesina.

June 23—Italians push Austrians back in the Assa Valley and on the Asiago plateau.

June 24—Italians advance in the Pasubio sector in the Trentino.

June 27—Italians take Arsiero and continue advance between the Adige and the Brenta.

June 28—Italians capture Monte Giamondo, north of Fusine, and Monte Cavojo.

June 29—Italians storm Fort Mattasone and carry the ridge of Monte Trappola in the Arsa Valley.

June 30—Italians in the Arsa Valley occupy the Val Morbia lines and the southern slope of Monte Spil.

July 2—Italians begin attack on Austrian fortified positions between Zugna Totya and Poppiano, in the Trentino.

July 5—Italians occupy summit of Monte Corno and capture the crest of Monte Sellugon, in the Trentino.

July 9—Italians advance in the Molino Basin and toward Forni.

July 10—Italians win a valley in the Tofane region.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

June 14—British repulsed in attempt to advance on the right bank of the Tigris, near Felahie; Persian volunteers annihilate a British detachment in the Euphrates sector.

June 16—Turks occupy village of Serpoul, in the direction of Bagdad.

June 17—British forces attempting to cross the lower Euphrates River near Korna are driven back by the Turks.

June 23-24—Turks capture Paitak Pass, on the Mesopotamian front.

June 27—Russians defeated in attack east of Servil, in Persia.

July 1—Russians defeated in Persia between Kerind and Harunabad, on the road to Kermanshah.

July 2—Russians capture chain of mountains east of Plantana from the Turks.

July 5—Turks recapture Kermanshah.

July 6—Russians fall back eighty miles in the Bagdad region.

July 8—Russians repulsed in the Caucasus north of Tchorkuk with heavy losses.

July 9—Russians occupy railroad station at Delatyn, west of Kolomea, in the south, Gulevitchi and Kachova in the north, and cross the Stokhod River at Ughl.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

June 13—British forces reach Makuyuni in East Africa and capture German islands

of Ukerewe; Belgians control the entire northwest.

June 16—British occupy village of Killmanjaro; Portuguese repulse German attack on post of Namaka.

July 1—Germans ejected from Ukena centre, east of the Livingstone Mountains and driven northward.

NAVAL RECORD

Russian warships in the Baltic Sea sank two German steamers of small torpedo type, an auxiliary cruiser, and several merchantmen. The German steamer Dorita was destroyed by a Russian submarine.

In the war zone, six British ships, one Norwegian, one Swedish, one Spanish, two French, one Danish, and twenty Italian ships have been sunk.

Teutonic submarines have been active in the Mediterranean. The Italian steamer Le Provedita, the French ships Herault and Ville de Madrid, the British ship Cardiff, and one Japanese ship have been sunk, and the Greek steamer Nilssa attacked.

In the Black Sea the Turkish cruisers Yawuz Sultan Selim and Midullu, formerly the Goeben and the Breslau, sank four Russian transports and several sailing vessels off the Caucasus coast and bombarded the harbor works. Allied fleets bombarded the southern coast of Bulgaria from Porto Lagos to Dedeagatch. Russian torpedo boats destroyed fifty-four enemy sailing vessels. The Russian hospital ship Vperiode was sunk by an enemy submarine.

MISCELLANEOUS

On July 8 the Entente Allies issued a formal notice of abandonment of the Declaration of London and proclaimed a new decree concerning blockade regulations and contraband.

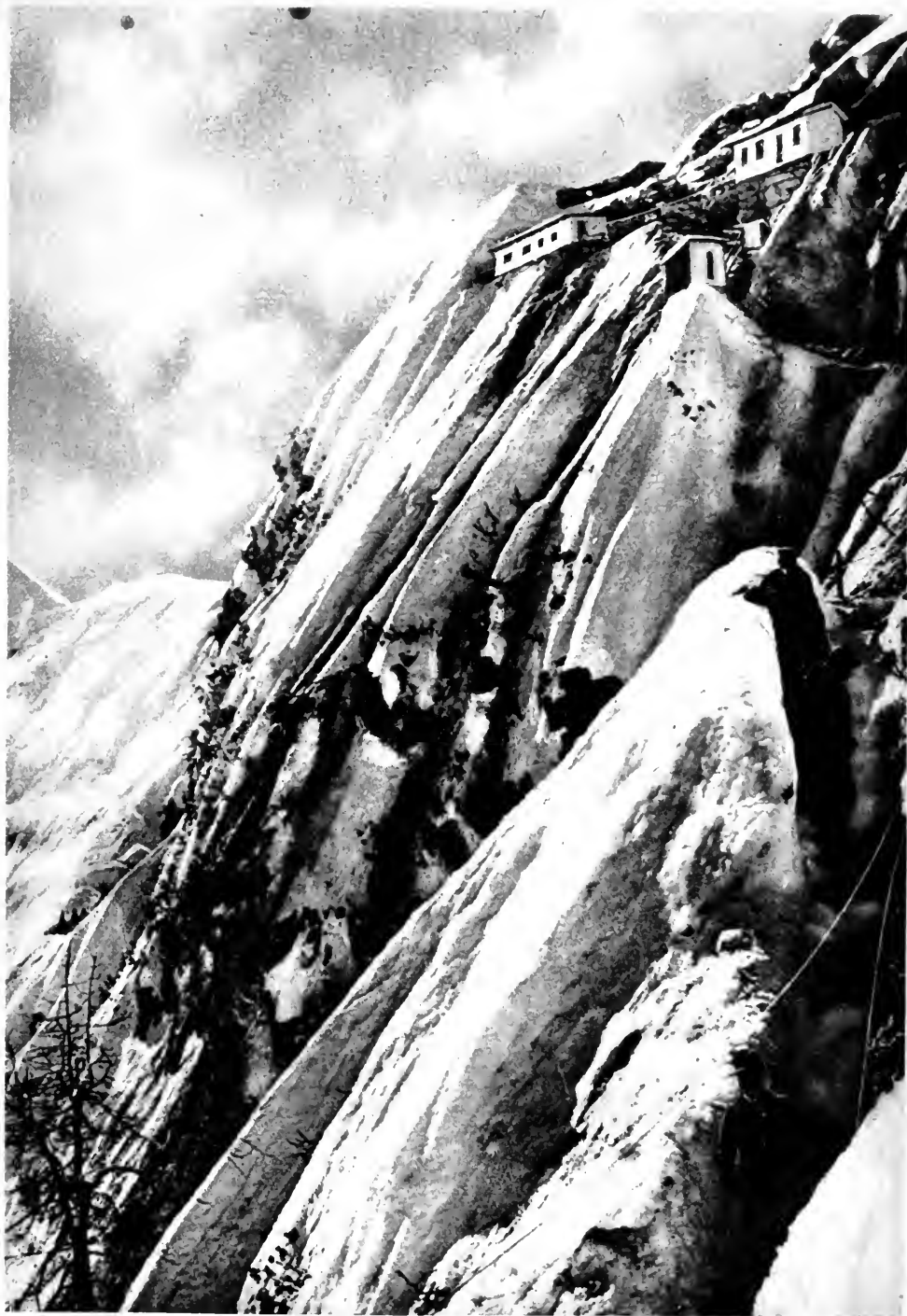
The Greek Government accepted in their entirety the demands of the Entente powers, promising complete demobilization of the army, immediate formation of a non-political Cabinet, dissolution of the Chamber, followed by new elections, and replacement of objectionable police functionaries. The Skouloudis Cabinet resigned and a new Ministry was formed with Zaimis at the head. The Allies raised the blockade of Greek ports.

An uprising against the Turks occurred in Arabia. The rebels captured Mecca, Jeddah, and Taif.

The United States Government has sent a second note to Austria concerning the submarine attack on the Standard Oil tanker Petrolite.

The German submarine Deutschland crossed the Atlantic in safety and reached the port of Baltimore on July 9 with a \$1,000,000 cargo of dyestuffs. United States customs and naval officials found her to be an unarmed, peaceful merchant ship.

BATTLING AMID ETERNAL SNOWS



Austrian Shelter Huts Among the Dolomite Alps, Illustrating the Difficulties of the Present Italian Offensive.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

PAOLO BOSELLI



Italy's New Prime Minister, Who Succeeds Salandra, and Who Is An Eminent Professor, Lawyer, and Oldest Member of the Italian Parliament.
(Photo from Central News Bureau.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

SEPTEMBER, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

THE ALLIES MORE CONFIDENT

THE progress of the war in the month since the last issue of CURRENT HISTORY confirms the conclusion then reached that the end of the conflict is not definitely in sight. Elsewhere appears a symposium of the views of the official spokesmen of the belligerent nations issued at the end of the war's second year. The one thing upon which they all agree is an inexorable resolution to continue the struggle relentlessly until one or the other is vanquished. It is *guerre à outrance*.

The fighting in August was, if anything, fiercer and bloodier than at any previous time, with the advantage on the side of the Allies. It is now evident that Austria is pressed for reserves and that her troops have lost their dash. The Germans still have fresh reserves from no man knows where; they are full of spirit, defiant, and as dauntless as any troops Germany has sent forth, but she has now met foes who are equal in equipment and munitions, and who surpass her in numbers; she has been compelled steadily, even if slowly and stubbornly, to give way in France and along the Russian border. The Russians are making very slow progress in Asia Minor, but the Turks have met another serious check in their campaign against the Suez Canal. The Germans have clearly lost their initiative at Verdun and are losing some of their gains in that region, while the Italians are driving the Austrians not only from the positions they gained in the Spring, but, by the capture of Gorizia, seem to have their grip now on all of Istria, including Trieste.

Talk of peace is heard in Germany, but the Allies frown upon the suggestion, believing that Germany has passed her zenith and that her collapse is only a question of time. Prophecies as to the time yet required to win the war, at the present rate of progress by the Allies, range from one to three years, but some firmly believe that there will be no sanguinary battles after the snow flies and that peace pourparlers will be in progress before the Winter ends.

* * *

TEUTON GAINS AND LOSSES

AT the end of the second year the Teuton Powers occupied 20,450 square miles of French and Belgian territory, 88,000 square miles of Russian, and 25,000 square miles of Serbian. In the second year they added no French or Belgian conquests; on the contrary, they lost a hundred or more square miles late in July, and are losing a little more each day. Their losses in Russia have been considerable, though they added 30,000 square miles in 1915-16. The Turkish losses in Asia Minor have been several thousand square miles, and the Austrian losses in Italy have very greatly exceeded their previous gains. Germany has lost practically all her colonial possessions.

The Central Empires to date have lost in killed, missing, wounded, and prisoners about 5,125,000, and are spending at least \$40,000,000 a day in defensive operations. The Allies' casualties in the 24½ months of war exceed 6,000,000, and they are spending in actual warfare over \$60,000,000 a day. The sea is closed to the Germans, the blockade is tighter than be-

fore, and the food question is a serious problem in the Central Empires. There seems to be a recrudescence of submarine activity and a developing possibility that Germany may resume her previous policy of sinking merchant vessels without warning, in which event an open break with the United States would be possible.

The Allies in mid-August seemed about to launch their offensive against Bulgaria from Saloniki, and it is believed Bulgaria will not resist whole-heartedly. There is a story that Bulgaria may yet renounce her alliance with Germany and Austria, in which event it is believed that Rumania would join the Entente. Should this occur, the collapse of the Turkish defense would speedily follow and the end come in sight.

* * *

PURCHASE OF DANISH ISLANDS

A TREATY has been agreed to by the Danish and United States Governments for the sale of the small islands owned by Denmark in the West Indies—St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz—to the United States for the sum of \$25,000,000. The treaty has been ratified by the lower house of the Danish Parliament, subject to a popular vote of approval. Opposition has developed in the upper house among the Conservatives, who oppose the sale on general principles. In the American Senate also there is some opposition because the price is regarded as excessive. The total area in acres of the three islands is about 90,000, one-third not tillable. The population in 1901 was 30,527—98 per cent. negroes—against 38,000 in 1860; there are only about 600 whites, nearly all Danes. The imports of the islands aggregate about \$1,500,000 a year, of which the United States furnishes about 50 per cent.

Our civil war developed the necessity of a naval base and harbor of refuge in the West Indies, and in 1865 negotiations were opened for the purchase of these islands from Denmark. The matter dragged along, and the United States Senate finally rejected the treaty, but in 1892 negotiations were resumed and

the subject has been alive ever since. Fourteen years ago Denmark was willing to take about \$5,000,000 for the islands. Since the acquisition of Porto Rico, which is only twenty-six miles away, the necessity for a naval base in the West Indies has been met, but the harbor at San Juan does not admit the heaviest dreadnoughts, while Charlotte-Amalie, the port of St. Thomas, is situated on one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is felt that this harbor should be in our possession, especially since the construction of the Panama Canal.

President Wilson favors the purchase at the price offered, as do Senator Stone, the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Lodge, the ranking Republican member of the committee; but the feeling is growing that the price is exorbitant and the treaty may fail to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

* * *

JAPAN'S GROWING POPULATION

THE first census of Japan was taken in 1643, following the anti-Christian riots. Christianity had been strictly prohibited and the enumeration was ordered to confirm the religious faith of the people. The total is not given, but in 1721 another census was taken, and the total return of population was 26,065,425. Thereafter a census was taken at irregular intervals, which showed very little change in the total in 100 years, remaining slightly in excess of 26,000,000, exclusive of the Samurai and other ruling classes. When the country was opened to foreign intercourse a system of vital statistics was established, and in 1873 the official census showed a population of 33,300,694. A census was ordered to be taken every six years by a law of 1871, with births added and deaths subtracted.

In 1874 the population had reached 33,625,646, and now began a rapid increase at an accelerating ratio. By 1879 it was 35,768,547; in 1888 it was 39,607,234; in 1898, 43,763,855; in 1908, 49,588,804; in 1913, 53,356,788. The increase in the five-year periods shows an in-

creasing ratio, being about 8 per cent. between 1908 and 1913. Japan has 361 persons to the square mile; the United States, 27 2-3; France, 191; Germany, 311; the United Kingdom, 376.

* * *

BRITAIN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM UNDER FIRE

LORD HALDANE exposed an amazing state of affairs in the British educational system in a recent speech in Parliament, which created a profound sensation and may lead to a complete reform of English educational methods after the war. He stated that out of 2,750,000 boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16 in England 1,450,000 get no education after they reach 13, and only 250,000 go to school after 14 years of age. He stated that 5,350,000 boys and girls in England and Wales between the ages of 16 and 25 get no education at all, only 93,000 get a full-time course, and 390,000 a part-time course at evening schools. The discussion grew out of the proposed trade combinations after the war, and moved Lord Haldane to suggest that, to maintain trade primacy, wider skill and technique in scientific, chemical, and engineering subjects were prerequisites. These could be obtained only by a complete reorganization of educational methods. He cited the fact that there were only 1,500 trained chemists in England, whereas four German chemical firms alone which had played havoc with British trade employed 1,000 chemists. He also called attention to the prodigious wastage of fuel and by-products sufficient in value to pay interest on nearly three billion dollars, due to insufficiency of industrial experts in the country.

The questions raised precipitated a discussion in the House of Lords, in which some of the leading intellectuals participated, among them Earl Cromer, the Bishop of Winchester, Viscount Bryce, the Bishop of Ely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Curzon, the Archbishop of York, and others. The discussion developed into a debate as to the relative importance of classical and scientific education. Earl Cromer said the "total moral collapse of Germany

was one of the most extraordinary and most tragic events recorded in history," and he could not help feeling "that one of the causes of that deterioration of character was that the atmosphere created by humanistic study had lost its hold on German public opinion. The whole national mind of Germany had apparently become materialized." The Bishop of Winchester also referred to the "painful efficiency" of Germany and warned the country not to neglect the humanistic and classical studies. Viscount Bryce thought that the German habit of obedience had cost them much of "initiative, independence of spirit, and free individuality." He believed the fault in England was lack of interest on the part of parents in the progress of their boys' studies, and that there was need to make the teacher's career more effective. He said if there were more demand for experts in England they would be found, but England did not yet appreciate, as did Germany and the United States, the important effects of the application of science to industry.

The discussion brought such acute criticism on the educational system that Arthur Henderson, the Minister of Education, resigned his portfolio, though he still remains in the Cabinet. A commission will be appointed to take up the subject. In the debates the peers frequently referred to America, and held that there had been a change in this country, humanistic education being at present not to so great an extent subordinated to scientific or materialistic study as formerly.

* * *

PROSPERITY THROUGH WAR

SOME noted economists are predicting a period of unexampled prosperity in Europe after the war. They argue that millions of men will have been killed or incapacitated for work, and that there will be such shortage in the labor market to replace the billions of structures destroyed that wages will rapidly advance and prosperity proportionately prevail. Statistics prove that active work with labor in demand at high wages invariably produces good times among the masses.

In fact, the war itself is having a most appreciable affect on pauperism, proving again the thesis that unemployed are not unemployable. Walter Long, President of the British Local Government Board, reports that the number of paupers in England decreased 100,000 between 1914 and 1915; pauperism in London declined 20 per cent., vagrancy in England and Wales, 66 2-3 per cent.; the number of homeless people sleeping out in London had fallen from 431 in February, 1913, to 44 in March, 1916. The conclusion is unavoidable that unemployment is mainly the effect of ill-organized industry, with its concomitants of drink, crime, pauperism, and destitution, but with the industrial organization keyed up by military rigor and efficiency the residuum of the idlers and wasters is sucked up and the whole social fabric practically regenerated.

* * *

AMERICAN DEFENSE

THE House and Senate have agreed upon the American Defense Program; it is the heaviest naval budget in history and the largest army program in our annals. The total defense program agreed upon requires \$661,418,000, \$110,000,000 to be available at once for the navy. The regular army and National Guard are reorganized, bringing the enlisted peace strength of the army to 187,000, which can be expanded by Executive call to 220,000; Federalizing the National Guard would also add 450,000 men at war strength.

For maintenance of the reorganized army and militia and supplies and equipment Congress appropriated \$267,597,000. More than \$13,000,000 of this is for development of aeronautics, \$11,000,000 for Government plants for the manufacture of armor plate. The Army bill also carried an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for a Government plant to produce nitrate for use in manufacturing munitions.

Provision was made for extension and improvement of the coast defenses with appropriations aggregating \$25,748,050. To furnish needed officers in the army and the navy the personnel of the Naval and Military Academies was enlarged,

the former to 1,760 and the latter to 1,152. For the Military Academy a special appropriation of \$1,225,000 was made, the fund for Annapolis being carried in the Naval Appropriation bill.

Congress also provided for the creation of a Council for National Defense, composed of Cabinet officials and citizen experts to co-ordinate the military, industrial, and natural resources of the country in time of war.

In the Navy bill the President is authorized, in the event of emergency, to increase the strength of the navy to 87,000 enlisted men. A Senate amendment providing for 6,000 apprentice seamen, in lieu of 3,500 proposed in the House bill, was approved.

The building program for the navy as fixed by the Senate and concurred in by the House is as follows:

—Senate.—
1st Yr. 3 Yrs.

| | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|
| Battleships | 4 | 10 |
| Battle cruisers | 4 | 6 |
| Scout cruisers | 4 | 10 |
| Destroyers | 20 | 50 |
| *Coast submarines | 27 | 58 |
| Fuel ships | 3 | 3 |
| Repair ship | 1 | 1 |
| Transport | 1 | 1 |
| Hospital ship | 1 | 1 |
| Destroyer tenders | 2 | 2 |
| Fleet submarines | 9 | 9 |
| Ammunition ships | 2 | 2 |
| Gunboats | 2 | 2 |

*In addition, the Senate bill authorizes one submarine to be equipped with the Neff system of submarine propulsion and to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, \$250,000.

* * *

MASS FEEDING IN GERMANY

THE City of Berlin recently began erecting enormous public dining halls in order to solve the food problem by communal feeding. One kitchen contains sixty-three boilers which hold 50,000 pints of food, and hundreds of women are employed in the cooking. The kitchen is in the centre and the eating rooms extend from it in two enormous wings. Potato and meat cutting machines are operated by electricity, and motor conveyors carry the food from the principal kitchens to the subordinate kitchens, where food is served from noon until 4 P. M., the following being the bill of fare: Monday, rice and potatoes; Tuesday, meat;

Wednesday, beans and fat; Thursday, meat and macaroni; Friday, beans and potatoes; Saturday, cabbage and mashed potatoes; Sunday, goulash (minced meat) and potatoes. A portion equal to about one and one-half pints is sold for 8 cents.

Public dining halls of this kind are now operated in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Leipsic, and will be generally introduced; it is understood that Berlin is preparing to provide at least 400,000 pints of food per day, but it is claimed that the food problem has been so well solved that the public dining halls may be abandoned.

* * *

IN the year ending June 30, 1916, the merchant shipping cleared from the ports of the United States showed a tonnage of 25,500,000, of which 23,000,000 was foreign; the previous high record was 24,800,000 tons in the year ending June 30, 1914. It should be remembered that this increase is in the face of the German blockade, the closing of the Black Sea, and the withdrawal of all Austrian and German ships from American trade. United States shipping to South American ports in the year increased nearly 500 per cent. and to Europe nearly 250 per cent. Argentina received 190,000 tons of American shipping in the year, against 5,000 in the year ending June 30, 1914, and Colombia 100,000 tons, as against 285 tons in 1914.

* * *

THE British War Office has promulgated an order stating that "No person shall from the date of this Order, until further notice, buy, sell, or deal in raw wool grown or to be grown on sheep in Great Britain or Ireland during the season 1916." The French Government has commandeered at fixed prices all wool in France and Algiers.

* * *

THE stupendous costs of the war are shown in the comprehensive tables of the war loans of each of the belligerents as set forth in detailed figures in this issue. Great Britain's twelfth vote of credit was authorized Aug. 24, 1916. Its amount was \$2,250,000,000, bringing the total sum voted by Great Britain for the war between August, 1914, and Au-

gust, 1916, up to \$14,160,000,000. The total domestic, civil, and war expenditure of the United Kingdom is now \$30,000,000 a day, which includes large sums spent in the acquisition of American securities to be used as a credit against liabilities to our country. The average daily expenditure of Great Britain for the war remains at about \$25,000,000.

* * *

THE income tax in Great Britain for the current year is in some instances more than five times what it was prior to the war. Its operations are best illustrated by the following examples: On an income of \$2,500 before the war it was \$65; in the current year it is \$255. On an income of \$5,000 a year it has risen from \$140 before the war to \$695. An income of \$25,000 was taxed \$1,310 before the war; the tax in 1916-17 is \$7,510. An income of \$500,000 was assessed for taxes in 1913-14 \$62,290; in 1916-17 it is assessed \$285,645—over 50 per cent. If the \$500,000 income is liable also for the excess profits tax the total tax collected will be \$300,000, or 60 per cent.

* * *

THE hanging of the body of Signor Battisti, ex-Deputy for Trent in the Austrian Reichsrat, by Austrians at Trent, after he had been taken as a wounded prisoner of war at the head of his Italian troops, has caused intense indignation throughout Italy. Battisti was an ardent irredentist in the Austrian House, and when Italy declared war he joined his native Trentinos under the Italian flag. It is reported that he killed himself rather than be captured by the Austrians, and that his corpse was hanged on a gibbet at Trent. The Germans and Austrians liken his case to Casement's.

* * *

ENGLAND is gasping because Winston Churchill is being paid \$5,000 for four articles which he is contributing to The London Sunday Pictorial, but in consequence of heavily advertising these articles the circulation of The Pictorial jumped 400,000 in two weeks and is now approximately 2,500,000, the most widely circulated weekly in the world. The articles are not long and the rate of pay-

ment is no larger than has been made by some American weeklies; it is considerably below the price reported paid to former President Roosevelt for his magazine contributions.

Mr. Churchill says Great Britain could not possibly have prevented the war; he maintains that Emperor William "definitely decreed the terms of the Serbian ultimatum and at that time had already resolved to launch his armies."

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN has arranged through a syndicate of American bankers a \$250,000,000 loan, secured by \$300,000,000 collateral securities, \$100,-

000,000 being American, an equal amount Canadian, and a third bonds and securities of Argentina, Chile, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland. The loan will be covered by two-year 5 per cent. notes, to be sold at 99; the proceeds will be expended in the United States to take up maturing loans. The French recently borrowed \$100,000,000 for a three-year period. This, with the Anglo-French joint loan of \$500,000,000 makes a total of \$850,000,000 loaned the two nations by the United States within twelve months. It is estimated that \$1,500,000,000 American securities have drifted back to this country since the war began.

Interpretations of World Events

Why the Big Push Drags

TWO very significant pronouncements, made within the last few days, shed a great deal of light on the comparative slowness of the allied offensive on the Somme. The first comes from the French General Malleterre, who, after fighting brilliantly in the earlier battles in Belgium and Northern France, has written brilliantly of the later incidents and strategy of the war. General Malleterre recurs to a point he made a few weeks ago—that the conditions of a great successful offensive must include three elements—a material preponderance, a moral mastery, and closely co-ordinated action. Co-ordination, he says, is at last being reached by the Entente Powers, with the result that the shuttle strategy—the rapid transfer of troops between east and west which, as Bernhardt and Jagow clearly showed, was the fundamental principle of the German Great General Staff—has been rendered impossible. With the Entente Powers successfully attacking in France, on the Isonzo, in Armenia and Galicia, the Central Empires must strain every nerve merely to hold each front with the troops there; they cannot be moved without extreme peril to the weakened sector. Moral ascendancy was decisively won, he adds, before Verdun, where the

mightiest effort the German Army ever made was broken against the rock of French valor; at Erzerum; at Lutsk. There remains the third element—decided material preponderance. British and French artillery have shown astonishing power on the Somme, and to this power the German Generals have very fully subscribed. But the declarations of Sir Samuel Montagu, the British Minister of Munitions, and of his French colleague, M. Albert Thomas, make it clear that both nations expect to double, perhaps treble, their weight of guns in the next few months. We may therefore accept the conclusion which he has just put forward—that the "big push," effective as it undoubtedly is, will be followed by a still bigger push a few months hence, a push which the Allies expect to end the war.

General Kuropatkin Goes to Turkestan

WHILE on the Teuton side Archduke Friedrich, who originally faced the Russian drive, was superseded by General von Linsingen, and Linsingen has now been superseded, as to the chief command, by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, there has been but one change in the opposing Russian command, and no change in the command on the southern front. And, in passing, it is in-

teresting to record the captures made by the four Generals who are operating under General Brusiloff, as they have just been published by the Russian General Staff. For the period from June 4, when Brusiloff's drive began, to Aug. 12, the figures are, beginning at the north: General Kaledin, 109,509 officers and men; General Sakharoff, 89,215; General Stcherbatchoff, 57,016; General Letchitski, 162,717. Thus the total captures made by the Czar's forces in nine weeks were over 358,000 men and officers, besides 405 cannon, 1,326 machine guns, 338 mine and bomb throwers, and 292 powder carts. The one change in the Russian command has been the transfer of General Kuropatkin to Turkestan, where he goes as Governor. For this transfer there are probably two reasons—the first is, that General Ruzski, who has twice been withdrawn from the front to undergo an operation, is now sufficiently recovered to resume command of the Riga-Dwinsk sector, which Kuropatkin held temporarily; the more important reason is that no man in the Russian Empire knows the whole Central Asian region—and this now includes Northern Persia—better than does Kuropatkin. For ten years he was Governor of the transcasian region, whence he was called to the War Ministry at Petrograd, where he was when the Russo-Japanese war began. Kuropatkin also knows Persia well. General Ruzski, who goes back to the Riga-Dwinsk sector, also fought in the Russo-Turkish war, and saw service in Manchuria. At the beginning of the war he was head of the Kieff military district, and commanded the army which marched on Lemberg in the Autumn of 1914.

General Smuts in German East Africa

GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS who, when the war began, was Minister of Defense of the Union of South Africa, is now writing "lastly" across the last protectorate of Germany's extensive colonial empire. This is, in reality, a much more arduous task than that so incisively performed by General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of the

South African Union, in the first months of the war, in the conquest of German Southwest Africa. For the latter protectorate, while it has an enormous area, 322,450 square miles, is sparsely populated—one inhabitant to each four square miles—or 80,000 in all, and a great part is open desert. Not only is German East Africa considerably larger, having 384,000 square miles, (as compared with 208,780 square miles for the German Empire in Europe,) but it has a population just a hundred times larger than the former colony, namely, 8,000,000, and much of the country, both along the coast and among the giant mountains in the north, is densely wooded, and therefore very difficult country to fight an offensive campaign in. When the war began there were 4,000 Germans in the East African protectorate, a large proportion of whom formed a defensive force, while at least 40,000 natives had been trained and enrolled as a fighting force. Against these black troops, in their native forests, General Smuts has been fighting, with Belgian aid from the Congo and Portuguese help from Mozambique, and has been constantly tightening the line drawn around them. But the work is hard, since the Germans had covered the whole area of the protectorate with a system of intrenched forts, abundantly supplied with munitions and connected by wireless stations with her other African colonies and by relay(?) with her European territories. Everything was in readiness for the expected war, as is conclusively shown by the fact that, after two years' fighting, the German forces and their black auxiliaries are still well supplied with ammunition, though for the whole period they have been cut off by the British fleet from their home base.

The War and the Temporal Power of the Pope

DURING the war of 1866, which restored the province of Venice to Italy, Austria—supported in this policy by Napoleon III.—steadily resisted the desire of the new Italy to make Rome the capital of the nation. This preserved to the Popes the "temporal power," or power, as temporal sovereigns, over the

Papal States, which, until 1860, had had an area of some 16,000 square miles, (about twice the size of Massachusetts,) with a population of 3,000,000. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, in 1870, Napoleon withdrew his troops from Rome, and that city, with what remained of the Papal States, was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy. The Vatican and Lateran palaces, with their gardens and the villa of Castel Gandolfo, were guaranteed in perpetual possession to the Popes; within these palaces they retain a technical sovereignty. But there has remained, in the Vatican, the unrelinquished claim to the temporal power, which would mean the severance of Rome from the Kingdom of Italy; it ceasing to be the Italian capital; the reconstitution of the Papal States as a temporal sovereignty.

In theory at least Austria has consistently supported the claim of the Vatican to temporal power; and Italian publicists are making it clear that, at the beginning of the war, both Austria and Germany revived that claim, with the hope, first, of winning the Vatican over to the cause of the Central Empires, and, through the Vatican, influencing Catholic opinion throughout the world. There was a second purpose—that of breaking the unity of Italy along the old line of cleavage between the Vatican and the Quirinal, the Church and the State. But, say the Italian writers, both the bribes proffered to the Vatican for its support of the Central Empires have proved vain. Cardinal Gasparri gave assurances that the Vatican had no ambition to triumph with the help of foreign bayonets. Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, placed his seminary at the disposal of King Victor Emmanuel's troops. Cardinal Bisleti, an intimate friend of the Austrian Emperor, "burned his Hapsburg bridges behind him." In their own words, the Italian Catholics "laughed heartily at the Protestant Germans, who in Germany defend Luther and in Turkey Mohammed, when they saw them suddenly become the advocates of the temporal power of the Pope." The Italian Catholics declare that the war has separated them from Austria and Ger-

many, but has brought them closer to France and Belgium.

The culmination of this patriotic Italian movement has just been reported from Rome, in the announcement that the Sovereign Pontiff has directed the Italian Cardinals (30 out of 62 members of the Sacred College) "to pray for the success of Italy and her allies." The effects of this decision are likely to be momentous. On the one hand, it imposes on the Catholic Emperor Franz Josef, and on the Catholic Kings of Saxony and Bavaria, a penalty which is little short of excommunication—in some ways, much heavier than excommunication; on the other, it will do much to bridge the chasm between the Church and the State in Italy; to make the Bishop of Rome the effective head of a national Italian Church. It is the first time, perhaps, in centuries, that the See of Peter has taken so definite a stand in a moral question which affects the political life of all Christendom, and it represents the final alignment on the side of the Allies of a great force hitherto neutral. Finally, it puts an end to any possibility of intervention by the Holy See with the purpose of securing peace which might be detrimental to the cause of the Entente Powers. The results of this decision are quite incalculable.

Trieste and the Austrian Fleet

WITHIN a few days after the fall of Gorizia it was announced that the fleet of Austria, which had been using the fortified harbor of Trieste as its base, had departed in the night for an unknown destination. The Franco-British fleet, which had been blockading Trieste, with Italian aid, appears to have been caught napping, and the Austrian ships seem to have reached Pola, at the end of the Istrian Peninsula, in safety. If Pola becomes untenable there remains Fiume, further east, and connected by rail direct with Budapest, through Croatia. The Austro-Hungarian fleet—for, like the army, it is held in common by both halves of the Dual Monarchy—is far from a negligible factor. Powerful modern battle-ships have been built, well-armed and manned. Austria counts four dread-

noughts, built since 1910, and displacing more than 20,000 tons; with six large and six smaller pre-dreadnoughts, the larger displacing from 10,600 to 14,500 tons, (three of each class.) They have been completely outclassed by the powerful French battleships which, by arrangement with Great Britain, are released from the English Channel to do service in the Mediterranean, France having a number of super-dreadnoughts with guns almost as heavy as those of England, and English ships are co-operating with these in blockading Austria. But one element of the Austrian fleet has been exceedingly active—the submarines, of which Austria had at the beginning of the war about a dozen, and there have been reports of German boats being sent by rail and assembled at Trieste. Very probably the activity of these Austrian submarines, by making it impossible for the French and English warships to wait off Trieste, co-operated in effecting the just recorded escape of the Austrian fleet. Italy has a battle fleet of seven pre-dreadnoughts and six dreadnoughts, displacing about 20,000 tons. Four super-dreadnoughts were laid down in 1914 to displace 28,000 tons and to carry a main armament of eight 15-inch guns, with a speed of 25 knots. It may well be that these four very powerful ships are already in commission. It is quite evident that, should the Austrian fleet elect to come out, there are in the Mediterranean waters the materials for a very pretty fight.

Socialist Agitation for Peace

BOTH neutral and belligerent Socialists have in the past month manifested a strong agitation for an early peace. Representatives of six neutral countries met at the International Socialist Conference at The Hague. A peace program was elaborated by the conference and, unanimously adopted. The complete re-establishment of the independence of Belgium and Poland, the creation of a democratic federal union of the Balkan States, and the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question through a plebiscite among the inhabitants of those provinces were the points agreed

upon by all the delegates to the conference. A resolution was passed condemning the proposed allied economic trade war on the Central Powers, and another resolution advocating the settlement of international disputes through compulsory arbitration was adopted.

In Germany the Socialist National Committee issued a manifesto in which it states that the committee renewed its appeal to the Imperial Chancellor to lift the embargo on the discussion of peace conditions. Speaking of the designs for conquest credited throughout the world to the German Government, the manifesto says that "the moment appears to have arrived when the German people should give its free and unrestricted opinion regarding these plans of conquest, the realization of which would be only the germ of new wars and only result in prolonging the war." A universal agitation for the expression of Germany's opinion on the subject is, therefore, urged. In France sentiment among the minority Socialists, favoring the resumption of international Socialist relations, has of late been markedly on the increase. By a vote of 1,824 to 1,075 the National Council of French Socialists, at its quarterly session held in Paris on Aug. 7, decided not to resume international relations.

The Greek Elections and Saloniki

IT is not difficult to trace a connection between the delay in the projected allied drive from Saloniki and the coming general elections in Greece. Indeed, the next few weeks are likely to be decisive, and certain to be critical, in the life of the Hellenic kingdom, and, without doubt, the Entente Powers are strongly influencing the result. Their justification, in international law, is that Russia, France, and England are the three powers which freed Greece from the heavy yoke of Turkey, and which by treaty stand sponsors for the well-being of the Greek Nation. In that treaty each of the three powers bound itself not to put a Prince of its own reigning house on the throne at Athens, with the result that German and Danish Princes succeeded each other on the

Greek throne, and, perhaps more important, at least one very masterful German Princess—Queen Sophia, Kaiser Wilhelm's sister. Perhaps through her influence King Constantine has tried to make Greece a strongly monarchical country, practically taking into his own hands questions which the Greek Constitution assigns to the Ministry, as representing the nation. Eleutherios Venizelos declares, and undertakes to prove it at the coming election, that the Greek people violently resents this "usurpation." Should Venizelos be returned to power, with a strong majority, King Constantine has two courses open to him—either to accept the declared will of the Greek people or to abdicate. In either case, all practical power will be in the hands of the Cretan statesman, whose sympathy is with the Entente cause. That sympathy may very easily, if his Parliamentary majority is large enough, bring Greece into the war on the Entente side, with an army of, perhaps, 200,000 well-equipped men. It is, therefore, entirely comprehensible that the drive northward from Saloniki should wait on the Greek elections. Should these go strongly in favor of Venizelos, and should the drive be completely successful, it would have two chief results—to restore the sovereignty of Serbia and to cut Bulgaria and Turkey off from the Central Empires. The Entente Powers have very strongly influenced the result of the coming elections by compelling Constantine to demobilize the army and send the soldiers home to vote.

The Next Sea Fight

INTERESTING figures have recently become available which make it possible to answer the question: What were the forces of the British and German fleets the morning after the battle of Jutland? Which is the same thing as saying what their forces will be when they meet next in battle. Both countries are rapidly building new ships. England, it is reported, turns out a destroyer a day, besides doing valuable work on battleships and battle cruisers; and Germany, while not as well equipped in navy yards, is, nevertheless, constantly

adding to her fleet. So that we have not the final figures for either country, but we can come fairly close to them in each case. At the end of May, just before the great sea fight off Denmark, England had 63 battleships. Of these 23 were pre-dreadnoughts, built before 1905; 10 were dreadnoughts, built between 1905 and 1910, and 30 (nearly one-half of the whole, and, in tonnage, much more than one-half of the whole) were super-dreadnoughts. None of these was lost in the battle of Jutland. Against these, Germany had 20 pre-dreadnoughts, (5 Kaisers, 10 Braunschweigs, 5 Deutschlands,) 8 dreadnoughts, and 12 super-dreadnoughts, or 40 battleships in all. Of these 40 battleships (of which 26 appear to have taken part in the fight) she lost in the battle of Jutland, according to Admiral Jellicoe, 2 battleships of the dreadnought class and 1 of the Deutschland class, which were seen to sink, and, the English Admiral thinks, perhaps one more battleship. This leaves Germany 36 or 37 battleships, as against 63 for England. England had, further, not less than 10 battle cruisers able to do from 28 to 30 knots, the largest of them carrying 13.5-inch guns. Of these, off Jutland, she lost 3, (Queen Mary, Invincible, Indefatigable,) leaving her not less than 7. She also lost 3 cruisers, but of these she has well over 100 left. Germany seems to have had 6 battle cruisers on the morning of May 31. She has admitted the loss of the Luetzow, which almost exactly matched the Queen Mary, lost on the English side. Admiral Jellicoe thought she also lost another battle cruiser and several light cruisers. This would leave Germany 4 or 5 battle cruisers, as against 7 or more for England; or 70 capital ships for England and 41 or 42 for Germany. It is interesting to compare with these the figures for this country: The United States has 22 pre-dreadnoughts, 8 dreadnoughts, and 4 super-dreadnoughts, or 34 capital ships; to these the present program adds 8 capital ships for 1917, (4 battleships and 4 battle cruisers,) 42 capital ships; but what the naval strengths of England and Germany will be when these 8 new

ships are ready it is of course impossible to say.

Sazonoff's Resignation

THE resignation of Sergius Sazonoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Russia, long celebrated as Russia's chief Anglophile, came as a thunderbolt from the blue to the friends of the Allies when it was announced on July 23. There was considerable speculation as to the reasons of his retirement. Rumors to the effect that it signified a change in Russia's foreign policy were rife. Premier Sturmer, who took over Sazonoff's portfolio, replied to these reports with a statement in which he says:

The change in the post of Foreign Minister must not be considered in any sense an indication of the variation of Russia from the line of conduct of the last two years toward her allies. The agreement with them will not be changed. Russia considers it her duty to support all measures England desires to accomplish with regard to Germany, and I, as a tool in the hands of the Emperor, will do my best to work hand in hand with our allies, and will strive to strengthen the friendship between Russia, England, and France.

Premier Sturmer, becoming Foreign Minister, gave up the post of Minister of Interior, which he had held. To this position Alexei Khvostoff, a member of the Imperial Council, has been appointed. As Minister of Justice, a reactionary of the most pronounced type, M. Makharoff has been appointed.

The real cause of Sazonoff's resignation is said to have been a disagree-

ment on the Polish question between M. Sturmer and himself. On July 11 there was held a council of Ministers at the General Headquarters. The Polish and Jewish questions were discussed among other things. Premier Sturmer proposed that Poland be granted an autonomy consisting merely of broad local self-government. M. Sazonoff offered a plan based on the promises to Poland made by the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, ex-Premier Goremykin, and himself. This plan provided for a full Polish autonomy. Most of the Ministers approved of Sazonoff's plan. Decision was, however, postponed until the following Cabinet meeting. Meanwhile the Premier made it clear that he objected to the project offered by Sazonoff. The latter, in view of the stand he had taken on the subject during the last two years, could not abandon his project unless he resigned from his position as Foreign Minister, which he did. The resignation of Sazonoff, coming in the nature of a demonstration, may force the Premier to alter his plans in regard to the future of Poland. As to the Jewish question, it was decided to renew its discussion with a view to rendering final decision as soon as Minister of Finance Pierre Bark returns from his visit abroad. The sentiments of the Ministers were in favor of making permanent through legislative action the temporary abolition of the "pale" of settlement for the Russian Jews.

The Issue at Stake in Greece

M. Venizelos, former Premier of Greece, and still leader of popular opinion, recently made the following statement of the situation in the course of a long article in the Kyrix:

The constitutional question which will be laid before the Greek Nation is whether the Crown has the right to form its own opinion on great national questions, and to impose it independently of the people's verdict by the repeated dissolution of Parliament, which it justifies on the ground that it has responsibilities toward the Almighty regarding which no explanations are owed to the people. In the matter of foreign policy the Greek people must thoroughly realize that Greece, in view of the position which she attained after the two victorious Balkan wars, cannot exist as an independent political and economic organization without friends and allies in the Balkans for the protection of her Balkan interests, nor without friends and allies among the great powers for the protection of her Mediterranean interests; and also for financial assistance, without which Greece can never recover from the deplorable financial situation which has been the result of the nine months' mobilization.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From July 15 to August 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Map of Gorizia, Page 991]

THE operations of the last month have followed strictly along the lines of those of the preceding month. In other words the Allies, who alone have been on the offensive, have held to the plan of attacking the Central Powers on all fronts simultaneously in order to neutralize the advantage which the Central Powers possess by reason of their interior position and shorter line of communications. On the fronts in France, in Russia, from the Pripet to the Carpathian Mountains, in Italy both in the Trentino and on the Isonzo, and in the Far East in the Caucasus region, these offensive movements have been in progress. It is no wonder that in same places the Teutonic allies give evidence of cracking under the strain.

THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

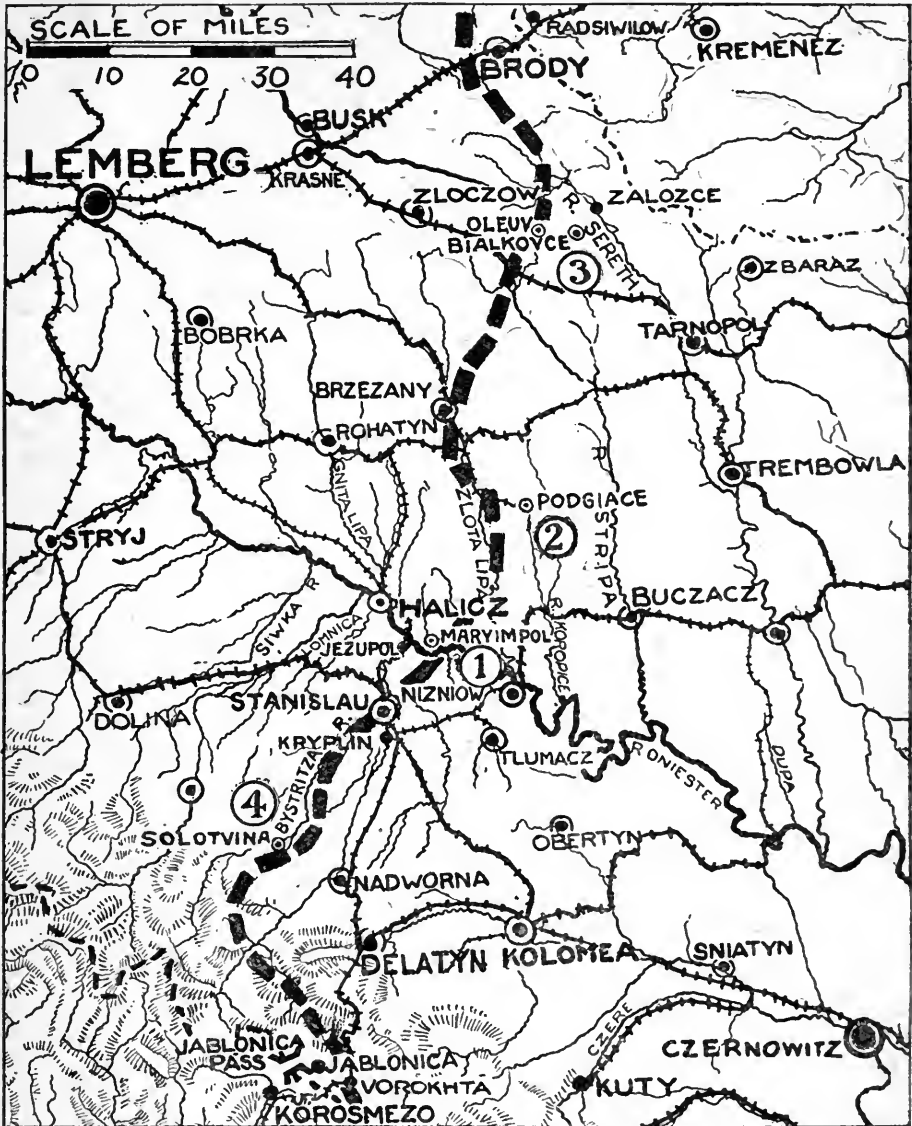
The most apparent sign of this giving way is noted in Galicia, where the Russian victories have been continuing without interruption. Last month closed with the Russians apparently held along the Stokhod all the way from its source to the Pripet. The Russians had forced the line of the Styr, but when they reached the Stokhod were held back in spite of the desperate attempts to force a crossing. Being checked here, the attack drifted to the south.

It is to be noted that a success in the south by which the Russians obtain the Galician capital, Lemberg, will have the same effect on the line in the north as if they had captured Kovel. Kovel is, or would shortly be, utterly untenable once Lemberg was in the hands of the Russians. Not only do all the railroad systems of Southern Russia and of Galicia

centre in this town, but, what is almost as important, behind Lemberg there is nothing to give protection to a defensive line until Przemysl is reached. Kovel is equally necessary to the retention of Lemberg. Therefore, the Teutons in order to preserve their present lines were confronted with the necessity of holding both of these towns.

The Russian campaign during the month past has been most skillfully designed to keep the Teutons completely in the dark as to just which point the main drive was to be against. The attacks shifted first southward and then back again to the north. Then another blow was struck in the south. The result was confusion in the German mind as to just what Russia was really after, a confusion that, as this review is being written, has almost produced disaster. The first break to come was on the line of the Stokhod. In the neighborhood of Gulevitsche, where the great bend in the Stokhod begins, the Russians forced the passage of the river after one of the hardest battles of the war. The Teuton line guarding the entire bend was immediately thrown into jeopardy. Occupying a very sharp salient, the German commander saw the side being crushed in. He had to fall back or lose all the troops and material in the angle. Accordingly the angle was vacated and the most important part of the line of the Stokhod—immediately east of Kovel—was in the hands of the Russians.

It was but natural to presume that, with this line in their hands, the Russians would attempt to drive through directly on Kovel. But they did no such thing. Instead, the point of attack suddenly



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT ON AUGUST 16, 1916. COSSACKS SWEEPING ALONG THE NORTH BANK OF THE DNIESTER HAVE OCCUPIED MARYIMPOL (1), SEVEN MILES FROM HALICZ, THE KEY TO LEMBERG. TO THE NORTH THEY HAVE TAKEN PODGIACE (2), AND BIALKOYCE (3), AND IN THE SOUTH, HAVING CAPTURED STANISLAU, THEY ARE THROWING TROOPS ACROSS THE RIVER AT SOLOTVINA (4).

shifted, and a blow was struck in Northern Galicia, which gave them control of Brody. Simultaneously, a co-ordinate effort was started south of the Dniester against Stanislaw. Both efforts were successful. The line of the upper Sereth, which the Austrians had held since the days of the great Russian retreat, was

forced, and the Russians took all the heights on the west bank.

The advent of von Hindenburg as chief in command of this section made little difference. The Russians were not to be held back. Simultaneously the line along the Dniester was pushed forward, Stanislaw taken, the line of the Zlota Lipa River

turned, and the entire Austrian position along the Stripa outflanked. A break in the Teuton lines either north or south meant disaster. At the last minute, the Stripa line was abandoned and in two days the Austrians had retired nearly twelve miles to the line, or what was left of it, of the Zlota Lipa.

The Zlota Lipa, however, will serve only as a temporary expedient. The Russians have crossed it near its mouth and have in absolute possession the last fifteen miles of its course. It is merely a stopping place for the Austrians, not a defensive position at all, as its value as such was destroyed before the Austrians ever reached it. The Russian forces are already ten miles beyond it and are only seven miles from Halicz, the southern key to Lemberg. Austria must make a still further retirement before she can be considered even temporarily safe.

It is beginning to appear that the Stryj-Lemberg-Kamionka line will be the next definite stop. Once this line is forced, if it is, the Russian path is easy, and no halt will be made until Przemysl is reached. The campaign of the earlier days of the war will thus be duplicated. Naturally, the Teutonic lines in the north cannot retain their present positions with such a retirement in the south. They will be similarly affected and, in spite of all the courage and defensive skill of the Germans, will have to fall back in unison with the Austrians in the south. It is as if the entire Teutonic line were a huge pillar resting on a base composed of the Austrian forces. One by one the stones of this base are being eaten away by the Russian attacks. If this process of erosion is not checked, the entire pillar must of necessity fall.

ITALY'S GREAT SUCCESS

While the Russian attacks were in their most desperate phase, and Austria was pushed to the limit to protect the flank of Bothmer's army along the Stripa River, Italy suddenly launched a terrific attack against the Gorizia bridgehead on the Isonzo River. Gorizia is guarded by three powerful defensive features, Mount Sabotino, the heights of

Podgora, and Mount San Michele. The second of these has been in Italian hands since last November. The other two have remained steadfastly in Austrian possession, in spite of the most terrific attacks of which the Italians were capable. All the fighting for the Doberdo Plateau, of which we have read so much in the official reports, had for its purpose the flanking of the San Michele position, as it was only by possessing these positions that the Gorizia bridgehead could be taken. The latest Italian attack was launched against Mount Sabotino and San Michele. After a preliminary bombardment of two days, Sabotino fell into the hands of the Italian infantry in the first attack, and San Michele soon met the same fate. Within four days the entire position of the Austrians about Gorizia had fallen into Italian hands. It is self-deception to try to minimize the importance of this victory. The mere fact that the Austrians have for the last two years made such a desperate defense of this river is sufficient proof of the strategical value which their General Staff placed upon it.

A brief study of the map of this country will show what the Italians gained when they crossed to the east bank of the Isonzo and entered Gorizia. Their object is first of all Trieste, and the Istrian Peninsula. This must be realized in working toward an appreciation of the value of the Isonzo crossings. Without Gorizia, the Italians would in the first place be fighting on both sides of the river, but without adequate means of communication between the forces on the two banks. It is axiomatic that when an army has to fight astraddle of a stream its operations can only be successful when there is a broad unobstructed avenue between the opposite shores. This was obtained when Gorizia fell.

Another point is that, had the Italians attempted to drive to the southward from Gradisca and Monfalcone, which points they had taken early in the war, their left flank would have been completely in the air, with no natural or artificial obstacle on which to rest. The only result could have been disaster. Now the position is reversed.

It is the Austrians whose flank is exposed, the Austrians whose main line has been turned and who are being forced from their entire group of positions along the Isonzo River.

The development of the Italian campaign from now on appears, in its essential elements, exceedingly simple. It is to seize the entire Austrian line from Tolmino to Monfalcone, and between these points to straighten their own lines beyond the bends of the Isonzo. Then, with their left flank resting on Tolmino, to swing from that town as a pivot, their right resting continuously on the Gulf of Trieste. So far, they have taken a long preliminary step in this direction. Tolmino is under fire, the Doberdo Plateau has been cleared, and the line from Gorizia to Monfalcone almost entirely straightened out. They are going ahead rapidly and are apparently fully able to cope with any resistance the Austrians can make. For the first time since the declaration of war they are meeting the Austrians on something like even terms. The struggle between the two powers will, for this reason, be watched with increasing interest as the campaign develops.

In so far as this move of Italy affects the war as a whole it is to be carefully noted that the plans of the Entente seem to focus on the destruction of Austria as an armed force. Russian attacks against the main German line, while they have not ceased, have lessened in intensity. The great Russian effort is concentrated against the shattered and battered remains of the Austrian Army. Every effort is being made to sever the Austrian Army from its German neighbor and destroy it. The entire plan of Brusiloff seems to have for its objective not territory, not this town or that, but the men in the Austrian Army.

Italy's blow brings the end of Austria nearer as a distinct possibility. It is good strategy and sound, this business of eliminating the weaker of the Germanic powers, so that full attention may be concentrated on the stronger. It is this strategy which the Germans employed against France at the outset, and which was defeated at the Marne. It was this

strategy which they repeated against the Russians only to be defeated on the Pripet. The difference between both these cases and that of Austria lies in the question of reserves. Austria is the most nearly exhausted of any of the belligerents. The Allies have yet to reach the point where exhaustion of reserves seems possible. The Austrian loss since the first Russian offensive was launched on June 4 has been in prisoners alone, approximately 400,000 men. This means that nearly a million men have been put out of action. Harking back to the early days of the war, when Russia put out of action practically the entire first Austrian Army which composed all the regular "standing" troops, it can be well understood why Austria has not any great body of men on which to fall back.

THE WAR IN FRANCE

On the western front the month has not brought any developments of great interest. The main struggle has been for the Bapaume Plateau, which begins just north of the village of Pozières. The British attack was launched from low ground, which gradually mounted to the plateau, after which it drops gently but steadily away to Bapaume. The lip of the plateau has been reached, and is apparently solidly in British hands. The progress was slow and costly, but all advantages of terrain now rest with the British. The Germans, realizing this, have been counterattacking continually, and further British advances have been at least temporarily prevented. The French have made numerous minor gains, but the accomplishments of the Allies during the month have been insignificant except in a purely local relation.

The great battle of Verdun, however, has been brought to a definite conclusion and is a complete German defeat. This is the most tragic occurrence of the war for Teuton arms. A gigantic effort was made, the best soldiery of which the German Army can boast was used up in the effort. The net result has been a few square miles of territory occupied and a casualty list that must approach the half-million mark.

In the Far East, fortune has been

shifting. The Russians by a succession of swift strokes captured the town of Erzingan and completed the occupation of the Caucasus region.

At the same time, the road to Sivas, the last Turkish base before Angora, was laid open. Further south, the honors went to the Turks, who

have taken the towns of Bitlis and Mush.

None of these operations has yet reached the point, however, where they exert any influence on the main theatres of operations. It is to the European fields that we must look for definite results.

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Map of Western Front, Page 999]

LORD DERBY, Parliamentary Under Secretary of the British War Office, recently expressed himself as follows:

"The only way to win the war is to kill Germans. This we are doing, and so are the Russians and the Italians."

Thus speaking he voiced the strategy of destruction which with the initiation of the Verdun campaign took the lead in the military operations. It has been said of the great offensive on the west front that it is analogous to that of the Germans before Verdun and that it is being carried on in pursuance of the rules and the lessons which the campaign against the great French fortress has brought. This means that the victory which clears the path to peace must be based upon the destruction of the enemy.

From the point of view of the Allies the question of the ways and means by which to bring about a decision was simplified at the moment the opening of the great offensives confined the decisive combat to the theatres of operations in the West, East and South. Human material and munitions are the decisive factors. The proper employment and utilization of these two factors on the one hand, and on the other the ability to counterbalance such an advantage on the opponent's side, determine the strategic superiority of generalship. It is from this standpoint that the events of the last few weeks in all theatres of war must be reviewed.

RUSSIAN DRIVE DWINDLES

The development of the Russian offensive on the southeastern front up to Aug. 15 is marked by the following phases:

1. The abandonment of the Russian advance against the line Sarny-Kovel.

2. The occupation of Brody by the Russians.

3. The Teuton counteroffensive in the Carpathians.

4. The opening of the Russian campaign against Lemberg from the southeast and south.

The attacks against the railway line Sarny-Kovel from the south, from the region of Lutsk, and from the east, were aimed primarily at the possession of the important railway communication; the larger strategic aim was to pierce General von Linsingen's front at the point where it joins that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and thus to extend the great offensive to the northernmost sector of the Russian battle line. The same purpose is pursued by the Russian attacks in the Pinsk region.

From the south the Russians advanced as far as the western bank of the Stokhod, compelling Linsingen to regroup his front. Against the newly formed front all further Russian attacks were launched in vain. The battle on the Stokhod line in Northern Volhynia ended about the middle of last month with heavy losses to the Muscovite attackers, particularly to the Russian Guards, and therewith

THE DUKE OF AOSTA



Commander of the Italian Army Which Captured Gorizia on August 9,
and Which Is Advancing Toward Trieste.

GORIZIA REGION - AUSTRIAN STRONGHOLD WON BY ITALY

J U L I A N A L P S



By Capturing the Commanding Positions on Monte Sabotino and Monte San Michele on August 6, the Italians Broke the Austrian Resistance, Took the Famous Bridgehead on the Podgora-Gorizia Road, and Occupied Gorizia Itself and the Neighboring Plateaus.

(Drawing © 1916, by the New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial.)

the northern sector was—temporarily at least—eliminated from the great offensive.

On July 8 the Russians occupied Brody. The drive against this Galician city, situated close to the border and on the railway Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg, had been launched from the Radsivilov road, whither runs that from Dubno and where the army of Boehm-Ermolli stood.

After the occupation of Brody it was asserted that now the way to Lemberg from the east was clear to the Russians. The advance from this direction, however, was never begun. The reason is that in attempting it the Russians would have exposed themselves to the danger of having their right flank attacked and rolled up by the Linsingen army and their left flank enveloped by the left wing of Count von Bothmer's forces.

On the extreme southern wing of their great offensive movement the Russians had advanced from Czernowitz along the Pruth to the eastern Carpathian pass of Jablonica. This pass was to be forced in order to open the road to the Hungarian plain, with Marmaros Sziget as the immediate goal. The Russian advance in the direction of this plain also has been discontinued. The army of General Pflanzer-Baltin extricated itself from the menacing envelopment. The attempt to break through the Teuton lines had failed in the southernmost sector of the great offensive as similar attempts further north had failed. The Teuton lines held. From new positions immediately before the Carpathians a Teuton counteroffensive was launched.

At the moment of this writing comes the news of the capture by the Russians of Worochta, on the railway to Stanislaw, and the town of Jablonica as well as other minor Teuton positions, including Solotvina. Reports from Petrograd indicate a renewal of the offensive in the Carpathians and Vienna admits a slight withdrawal of the Teuton lines. There are, however, no indications thus far of a Russian movement on this theatre sufficiently strong to throw the whole

Teuton extreme wing back into the Carpathian passes, and even in that event the natural defensive qualities of these passes preclude a Russian break through to the plain.

The developments of the military situation on the southeastern theatre of war have led to a reconstruction in the high commands on the side of the allied Central Powers. The previous seven great army groups—Hindenburg, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, Archduke Josef Ferdinand, Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, Bothmer, and Pflanzer-Baltin—have been merged into two groups, one commanded by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the other by the Archduke heir apparent, Karl Franz Josef.

Hindenburg's group of armies now comprises the following fronts:

1. Dwina front as far as Dwinsk.
2. South of Dwinsk as far as Wygonowskoje Lake, (north of Baronovitchi.)
3. Front of Prince Leopold of Bavaria as far as Pinsk.
4. Linsingen front from the Pripet marshes to a point northeast of Brody, (comprising the Stokhod front.)
5. Vladimir-Volynski front under General Tersztynszky von Nadas, almost as far as the Galician frontier.
6. Brody front under General Boehm-Ermolli, to a point west of the Sereth headwaters.

Army group of Archduke Karl Franz Josef:

1. Bothmer front, from southwest of Brody with the Sereth front northwest of Tarnopol almost as far as the Bukovina border, comprising the region north of Stanislaw.
2. The Pflanzer-Baltin army has been regrouped. The front from Delatyn to the Carpathian passes has been placed under the command of General Koevess, who led the Austro-Hungarian forces in the Balkan campaign. The front of Pflanzer-Baltin stretches to the Moldava in the southern Bukovina.

With regard to these changes in the high commands it is noteworthy that the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent has been intrusted with the command of the very front on which there rage at this moment the most important battles,

namely, the army group of Count von Bothmer, against whose centre and right wing the Russians are now directing the most significant operations of the great offensive with their campaign against Lemberg from the south.

It is an old tradition of the Hapsburg House never to expose any of its members at a point where a defeat might threaten. The appointment of Archduke Karl Franz Josef to this command is the more significant inasmuch as he was recalled from the Italian front—where he had been in chief command—immediately after the abandonment of the Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italy on the south Tyrolean frontier. We may, therefore, conclude that Vienna does not regard as really threatening the military situation created by the inauguration of the Russian campaign against Lemberg.

The further Russian advance after the capture of Brody against Lemberg was discontinued because Linsingen threatened the Russian right, Bothmer the Russian left. The offensive against the army of Count von Bothmer in the centre and on the right wing had been launched in order to initiate the campaign against Lemberg from the south and the south-east, that from the east having failed.

The right wing and the centre of Bothmer's army were compelled to evacuate their entire positions on the Stripa. In the course of the subsequent fighting against Bothmer's right wing the Russians under General Letchitsky occupied Stanislau. A further advance led the Russian Army under General Tcherbatcheff across the Rivers Koropiec, Zlota-Lipa, and Khomanka, and on to Maryampol. This means that the Russian left wing (Letchitsky's army) and the centre (Tcherbatcheff) joined hands on the comparatively short front, Stanislau-Maryampol. The further Russian advance against Lemberg is to proceed beyond Halicz against the Galician capital, but it is already meeting at this writing (middle of August) vigorous resistance to the west of Stanislau.

The great Russian offensive, which was opened on the immensely long front from the Pripet marshes down to the

Bessarabian frontier, has dissolved itself into the campaign against Lemberg.

Major Moraht, the well-known German military critic, writes:

"The elasticity of our lines has preserved our main forces unweakened for coming events. Threatened sectors have been strengthened in order to attain a decision, and the organization of victory for which we are hoping has been prepared by a reformation of the armies and a reconstruction of the commands."

ITALIANS AT GORIZIA

On the 7th of August, after the fighting on the Tyrolean south frontier had become desultory and lost its mobile character, the Italians launched an offensive on the Isonzo front, as a complement to the general offensives of the Allies. Two days later the Italians occupied Gorizia, capital of the Austro-Hungarian crownland of the same name. The possession of this city and district had been the immediate objective of the Italian attacks since the end of May, 1915.

After the Italians had taken Monte Sabotino in the north and Monte San Michele south of Gorizia, the bridgehead of that city had become untenable. Possession of this bridgehead necessarily resulted in the Italian occupation of the City of Gorizia.

Two main possibilities now feature the prospects of the further Italian offensive movements on this front. An advance in the direction of Trieste, or one in the direction of Laibach.

As long as Italy was conducting her own war, consideration of "Irredenta Italia" pointed to Trieste as the objective of any further advance after the fall of Gorizia. Now that Italy, too, has been drawn into the Allies' community of action, it is different. For this community of action Laibach represents a factor of great importance. It is via Laibach that the way leads to the Steiermarck and into Hungary's interior. But the way is a long and difficult one.

With the occupation of Gorizia the Italians have advanced but a tiny step in their "march on Vienna" begun fifteen months ago. The old, formerly beautiful city lies in a basin of the Isonzo Valley.

In order to enjoy, unpunished, the possession of the city, the conquerors must necessarily also have the heights on the eastern bank of the Isonzo, situated to the north and south of the valley. To the east of the city these heights come close together and leave only a narrow path between them, the romantic valley of the Wippach, (Vippachio.) And beyond these heights, the most important of which is covered by the Ternova Wood, lies barren "Karst" terrain. As long as the Isonzo front north of Gorizia is held by the defenders, there can be no question of an advance against Laibach.

The shaping of the military situation on the Isonzo front since the fall of Gorizia indicates that the Italian offensive has chosen Trieste as the immediate goal.

The Austro-Hungarian troops after the loss of Gorizia had at first taken up new positions on the heights northeast of the city and on the Vertojba line, three kilometers to the south, and there resisted an attempt at a continuation of the Italian drive. Through the loss of Gorizia the Austro-Hungarian line had been bent only at one point. The dent was extended by the occupation of the Doberdo Plateau, southwest of Gorizia, and of the territory immediately in front of the Karst Plateau to the east. Against this Italian base of attack the defenders have taken a new, firm position, which runs from the shore of the Adriatic to Monte San Gabriele.

To the north and northeast of Gorizia the defenders have established a further base of support, on the plateau commanding the plain of Gorizia, whence they are stemming the hostile advance.

Seven Italian storm attacks against the heights east of Gorizia, directed from the Wippach Valley, have been beaten off with extremely sanguinary losses to the Italians. In this region the Italian advance has been brought to a standstill. The subsequent development of the offensive will depend upon the outcome of the battles at Monte San Gabriele and Monte Santo, north and northeast of Gorizia. These battles at this writing are being prepared by powerful artillery bombardments.

ALLIES' FAILURE IN FRANCE

The great Anglo-French offensive on the west front, which was begun July 1 on a front of thirty-three kilometers, already has degenerated into trench warfare. The mobility of the fighting on this front consists merely of the gain of a fraction of a trench or the loss of a little wood on this or the other local front. Toward the end of July there were great artillery preparations on the part of the Allies on a wide front, foreshadowing a new drive on a large scale. This drive was to be launched on a line on both banks of the Somme, south of Pozières, on the road from Albert to La Boiselle and Pozières, and further to Bapaume, from Vermandovillers against Péronne. This front comprises the centre of the Anglo-French battle line and the right wing held by the French. Evidently the Allies proposed to re-establish, by a united blow, the lost strategic cohesion between the centre and the right wing. The battle areas which had been isolated and localized by the German defensive initiative were to be joined together once more. But this attempt at a main blow also failed. The result was wholly out of proportion to the extent of the preparations and the strength spent.

Today the Anglo-French front runs as follows: Thiepval-Pozières-Bazentin-le-Petit-Longueval-Maurepas-west of Clery-west of Biaches-Belloy-Soyecourt. With the capture of Maurepas in the first week of August the British scored one more great success. Since then, up to date, the fighting has become weaker and weaker. The "great offensive" which was to prepare the driving out of the Germans from Northern France and Belgium has dissolved itself into the "Battle of Picardy," and there is today only trench fighting left, the trenches continuously changing hands, particularly on the line Pozières-Thiepval.

Should the Allies really succeed, in the course of the coming battles, in occupying the line Bapaume-Combles-Péronne, they would even then have accomplished nothing but a local success in the form of a dent in the German front on a comparatively small stretch. The prospects

for the further development of the military situation as created by the great offensive on the west front are made clear by the statement of the German General Staff that the Germans have established behind their real battle line defensive positions equal to those wrested from them.

Before Verdun the mobility of action has completely ceased. Now and then there are artillery duels on the eastern bank of the Meuse, before Vaux, and in the region of Fleury village, and still more rarely on the west bank. The Germans evidently have withdrawn strong forces, and the French are unable to take the offensive.

As for the incidental theatres of war, interest centres upon the successes of the Turks against the Russians in Persia and on the Caucasus front.

The Ottomans have recaptured Hamadan in Persia and the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Mush. The Turkish advance against the Suez Canal, on the other hand, has netted no appreciable gains.

The "great offensive" of the Allies from Saloniki is still "impending," as it has been ever since the Macedonian front was established.

The local fighting around Doiran Lake is without any military significance whatsoever.

The Fall of Gorizia

Italy's First Important Victory

[See Graphic Drawing of Gorizia Region Opposite Page 991]

THE Entente Allies at last are in full tide of their concerted movement to close in upon the enemy from all sides, and to end the great European war as our civil war was ended—by pressing the enemy all the time on every front, giving no time for respite and no opportunity to utilize the advantage of inside lines.

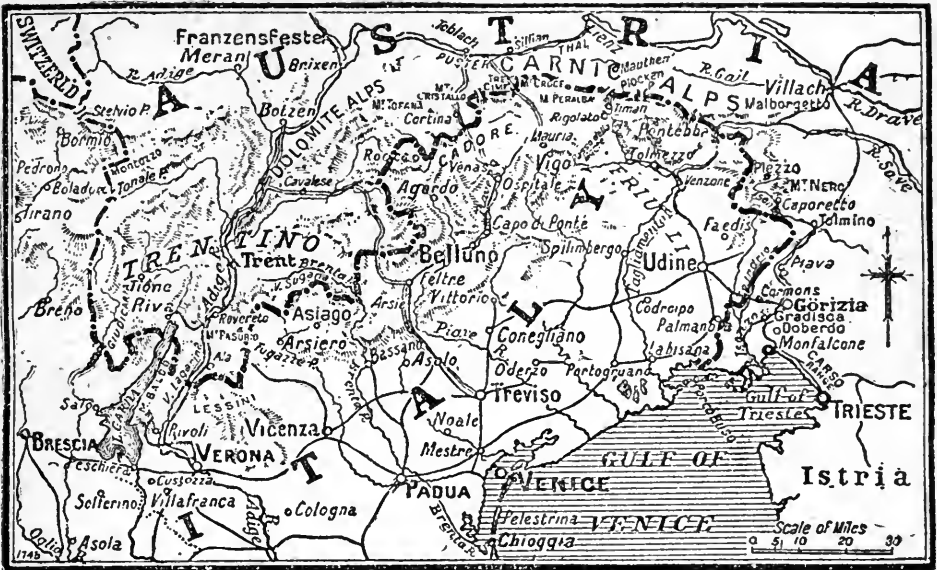
Italy's part in this united offensive has given her the most spectacular victory of the month, as well as the first important success of Italian arms in this war. The capture of the Austrian stronghold of Gorizia by King Victor Emmanuel's Third Army, which is commanded by his cousin, the Duke of Aosta, has removed the chief obstacle on the way to Trieste. The latter city is now said to be garrisoned by Germans in expectation of the coming attack.

Courage, imagination, and strategy all figured in the taking of Gorizia, and parts of the story read like romance. The town is dominated by three mountain heights—Sabotino, Podgora, and San Michele. The Italians already held Podgora, but as long as the Austrians retained the other two mountains it was

mere suicide to try to take the Podgora-Gorizia bridgehead in the valley below. The capture of these mountain keys of the famous little city was achieved partly by means of powerful new guns, which poured upon the enemy the most terrible rain of shells ever known on the Italian front, and partly by means of underground passages bored through the solid rock.

The Italian attack began on Aug. 4 in the Monfalcone section, east of Rocca, where powerful enemy works were stormed. The Austrians, however, had left large numbers of gas bombs in the abandoned trenches; these exploded just as the Italians entered the captured lines, and while the soldiers staggered, stupefied by the gas, the enemy launched a strong counterattack which drove the Italians back to their own trenches.

The next day the Italian artillery sounded the whole of the enemy's front, distracting his attention and at the same time getting the ranges accurately. Then on the morning of Aug. 6 the successful offensive began. Under an unclouded Summer sky the titanic orchestra of Italian guns began rending the air with



MAP OF THE ITALIAN FRONTIER, COVERING THE CHIEF POINTS OF IMPORTANCE ON THE WAR FRONTS

a terrifying chorus all the way from Plava Heights to Monfalcone. The whole region that had been plowed up by big shells since July 14 was again subjected to a ceaseless hail of explosives for nine hours. No such awe-inspiring cascade of fire ever before had been witnessed on the Italian front. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the infantry leaped from their trenches and dashed over the shattered earth to complete the work with bullet and bayonet.

As Monte Sabotino had proved practically impregnable, plans had been laid to take it by surprise. For months the Italian sappers had been secretly at work excavating wide passageways through the solid rock from their own lines to within twenty yards of the Austrian defenses. Three of these tunnels, from 240 to 300 feet long, were ready for use when the artillery preparation began. While the cannon thundered on that Sunday morning of Aug. 6, the Italian infantry poured through these subterranean corridors and suddenly burst out at the further end, throwing themselves upon the astonished Austrians and overcoming them before they could organize an effective resistance. Thus the dreaded

Sabotino Mountain passed into Italian hands.

On the same day the remaining key of Gorizia, Monte San Michele, was captured. San Michele had been taken and lost by the Italians at least twenty-five times, and for seven months they had held half of the summit; but it had always been dominated by the Austrian fire from the still higher summit of Monte Sabotino, and only when this was taken did the Italians gain final possession of San Michele. Their big guns silenced Austrian batteries on both summits with the aid of twenty-four dirigible balloons, each carrying four tons of explosives. By day and night these balloons were operated in the most daring manner. They were attacked frequently by Austrian aeroplanes, which in turn were driven off by Italian aeroplanes or by guns mounted on the dirigibles.

As soon as the Italians held the dominating heights their big guns turned their attention to shelling the Austrians out of the City of Gorizia, while the infantry was hurled forward to capture the bridge in open battle.

It remained to take the imposing barrier formed by the heights between

Podgora and Gorizia. Here the Austro-Hungarians had taken refuge in hundreds of caves, some of which had been enlarged into vast subterranean halls that served at once as munition depots and as quarters for thousands of men. From one of these tortuous grottoes 800 Hungarians with hand bombs and machine guns maintained an untiring fight for a whole day and night, and until noon the following day. Even then they resisted passively for several hours before they were reduced to the point of suffocation by straw and petroleum fires lighted at the entrances of the cave. Twenty guns and many tons of ammunition were captured with these stubborn fighters.

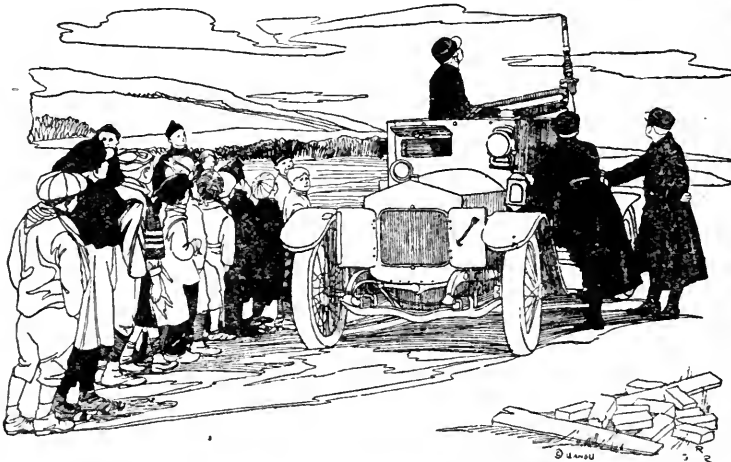
The battle ebbed and flowed incessantly for three days. The ground was well fortified, and the Austrians fought bitterly for every foot of the remaining ground. Inch by inch, with heavy losses, the Italians conquered first the crest and then the southeastern slopes leading down to the river, storming trench after trench, and driving the enemy back over the bridge that had been battled for so many months. The Austrians blew it up in their retreat. With water up to their necks, carrying rifles above their heads and shouting patriotic songs, the Italians forded the broad stream and carried the eastern bank. Enemy shrapnel, which

churned the water into foam, failed to check their progress. Men wounded in the water insisted on being helped to gain the eastern bank. "Then they'll not send us back."

On the morning of Aug. 9 the Duke of Aosta, accompanied by the King, rode at the head of his army into the conquered city. The Austrians, commanded by General Zeiller, had retired eastward through the mountains to Vallone, leaving more than 15,000 prisoners in Italian hands.

The fighting throughout these three days, especially at the bridge leading from Podgora to Gorizia, ranks with the most sanguinary of the war. The Austrians fought desperately, compelling the victors to pay for every gain, so that the casualties on both sides were large. Neither side has reported the figures thus far, but the total for both together is estimated at 30,000.

The victory at Gorizia has been followed up vigorously by General Cadorna's forces, both at that point and elsewhere on the Isonzo front. The Austrians have been driven beyond Vallone and are under heavy pressure all along the edge of the Carso southward. At this writing (Aug. 21) the Italian guns dominate Tolmino in the upper Isonzo Valley and are within a dozen miles of Trieste in the south.



The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE BATTLEFIELD

THE field on which the battle has begun includes two regions of strongly contrasted character.

One, in which the British Army is operating, might go under the name of Bapaume, the most considerable place in the direction contemplated by our allies; the other, to the south, might be called the Péronne region, from the apparent objective of the French forces.

The English front, which is the longer—11 miles in the direct line from Gommécourt to Montauban, 15½ miles if we count the curves—is divided by the course of the little River Ancre, an affluent of the Somme, which it enters near Corbie. Save for this deep furrow, enlivened by abundant water, the whole region is a succession of ample undulations between dry ravines. The heights regular little plateaus each with its very extensive village set in orchards or amid large trees, contrasting with the bareness of the slopes, which were formerly covered with rich fields of wheat, of field poppies, or of beetroots. A few plantations of trees, far apart, are the witnesses to the former sylvan character of the country. The region is remarkably uniform in height; from 400 feet near the Ancre, the slopes rise, 6 miles to the west, to 570 feet at the highest point, that is to say, an imperceptible slope. One of the highest ridges, 538 feet, is near Gommécourt, where the battlefield begins, and is in the neighborhood of Hébuterne. The narrow plateaus, raised on gentle slopes, like long glacis, are, with their villages organized for defense, very strong positions, which can only be mastered by a prolonged bombardment. Therefore at this point the struggle has its alternations of advance and withdrawal; the

towns mentioned above, as well as the hamlets of Serre and Beaumont-Hamel, are furiously fought for. On the opposite bank of the Ancre there is a fierce contest about Thiepval, in another region of ridges separated by deeper and more numerous valleys.

The road from Albert to Valenciennes through Bapaume traverses this sector in a perfectly straight line for 10½ miles. This wide, stately-looking causeway was barred by the Germans, to the south of Thiepval, at the hamlet of Boisselle, less than 2 miles from the unfortunate City of Albert, ruined by the enemy. Since 1914, La Boisselle and its neighbor Oviliers, the chief town of the commune, have been the scene of extremely violent combats. The enemy has built very strong defenses at this point; against them, since the battle began, the English have been hammering.

To the south, the battlefield is marked by sharp folds, with dry ravines, on whose flanks the chalk crops out, entering a long, unwatered valley which the narrow-gauge railroad from Albert to Péronne follows as far as Montauban, and which the State road makes use of for a while. The enemy is firmly planted in the villages of this valley: Fricourt, Mametz, and Montauban, a town perched on the slope of a ridge whose highest point, 518 feet, is the highest in the whole region between Albert and Péronne.

The English lines a short time ago extended as far as the Somme, covered the white cliff of the village of Vaux and finished at the brook up-stream from Suzanne. Opposite, on the left (south) bank of the Somme, the French lines began. In view of the coming offensive, a part of our (French) troops were brought back to the right bank, between Bray-on-Somme and the valley of Fricourt, toward

Carnoy. From this point we started for the contest which was to carry us to Hardecourt-in-the-Woods.

The narrow-gauge railroad follows an odd line, to reach Combles. Departing from its easterly course, at a point 3 miles from Curlu, it goes north, curves past Montauban, turns to the east, goes south toward Combles, and reaches Curlu after a loop of 10½ miles. In the midst of the loop is hidden in a fold Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, separated from the Somme by 2 miles of hilly ground. On the bank of the river, stretched out beneath high walls of chalk, is the Village of Curlu, before which the Somme describes one of its oddest meanderings, surrounding an oval plain in great part fringed with peat-mosses. The chord of this loop of the river is cut by the Somme Canal, which is bordered by the long but narrow village of Frise, which the Germans took from us some months ago. To the east of Curlu, between the villages of Hem and Feuillères, a causeway crosses the Somme and the canal and climbs up the slopes of the left (south) bank, skirting at a height of 346 feet, 180 feet above the Somme, the little wood of Mereaucourt.

At this point begins the plateau of Santerre, which extends past Chaulnes and Roye as far as the hills of Lassigny. At first, much broken up, it becomes a level plain from the point where it leaves the road from Péronne to Amiens. In the region near the river, the country is like that on the right (north) bank, ridges and swellings bearing small plateaus which have a village in the centre or at the side: Dompierre, Becquincourt, and Bussus, which form a single group, Herbécourt, Assevillers, Estrées, where begins a dry valley which comes out on the Somme at Bray. In this valley lies a series of villages, the first of which is Fay. Further on, to the south, extends the plain dotted with many villages.

To the east, the plateau, still a succession of ridges, is surrounded on three sides by the Somme, which, beginning with Voyennes—between Nesle and Hem—describes a great loop of which Assevillers, Flaucourt, and Barleux, at cross-roads, occupy the centre. The last vil-

lage, Biaches, lies opposite Péronne. Between Flaucourt and that town there is a distance of only 3 miles. A plateau raised on pretty steep slopes, at a height of 321 feet, or 164 feet above the Somme, separates Flaucourt from Péronne.

Of the two divisions of the battlefield, that of the right bank of the Ancre is less broken up; further on, as far as the Somme, then as far as the Amiens road, the succession of ridges surrounded by ravines and topped by villages, is the strongest part of the region in which the struggle has begun; in that region, however, the successes were most rapid.

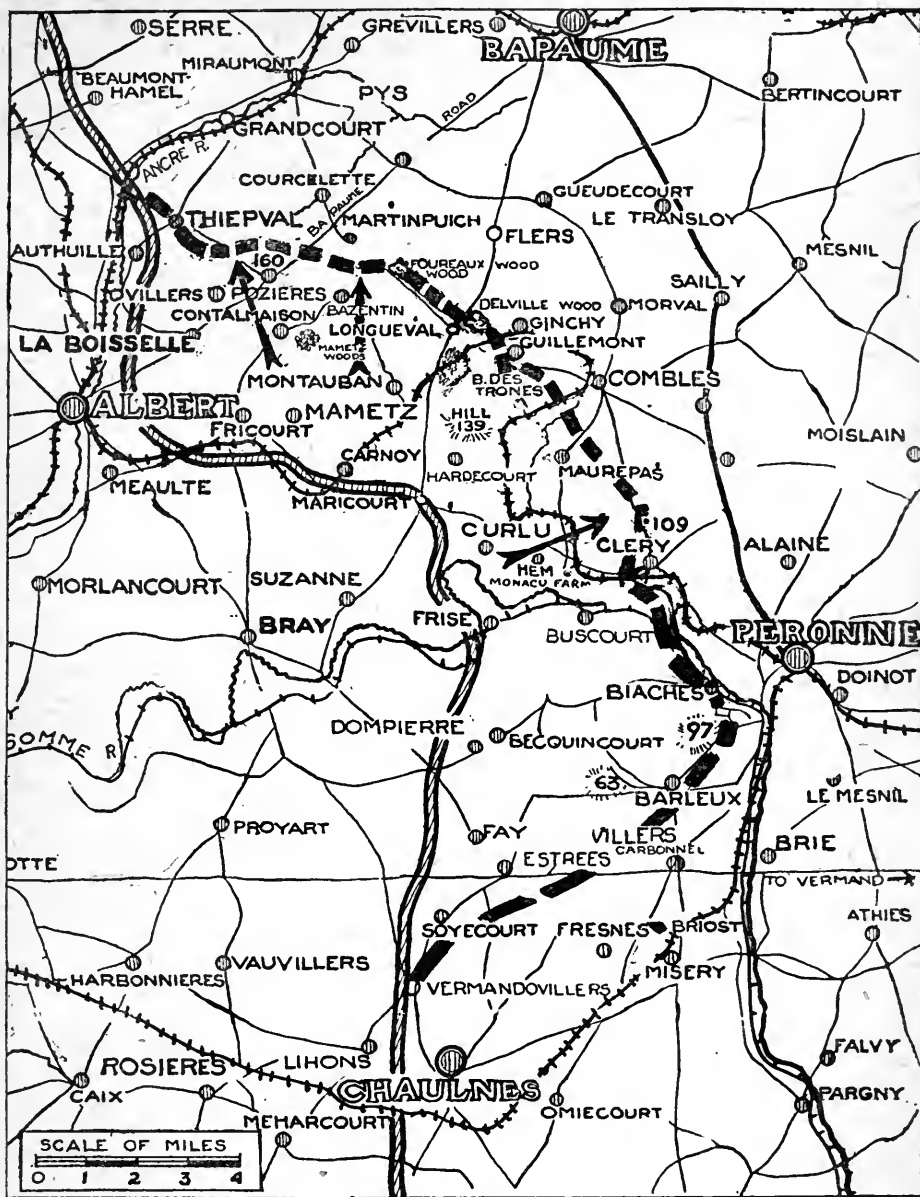
We are now acquainted with the region in which, beginning with July 1, has been fought one of the bloodiest battles of the great drama. We shall follow its different developments.

THE PREPARATION

The bulletins of the preceding week, which made it apparent that the bombardment prelude a great offensive had begun on the English front, were silent as to the participation of the French in this hurricane of fire. Yet our artillery was playing its part, on a front rather restricted in comparison with the English lines, but of a high strategic value. We were fighting on both banks of the Somme, one part of our forces having, as we indicated higher up, crossed the river to take the place of English forces between the river and the road from Albert to Péronne.

The action of our powerful batteries and of the sixteen-inch mortars was preparing an attack of extreme intensity. It was launched on the morning of July 1, (Saturday,) in co-operation with a movement of the British Army, which was active only on a narrow part of its front, and not in the regions of Flanders and Artois, where the bulletins had insistently mentioned cannonades and mine explosions. The British action took place on the confines of Artois and Picardy, principally on the territory of the latter province. The news of the movement arrived with the announcement of the first and important successes. Verdun sank a little into the background.

Until Sunday, July 2, then, the French bulletins had said nothing of the prepar-



PROGRESS MADE BY ANGLO-FRENCH FORCES IN THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME AFTER SIX WEEKS' FIGHTING, SHOWN BY BROKEN LINE

ations; those of the English stated that during the bombardment numerous raids had been pushed forward to the lines of the enemy, whose trenches, leveled by shells, contained few besides dead and wounded; our allies had advanced, at certain points, using gas, as a reply to the cruel methods of war of the enemy.

At the same time aviation played a very extensive rôle; all the captive balloons (drachen) of the Germans were attacked and destroyed; their airmen were pursued unceasingly. Before the battle, the German Army had lost its means of observation. Other machines poured bombs on the railroad stations, the storehouses,

the munition depots and machines of the enemy, and on trains in motion. At the moment when the struggle was begun, the general quarters of the enemy were attacked with bombs dropped from the clouds. The French airmen were not less busy; they destroyed all the drachen and prevented the German aeroplanes from approaching our lines.

THE ATTACK

Thus the attack began when the enemy was deprived of his means of aerial scouting. In both the English region and our own, it was superb in its vigor. Our allies joined battle from Gommécourt to Fricourt, only 2 miles from Albert, their line of attack crossing the Ancre between Beaumont-Hamel and Thiepval. At the point of contact with our troops, they took Mametz and Montauban, thus getting a footing on the highest point, whence radiates, toward the Somme and the upper course of the Ancre, a network of ravines which appears inextricable. Mametz and Montauban had been furiously defended; fierce counterattacks delayed their fall until the evening. Another village, Fricourt, resisted. During this time, an even more violent action was being fought on the road from Bapaume to La Boisselle, where the enemy seems to have collected the most formidable means of defense; the fight extended on the east to Contalmaison, on the north toward Oivillers and Thiepval; the English registered some progress, but without succeeding in forcing the intrenchments.

On the Somme the French obtained successes comparable to those of the English toward Montauban. They attacked on both sides of the valley. Starting on the north, that is, on the right bank, from the neighborhood of Carnoy and Maricourt, they drove the enemy from his trenches and pressed him back on Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, in the great curve marked by the Albert-Péronne Railroad. On the river itself, they captured Curlu, after a fierce struggle.

The success was not less on the left (south) bank, in the loop of the Somme. Dompierre and Becquincourt, which make, as we have seen, a single group with the hamlet of Bussus, were carried

by admirably led assaults; to the south, near the road to Amiens and the village of Estrées, Fay, so often fought over through nearly two years, was taken in its turn. We were masters of a front extending from the approaches of Frise, on the Somme, as far as Estrées. On the opposite bank, we held the approaches of Curlu. More than 5,000 prisoners were brought back; guns, machine guns, diverse engines, a mass of material had fallen into our hands. And our losses, thanks to the artillery preparation and the marvelous dash of our soldiers, had been very small.

As always, the enemy tried to counter-attack under cover of the night, striking fiercely, especially to the north of Hardecourt, but all his assaults were broken by our barrier-fire; he finally withdrew in disorder, abandoning 200 more prisoners, six of whom were officers. During this time, on the right bank, ourselves taking advantage of the darkness to advance, we approached Herbécourt and Assevillers. The Germans had hastily called up reserves and strengthened their occupation of Frise, a village the loss of which some months earlier we had left severely. But Frise, violently bombarded, was approached by our soldiers, at 2 in the morning, in spite of the obstacles accumulated before it. The enemy was pushed out so rapidly that he had not the time to offer a serious resistance. Frise occupied, as well as Curlu on the other bank, we were masters of the great loop of the Somme. The victors, following up their advantage, mounted the Herbécourt ridge, carried, at its end above the Somme, the wood of Mereaucourt, from which they dominated the bridgehead of Feuillères and Hem. The wood had been covered with trenches; it concealed veritable caverns, whose occupants thought themselves safe from any attack.

On the other bank of the Somme, once Curlu had been taken, our troops, advancing along the river, dislodged the enemy from the deep quarries dug in the chalk and transformed into fortresses. More to the north, our progress was strengthened toward Hardecourt, which was powerfully intrenched, and rising in an amphitheatre in the hollow of a valley as

far as the edge of the plateau surrounded by ravines.

On the same day, that is, Sunday, the English who, during the night, had repelled a formidable counterattack, led by four columns, continued to attack La Boisselle with success; in the evening they took a part of the village. More to the north, they were compelled at certain points to abandon a part of their gains; to the south they carried Fricourt in the afternoon. The whole valley followed as far as Montauban by the narrow-gauge railroad was from that time in the hands of the Allies. A German battalion sent on the following day to Fricourt, finding itself surrounded, surrendered without a fight.

The British troops met with a resistance which increased in fierceness; however, on Monday, July 3, La Boisselle was taken; the German troops capitulated while the neighboring village, Ovillers, saw the struggle resumed with increased bitterness. In the morning our allies occupied a part of the enemy trenches. The contests on the Ancre were not less violent, especially to the south of Thiepval; yet the English made headway; they had taken up to this point 4,300 prisoners. From that time the conflict was carried on with growing fury, but all the German attacks against La Boisselle were broken against English tenacity.

FRENCH PROGRESS

While the English were fighting, to the south of Arras, as far as the Ancre, other battles of which no account has been given, and while, before Albert, this fierce struggle had been going on, the French continued to progress in the loop of the Somme. Starting from the Mereaucourt Wood, French battalions advanced toward Assevillers, carried Herbécourt, whose defensive organization seemed to defy all assaults, and attacked Assevillers, still more formidably guarded. Joined by other elements coming through Dompierre and Bequincourt, they occupied the outskirts of the village, and, after a new artillery preparation, rushed forward with magnificent vigor against the strongly defended ruins. Assevillers was in our hands.

To the south, Estrées was approached. The enemy had strongly covered this village, because of its situation on the high road from Amiens to Péronne; he held his ground there on the evening of Monday, July 3. In the remainder of the loop, our progress was considerable: Flaucourt, only 3 miles from Péronne, was taken; further north, passing the Mereaucourt Wood, we captured Feuillères, important because of the bridges over the canal and the Somme, and the causeway across the marshes. From Feuillères, ascending the left bank, our soldiers reached the fortified Chapitre Wood, took it by assault, and reached the hamlet of Buscourt. On Monday evening, the enemy held in the loop of the Somme, only Belloy-en-Santerre, where reinforcements that had been dispatched to him were dispersed by our guns; Barleux, Biache, at the gates of Péronne, and Villers-Carbonnel, very important because at the crossroads of Roye and Amiens, and the point of passage, through Pontles-Brie, of the Somme and the canal. At the close of July 3, we held as trophies ten batteries of artillery, five being of large calibre, many machine-guns, trench guns, without counting guns put out of action by the bombardment, and more than 8,000 prisoners. This figure was raised to 9,500 on the following day, the English on the same day reaching 6,000.

The storms and rainy weather which followed did not stop our progress. On Tuesday, July 4, in spite of continuous torrents, our troops continued their advance in the loop of the Somme. Estrées, entered house by house, was almost completely conquered; to the east, Belloy-en-Santerre was likewise taken. Between this village, Assevillers, and Barleux, woods, furrowed with trenches, surrounded with a network of barbed wire entanglements, fell to us in their turn. Only 1,100 yards separated us from Barleux, the last village which remained to the Germans in the loop of the Somme.

The Germans, during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, July 4-5, bombarded and then attacked Belloy; they succeeded in occupying a part of it for a time, on the east, but were driven out by a counterattack. In the morning, they still held

the east of Estrées, in assaulting which they had spent their forces. During this time, we made headway along the banks of the Somme, from Feuillères as far as the Sormont Farm, which is only 2½ miles from Péronne.

To the north of the Somme, we took Hem on July 5, after a sharp contest.

All these events were developed before Péronne, whose railway station, on the main line from Paris to Cambrai, is the centre of supplies for the whole of this part of Picardy, of the Vermandois and Santerre.

Three days after the taking of Hem, we carried Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, at the point of contact of our left wing with the right wing of the English.

But our principal action had as its stage the loop of the Somme, where we little by little pushed the Germans back to the river, upstream from Péronne, while, downstream from the town, all the left (south) bank came into our possession.

On Friday, July 7, going forward from Belloy and Estrées, we drove the enemy out of his trenches and brought back 400 prisoners.

On Sunday, July 9, our troops undertook a new advance toward the east, along the whole front, from the river near the Sormont farm to Belloy-en-Santerre, Flaucourt being at the centre of the line. This attack, prepared by our artillery, conducted with vigor and a remarkable cohesion of its different elements, secured for us a gain of one and one-quarter miles of ground along this whole front. Biaches, only 1,100 yards from the southern fortifications of Péronne, and separated from it by the Somme and its marshes, was captured; toward the south we got close to Barleux and occupied the approaches to this village, the last held by the Germans in the loop. The battle was continued throughout the night, and, in the morning, secured for us the complete occupation of the ridge which dominates Biaches, and whose summit, covered by the Maisonette estate, is at an elevation of 318 feet, exactly 164 feet above the water level of the Somme, (which, at Péronne, is 154 feet above sea level.)

This point completely commands the town of Péronne, its railroad stations, and all the roads which radiate from the capital of the old Vermandois district.

On the English front our allies met with fierce resistance, which was concentrated from the banks of the Ancre toward Thiéval, to the point of contact with our left wing near Montauban. To the south of Thiéval the Germans had fortified a part of the ground by the creation of a powerful redoubt, called the Leipzig redoubt, at which they had been working ceaselessly for twenty months. In the afternoon of Friday, July 7, this work, after a smashing bombardment by British cannon, was the prize of a superb assault. In other combats carried on to the south, at La Boisselle, that is, on the road to Bapaume, gained for our allies a whole network of trenches on a front of 2,000 yards, and to a depth of 600 yards. Between La Boisselle and Fricourt two small woods were captured.

On the same day, July 7, there were furious battles at Contalmaison, between La Boisselle and Bazentin-the-less. The Germans sent the Prussian Guard forward at 7 o'clock in the morning. It was repulsed and forced to retire to the north, leaving the ground covered with dead and abandoning 700 prisoners in the hands of the English. The English, following up this success, made a superb assault on Contalmaison, which, at noon, gave them the village; but a counterattack retook it. However, they remained on its outskirts.

The following days were not less stirring. On Saturday, July 8, the British troops started from Montauban and the wood of Bernafay toward the Trônes Wood to co-operate with our attack on Hardecourt. While we were taking this village they approached the wood, supported by the French infantry, and took it. The enemy, coming back in dense masses, was thrown back again.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, July 9, 10, and 11, the struggle was continued in the Trônes Wood and on its outskirts. On the morning of July 11 it was almost in the hands of our allies. A night assault, preceded by a violent bombardment, at the same time regained Contal-

maison for them, and they strongly consolidated their position in the village. This success was completed by the capture of the Mametz Wood.

The total of prisoners captured by the English was 7,500 men. The battle between the Ancre and the Trônes Wood lasted without interruption for ten days and ten nights; it won for our allies a gain of from one and one-quarter to two and one-half miles in advance of their lines; the territory of five villages was freed from German occupation.

In mid-July the Germans twice attempted to retake from us the approaches to Péronne, taking advantage of the thick mists arising from the marshes and peat mosses of the Somme. Thanks to this veil of fog, on the evening of Saturday, July 15, they made a sortie from Péronne by the "Paris suburb." Creeping along the banks between which sleeps the canalized river, they pressed in our outposts and got as far as the approaches to Biaches. Violent assaults gained this village for them. While this was going on other German troops made their way up the flanks of the Maisonette Hill, driving in our outposts and taking possession of the ridge. But their success was brief. Our reserves retook the position. Another counterattack recovered Biaches for us. Some enemy groups were able to maintain themselves for a short time in a little wood between the two positions.

The second attempt took place on Monday evening, July 17, during torrential rain, and was kept up during the night. Repulsed in six assaults against the Maisonette Ridge, the Germans, supported by batteries installed on Mont Saint-Quentin, above Péronne, succeeded in reaching the heart of Biaches, thanks to the dead weight of the successive masses of troops launched in that direction. All day the struggle went on in the ruins of the village; our soldiers retook most of the houses, the enemy holding his ground only in the eastern part. During the forenoon of Tuesday, July 18, he was driven from the foothold to which he had been clinging.

In the heart of the Santerre Plateau, near Chilly, a village close to the important railway station of Chaumes, the Ger-

mans sketched a diversion by hurling themselves brusquely against our trenches.

During the same period, on the British front the fighting went on incessantly without an instant's respite from Oivillers—that is, from the approaches to the Valley of the Ancre—as far as the narrow-gauge railway from Albert to Péronne, on the level of Guillemont. The British artillery covered the German positions with its fire, big mortars severely hammering it; infantry attacks were sent forward at several points on Thursday, July 13.

This bombardment of extreme violence continued during the night of Thursday-Friday, July 13-14. Before dawn, on the day of our national festival, July 14, our allies launched, on a front of four and one-half miles, a powerful attack, carried out with so much ardor that the first lines immediately fell into their hands. The enemy had intrenched in the hamlets and woods, and it required terrific assaults to dislodge him. In the afternoon, Bazentin-le-Petit, Bazentin-le-Grand, Longueval, and the Trônes Wood were taken and occupied. Of these different positions the most important to the enemy was Bazentin-le-Petit. Three times the Germans directed counterattacks against this village in the hope of retaking it; the last attack, carried out with considerable forces, permitted them to dislodge the English. But the English returned to the charge and once more took possession of Bazentin-le-Petit. On this side the enemy only retained a foothold in the southwestern part of the Wood of Preuze, which separates Bazentin-le-Petit from the district of Contalmaison; he was driven out in the forenoon of July 17. During these combats more than 2,000 Germans surrendered.

The fighting continued with the same violence during the whole of Saturday, July 15, and was equally favorable for the English, whose front was extended both east and west. The Delville Wood, which spreads like a fan between the road from Longueval to Flers and Longueval to Ginchy, was completely taken; and German counterattacks had no result beyond causing heavy losses to

the assailants. To the north, and at 1,300 yards from Bazentin-le-Grand, the Wood of Foureaux, which occupies the culminating point of the Artois Ridge, was approached. During the battle a squadron of English horse charged the enemy—the first intervention of British cavalry since the battle of the Marne. The Wood of Foureaux was not taken, but our allies were able to organize its outskirts.

Sunday, July 16, was consecrated to the consolidation of the ground gained. On Monday, July 17, the British troops resumed the fight. Near the Bapaume road they attacked the village of Ovillers, defended by a battalion of the Prussian Guard, whose resistance was superb, but the débris of that heroic troop, 124 men and officers, were compelled to surrender. For twenty months this village had withstood all the efforts of the Allies to take it.

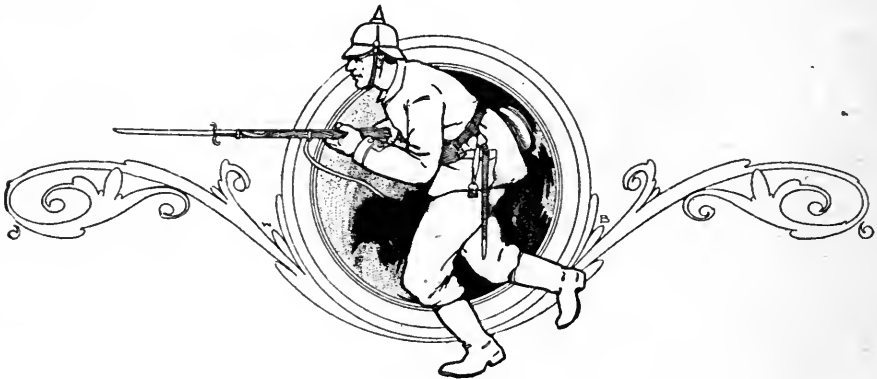
On their right wing the English gained a not less important success in capturing the Waterlot Farm, whose large buildings had been organized as a fortress. This property is half way to Guillemont, a village whose southern outlet is covered by the French troops at Hardecourt. From each of the three points, the Waterlot Farm, the Wood of Trônes, and Hardecourt, the distance to Combles is just over two miles, and Combles is the principal place between Albert and Péronne.

This English position, extending from Longueval through the Delville Wood to the Waterlot Farm, was the object on Tuesday, July 18, of a violent counterattack by the Germans. After having covered the wood with tear-producing and asphyxiating shells, they rushed to the assault, and a very fierce struggle took place.

During the first seventeen days of the battle of the Somme the British forces captured 10,779 men and 189 officers. They also brought in 8 large mortars, 9 heavy cannon, 37 field guns, and 66 machine guns.

A part of this struggle took place under the eyes of Kaiser Wilhelm, who came to bring encouragement to his troops and to study the situation with his own eyes.

[Between July 20 and July 30 a sanguinary battle was fought over the possession of Delville Wood, which was finally retaken by the British. Meanwhile the French advanced over a front of several miles, and the allied line was straightened out on the higher ground, with steady advances over a front of twenty to thirty miles, driving a wedge into the Germans in the centre of Picardy and imperiling their entire line in that region. The battle is furiously proceeding as this issue goes to press, with the Allies slowly but steadily advancing.]



With the Germans on the Somme

By Cyril Brown

The Berlin Staff Correspondent of The New York Times

The battle of the Somme, the bloodiest of the war, has been raging now for two months. Upward of 1,500,000 men are locked in a death grapple. The awful music of great artillery continues night and day, and desolation overwhelms village after village in the pathway of the Allies. England and France now have the heaviest guns, the most ammunition, the strongest forces; and they seem also to have gained the upper hand in the fierce aerial fighting that has become a special feature of the battle. Yet the Germans, though dying by thousands, are naturally inflicting still heavier losses upon the attacking forces, and they have given comparatively little ground in the last month. Both sides still claim ultimate victory. In Mr. Brown's article, written about the middle of August, we have a glimpse of the quieter aspects of life behind the German trenches.

THE battle of the Somme as I have seen it from the German side is replete with impressions of cannonading of incessant violence, cyclones of steel, and sudden squalls of fire that wipe out whole villages in minutes, the hail of a thousand tornadoes criss-crossing the ruined countryside, ammunition that makes the mounds which I had seen at Verdun look like ant hills, mortar batteries as thick as mushrooms, and then the singing, cheering processions of flower-garlanded youngsters and the silent tramp of the rested veterans, and the motor pilgrimage of pain intermingled with strings of ambulances loaded to capacity.

It is just like other battles except that on the Somme you cannot get away from it. It haunts you while you are being kept awake by the French airbombs, follows you into the trench, is with you in the high tree-tops and aeroplanes and other high observation points. Pictorially here is the same old front which has been seen and described to a point of boredom, but with a new sensation—the tingling realization that here on the Somme front the flower of the manhood of three nations is locked in a death grapple, fighting for the decision of the world war, that it counts more men and guns, more shells and dead and mangled to the front foot than any battle in history.

FRENCH FLIERS AT WORK

War reporting with the Germans is no longer a pleasant pastime, at least not on the Somme. The very first night out, French fliers wrecked my slumber

by liberally dropping bombs on the French town in which I was quartered. The mournful wail of a German military siren heralded their approach. As the booming German anti-aircraft guns went into action one had the novel sensation of lying abed and through a window seeing the fire points of German shrapnel bursting about the flash of the French aircraft, momentarily caught by the German searchlights, but feeling reasonably safe, as the French night-moths generally attack railway stations. Next morning, motoring out of the town, it was interesting to note that for the benefit of the German soldiery practically every street bore affixed to a house a red sign reading, "Protection from fliers," and pointing out the quickest way into bombproof sub-cellars of the furthest front.

I dropped in at a hospital filled exclusively with allied wounded, the local Palais de Danse, whose mirrored walls multiplied the misery ad infinitum. * * * Across the street, at the hospital for Germans, motor ambulances arrived in a steady procession. The wounded were carried in at one door and the dead out another while the French townspeople looked on with ill-concealed hatred. The German losses, I am told, are believed to average only one-third of the Allies' losses, as near as can be estimated.

RAISING OATS UNDER FIRE

It is worthy of notice that Germany's defensive fight against England, the "hunger war," is being carried right up to the trenches. Every arable square

inch in this part of France in German hands which I have seen is under cultivation, and promises a bumper crop of rye, oats, wheat, and barley, little damaged by the battle of the Somme except immediately back of the trenches and about the villages which are under heavy fire. French civilians were already busy getting in the harvest, ably assisted by the German reserves, and it was a paradoxical sight to pass for miles American harvesters, reapers, and binders and motor threshing machines, working peacefully within the roar and range of the guns.

Motor anti-aircraft guns were almost as thick in the fields as the American harvesters, indicating the heightened French aerial activity on the Somme, where the French and English flying corps appear to be at the very top of their form.

The German fliers are forced as never before to extend themselves barely to hold their own and to keep the score a few points ahead of the allied fliers, who appear to have greatly outnumbered them at the beginning of the offensive. The Fokker fighters have evened up the numerical handicap by greater individual brilliancy.

Still another phase of the food war is to be seen here at the front. The aristocratic old Colonel showed me part of his regimental piggeries, ten very fat, grunting hogs, so busy eating that they paid no attention to the correspondents or the French shells howling overhead. The titled swineherd told me that each German company at the front now has a troop of ten hogs to eat up its food scraps. Efficiency could go no further.

CARRIER PIGEONS IN USE

An apparently deserted moving van, stranded in a field, aroused curiosity to the stopping point. It proved to be a carrier pigeon camp. Owing to the damp, unfavorable flying weather the little feathered dispatch carriers, each with a metal number fastened about its neck, were resting inside the van in numbered crates. Absolute military order and discipline prevailed in the carrier pigeon camp.

These unneutral birds are carried in

crates into the front trenches at night and principally used when the drum-fire has destroyed the telephone wires, thus making impossible all other means of getting messages back to the division headquarters. It is in these times that the carrier pigeons prove of the highest military value, winging their way swiftly and surely through the shellfire. And though the casualties are heavy in the pigeon corps Germany's pigeon reserves are said to be inexhaustible.

The carrier pigeons are also used for transmitting dispatches and particularly photographic films from aeroplanes operating over the allied lines. For the latter purpose a neat little leather harness, with a long, slender tube is attached to a band under the pigeon's body.

The penultimate front and its immediate rear are in general more important than the first-line trenches for sizing up the present condition and the prospects of the modern battle. Here the most significant fact was the right of the "shiller" divisions behind the front—the uniformed laborers engaged in laying line after line of field fortifications, digging and delving as if against time. For the Germans, while not admitting the necessity, are, nevertheless, preparing to defend every foot of French soil by a stand every few hundred yards or so.

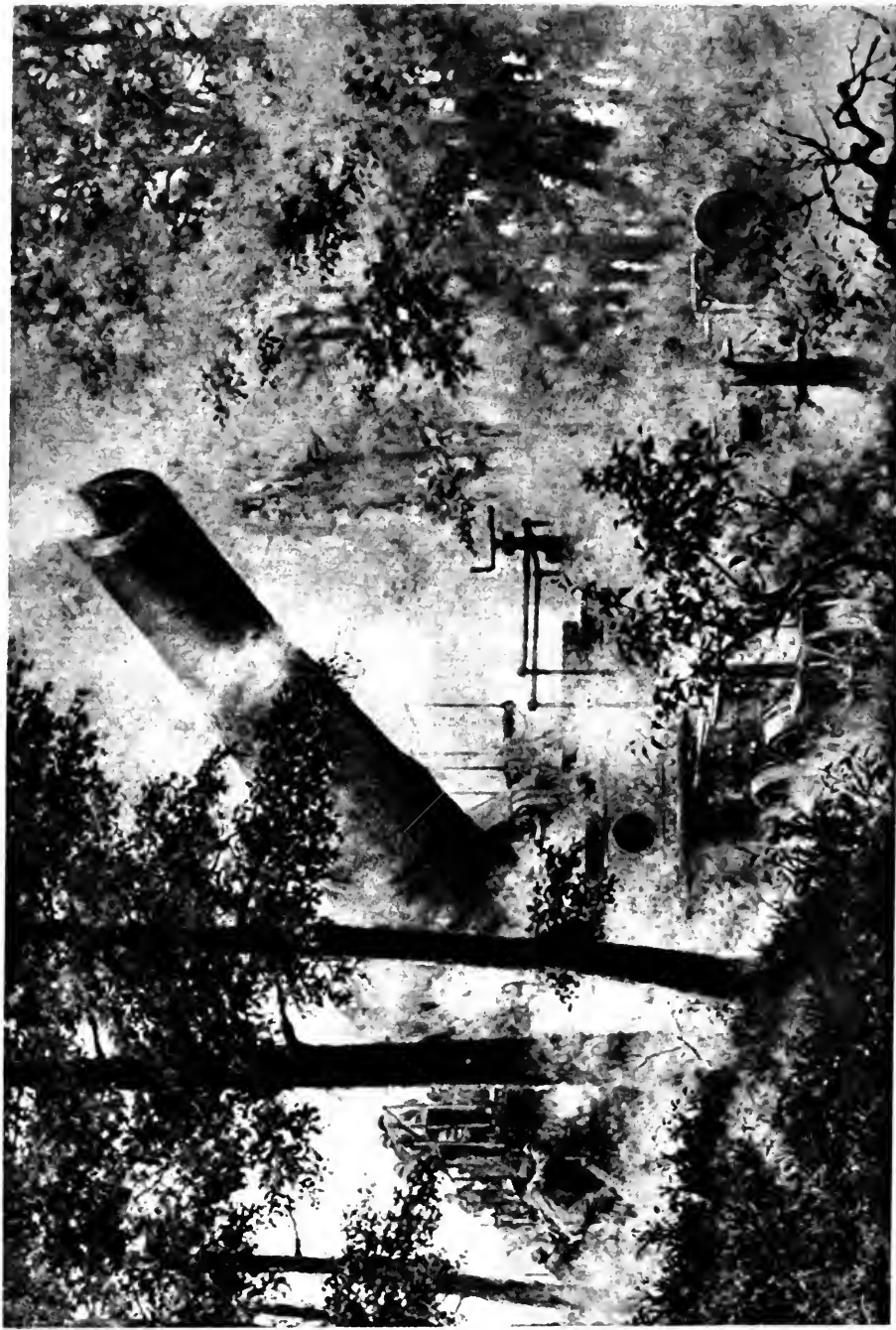
HEAVY MORTARS IN ACTION

I joined the gunners at a kicking and snorting mortar battery, consisting of four giant bucking broncos of steel, which threw up their tails viciously at every shot and pawed the runway with their caterpillar feet. Salvos were being fired on schedule time, one salvo a minute.

Standing directly behind the first mortar and looking about 200 yards up into the air, I saw the heavy projectile in flight at the start of its journey, visible for just a few seconds. Timing the projectile, I found it was fifty-nine seconds before it was heard to burst at its destination. * * *

The faces of the German gunners told their own story. The good nature of these skilled Teuton mechanics had given place to a grim set expression as if biting their jaws together and nerving them-

ENORMOUS NEW FRENCH GUN USED IN BATTLE OF THE SOMME



This 400 Millimeter or Sixteen-Inch Monster Is One of the Many Upon Which the French Munitions Workers Have Been Tolling for Months. These Are the Guns Which Are Doing Such Terrible Execution Against the Fortified German Trenches.
(Photo © Illustrated London News.)

A SIXTEEN-INCH SHELL



Hoisting a Monster Shell to Feed the Lord of Battle Shown on the
Reverse of This Page.
(Official Photograph.)

selves to fight off the physical fatigue of long weeks of continued cannonading. In their shirtsleeves and perspiring, with facial muscles drawn and strained, they reminded me of overtrained athletes toward the end of a hard-fought long-distance race who realized that they must not "crack" before breasting the tape. They continued working their battery automatically, with the disciplined perfection and finished form of veterans.

I walked down a narrow, winding pathway through a jungle of underbrush full of infantry reserves. It was the strangest gypsy colony I had seen on any front. The men were living in galvanized zinc sheds, semi-cylinders about ten feet in diameter, easily transportable, quickly set up, absolutely rainproof, and resembling miniature models of the Zeppelin hangars. Eight men could sleep beneath each zinc dome.

These reserves were enjoying a well-earned rest. After two weeks in the hell of the first trenches under fire, they were in particularly high spirits. Most of them were engaged in beautifying their sylvan quarters, building rustic fences about their zinc huts and ornamenting the pathways with rustic borders.

DESTROYING BALLOONS

On the way to the trenches I stopped to see a captive balloon company. Forty men were just dragging an inflated yellow bag from its hangar, while the officers tested it thoroughly preparatory to going up.

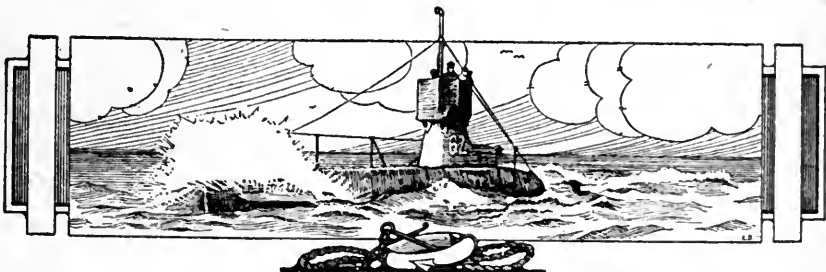
I gathered that captive ballooning on the Somme is more thrillingly dangerous than on any other front. The commander told me how they are constantly pestered by the French fliers, whose latest dodge is to swoop down on the balloons and shoot fire darts into them at close range.

He showed me one that had failed to catch fire, a vicious-looking steel thing a foot and a half long, with a rocketlike head.

I also was introduced to one of his youngsters, who had a very narrow escape from death during an attack by a French aviator on a balloon. This was Lieutenant Ruthenburg, who said:

"I was up 1,800 feet when a French aeroplane approached and shot fire darts at the bag. I did not stop to ascertain the damage, for if you do not leap out of the gondola in the nick of time you run the risk of getting caught under the burning envelope or of the balloon dropping on top of you. I leaped overboard promptly with my parachute. I fell 150 feet before it opened, but landed unscratched, only to find the balloon had not been hit by the French aviator at all."

The intensity of the artillery fire on the Somme makes the utmost demands on the skill and endurance and nerves of the captive ballooners here, who admittedly have their hands full to hold their own, but appear to be doing it. In no fighting arm on the Somme front is the ascendancy so marked as to justify sweeping generalizations, much less prophecy. At first blush there seems to be little to choose between the locked foes. A longer study of the great battle front from all angles tends to correct this impression, and warrants the opinion that the margin of Teuton supremacy on the ground is small, but adequate for all practical purposes, while in the air it is still smaller, but enough to turn the very slow scales of battles. If the Teutons can maintain this margin of safety—and I saw no reason here for believing they could not—they have ultimate victory in the battle of the Somme clinched.



The Battle of Galicia

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE FROM THE RUSSIAN OF V. PHILATOFF]

SCORCHING heat, and clouds of dust over the highways from the constant march of columns of infantry and cavalry. They are manoeuvring in the rear; these manoeuvring groups are not the striking units; they are the destruction-bringing units destined to be wedged into the Austrian lines, whose front has been pierced by the striking units ahead. We see, moving at full speed in clouds of dust, boxes of cartridges and shells; automobiles seemingly carrying very small loads—only a few dozen flat wooden boxes with rope handles; precious loads, to be carried at full speed—boxes of munitions.

They meet the wagons of the sanitary department going in the opposite direction—and the blue-gray columns of prisoners. It is most remarkable that, in both streams, the men are cheerful. Our wounded are quite enthusiastic.

One of these was a non-commissioned officer, about 30, who lay quiet—wounded in the chest and hip. He said:

“I was brought back from their second line. When we seized their first line we found nothing to take; only a few scattered munitions—and their dead. They immediately began a counterattack. We had not even the time to pull up the machine guns when we saw them coming on in massed formation at a run. I could see it was not more than a verst [about 1,200 yards] to their second line. And I said to my boys: ‘When they get closer we shall run out to meet them, but in the meantime—shoot!’ Then I saw our battalion commander [Major] running toward us, shouting: ‘Get ready for an attack!’ As soon as they were between 150 and 100 paces from us our boys yelled ‘Hurrah!’ and rushed at them like one man.

“As I ran I glanced right and left. It was a bit frightful—yelling, firing their rifles, some hatless, some toppling over—all running. As was expected, the Austrians were taken by surprise; some

of them surrendered; others attempted to run back; it was a general stew! Not many of our boys stayed with the prisoners; they all ran after the men who were running away. And all the time their artillery was giving it hot to whoever happened to be there, whether they were our boys or theirs.

“When we were nearly at the trenches we were a good deal fewer; some were killed, some wounded, and some completely out of breath. I got almost to the wires; then I dropped; my heart was squeezed out and my throat was parched. I was not on the ground a moment—there were five others with me—when an Austrian passed me—bzz!—right into the wires! I just raised my rifle and got him in the back.

“When I looked back there were many of our soldiers around; the officer commanding the half company crawled into the ditch and said: ‘Boys, come ahead! Forward! We’ve got them with a single blow!’ He crossed himself and sprang to his feet, shouting ‘Hurrah!’ and we all followed into the passage where my Austrian fell. We only stopped to pull up the posts; but wherever the wires had been broken by our shells we rushed on without stopping; in a minute we had jumped into the trench. There were a good many Austrians there, but it was a bit awkward for them. Five of us, jumping into the trench, fired right and left; but it was impossible for the Austrians to fire; they would have killed too many of their own men. At one go we cleared fifty or sixty yards of the trench. Then some of our boys came up and began firing both ways.

“Well, it was quite impossible for the Austrians to hold on in the trench itself, and those of them who crowded into the side trenches had to surrender without a struggle. They let us take six machine guns in good shape and four bomb-throwers—also more than 400 prisoners—all that was left of a battalion [1,000 men.] We called on our reserve

company for reinforcements. But before we had time to look round and find out where their third line was the shells began to rain on us; what with the dust and smoke it got quite dark.

"I pressed close to the wall of the trench. Then—hu-hu!—something splashed into the trench quite close to me, fire blazed like lightning in my eyes. * * * When I came to I realized that I was seated against the wall of the trench, with two of our boys lying at my feet, and the whole trench was smashed up. I tried to stand up, but there was a pain in my leg, and my whole right side wouldn't work. But I felt I was alive. Some of our boys came up and bandaged me. I lay in the trench until dark; when the sanitary department came to carry me out our battalion commander came to bid me good-bye. We kissed each other, and he promised to mention me for a second degree St. George's Cross!" He already had the fourth and third degrees.

II.

The nearer we come to the battle front the more crowded becomes the traffic. Our automobile needs careful steering and often has to stop, but we are all in a hurry, and want to go ahead at full speed. In the midst of it all, a misjudged turn—something cracks—we are all pushed to one side; the machine stops. * * * I continue my journey with a doctor in his gig, who is hurrying to the aid of a wounded Captain. We are able soon to distinguish the explosion of the enemy shells from our own guns; the shells cutting their way through the air, whistling and hissing; that terrifying hiss, followed by an explosion, which means the shattering of human bodies, many of them maimed for life.

We follow a deep ravine; about 1,200 yards further lies a thick gray mist, from the midst of which come thunder and lightning. That means a battery of our guns. We leave the horses behind, and walk forward. No one pays the slightest attention to us. They are carrying heavy black shells by hand; the shells weigh ninety pounds each; no wonder the men's muscles are strained to the utmost, as they push them into the guns; the

shining brass case glides lightly forward, the catch snaps, and then the shot roars out, deafening us. People no longer speak; they yell, for every one is deafened by the roar of the guns.

Somewhat to the side, behind an improvised curtain of tarred cloth, lies our Captain, a young man, with a bandaged shoulder, the sleeve of his shirt cut, and his coat thrown over the other shoulder only. But his face is not pale, and he is quite cheerful. * * *

Then the doctor and I walk over to look at the guns. The six-inch howitzers are courtesying (from the recoil) as they send out their shells. In shape and color they remind us of a row of frogs in a marsh.

Toward evening the infantry is going to begin to force its way across the river. I am very anxious to go forward to see, but the commanding officer refuses to allow me until after dark. So I remain, possessing my soul in patience and listening to the music of the artillery.

III.

The sun was moving toward the Carpathian Mountains, which were not more than seventy miles away. Its rays gilded the quaint Galician landscape. The mountain ridges here rise parallel to each other, like petrified waves, and the deep valleys between them were already darkened by the shadows of evening. But the beauties of the landscape do not compare with the joyful sight which met my eyes—our artillery, hammering away in a businesslike fashion at the Austrians, while they rather feebly replied; our guns sending stroke after stroke, in the spirit of the old Slavonic challenge, "We have set forth!" But in the work of the Austrians one feels a disconcerted spirit.

Our attack is to begin as soon as the sun sets. It will not be easy; the positions are well fortified. And in the last five months the Austrians have not been napping. They have done a good deal of barbed-wire knitting, strengthening their trenches and digging rabbit holes.

As soon as darkness came on, the whole line of artillery fire grew perceptibly calmer. Only rifle fire, with an occa-

sional machine gun, continued to increase.
* * * A skyrocket flies up into the night; then another and another. The searchlights begin to blaze.

From the observation post we can clearly see the explosions on the other side. They flash like lightning, but in the opposite direction—from earth to heaven. The shrapnel shells look like falling stars—falling singly and in groups.

More explanations by telephone, and my Lieutenant says: "They are starting!"

Explosions can no longer be seen. Heavy shells are being sent against the Austrian artillery. Of course, fire of this kind, (censor,) but it is very important: First of all, it makes the enemy nervous, so that they cannot attend to their own fire with full concentration; and if we succeed in hitting an Austrian battery a great gain is immediately apparent, for that battery's regular work is instantly upset.

At first the Austrians answered our artillery fire. Then, for two or three minutes, they were silent; longer, perhaps, for in such strenuous surroundings it is almost impossible to judge time accurately. Rifle fire increased steadily, both sides evidently shooting. The machine guns keep up their song; the Austrians are evidently running the cartridge ribbons through them gayly.

All at once the whole line of Austrian guns sent up a single roar, all firing together.

"Now, hold tight!" said an artilleryman, crouching down. The Austrians had been saving their fire, economizing in case of a possible attack. Now they opened with regular hurricane fire.

The Lieutenant remains at the telephone, his superior officer advancing toward the river. I follow him. We go forward, bending close to the ground, for we may fall in with a few stray Austrian bullets here. After going a few paces downward a whole loop of the river comes suddenly into view. A fugitive ray of white light runs tremulously over the grass and shrubs along the shore; when it stops for a few seconds everything looks as if plunged in liquid silver, and each little bush casts a long, black shadow

Over the line of the river bank dozens of shrapnel shells are exploding; at times they break over the water, and then the river seethes, as if boiling, under the lash of hundreds of bullets.

"They are exhausting their force in an effort to take the river!" said the Captain.

"Is that what you call a curtain of fire?"

"Yes, and a pretty solid one, too!"

I have served throughout the campaign. Until Verdun the curtain of fire had only reached an elementary stage. Generally, in repelling an attack, the practice had been to fire at the attacking party, at the "living target," as we used to say. The only instance I had seen of firing, not at the attacking party, but in front of them, was at the end of May, 1915, in General Brusiloff's army. The Teutons had broken through our front at Moszieska, (south of the Lemberg-Przemysl railway,) and their offensive was stopped by our barrier fire.

But now the curtain of fire is growing to be a normal phenomenon, in meeting every important attack. It is founded chiefly on the psychological effect. The picture now before my eyes gave me a clearer idea of what a curtain of fire is. Our men had to advance to the river * * * and to cross it. So the Austrians aimed, not at the trenches, nor in front of them, but at the river bank close to the water, where there were no attacking columns yet, but where they must go in order to cross the river, bringing with them boats or rafts, and building bridges.

When the fire is aimed directly at the attacking party the only possible way of escape lies in advancing, because the shrapnel bullets and broken pieces of the shells (which burst in the air) fly past their target. If the attacking party stops, they will be wiped out by steel and fire. Therefore, it is more profitable for them to press ahead. The enemy's fire then advances with them, and so practically drives them forward to the attack.

The curtain of fire, on the contrary, is well in front of you and you must consciously push your head into this guillotine. It is as if, in a thunderstorm, you

were running from door to door; as you advance, the drops of steel become fewer, but heavier.

The Captain, as an experienced artilleryman, had defined the situation accurately at the start; and our attacking parties were drawn back, without entering the zone of the fire screen.

The Austrians continued their fire for thirty or forty minutes. Then realizing that the danger was over, they carried their fire further on, aiming at our trenches, our artillery, and, in general, the rear of our positions. A few shrapnel shells burst over the slope on which we were lying, so we decided to move back to the cover of the observation post. It (censor) but it would shelter us from the shrapnel.

Taking a couple of hours to rest, we organized the attack once more, with everything afire and aflame. Then, somewhere far ahead, we hear our men shouting "Hurrah!" This means that, at some point, they have got across the river and are charging with the bayonet.

Dawn is near. Our faces drawn and blanched with fatigue, we drink some tea in the sod hut of the observation post. Then we go over to the staff post of the —th Infantry Regiment.

IV.

Immediately after this I went south to the point where the River Stripa had already been crossed.

Crossing the Stripa!—Perfectly ridiculous! A little stream, not more than thirty-five paces wide, and quite shallow. The one difficulty is, that it flows through a marsh, in some places three-quarters of a mile wide. Needless to say, when Autumn comes, it will be greatly dried up, but just at present it is a serious material obstacle.

And how the Austrians have fortified it! They have dug many trenches, protecting them with barbed wire entanglements, charged with strong currents of electricity. And all this has been smashed and destroyed, because they were not strong enough to defend it.

It is beyond question that the Austrians placed their reliance on the Stripa, keeping their main forces further north, on the line between Lemberg and Tarnopol. But their line was broken through, to the south, close to the mouth of the Stripa. The fighting is on the further (west) bank there now, while only a short time ago both banks were in the hands of the Austrians. On this (east) side the trenches have been hammered to pieces, for we struck at them first, and with great care. In themselves the trenches are not particularly strong; they are pretty deep, with numbers and with loopholes for rifle fire, and not very strongly covered. The wire entanglements are also pretty thick and well made, but nothing extraordinary. The descent to the river is very steep, and there is a military bridge at the bottom, which spans both the stream and the marshes. It has suffered noticeably by shell fire, besides which the Austrians tried to set fire to it. But hurriedly mended by our engineers, it serves well enough for our men to cross over. Even the artillery was able to get over, and is booming away ahead somewhere on the Austrian (west) side of the river.

At the Austrian end of the bridge are two half-burned corpses; sappers who died the death of the brave when the bridge was burning.

Beside the road, down the slope, there used to stand a straight row of village huts; now nothing is left of them except a few bricks and some charred posts. A good many cellars have been adapted for human habitation.

Only yesterday the battle was seething at this spot. Now it is strewn with silent corpses, abandoned rifles, and cartridges. Our medical corps are walking this way and that, looking for the wounded. In battles like this we gather in a good many of them. The Austrians in their hurried retreat have no time to pick them up, and we take possession of the battlefields, with all their trophies.

How England's Blockade Is Operated

By Sir Frank Newnes

Assistant Secretary of the Committee on Detention of Neutral Ships

Sir Frank Newnes, the London publisher, who is performing important duties in the Blockade Committee headed by Lord Peel, recently gave the members of the American Luncheon Club the most detailed description of the British system of blockade thus far offered to the public. Remarking that the blockade began with the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and that the total stoppage of Germany's trade through neutrals has been an enormous task, he explained the methods used as follows:

EVERY ship east or west bound passing up or down the English Channel or by the north of Scotland is stopped by one of the British men-of-war, boarded, and examined. These ships are armed merchantmen and are on duty right across from the north of Scotland to Norway, one ship every twenty miles—they are manned by the Royal Naval Reserve men from the mercantile marine who are used to examining ships' papers and documents. A copy of the ship's manifest is then wired up to London—and to give you some idea of the labor involved some ships have between 300 and 600 different descriptions of goods on board, all of which have to be sent out—and thus these telegrams run to many thousands of words.

The telegraphed manifest goes at once before the Contraband Committee, which sits every day and all day, presided over by E. M. Pollock, King's Counsel and Member of Parliament for Warwick. The committee considers each item, and if it has any reasonable suspicion that any items are destined for the enemy the ship will be detained and ordered to unload the suspected items at a suitable port. If she has nothing suspicious the ship can proceed at once; and I may say that the Contraband Committee works so expeditiously that its decision on the

ship or goods is nearly always given the same day that the manifest is put before it.

When the manifest is telegraphed to the Contraband Committee it is also telegraphed to the War Trade Intelligence Department, which has been created for the purpose of supplying information on which the Contraband Committee can decide whether certain goods should be allowed to go forward or not.

In addition to the Contraband Committee there is the Enemy Exports Committee, presided over by Commander Leverton Harris, M. P., which deals with goods exported from Germany. This is a much simpler task than dealing with imports into Germany, as America and other countries, for the purpose of their customs, already require that the country of origin shall be given, and the effect has been that the export trade of Germany was almost immediately killed, and there is no doubt that this has been one of the great causes in the fall of the mark, as it compels Germany to pay in gold and not in goods.

When suspect goods are unloaded from a ship they are at once put into "prize," and the owner of the goods has to make a claim for their restitution and must bring an action for their recovery. Such actions are tried in the Admiralty Court, which is presided over by Sir Samuel Evans; and the goods are released, condemned, or dealt with as the court may deem just.

I have already told you that the desire of the British Government is to carry out this blockade with as little delay or inconvenience to neutrals as is possible, and I will now give you some of the arrangements made to insure this:

(1) Guarantees by importers—Agreements have been made with representative associations of merchants in

neutral countries, under which they undertake that goods consigned to them will not be exported to Germany nor be used in the manufacture of goods which are for export to Germany. The first of these was the Netherlands Oversea Trust, which was so successful that similar associations were formed in other countries—in Denmark the Danish Merchants' Guild, and in Switzerland the Société Surveillance Suisse.

Goods can now be exported from this country practically under license only, and such licenses are usually granted if the goods are consigned to these associations.

(2) Agreements with shipping lines—Agreements have been made with many shipping lines under which their ships are allowed to go forward, even if they have contraband on board or are carrying goods which our authorities suspect are for the enemy, on their undertaking to return such goods to this country for the prize court or to retain them in a neutral country until after the war. And in addition to this:

(3) Bunker coal from any port in the British Empire is refused to neutral ships unless they comply with certain conditions which insure that the goods they carry do not go to the enemy.

Both these classes of ships are called "white ships," and they are a large and increasing number, and most of the leading lines have made such arrangements. I would strongly advise any of you, when shipping goods, to see that the ship is a "white ship." If a ship is not a "white ship," there is, of course, a presumption that it is or may be carrying suspected goods, and thus it may be delayed and you suffer the suspicion attaching to other people's goods.

(4) Skinner Scheme—This is a scheme

which was suggested by Mr. Skinner, the American Consul General in London. It is this: A department has been opened in the British Embassy at Washington to which an American exporter can go and give particulars of the nature and amount of the goods he desires to export, and also the name of the consignee. The department will at once cable here to the Contraband Committee, who will cable him whether his goods would pass the blockade or not, and thus he can decide whether to ship them. If he ships the goods, the papers are marked accordingly, and some American lines will now take only goods which have passed the Skinner scheme.

(5) Rationing—It has been found that since the war broke out certain neutral countries have been importing a vastly increased amount of certain goods beyond their pre-war and normal requirements, and unless they were formerly importing large quantities of these goods from Germany and Austria there is an overwhelming presumption that they were imported for the purpose of re-export to Germany, and there is no doubt that this was done on a large scale.

To avoid this the system of rationing has been adopted under which the import of a given article into a neutral country is limited to the amount of its true domestic requirements. It is a very fair system, allowing as it does any neutral to carry on its own legitimate trade and to supply its own wants.

You will note thus that it may happen that when you apply to the War Trade Department for a license to export certain articles to neutral countries it may be refused not because there is any doubt in regard to your consignee, but for the reason that the country has already been supplied with the rationed amount of such goods.



The British Trade Blacklist an Object of Controversy

GR^{EAT} BRITAIN'S announcement on July 18 of a list of more than eighty firms in the United States with whom British subjects were forbidden to trade has met with almost universal condemnation in this country, and has been made the subject of a vigorous note of protest by the State Department at Washington, the text of which is printed herewith. As stated in that note, the blacklist seems to the Government of the United States "to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms."

The effect of a statutory boycott of this kind, it is contended, is to prevent even neutrals from trading with the blacklisted firms for fear of incurring the displeasure of the British blockading fleet, and thus ultimately to ruin the concerns named. Even some British papers, such as *The Manchester Guardian*, have supported the view of the United States, holding that the blacklist is ethically unsound, tending to establish a theory of international law which is essentially vicious, and which England herself will have cause to regret later when she may herself be a neutral.

The British Government, on the other hand, is inclined to stand firmly on the ground taken. "Personally," says Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of War Trade, "I cannot see any way by which we can forego our undoubted right to prevent our subjects from providing resources of trade to our enemies. There is not likely to be any change in the policy of the Allies as a result of neutral protests. Italy in her action in announcing a blacklist is likewise merely following the policy outlined at the Paris conference." The British Foreign Office also pointed out the fact that "long before the British statutory blacklist was put into operation the French Government prohibited its nationals from doing any business with

any enemy subject." An official of that office gave the following to the press:

From strictly legal points of view the blacklist system is a piece of purely domestic legislation which simply prohibits British subjects from dealing with certain persons. The right of any Government to impose such prohibition on its own nationals is hardly open to dispute.

I would quote on this point from Sir Edward Grey's reply to the American Ambassador on Feb. 16 last: "His Majesty's Government readily admit the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They cannot admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them, by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction."

Apart from the question of international law there is a further question as to whether we have done something which is unreasonable, or should seem unjust. The old English definition of the word enemy was a person domiciled in enemy territory, and had as its obvious basis a desire only to hit at individuals in so far as they were in a position to help their belligerent State. Unfortunately, in modern conditions of commerce, credit and communication, a German firm in America can help Germany in many ways, at least as much and sometimes more than a firm of the same standing in Germany. We do not criticise such firms for so doing, but is it unreasonable that we should in these cases refuse to allow their available capital to be swelled, or their position to be maintained by trading with us? Is it unreasonable that we should say that if a firm is really out to help our enemies it shall not at the same time enjoy all the benefits of friendly commercial intercourse with our country?

The blacklist of the Allies extends to all neutral countries, and has met with protest in many of these besides the United States. The total number of boycotted firms exceeds 1,500, as follows: Spain, 167; Brazil, 140; Netherlands, 120; Argentina and Uruguay, 95; Morocco, 88; Portuguese East and West Africa, Guinea, and Rio Muni, 87; Japan, 86; United States, 85; Norway, 83; Portugal, 79; Sweden, 72; Netherlands and East

Indies, 70; Ecuador, 69; Persia, 56; Greece, 50; Philippines, 44; Peru, 41; Chile, 35; Bolivia, 22; Cuba, 10; Central America, 5; Paraguay, 3; Colombia, 1.

The British Government promptly followed its blacklist announcement with modifying explanations, which, though not causing any alteration in the formal protest of the United States, somewhat calmed public opinion in this country. Ambassador Spring-Rice held several conferences with Acting Secretary Polk at Washington, in which he gave assurances that the blacklist did not have the far-reaching application imputed to it; that it would not affect existing contracts, and would not be extended to those who traded with blacklisted firms. The text of the British memorandum on

whose strength Sir Cecil Spring-Rice made these statements is in part as follows:

There is no idea of blacklisting a neutral firm merely because it continues to do business with a firm that is blacklisted, but if a neutral firm habitually and systematically acted as cover for a blacklisted firm, cases would be different.

Regarding payments to blacklisted firms, our action does not affect payments by neutrals, and we habitually grant licenses to British firms to pay current debts to blacklisted firms, unless it is clear beyond doubt that such payments would be passed on to or create a credit for enemies in enemy territory.

The United States remains convinced that the Allies' plan of individual boycott is a pernicious mistake, and the British Government's reply to the appended note is awaited with interest.

Text of American Note on British Blacklist

THE United States Government formally protested against the British commercial blacklist in the following note, telegraphed by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, to Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador in London:

Department of State,
Washington, July 26, 1916.

You are instructed to deliver to Sir Edward Grey a formal note on the subject of the Enemy Trading act, textually as follows:

"The announcement that his Britannic Majesty's Government has placed the names of certain persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive 'blacklist' and has forbidden all financial or commercial dealings between them and citizens of Great Britain has been received with the most painful surprise by the people and Government of the United States, and seems to the Government of the United States to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms.

"The scope and effect of the policy are extraordinary. British steamship companies will not accept cargoes from the proscribed firms or persons or transport their goods to any port, and steamship lines under neutral ownership understand that if they accept freight from them they are likely to be denied coal at British ports and excluded from other privileges which they have usually enjoyed, and may themselves be put upon the blacklist. Neutral bankers refuse loans to those on the list and neutral merchants de-

cline to contract for their goods, fearing a like proscription. It appears that British officials regard the prohibitions of the blacklist as applicable to domestic commercial transactions in foreign countries as well as in Great Britain and her dependencies. for Americans doing business in foreign countries have been put on notice that their dealings with blacklisted firms are to be regarded as subject to veto by the British Government. By the same principle Americans in the United States might be made subject to similar punitive action if they were found dealing with any of their own countrymen whose names had thus been listed.

"The harsh and even disastrous effects of this policy upon the trade of the United States and upon the neutral rights upon which it will not fail to insist are obvious. Upon the list of those proscribed and in effect shut out from the general commerce of the world may be found American concerns which are engaged in large commercial operations as importers of foreign products and materials and as distributors of American products and manufactures to foreign countries and which constitute important channels through which American trade reaches the outside world. Their foreign affiliations may have been fostered for many years, and when once broken cannot easily or promptly be re-established.

"Other concerns may be put upon the list at any time and without notice. It is understood that additions to the proscription may be made 'whenever on account of enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons it appears to his Majesty expedient to do so.' The possibilities

of undeserved injury to American citizens from such measures, arbitrarily taken, and of serious and incalculable interruptions of American trade are without limit.

"It has been stated on behalf of his Majesty's Government that these measures were aimed only at the enemies of Great Britain and would be adopted and enforced with strict regard to the rights of neutrals and with the least possible detriment to neutral trade; but it is evident that they are inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all the nations not involved in war. The Government of the United States begs to remind the Government of his Britannic Majesty that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with the people or the Governments of any of the nations now at war, subject only to well-defined international practices and understandings which the Government of the United States deems the Government of Great Britain to have too lightly and too frequently disregarded.

"There are well-known remedies and penalties for breaches of blockade, where the blockade is real and in fact effective, for trade in contraband, for every unneutral act by whomsoever attempted. The Government of the United States cannot consent to see those remedies and penalties altered or extended at the will of a single power or group of powers to the injury of its own citizens or in derogation of its own rights. Conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere. Such safeguards the blacklist brushes aside. It condemns without hearing, without notice, and in advance. It is manifestly out of the question that the

Government of the United States should acquiesce in such methods or applications of punishment to its citizens.

UNNEUTRAL FIRMS NOT SHIELDED

"Whatever may be said with regard to the legality, in the view of international obligation, of the act of Parliament upon which the practice of the blacklist as now employed by his Majesty's Government is understood to be based, the Government of the United States is constrained to regard that practice as inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize the dealings of friendly Governments with one another. The spirit of reciprocal trade between the United States and Great Britain, the privilege long accorded to the nationals of each to come and go with their ships and cargoes, to use each the other's shipping, and be served each by the other's merchants is very seriously impaired by arbitrary and sweeping practices such as this.

"There is no purpose or inclination on the part of the Government of the United States to shield American citizens or business houses in any way from the legitimate consequences of unneutral acts or practices; it is quite willing that they should suffer the appropriate penalties which international law and the usage of nations have sanctioned; but his Britannic Majesty's Government cannot expect the Government of the United States to consent to see its citizens put upon an ex parte blacklist without calling the attention of his Majesty's Government, in the gravest terms, to the many serious consequences to neutral right and neutral relations which such an act must necessarily involve. It hopes and believes that his Majesty's Government, in its natural absorption in a single pressing object of policy, has acted without a full realization of the many undesired and undesirable results that might ensue.

"POLK, Acting."



The Fryatt Case

A British Sea Captain Executed by Germans for Trying to Ram a Submarine

CAPTAIN CHARLES FRYATT, master of the Great Eastern Railway's steamer Brussels, which was captured by German warships on June 23, 1916, and taken to Zeebrugge, was tried by German court-martial at Bruges, Thursday, July 27, condemned to death by shooting, and executed that afternoon. The charge against him was that of attempting to ram the German submarine U-33. At Zeebrugge, when the

prisoners were searched, a watch was found on the person of Captain Fryatt, which had been presented to him by the Mayor of Harwich in a public demonstration in honor of this act. The inscription on the watch showed that it was presented to him on account of his successful escape with his steamer from a submarine which he attempted to ram when called upon to surrender. The German authorities, having established his identity by this watch, imprisoned him at Bruges, while the other prisoners were sent to Ruhleben. His trial was brief and ended in his summary execution as a "franc-tireur."

The first news came through a Reuter dispatch from Amsterdam July 28 in a German communiqué, in which the shooting was justified in the following terms:

The accused was condemned to death because, although he was not a member of a combatant force, he made an attempt on the afternoon of March 20, 1915, to ram the German submarine U-33 near the Maas lightship. The accused, as well as the first officer

and the chief engineer of the steamer, received at the time from the British Admiralty a gold watch as a reward of his brave conduct on that occasion, and his action was mentioned with praise in the House of Commons.

On the occasion in question, disregarding the U-boat's signal to stop and show his national flag, he turned at a critical moment at high speed on the submarine, which escaped the steamer by a few meters only by immediately diving. He confessed that in so doing he had acted in accordance with the instructions of the Admiralty.

One of the many nefarious franc-tireur proceedings of the British merchant marine against our war vessels has thus found a belated but merited expiation.

The news of the execution created intense indignation in England, and was sternly denounced in neutral countries. It appears that the British Foreign Office had apprehensions of the fate of Captain Fryatt when he was first arrested. On June 28 Sir Edward Grey asked the United States Ambassador at Berlin to

ascertain the names of the prisoners on the captured Brussels. Mr. Gerard replied on July 1 that the officers and crew were safe at Ruhleben. On July 18 Sir Edward Grey telegraphed the United States Ambassador as follows:

*** His Majesty's Government are now in receipt of information to the effect that it is stated in the Telegraaf on the 16th instant that Captain Fryatt of that vessel is to be tried by court-martial at Ghent on the charge of ramming a German submarine, and Sir E. Grey will be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin can be requested by telegraph to be good enough to inquire whether this report is correct.



Sir E. Grey will be grateful if Mr. Gerard's reply can also be communicated by telegraph.

On July 20 Sir Edward again telegraphed Ambassador Gerard:

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be requested by telegraph to take all possible steps to secure the proper defense of Captain Fryatt in the event of the court-martial being held, and if his Excellency could be informed confidentially that his Majesty's Government are satisfied that, in committing the act impugned, Captain Fryatt acted legitimately in self-defense for the purpose of evading capture or destruction.

On July 25 the following was sent, marked "immediate":

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be informed that should the allegations on which the charge against Captain Fryatt is understood to be based be established by evidence, his Majesty's Government are of opinion that his action was perfectly legitimate.

His Majesty's Government consider that the act of a merchant ship in steering for an enemy submarine and forcing her to dive is essentially defensive and precisely on the same footing as the use by a defensively armed vessel of her defensive armament in order to resist capture, which both the United States Government and his Majesty's Government hold to be the exercise of an undoubted right.

The next day the British Foreign Office addressed the American Ambassador at London, prefacing its remarks with a copy of the German communiqué of July 28, and adding:

His Majesty's Government find it difficult to believe that a master of a merchant vessel who, after German submarines adopted the practice of sinking merchant vessels without warning and without regard for the lives of passengers or crew, took a step which appeared to afford the only chance of saving not only his vessel, but the lives of all on board, can have been deliberately shot in cold blood for this action.

If the German Government have in fact perpetrated such a crime in the case of a British subject held prisoner by them, it is evident that a most serious condition of affairs has arisen.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is therefore obliged, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, to request that urgent inquiry be made by the United States Embassy at Berlin whether the report in the press of the shooting of Captain Fryatt is true, in order that his Majesty's Government may have without delay a full and undoubted account of the facts before them.

Mr. Page replied by sending to Sir Ed-

ward Grey the following paragraph of a telegram which he had received from Mr. Gerard:

Berlin, July 27, (5 P. M.)

Referring to your telegrams Nos. 821 and 824, I brought the case of Fryatt, Captain of the steamship Brussels, to the attention of the Imperial Foreign Office in writing on the 20th and 22d, and requested an opportunity to engage counsel. A verbal reply was made yesterday, stating that the trial was fixed for today at Bruges. It was added that the Foreign Office had requested a postponement if possible.

I have today received a written reply stating that it is impossible to grant a postponement, inasmuch as German submarine witnesses could not be further detained.

Major Neumann has been appointed by the German authorities to defend Fryatt. He is in civil life an attorney and justizrat.

On July 31 Mr. Asquith, the Premier, made the following statement in the House of Commons:

I deeply regret to say that it appears to be true that Captain Fryatt has been murdered by the Germans. His Majesty's Government have heard with the utmost indignation of this atrocious crime against the law of nations and the usages of war. Coming as it does contemporaneously with the lawless cruelties to the population of Lille and other occupied districts of France, it shows that the German high command have under the stress of military defeat renewed their policy of terrorism. It is impossible to guess to what further atrocities they may proceed. His Majesty's Government, therefore, desire to repeat emphatically that they are resolved that such crimes shall not, if they can help it, go unpunished. When the time arrives they are determined to bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be, and whatever their station. In such cases as this the man who authorizes the system under which such crimes are committed may well be the most guilty of all. The question of what immediate action should be taken is engaging the earnest consideration of the Government.

Again on Aug. 15, replying to a question, the Premier said:

This country will not tolerate a resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany after the war until reparation is made for the murder of Captain Fryatt. Some of our allies have suffered by brutalities even more gross and on a more extended scale than ourselves by action of the German authorities. We are in consultation with them as to the best, most effective steps to be taken, and as to what conditions should be expected in the terms of peace to secure reparation that will satisfy justice.

A member asked if the Government was "prepared to make a statement that

Emperor William is wanted for willful murder in this case." No answer was returned to this.

The shooting of Captain Fryatt has kindled a flame of hatred toward Germany no less violent than that which followed the execution of Miss Cavell. The act is denounced as judicial murder by all the allied naval and military experts, as well as by the best-informed naval critics in Holland and other neutral countries. On Aug. 10 the German Government issued the following statement in reply to the utterances of English officials on the subject:

It is only too intelligible that the English Government attempts to justify Captain Fryatt's action, for it is itself in a high degree a fellow-culprit. Captain Fryatt, acting as he did, acted only on the advice of his Government.

The British Government's statement intentionally misleads the public. Captain Fryatt did not attempt to forestall an under-water attack, without warning, by the submarine. The U-boat was above water, and signaled to him when above water to stop, according to the international code of naval warfare. Therefore, he did not merely attempt to save the lives of his crew, because they were not endangered. Moreover, on March 28, 1915, Captain Fryatt allowed the submarine, which was approaching his ship for the purposes of examination, to draw up close, so as to ram her suddenly and unexpectedly, his object being to destroy her, and so gain the reward offered by the British Government. This act was not an act of self-defense, but a cunning attack by hired assassins. Captain Fryatt boasted of his action, though happily he failed to attain his object. This was brought home to him during the trial by witnesses from the crew of the submarine in question, whose evidence was against him. The British Parliament believed he had succeeded and praised his conduct, and the British Government rewarded him.

The German War Tribunal sentenced him to death because he had performed an act of war against the German sea forces, although he did not belong to the armed forces of his country. He was not deliberately shot in cold blood without due consideration, as the British Government asserts, but he was shot as a franc-tireur, after calm consideration and thorough investigation. As martial law on land protects the soldiery against assassination, by threatening the offender with the penalty of death, so it protects the members of the sea forces against assassination at sea. Germany will continue to use this law of warfare in order to save her submarine crews from becoming the victims of franc-tireurs at sea.

Naval experts in the United States hold that Captain Fryatt was entitled to be regarded as a prisoner of war and that decisions in American courts upheld his act as an act of a belligerent.

The German Admiralty admit in their Appendix to the Naval Prize Regulations, June 22, 1914, and published Aug. 3, 1914, that the crew of an armed enemy merchant vessel are to be treated as prisoners of war if they resist capture. Thus, if Captain Fryatt's vessel had been armed, had resisted capture, and had later been captured, he would have been treated as a prisoner of war.

But the nature of arms is not designated and Dr. Hans Wehberg, a German international lawyer, does not specify what shall constitute defense, the legality of which he admits, (*Das Seekriegsrecht*, 1915):

The resistance of enemy merchant ships to capture would be then only not permissible if a rule against this had found common recognition. But in truth no single example can be produced from international precedents in which the States have held resistance as not permissible. Much rather in the celebrated decision of Lord Stowell in the case of the *Catharina Elizabeth* resistance was declared permissible, and Article 10 of the American Naval War Code takes up the same standpoint. Also by far the greater number of authors and the Institute of International Law share this view.

(Article 12, Paragraph 3 of the Oxford Rules says that it is permissible to public and also private enemy ships to defend themselves against the attack of an enemy ship.)

Also *de lege ferenda* the prevailing view is to defend. Should great merchant ships worth a million allow themselves to be taken by smaller ships only because the latter comply with the requirements of a so-called warship?

(This consideration also led the Committee of the Institute of International Law to recommend to that body that resistance should be declared permissible. Of the remarks of Rolin-Jaquemyns, *Annuaire de l'Institut*, XXVI., Page 518 et seq., Page 234.)

The enemy merchant ship has then the right of defense against an enemy attack, and this right he can exercise against visit, for this is indeed the first act of capture. The attacked merchant ship can indeed itself seize the overpowered warship as a prize.

(See also Fiore, *Annuaire de l'Institut*, XXVI., Page 517, and the prevailing opinion hereon. See Triepel, *Zeitschr.f. Volkerrecht* a.a.O., Page 285.)

Thus, in the light of German law and

German legal interpretation thereof, Captain Fryatt was acting well within his rights in attempting to ram a hostile submarine. Had he been armed he might have been successful. Even then he would have been a prisoner of war, for the Germans would have been

estopped, under their own regulations, from treating him otherwise. As it was, he used the only arm available—his ship. And because he used his ship and not a gun he was tried, convicted, and executed by a court of German naval officers as a "franc-tireur of the sea."

Our Relations with Mexico

LITTLE actual progress toward a settlement of the Mexican question has been made during the month, but the two Governments have exchanged friendly notes and come to a full agreement as to the next step to be taken. The various points at issue, notably Mexico's demand for the withdrawal of our troops and our demand that the border be safeguarded against murderous raids of Mexican outlaws, are to be submitted to a joint commission, consisting of three members from each nation. This plan was definitely proposed by General Carranza in his note of July 11, (presented by Señor Arredondo on July 12,) and was accepted by President Wilson with the suggestion that the powers of the commission be somewhat enlarged. This was answered promptly by General Carranza's appointment of Mexico's three Commissioners:

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet and former Confidential Agent in Washington for the Carranza Government.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary of the Department of Communications.

Some unavoidable delay has occurred in appointing the American members. Meanwhile General Pershing's force remains in Mexico, and the National Guard contingents from all the States continue in their encampments all along our side of the border, where they are receiving military drill under regular army officers and becoming the nucleus of a well-prepared army of defense for future emergencies. The border raids have ceased, at least for the present.

The diplomatic correspondence on the

subject begins with the Mexican note of July 11, which harks back to the American note published in the August number of CURRENT HISTORY. It is addressed to Mr. Lansing and reads as follows:

Mexico City, July 11, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have had the honor to refer the note of your Excellency, dated the 7th inst., which was transmitted to our Confidential Agent, Eliseo Arredondo, and upon doing so I wish to mention that I have received instructions from the First Chief in charge of the executive power of the Union, suggesting that you convey to his Excellency, President Wilson, the idea of naming three Commissioners to represent each of our Governments to meet in some place of mutual designation; hold conferences and resolve at once the point regarding the definite withdrawal of the American forces now in Mexico, draft a protocol of agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of forces and investigate the origin of the incursions taking place up to date, so as to be able to ascertain responsibility and arrange definitely the pending difficulties or those that may arise between the two countries in the future, all this to be subject to the approval of both Governments.

The purpose of the Mexican Government is that such conferences shall be held in a spirit of the most frank cordiality and with an ardent desire to reach a satisfactory agreement and one honorable to both countries, with the understanding that if the United States Government accepts the idea hereby suggested this shall be the recommendation made to the Commissioners designated. The Mexican Government considers this the most efficacious medium of reaching a satisfactory solution and hopes the United States will state whether the suggestion is acceptable, in order that it may be immediately put in practice and that the Mexican Government may send the names of its delegates. Assure his Excellency of my highest consideration.

C. AGUILAR.

A cordial assent to the proposition was granted in the American reply, which was handed to Señor Arredondo, the Am-

bassador Designate of Mexico at Washington:

Washington, July 28, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note transmitted under date of July 12 by Lic. Eliseo Arredondo, your Government's Confidential Agent in Washington, informing me that your Excellency has received instructions from the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutional Army charged with the executive power of the Union to propose that each of our Governments name three commissioners, who shall hold conferences at some place to be mutually agreed upon and decide forthwith the question relating to the evacuation of the American forces now in Mexico, and to draw up and conclude a protocol or agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of the frontier by the forces of both countries, also to determine the origin of the incursion to date, in order to fix the responsibility therefor and definitely to settle the difficulties now pending or those which may arise between the two countries on account of the same or a similar reason; all of which shall be subject to the approval of both Governments.

In reply I have the honor to state that I have laid your Excellency's note before the President and have received his instructions to inform your Excellency that the Government of the United States is disposed to accept the proposal of the Mexican Government in the same spirit of frank cordiality in which it is made. This Government believes, and suggests, however, that the powers of the proposed commission should be enlarged so that, if happily a solution satisfactory to both Governments of the question set forth in your Excellency's communication may be reached, the commission may also consider such other matters the friendly arrangement of which would tend to improve the relations of the two countries; it being understood that such recommendations as the commission may make shall not be binding upon the respective Governments until formally accepted by them.

Should this proposal be accepted by your Excellency's Government, I have the honor to state that this Government will proceed immediately to appoint its commissioners, and fix, after consultation with your Excellency's Government, the time and place and other details of the proposed conferences.

Accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

The response to this was handed to Mr. Polk by Señor Arredondo a week later, the text being as follows:

Mexico City, Aug. 4, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: In due reply to the courteous note of the Department of State, dated July 28, 1916, I have the honor to say to your Excellency that the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of the Mexican Republic, congratulates himself upon the laudable efforts of the American Government to arrive at a solution of existing difficulties between the two countries, and, to that effect, considering it of the greatest importance that a prompt decision be reached of the points which have caused the existing differences between the United States and Mexico, referred to in the note of the Mexican Government dated July 4 last, has seen fit to appoint at once a commission of three persons, constituted by Licentiate Luis Cabrera, Engineer Ignacio Bonillas, and Engineer Alberto J. Pani, to whom instructions have been given to devote their attention preferably to the resolution of the points mentioned in the previous note of this department.

Licentiate Eliseo Arredondo has been authorized to treat with the Department of State the matter of details relating to the place and date on which the Commissioners of the Mexican Government should meet the Commissioners of the United States in order to commence their labors.

I reiterate to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

C. AGUILAR.

Secretary of Foreign Relations.

At the present writing (Aug. 21) the American members of the commission have not yet been appointed, owing to the inability of two of those chosen by President Wilson to serve. The delay has nettled General Carranza, necessitating an informal explanation.

An official decree issued on Aug. 17 by the Mexican Government threatens to add another point of difference between the two countries. It provides that henceforth all foreigners who intend to acquire lands, mines, water rights, oil wells, timber lands, or fisheries must make formal declaration that they renounce their treaty rights and will claim only the same privileges as Mexican citizens. In other words, they must renounce the right to demand protection of their Governments. Authorities on international law regard it as very unlikely that any Government will recognize such a decree.

The Irish Situation

Collapse of the Home Rule Plan—Execution of Sir Roger Casement.

HENRY EDWARD DUKE, a barrister and Unionist member of Parliament for Exeter, was appointed the new Chief Secretary for Ireland on July 31, in succession to Augustine Birrell. Lord Wimborne, who resigned as Lord Lieutenant after the Dublin outbreak, but whose resignation had not been accepted, withdrew it a few days later, and thus the Dublin Castle rule for Ireland, which was to have been abolished by the substitution of an Irish Parliament with the six Ulster counties excluded, was formally set up again.

This announcement was the signal for a fresh outburst of bitter protest from John Redmond, the Nationalist leader, and other Nationalist members. A declaration issued by the Nationalist Party in Parliament declared that its members considered themselves absolved from association with the Coalition Government, and free to oppose it independently in any circumstances.

The debates in the House of Commons on the Irish question were marked by intense bitterness. The Government was freely charged with breach of faith in failing to present the Home Rule bill, and in setting up again the control of Irish affairs at Dublin Castle by a Unionist Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary.

LLOYD GEORGE'S PLAN FAILS

In the House on July 24, Mr. Lloyd George made a frank confession of his failure to reach a settlement. His words, which follow, are in answer to a bitter speech of criticism by John Redmond:

There was a clear understanding between the parties that the Ulster counties should not be automatically included, and that that should be made absolutely clear on the face of the bill (the proposed Home Rule bill.) That is all the Government asked for, and that is the only thing they say at the present moment. The second point is the alteration in the form of the agreement with regard to the number of Irish members. Here I say at once the heads of the settlement have been departed from. The Irish members were

to remain in undiminished numbers in this House until a permanent settlement had been carried through and embodied in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Redmond asked me: Why have we departed from that? I will state quite frankly why. It is perfectly true that the suggested alteration was placed before Mr. Redmond after the statement of the Prime Minister. The position was this: The whole of my honorable friends who represent the Unionist Party found it to be quite impossible for them to vote for a proposal which would maintain the Irish members in undiminished numbers in the Imperial Parliament after a general election and after a Home Rule Government had been set up in Ireland. They informed us that if they supported the proposal there would not be a single supporter of it in their own party, and that even members of the Unionist Party who were prepared to agree to bringing Home Rule into operation immediately would object to that particular proposal.

What, therefore, was the alternative proposal? The proposal was that until the dissolution the Irish members should remain in the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers; that, after the dissolution the provisions of the Home Rule act should come into operation, but that the Irish members should be summoned to the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers whenever the Imperial Parliament came to consider a permanent settlement.

The objection raised by the Unionist members to the proposal was this: They said Home Rule for three-fourths of Ireland would have come into operation, and that after dissolution, if the Irish members were here in undiminished numbers, it might make the difference between, say, a Liberal and a Unionist Government.

They considered that to be perfectly unfair from the point of view of the ideas which they represent, and they stated quite distinctly that it would be impossible for them to assent to it. Therefore, we were face to face with the fact that the agreement could not be put through without that modification.

The Government are in a position to introduce a measure for bringing the Home Rule act into immediate operation for all the counties of Ireland except six. The powers of the Home Rule act in respect of that part of Ireland will be absolutely unimpaired except in regard to the Court of Appeal. Mr. Redmond says if there is any attempt to force the bill with these modifications upon Irish members they will resist it—that they will not merely resist these provisions, but they

FIELD MARSHAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG



*Mirya und ihr Gatte von 1914/15
erhalten haben
von Hindenburg.*

German General Recently Placed in Supreme Command of all Forces
of the Central Powers on the Eastern Front.

ADMIRAL REINHARD SCHEER



German Vice Admiral Who Commanded the Kaiser's Fleets in the Battle of the Skagerrak, and Who Was Made a Full Admiral Immediately Afterward.

(Photo from Central News Service.)

will resist the whole bill. If that is the view of Irish members it would be idle for the Government to bring in a bill for bringing Home Rule into immediate operation under any conditions. I deeply regret it. I think it is a disaster. Honorable members know their difficulties, which are undoubtedly very great. But at the same time I wish that they could have seen their way. Let them believe that it would be impossible for us to attempt to bring the Home Rule act into operation during the war except under those conditions.

I consulted the Prime Minister in respect of every turn and every move of the negotiations. I can say on my conscience that we have done our best. We have failed. I regret it in my heart. I have been for twenty-six years a member of this House and I was elected on Home Rule. The contest was fought on Home Rule in a constituency which cared perhaps far more for Disestablishment than anything else. I have had differences of opinion with my honorable friends from Ireland on many points, but on one point I have never had any difference. I have voted consistently for every proposal to give self-government to Ireland. I still believe at this moment that you cannot govern a high-spirited and courageous race—and not even the bitterest opponents of Home Rule will deny those qualities to the Irish people—against their will. You cannot govern them except with their consent. I regret from the bottom of my heart these misunderstandings, failures to get consent. * * * But the Government ought not to, and will not, force this proposal upon them.

TWO STUMBLING BLOCKS

On July 28 Mr. Lloyd George gave the following statement to The Associated Press:

There were two points on which there was disagreement at the end of the negotiations. One dealt with the means by which the exclusion of the six Ulster counties was to continue or to be brought to an end. This, to my view, although I believe Mr. Redmond differs on that point, was less a matter of substance than of words. The Nationalists agreed it was impossible that the Ulster counties should be coerced into an Irish Parliament. It was understood that when they were willing to come in no one would seek to keep them out. Their exclusion for the present would not have affected in the slightest degree the full powers given to the Nationalist part of Ireland under the Home Rule act. The question of their coming in voluntarily afterward could have been decided when it had been seen how home rule was working out.

The second point was connected with Irish representation at Westminster. It is not unnatural that the Unionists contended that Ireland is proportionately over-represented in the House of Commons, and that

it would not have been fair, either to the portion of Ireland remaining outside of the home rule scheme or to the other parts of the British Isles, to have retained such a full representation of Irish constituencies in the Commons after the larger part of Ireland had a Parliament of its own to settle its domestic affairs. However, the scheme of settlement proposed stated in so many words that when Irish affairs were to be discussed in the London Parliament the full Irish representation should be called to participate as before the existence of the Irish Parliament.

Although the re-establishment of executive rule in Ireland at Dublin Castle indicates that home rule has been abandoned, the idea persists that the Nationalists may yet be brought about to accept the Lloyd George proposals and a truce proclaimed until the Imperial Conference of all the self-governing dominions after the war can permanently settle the Irish question.

THE SINN FEIN REBELLION

The report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the Irish revolt was made public July 4, 1916. The following were the conclusions:

It is outside the scope of your Majesty's instructions to us to inquire how far the policy of the Irish executive was adopted by the Cabinet as a whole, or to attach responsibility to any but the civil and military executive in Ireland; but the general conclusion that we draw from the evidence before us is that the main cause of the rebellion appears to be that lawlessness was allowed to grow up unchecked, and that Ireland for several years past has been administered on the principle that it was safer and more expedient to leave law in abeyance if collision with any faction of the Irish people could thereby be avoided.

Such a policy is the negation of that cardinal rule of Government which demands that the enforcement of law and the preservation of order should always be independent of political expediency.

IMPORTATION OF ARMS

We consider that the importation of large quantities of arms into Ireland after the lapse of the Arms act, and the toleration of drilling by large bodies of men, first in Ulster and then in other districts of Ireland, created conditions which rendered possible the recent troubles in Dublin and elsewhere.

It appears to us that reluctance was shown by the Irish Government to repress by prosecution written and spoken seditious utterances, and to suppress the drilling and manoeuvring of armed forces known to be under the control of men who were openly declaring

their hostility to your Majesty's Government and their readiness to welcome and assist your Majesty's enemies.

This reluctance was largely prompted by the pressure brought to bear by the Parliamentary representatives of the Irish people, and in Ireland itself there developed a widespread belief that no repressive measures would be undertaken by the Government against sedition. This led to a rapid increase of preparations for insurrection and was the immediate cause of the recent outbreak.

We are of opinion that from the commencement of the present war all seditious utterances and publications should have been firmly suppressed at the outset, and if juries or magistrates were found unwilling to enforce this policy further powers should have been invoked under the existing acts for the defence of the realm.

We are also of opinion that on the outbreak of war all drilling and manoeuvring by unrecognized bodies of men, whether armed or unarmed, should have been strictly prohibited, and that as soon as it became known to the Irish Government that the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army were under the control of men prepared to assist your Majesty's enemies if the opportunity should be offered to them, all drilling and open carrying of arms by these bodies of men should have been forcibly suppressed.

It does not appear to be disputed that the authorities in the Spring of 1916, while believing that the seditious bodies would not venture unaided to break into insurrection, were convinced that they were prepared to assist a German landing.

We are further of opinion that at the risk of a collision early steps should have been taken to arrest and prosecute leaders and organizers of sedition.

MR. BIRRELL'S RESPONSIBILITY

For the reasons before given, we do not think that any responsibility rests upon the Lord Lieutenant. He was appointed in February, 1915, and was in no way answerable for the policy of the Government.

We are, however, of the opinion that the Chief Secretary as the administrative head of your Majesty's Government in Ireland is primarily responsible for the situation that was allowed to arise and the outbreak that occurred.

Sir Matthew Nathan assumed office as Under Secretary to the Irish Government in September, 1914, only. In our view he carried out with the utmost loyalty the policy of the Government, and of his immediate superior the Chief Secretary, but we consider that he did not sufficiently impress upon the Chief Secretary during the latter's prolonged absences from Dublin the necessity for more active measures to remedy the situation in Ireland, which on Dec. 18 last in a letter to the Chief Secretary he described as "most serious and menacing."

We are satisfied that Sir Neville Cham-

berlain, the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and Colonel Edgeworth-Johnstone, the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, required their subordinates to furnish, and did receive from their subordinates, full and exact reports as to the nature, progress, and aims of the various armed associations in Ireland. From these sources the Government had abundant material on which they could have acted many months before the leaders themselves contemplated any actual rising.

For the conduct, zeal, and loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police we have nothing but praise.

We do not attach any responsibility to the military authorities in Ireland for the rebellion or its results. As long as Ireland was under civil government those authorities had nothing to do with the suppression of sedition. Their duties were confined to securing efficiency in their own ranks and to the promotion of recruiting, and they could only aid in the suppression of disorder when duly called on by the civil power. By the middle of 1915 it was obvious to the military authorities that their efforts in favor of recruiting were being frustrated by the hostile activities of the Sinn Féin supporters, and they made representations to the Government to that effect. The general danger of the situation was clearly pointed out to the Irish Government by the military authorities, on their own initiative, in February last, but the warning fell on unheeding ears.

GENERAL MAXWELL'S REPORT

General Sir John Maxwell, who was in charge of the military operations in Ireland, submitted his report May 25; it was made public in July. The summary of his report follows:

(1) The rebellion began by Sinn Féiners, presumably acting under orders, shooting in cold blood certain soldiers and policemen. Simultaneously they took possession of various important buildings and occupied houses along the routes in the City of Dublin which were likely to be used by troops taking up posts.

(2) Most of the rebels were not in any uniform, and by mixing with peaceful citizens made it almost impossible for the troops to distinguish between friend and foe until fire was opened.

(3) In many cases troops having passed along a street seemingly occupied by harmless people were suddenly fired upon from behind from windows and roof tops. Such were the conditions when reinforcements commenced to arrive in Dublin.

SNIPING WAS CONTINUOUS

(4) Whilst fighting continued under conditions at once so confused and so trying, it is possible that some innocent citizens were shot. It must be remembered that the

struggle was in many cases of a house-to-house character, that sniping was continuous and very persistent, and that it was often extremely difficult to distinguish between those who were or had been firing upon the troops and those who had for various reasons chosen to remain on the scene of the fighting, instead of leaving the houses and passing through the cordons.

(5) The number of such incidents that has been brought to notice is very insignificant.

(6) Once the rebellion started the members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police—an unarmed uniformed force—had to be withdrawn, or they would have been mercilessly shot down, as, indeed, were all who had the bad luck to meet the rebels. In their absence a number of the worst elements of the city joined the rebels and were armed by them. The daily record of the Dublin Magistrates' Court proves that such looting as there was was done by such elements.

(7) There have been numerous incidents of deliberate shooting on ambulances and those courageous people who voluntarily came out to tend to the wounded. The City Fire Brigade, when turned out in consequence of incendiary fires, were fired on and had to retire.

(8) As soon as it was ascertained that the rebels had established themselves in various centres, the first phase of operations was conducted with a view to isolate them by forming a cordon of troops round each.

(9) To carry out this streets were selected, along which the cordon could be drawn. Some of these streets, for instance, North King Street, were found to be strongly held, rebels occupying the roofs of houses, upper windows, and strongly constructed barricades.

(10) Artillery fire was only used to reduce the barricades, or against a particular house known to be strongly held.

(11) The troops suffered severe losses in establishing these cordons, and, once established, the troops were subjected to a continuous fire from all directions, especially at night time, and invariably from persons concealed in houses.

LOSSES AMONG THE TROOPS.

(12) To give an idea of the opposition offered to his Majesty's troops in the execution of their duty, the following losses occurred:

| | Killed. | Wounded. |
|-------------------|---------|----------|
| Officers | 17 | 46 |
| Other ranks | 89 | 288 |

(13) I wish to draw attention to the fact that, when it became known that the leaders of the rebellion wished to surrender, the officers used every endeavor to prevent further bloodshed; emissaries were sent in to the various isolated bands, and time was given them to consider their position.

(14) I cannot imagine a more difficult situation than that in which the troops were placed; most of those employed were draft-

finding battalions, or young Territorials from England, who had no knowledge of Dublin.

(15) The surrenders, which began on April 30, were continued until late on May 1, during which time there was a considerable amount of isolated sniping.

(16) Under the circumstances related above, I consider the troops as a whole behaved with the greatest restraint, and carried out their disagreeable and distasteful duties in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on their discipline.

(17) Allegations on the behavior of the troops brought to my notice are being most carefully inquired into. I am glad to say they are few in number, and these are not all borne out by direct evidence.

(18) Numerous cases of unarmed persons killed by rebels during the outbreak have been reported to me. As instances, I may select the following for your information:

J. Brien, a constable of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was shot while on duty at Castle Gate on April 24. On the same day another constable of the same force named M. Lahiff was shot while on duty at St. Stephen's Green. On April 25 R. Waters of Recess, Monkstown, County Dublin, was shot at Mount Street Bridge while being driven into Dublin by Captain Scovell, R. A. M. C.

All these were unarmed, as was Captain Scovell. In the last case the car was not challenged or asked to stop.

(19) I wish to emphasize that the responsibility for the loss of life, however it occurred, the destruction of property and other losses, rests entirely with those who engineered this revolt, and who, at a time when the empire is engaged in a gigantic struggle, invited the assistance and co-operation of the Germans.

CASEMENT'S TRAGIC END

The melancholy tragedy of Sir Roger Casement, one of the moving spirits in the Irish revolt, ended with his death on the gallows for high treason. He was hanged at Pentonville Prison at 9 o'clock Thursday morning, Aug. 3. He was executed in his own clothes, but was not permitted to wear a collar. A Roman Catholic priest ministered to him during his last moments, and led the procession to the scaffold. Casement had been brought up in the Protestant faith, but became a convert to Roman Catholicism after his trial and took his first communion the morning of his death.

Two hours before the execution a crowd of men and women gathered before the prison gates, and when the prison bell announced that the trap had been sprung there was a mocking, jeering yell from

the crowd; but, elsewhere, behind the prison, thirty Irish men and women were assembled, and when the clang of the bell announced that the doomed man had paid the penalty, they fell on their knees and remained thus for some minutes in silent prayer.

Earliest efforts were made to secure a commutation of Sir Roger Casement's sentence. The Senate of the United States passed a resolution asking that clemency be exercised. Pope Benedict also interceded in his behalf, and an impressive petition to this effect was presented, signed by the most distinguished Catholic and Protestant clergymen and laymen of the United Kingdom.

The British Government, through Lord Robert Cecil, issued the following formal statement regarding the execution:

No doubt of Casement's guilt exists. No one doubts that the court and jury arrived at the right verdict. The only ground for a reprieve would be political expediency, a difficult ground to put forward in this country. This country never could strain the law to punish a man for the same reason that it could not strain the law to let one off.

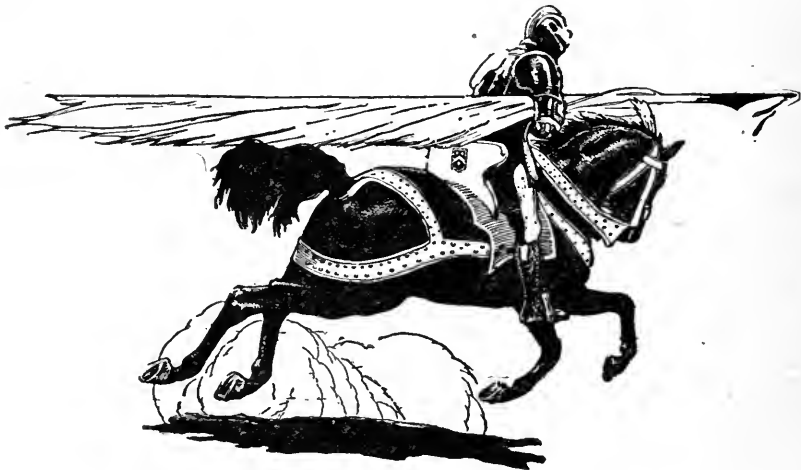
The Irish rebellion began with the murder of unarmed people, both soldiers and police. No grievance justified it, and it was purely a political movement organized by a small section of Irish people who still hate Eng-

land and were assisted by Germany. There was and is in this country the greatest possible indignation against these people. There is no doubt that Casement did everything possible to assist this rebellion in co-operation with the Germans. There can be no doubt that he was moved by enmity for this country. The contention that he landed in Ireland for the purpose of preventing the rebellion is demonstrably false. No such assertion was made by counsel at the trial.

Casement was much more malignant and hostile to this country than were the leaders of the rising, who were caught with arms in their hands. He visited military prisons in Germany with the intention of persuading Irish soldiers to throw off their allegiance. All sorts of promises were made for the improvement of the conditions of these men to induce them to join the Irish legion. An enormous majority thus approached refused and thereafter were subjected to increased hardships by the Germans. From among these Irish soldiers a number have since been repatriated as hopeless invalids, and they subsequently died. They looked upon Casement as their murderer.

Nor is there any ground, public or private, so far as we know, which can be quoted in mitigation of Casement's crime, and I do not think any Government doing its duty could interfere with the sentence which has been passed on him.

Irishmen throughout the world expressed deep indignation in that the sentence was not commuted. The American press generally advocated that course very strongly.



MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

What Is Militarism?

By the Editor of The London Times' Literary Supplement

WE have all been talking for a long time about militarism, especially Prussian militarism; but it is not even now too late to ask what we mean by it, because many people seem to think that it cannot be separated from its epithet Prussian; in fact, that it is bad because it is Prussian, and because the Prussians are bad. But the Prussians have just as much right to be militarist as any other nation. We must not be misled by their conviction that they are necessarily saved into a belief that they are necessarily damned. There was a time when Frederick the Great was to the English people the Protestant Hero. They admired in him just what we condemn now in the modern Prussian; but they called it by a different name. So there are people in England now who really do admire the Prussian state of mind; at least, they would admire it if it were English. It seems to them wrong in the Prussians only because they are Prussians, just as it seems to the Prussians themselves right because they are Prussians. Such people, whether Prussians or English, are not capable of thinking clearly about militarism at all.

The first thing to be said against militarism is that it is a kind of national hypochondria. Just as the hypochondriac sees life in terms of death, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid death, so the militarist sees peace in terms of war, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid defeat in war. Now the Prussian, we must confess, has some excuse for his hypochondria. He is like a man who has actually suffered from a very serious illness. It is a hundred years and more ago that Prussia was conquered and dismembered and almost destroyed by Napoleon. But a shock of that kind stays long in a national memory. Further, all the romance of Prussian history has

gathered around the Prussian struggle for freedom; at least, for what the Prussian calls freedom. That struggle is the great achievement of Prussia, the only one of which she can be morally proud. The rest of her history is, in the main, flat burglary. Even then she was fighting only for herself; but she did fight in such a way that she seemed to the rest of the world worth fighting for. Unfortunately she was confirmed then in a belief which she had held before, that her sole national function was to fight for herself, and even when she was not fighting to conceive of peace in terms of war.

Needless to say, there is some excuse for her, apart from Jena and its consequences. No one has ever liked Prussia; she has always been geographically weak, and therefore has always wished to make herself geographically stronger at the expense of some one else. She is like a self-made man, and one who has made himself by ruthless competition, at first with other little tradesmen, and afterward as a huge joint stock company. Such a man, especially if he has been once bankrupt and several times very near bankruptcy, sees all life as a struggle for life; and that is how Prussia sees it. That is why she is militarist; and she can make out a case why she should be militarist.

Even before the war, when she was at the height of her strength, she was still thinking of her weak frontier; she had persuaded herself that she was afraid of the Russian peril. History, according to her notion of it, consisted of an incessant and inevitable struggle between the Teuton and the Slav; and the moment had come when the Teuton must get his blow in first if he was not to be overcome later. The Prussian says that he is fighting in self-defense; we say that he is fighting to dominate Europe; but

the difference between us is not so great as it seems; for, according to the Prussian idea, he will never be safe until he dominates Europe; and he has a right to dominate Europe because other nations will not let him alone. If they would let him alone he would be an innocent lamb.

This state of mind is not confined to Prussia; and there is always some excuse for it, just as there is some excuse for the perpetual fears and precautions of the hypochondriac. Men do fall ill and die, and we must all die some day; and nations do attack each other, they do rise and fall; and, so far as we know, they are all subject sooner or later to an inevitable process of decay. But the Prussians have been more hypochondriac—that is to say, more militarist—than any other people. That which is in other nations an occasional weakness is with them an obsession, so that they have become quite unable to distinguish between real and imaginary dangers. There is always a hypochondriacal faction in every country; but in Prussia that faction is the nation; and, as to the private hypochondriac the doctor is a priest, so the officer is a priest to every Prussian.

For the Frenchman or the Englishman there are many and diverse romances in life; and his country means to him many different things. But for the Prussian there is only one romance, a sick-room romance of war and victory; and his country means to him his army. That is his one achievement, and whatever else he does well is subordinate to it. The Prussians, as nobody can deny, have a great power of organization; but even that is a part of their hypochondria. They organize their country as a hypochondriac of strong will and methodical habits organizes his life. He may learn to play golf well or to walk far and fast; but he has learned it all to keep himself in health; and so the Prussians have organized themselves better, perhaps, than any other people, but always with an eye to war. And the aim of their organization is not freedom or a full, rich life, but victory in that war which they are always expecting. They protest, and truly, that they have not in the last

century made war so often as some other nations. So a hypochondriac might say that he has not been ill so often as some more healthy-minded persons.

But the Prussians more than other nations have thought about war and have organized themselves for war; they have behaved always as if war could be the only end of their relations with the rest of the world; and they have at intervals willed war and made it more ruthlessly than any other people. Often they have got their way without war, because other nations knew how well they were prepared for it and that they would make it without scruple if they could not get their way otherwise. So they might say that their method has been justified, that it has, in fact, insured peace, if it were not that the effect of this method has been cumulative.

The whole of Europe has known for many years that the Prussians would make war whenever they thought that the moment for it had come. They were always aware of the mailed fist even when it was disguised in the velvet glove. Elsewhere there were squabbles and threats of war; but the bark of other nations was worse than their bite. And all the while Prussia was waiting to bite, because she alone of all the nations had no desire for a permanent peace, no belief that it was possible. She infected the rest of Germany with her hypochondria, and she might infect the whole world if she got any advantage in this war. For the power of hypochondria lies in the fact that there is always some reason for it.

The Prussians can make out a case for themselves and for every brutal act they have committed in this war. There is no way of proving that they are wrong by absolute logic. It all depends whether you hope or fear most from life. The militarist fears most, and so any events which make the nations fear make them also militarist. And they are tempted to militarism most of all by an event so large and so disagreeable that it affects their whole conception of the nature of life, such as the Prussian victory in 1870. Then it seemed that a nation which organized itself for war, and willed war at

the moment best suited to its own purposes, had the very gods on its side. Then there was in England and all over the world a real admiration of Prussia and a belief, expressed by Carlyle, that the Prussians were God's chosen people. Compared with them other nations seemed to lack purpose and faith. As for France, she was frivolous and corrupt, and God had given judgment against her at Sedan.

The whole world began to believe that Prussia was illustrating the Darwinian theory, that by her victories she was proving herself to be the fittest of all nations to survive, and that other nations must imitate both her actions and her way of thinking, if they were not to be destroyed by the wrath of God, or the cosmic process, or whatever name was given to that power which was supposed to support and even to sanctify the Prussian method. In fact, the mind of Europe was darkened by the Prussian victory, and the hopes of Europe, even when they still seemed to be hopes, had become fears. It seemed to all the nations that they had been living too easily, that they had deluded themselves about the nature of the universe. All those things with which they had concerned themselves, such as freedom, equality, art, philosophy, were luxuries, and dangerous luxuries, in the world as it was. Their proper concern was their own existence, which was necessarily and rightly threatened by other nations and would be destroyed by any other nation which, like Prussia, had a superior sense of reality.

Everywhere there spread a belief that organization and efficiency were the highest virtues in a nation; and this meant always organization and efficiency directed against other nations. It was not that things were to be done well for the sake of doing them well; but that they were to be done well with an eye to that incessant war which, whether open or disguised, must always be carried on between the nations. The Prussians were perhaps the only people in Europe who actually enjoyed this view of life. They felt that a universe in which the struggle for life was the supreme fact was perfectly suited to their peculiar faculties.

They were to themselves the best scholars in that ugly school and sure to take all the prizes. Other peoples did not like the prospect, but it seemed to them full of unwelcome truth. If they were to survive they must learn from Prussia; and for fifty years they have been learning from her.

But now we are beginning to see that she had learned her lesson too well; that she has, in fact, reduced it to an absurdity. The rest of Europe, even if it thought a struggle inevitable, tried to put it off. Prussia, sure that she must win in that struggle, refused to delay it. And this refusal, this utter faith in her unlovely doctrine, has produced a combination against her, a counterfaith stronger than her own. In what seemed to her the moment of triumph, for which she had prepared with such fanatical diligence, it has threatened her with a danger that she never bargained for, with a diligence and a fanaticism at least equal to her own. Now we see, and she must see soon, that the actual facts of human nature are against her.

Men are of such a nature that they will not endure the Prussian theory of life when it is thoroughly and ruthlessly practiced. They will not endure a nation that lives for the struggle for life. That is the lesson of this war, if only we have the wit to learn it. It is that militarism does not protect the nation which is most thoroughly militarist, that the greater the triumphs of militarism the more certainly they produce a state of mind in the victors which, dangerous to the rest of the world, is more dangerous still to themselves. Disasters may come to the nation which trusts too much in righteousness. They are nothing to the disasters which come to the nation that trusts altogether in unrighteousness.

But there is a danger, in all the exasperation and strain of this conflict, that we shall ignore this most obvious lesson, that we ourselves shall catch the Prussian disease from our enemies. And no talk about Prussian militarism will preserve us from that disaster. Nothing will preserve us from it except a clear understanding of the nature of militar-

ism and of the fact that it is ultimately based upon fear, not upon hope; that it is hypochondria, not health. This is a dangerous world, and the only way to safety in it for nations, as for individuals, is to live dangerously. Prussia has tried to live safely, and she has been more threatened in her national existence than any other nation. She has trusted in herself rather than in right-

eousness because righteousness seemed too dangerous to her. The lesson of the present war is that it is safer at last to trust in righteousness. But that is a lesson which all Europe as well as Prussia has yet to learn, and the war will have been a ghastly waste of all good things unless it teaches that lesson, unless it is known in history as the event which refuted all the heresies of 1870.

England's Purpose Regarding Germany

By Dr. Paul Rohrbach

Noted German Publicist

Dr. Rohrbach is the author of a new brochure on the war, entitled "Der Deutsche Krieg," in which he elaborates this latest German view of England's policy.

DURING the negotiations that preceded the war were England's concessions in the matter of the African colonies and the Bagdad railway a mere mask? These concessions were far-reaching and undoubtedly created an excellent impression in Germany. It was clear that, at any rate, a portion of the British Government did not believe in a German attack, and it was clear that the German Chancellor had begun to trust England. * * * It is one thing to come to terms with a Germany which feels itself under the pressure of its Continental position with France in the west and Russia in the east, but it is quite another matter to arrange things with a Germany victorious over France and Russia, and not obliged to consider them. The Britisher felt that in the latter case nothing could prevent Germany, with the money she would force from France, from building a fleet equal in power to that of England. There was nothing to prevent Germany from presenting Italy with French North Africa, and in this way making an Italian sea of the Mediterranean. England was faced with this question, Will the future give birth to a Germany which will be in a position to oust England from her predominant position? England decided this question affirmatively, and took her fatal decision.

England was always in a position at

any time to prevent the war. All she had to do was to tell Russia that the mobilization of the Russian armies against Germany would not be followed by the participation of England in the war. Had England taken this attitude there would have been no war.

Instead of this England satisfied herself in Petrograd with undecided and half-hearted notes and negotiations, and as the Russian Government, which desired war, determined not to listen to the British advice, such as it was, the catastrophe was inevitable.

England's aim in this war is by no means to destroy Germany as a great power on the Continent. All England wishes to destroy is German competition in trade and the German fleet, mercantile and naval. In England it is considered possible to deprive Germany of her fleet without impairing her land power. It is regarded as in the best interests of England to give Germany enough military power to cope with France and Russia should these powers rise again and assert themselves. It would have been wiser for England had she arranged to accept our victory as inevitable and secured herself for the future. But England did not agree to this. She preferred to fight for the continued supremacy of England on the oceans and beyond them. Good. * * * Experts

were right when they expected the troops of the English Regular Army to show excellent fighting value. There is no doubt that the French would have been broken in the first storm had not their left wing been strengthened by the British, not

only numerically, but still more in solid fighting power. In the decisive hour of the early campaign, and to a large extent, also, today, the British form the backbone of the enemy's resistance. This must be candidly admitted.

Central Europe—Central Africa

By Dr. Paul Leutwein

This article was written for the *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung* by one of the younger German authorities on colonial politics and economics, who spent much of his early life in Africa and enjoys considerable prestige among his countrymen.

SERIOUS discussion of the proposed economic union of the Central Powers is in full swing, thanks to the energetic action of the Central European societies. By means of his many-sided and illuminating book, "Central Europe," Friedrich Naumann has spread the idea so well that we may already speak of it as the popular thing in the two empires. "Central Europe" has already become a slogan, though it is by no means always understood in its complete significance.

Despite the fact that the pressure of the times has forced both empires to play the joint rôle of the "closed commercial State" in an economic sense, there are still a great many business men who cannot conceive of a victory over domestic frictions, because of their fear of new tasks. Others lack the historical spirit that would teach them out of the history of the German Tariff Union how the effect of an economic union on the broadest kind of a basis is full of unexpected blessings and how all domestic struggles are put aside, as if automatically. They also lack that intuitive thought by which our Friedrich List was enabled to see the brilliant economic and political development of Germany through a protective tariff and a uniform railroad system fifty years beforehand. Others, again, halt at the notion of a "solid commercial State," as they seem to believe that the period of practical proof in a politico-economic sense will then be followed by an autarchy of the broadest kind. These persons shall

receive my attention, as it is necessary to show them that an economic Central Europe is not the absolute end, but is solely intended to form a doubly powerful factor in the future struggle for international commerce by the allied powers.

The problem of Central Europe, with its extension to Bulgaria and Turkey, is being brought to the front almost too much, especially from the German side. The South German who knows the feelings our grandfathers entertained toward Prussia will easily understand that the laudable intention is liable to misinterpretations, especially on the part of those of our allies who, like Turkey, are the least ripe for the thought of economic union, and are, besides, accustomed to regard such deals as somewhat violent attempts at opening up their territory by the advanced States. It must be made clear to them that the German friend regards their interests the same as his own, and that he is by no means striving, because of the feeling of his present isolation, spasmodically to obtain in allied lands territory producing the raw material, the lack of which he must feel at present.

The most effective way to allay such apprehensions is by the avowal that Germany is by no means inclined to place all hopes for her economic future upon the Central European economic union alone, and that, as before, she holds fast to the plan of creating her own fields for the production of the raw material that she needs; that, in a word, Germany will

keep her eyes upon the colonial problem in connection with international commerce as well as upon that of Central Europe.

What raw materials are most needed by our country in war and peace has been revealed to us with desirable clearness by the long period of isolation. I mention cotton, rubber, copper, rice, corn, fibres, and the luxuries, tobacco and coffee, from the viewpoint of taxation; and, finally, the fat and oil producing plants. To what extent the latter were used we see by the shortage of vegetable butter, oils, soaps, cosmetics, and stuff for fodder. Purely tropical growths, such as palms, sesames, and earthnuts supplied us with these important materials in such increasing measure that already before the war people spoke of the Central European market's hunger for oil. And Austria-Hungary needs these products no less than we. It is true that progressive Bulgaria will enter the field as a purveyor in many respects, but, because of its limited territory, only on a modest scale. The matter of the supply of grain and animal products is an open question. It is certain that Russia, out of vital self-interest, will again appear as a seller, and perhaps the war has brought about a permanent reduction in the exaggerated needs of our people in this respect.

What, then, do we really expect from Turkey? We expect that after the war she will devote her best efforts to her economic development, either by the use of her own forces or through the wise attraction and employment of capable brains and capital from Central Europe. What Turkey expects from us, on the other hand, is patience and the respect of her right to choose her own destiny. Turkish sensitiveness in this matter, although rather exaggerated, is, as has already been indicated, entirely comprehensible. Now, political economy is the weak side of Turkey, and on the other hand she is accustomed to regard herself as a political factor of importance. Anybody who bears in mind the fact that Asiatic Turkey, three times as large as Germany, with about 17,000,000 inhabitants and scarcely 4,000 kilometers of railroads, without fully developed interior

waterways, is still a country whose imports, both in the industrial and agricultural field, far exceed its exports, or, in other words, is behind the more progressive colonies, will perceive that a great gap yawns between domestic economy and politics. A gap the closing of which was rather hindered than helped by the many attempts at development made by the powers of the Quadruple Entente, attempts that were conflicting and combined with all sorts of political aims. This is realized by the rulers of the Turkish State, and consequently they need time to collect their thoughts in order to work out their own salvation.

Furthermore, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that a great many important raw materials must be obtained from territory outside of the administration of our friends. On the other hand, we dare not simply count on the revival of international trade along the old lines after the war. It is true that the movement toward an economic union within the Quadruple Entente is apparently not making much progress. But within the British Empire the firm desire has been shown for a customs union, with the mother land going over to protection. It has also been shown that this dangerously tenacious and arrogant opponent is determined, either to decide the war in its favor in a political sense, or, following the cessation of hostilities, to continue it in the economic field until one side is exhausted. This makes it necessary for Germany to make herself as strong as possible in the matter of home production, both for her own needs and for purposes of international trade.

The combining of these ideas in the term Central Africa merely signifies that the efforts of our colonial circles are being concentrated more and more in this direction. And they ought to be centred that way, for in Central Africa are found our two most important colonies in the matter of tropical products that enter into international commerce, and whose reacquisition is constantly being emphasized in competent circles. There, in a mighty and uniform territory washed by the waters of two oceans, not only may all economic hopes be realized, but

also the best conditions be found regarding the ability of defense by our colonies that will be so important in the future. We shall not cite statistics here to prove this. They are to be found in a number of treatises on the colonies, including one by this writer. Besides, we shall not take into account those who insist upon the reacquisition of all our former colonial empire for national reasons. Who, indeed, does not sympathize with their ideas? But we are as yet unable to say by means of what pawns we shall make good our claims in the face of our principal opponents in the colonial field. As yet we do not even know for sure whether the idea of German Central Africa can be realized. What we do know, however, and what the Imperial Chancellor emphasized in his last speech, is that we need a strong colonial empire and that, following a well-thought-out plan, we must strive for its acquisition in the peace negotiations. In a word, we are opportunely and genuinely prepared, under any circumstances.

I already hear the voices of those who, because of the difficulties involved, do not care to understand this amplification of the problem of Central Europe. Of course, I am aware of these difficulties. We need a unified system of water and rail communication with Austria-Hungary, and yet we have no

supreme authority over the traffic within our own economic realm. The most important inland water highway of the coming Central Europe, the Danube, still awaits, under special difficulties, the work of dredging. Another chapter that has been hardly touched is the matter of the regulation of the unity of exchange. And these are only the most essential technical points preceding the real task of creating a customs union. All these, however, have nothing to do with the notion of international colonial commerce. The latter is, on the contrary, a much simpler and a purely German problem, but something that, taken in connection with Central Europe, is calculated to facilitate Germany's negotiations with her allies. It is to be hoped that the latter will recognize the fact that Germany is by no means obliged to come to an agreement with them.

I do not believe that the champions of the Central European tariff union, guided by considerations of international commerce, have overlooked the questions raised here. They understand what is meant when I say that if Central Europe should come to nothing we should need Central Africa all the more, and that we must never think of Central Europe without Central Africa, unless we wish to regard Germany's future tasks from a one-sided point of view.

Japan and the United States

By Dr. Kurt Eduard Imberg

The following article, consisting of excerpts from a treatise written for the *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung* of Berlin, is an example of how the so-called Japanese-American problem is regarded by many German publicists.

WHILE in Europe the entire question of international politics seems centred in the mighty conflict of nations the world power of the Far East is taking steps to fish in troubled waters and to avail herself of the favorable moment, in which all the European powers interested in Eastern Asia are tearing each other to pieces, to realize without much expense the plans and dreams she has been cher-

ishing for years. For years the little yellow man of Nippon has been casting longing glances toward the Asiatic Continent and still further out over the Pacific Ocean, with the isles and islets that form the bridge to the longed-for west coast of America. * * *

As long ago as the late '60s William H. Seward, at that time Secretary of State of the United States, declared that the Pacific Ocean would be the principal

stage upon which the great events of the coming century would be played. The hour for the fulfillment of this prophecy is constantly coming nearer, and the clash of the white and the yellow races in a battle for the rulership of this ocean is inevitable. Here the United States of America will have to play the principal rôle on the side of the white race. It will be obliged to take up the struggle in order to call a halt to the further advance of the aspiring Japanese world power. * * *

There are two matters that have become of particular weight in the American-Japanese question. One is the jeopardizing of the interests of American trade in China, and the other the Japanese imperialism directed toward the East that finds its main expression in the immigration and Mexican questions. When we study the Asiatic policy of the United States we see that the Union has always been guided by two principles—the guaranteeing of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the so-called open door in that country.

In order to protect and enlarge these trade interests the policy of the United States was always to take great pains to defend the equality of all nations in the Chinese market. This activity was especially displayed in the numerous notes and protests directed by the American Government against the Russian policy in Manchuria at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time the interests of Japan and the United States in China appeared to be about the same. Both were interested in the maintenance of the integrity of China. Only after Japan's victorious war against Russia did the parting of the ways begin. Japan's establishing of herself in Korea, which was finally declared a Japanese province in 1910, as well as her economic advance in Manchuria, could not by any means be favorable to American interests. More and more did the Japanese policy show its true face; Asia for the Asiatics—that is, the Monroe Doctrine in a Japanese garb. * * *

Although it may be Japan's first task to make East Asia a territory under Japanese economic control, she undoubtedly has political intentions, as may

easily be seen in the Sino-Japanese treaty of May 25, 1915, whose provisions—aside from those of a purely economic nature—contain many points that can hardly be permanently reconciled with the maintenance of the integrity of China. Of especial importance to the United States is Article 6 of the fifth section of this treaty, which provides that China must first ask the advice of Japan when it needs foreign capital for working mines, building railroads and port works, including dockyards, in the Province of Fukien. The United States has just undertaken to construct a military harbor for China in Amoy, in the Province of Fukien, and it is likely to be a severe blow to her economically and a still harder slap to her repute and prestige in Asia if she is obliged to let the Japanese slam the door in her face in Fukien. * * *

Since the beginning of the world war there has been feverish activity in the United States directed toward the capturing of the Chinese market thrown open through the difficulties in which the European-Chinese trade is entangled * * * Above all are the American efforts directed toward mining and railroad undertakings. But it is just here that the American capitalist is faced by a Japanese competitor, who has—as is proved by the new Japanese-Chinese treaty—special designs upon the railroads and mines, because the latter are of particular importance for Japanese industry. In competition with the American plans to found a Sino-American bank that will promote the commercial interests of the Union the Japanese are about to establish a Japanese bank in China. Another sign of the energetic commercial policy pursued by the United States is found in the recent opening of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, which is intended to look after and to protect American trade interests in China.

How will Japanese and American trade in China come to an understanding? It is hardly to be taken for granted that the United States will give up the field to the Japanese without more ado, and, on the other hand, Japan will not re-

linquish her plan to control the Chinese market. Sooner or later the economic interests of the two nations will clash at this point. Economic struggles are generally followed by an armed conflict, which may perhaps be delayed through a yielding on one side or the other, but which is inevitable, if both parties persist in their demands.

But the Chinese question is not the only point of irritation between the United States and Japan. The imperialistic plans of the Japanese are not content with the idea of Japan as a continental power; they reach out over the sea toward the islands of the Pacific and over toward the western coast of America. * * *

It is known that Japanese have been implicated in the repeated insurrections in the Philippines, and that even to this day these intrigues have not ceased. Here, too, Japanese and American interests conflict. Of course the United States can do away with this bone of contention by voluntarily leaving the Philippines, as has indeed often been proposed in all seriousness by American politicians and writers who regard this group of East Asiatic islands as nothing but a drag on the Union, the cost of which is in nowise covered by its value. Such an abandonment of the Philippines would, nevertheless, constitute a very grave injury to the reputation of the United States in all Asia, and, on the other hand, would merely add impetus to the Japanese imperialism directed against the United States. The struggle for the rulership of the Pacific Ocean, looked upon by many as only a phantom, has entered upon a new stage through the establishment of Japan in the South Sea. The next step will be Hawaii, which already counts more than 80,000 Japanese among its population of approximately 150,000.

Then we come to a third "stumbling block" between the two States; the immigration question. It would lead too far, if we wished to go into the details of the entire question of immigration. But one point, which has again come to the fore with vigor of late, deserves to be brought out—namely, Japan's de-

signs in Mexico. These are by no means of recent date. Some years ago there were already rumors of alleged negotiations for the purchase by Japan of a coaling station on the Pacific Coast of Mexico, which naturally were promptly denied from Washington and Tokio. The value of such denials is well known. A little later it was said that Japan was planning great trading settlements in Mexico. In short, the impression was created that Japan could not be quite so disinterested in Mexico as the people in Tokio were trying to make it appear.

Japan's interest in Mexico is easy to see. For one thing it forms a good naval base, which would greatly facilitate the closing of the Panama Canal in case of war; for another, it forms a handy gate for the invasion of that paradise on the west coast of the United States that has been closed since 1907, but that is eagerly desired, nevertheless—California. * * *

What dangers for the United States grow out of this policy of Japan seem to have been recognized in many Government circles in Washington, although perhaps not to their full extent, and there is a demand from all sides for resolute action on the part of the American Government in Mexico, where one civil war has followed another for a number of years. Up to the present, however, President Wilson has not been able to decide to give heed to these voices.

Of course it must be remembered in this connection that the people of the Eastern States of the Union do not really believe there is any danger from Japan, or, rather, do not want to believe it. They do not consider the entire question as serious as it is always represented to be by the Westerners. * * * Of late, however, the people in Washington seem inclined to listen to the urgent exhortations from the West and to comprehend that the fears regarding Japan's imperialism entertained by the inhabitants of the Western States are not altogether groundless. Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, recently designated the Japanese Army as "a standing demonstration

against the United States." (NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 16, 1915.) This is naturally at the same time a gentle hint to the Americans to strengthen their army and navy, so that in the hour of danger these will be in condition to resist any possible encroachments. * * *

We can hardly be mistaken when we assert that, in general, sentiment in Japan toward the United States is decidedly hostile and warlike, and the imperialists are busily engaged in heaping coals on the fire. In the United States, on the contrary, people try nervously to play the part of peace lovers, and to do everything possible to do away with anything that might disturb the relations between Japan and America. They no doubt feel on that side of the ocean that at present the American means of defense are not exactly "the biggest in the world."

The world war and the coming peace will hardly improve the relations between the United States and Japan. On the contrary, the "victory" of Japan over the second power of Europe—for there

is no doubt that the people in the realm of the Mikado will represent the capture of Tsing-tao as a "victory" of the Japanese arms—will also make Japan's attitude toward America more conceited and challenging. It is not to be wondered at if the Japanese Government soon digs up the immigration question, which was only temporarily settled by the legislation and negotiations of 1907 in a way that did not at all turn out as Japan wished, and to which the Japanese Government only assented at that time for political reasons. Now the people in Tokio will demand that the United States place the Japanese immigrants upon the same footing as those from European lands. * * *

The clash between the United States and Japan is inevitable, even though it may be delayed for a few years through clever political tacking. The sooner the people in Washington perceive that the only danger that really threatens the United States comes from the west the easier it will be for the United States to meet it.

Refugees From Russian Poland

Miss Violetta Thurston, a nurse, has written a book on the tragedy of the refugees from Poland, who fled when the Germans invaded the country. She says:

FROM the farms and homesteads of Poland, the peaceful plains of Lithuania, the seaports of the Baltic provinces, from the mountains of Galicia and Ruthenia, they fled, to escape the roaring cannon and the devastating fire of the enemy.

Their new home in the interior of Russia was to them a foreign country, where the language, religion, and customs differed very much from their own; but their exile was made as little painful as possible by the kindness of the Russian peasants. Pity is one of the most marked and most beautiful characteristics of the Russian people. One may see the Russian soldier at the front giving not only his money and his food, but even his coat to a prisoner who looks ill and miserable.

Bitter as the sufferings of the Belgian refugees were, their physical privations were as nothing in comparison with what these people on the eastern frontiers have been called upon to endure.

The mental and moral sufferings are, of course, common to both nations. Belgians and Poles alike have had to bear the loss of country, home, friends, money—in fact, all that makes life most worth living to them, coming as strangers and pilgrims into a strange land, dependent for their very existence on the charity of others. But Poland's spiritual tragedy began a century and a half ago, when her nation was split up and her kingdom given to others. Now Pole is fighting against Pole, who are brothers, with the same nationality, language, religion, and traditions.

Belgium again, is a little country densely populated and in easy communication with Holland, France, and Eng-

land; the exodus there began in the Summer and was certainly over before the cold weather began. Russia, on the contrary, is an enormous country where the distances between towns are very great and where the climate is very severe.

The retreat had to be carried out very swiftly, under unheard of difficulties, and here there were no convenient neutral countries close at hand to take off some of the refugees. The whole refugee problem was and is on an enormous scale, and it is very much to the credit of the Russian authorities that with so little machinery available at first, they were able to accomplish so much. For it was no mean feat to evacuate in such a short time whole villages, towns, provinces, countries even, and get the inhabitants removed from the danger zone, where every available transport of any kind was crowded already almost beyond its utmost capacity with retreating troops, fighting as they retired, and hampered with the ammunition and sup-

plies of all kinds that must accompany them.

The refugee problem will not by any means be over with the end of the war. The question of how it is going to be made possible for these poor souls to return to their devastated, ruined homes will then be a very difficult one to answer. In trying to find a solution of the difficulty it must be remembered that it is not easy to help the people to help themselves. The iron has now entered into their souls. Many of them have lost so much that they have lost even hope, and they sit there apathetically, with their hands in their laps, waiting for everything to be done for them. Their self-respect has been lowered by the overcrowding, lack of privacy, and the indiscriminate mingling of the decent and the dissolute. Their physical constitution has been injured by the privations of the long retreat, the scanty food, and the unhygienic conditions of their present surroundings.

Child Races of the World and Peace

By John H. Harris

[In The Contemporary Review, London]

WHAT place will be given to native races during the discussion of peace terms? The right of many millions of native peoples to some place in the European Peace Congress, when it takes place, needs only to be considered to be admitted, and the only divergence of view will probably be as to the method of representing their interests. By far the larger areas whose political status will be affected by the war are now occupied by the so-called subject races, and although the whole of these territories will not be affected to the same extent, it will certainly be found that the destiny of each will be materially changed by the present world conflict.

The German colonies total approximately 1,000,000 square miles. Belgian Congo, also, measures nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and owing to the peculiar international position of this territory

and its great need of large financial subsidies, some international assistance in the matter of development must be extended to Belgium. Then there are the huge areas of Mesopotamia, the New Hebrides Archipelago, British Gambia, and possibly French Dahomey. Several of these countries will change flags, while others will probably see a rectification of their geographical frontiers. The total area of these territories is over 2,000,000 square miles, or ten times the size of the German Empire in Europe. The total colored population is, approximately:

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| Africa..... | 23,960,000 |
| South Pacific..... | 160,000 |
| Asia..... | 4,000,000 |

Total 28,120,000

These territories and these peoples will find themselves, so to speak, thrown

down on the Congress table for a reshuffle, but can it be argued in justice that any such reshuffle should take place without ascertaining in some way or other the desires of the inhabitants themselves?

Who gave the European nations the right to barter these people as a result of war for which they had no shadow of responsibility? The answer to this question is self-evident. But while in equity there can only be one answer, common sense forces us to admit the impracticability of summoning to a European peace congress illiterate Mandingos, Piots, Herreros, Fans, the senile Polynesian, or the wild Bedouin.

Yet there is one point at least which the European powers should concede to those native races, namely, to agree that within one year of the declaration of peace another European and American International Congress should be held to amend the existing agreements for maintaining the rights, liberties, and welfare of native races.

This course is dictated no less by equity than by the truest interests of the colonizing powers of Europe and America. It must not be overlooked that almost every acre of those 2,000,000 square miles is sparsely populated, and that hardly fifty miles of it is capable of white colonization, except by the aid of an adequate supply of colored labor. If the great powers should make the fatal blunder of reshuffling these territories without at the same time agreeing to consider once again the supreme problem of conserving the native population, they would be almost better advised to surrender such areas once again to the recuperative forces of so-called barbarism, say, to the third and fourth generations, for by that time the indigenous populations might possibly regain their stamina.

The suffering of native peoples and the depopulation of their territories within the last fifty years have demonstrated the evils of white industrialism, and if civilization will heed the lessons this martyrdom would teach it there is yet time to stop that degradation, dis-

integration of tribal life, and the thoughtless exploitation which will ultimately spell economic ruin to the white races no less than to the native tribes. The depopulation figures of the tropical and sub-tropical world are worth a moment's reflection. It is a disturbing thought that the hecatombs of dead, as a result of the great war, will probably not reach, nor anything like reach, the reduction of population, mainly by violent methods, among native peoples since the 1884 American and European Congress at Berlin.

No student of colonial affairs will deny that since 1884 the depopulation of Central Africa alone has exceeded 10,000,000. Herr Dernburg's was one of the first authoritative voices raised against the colossal destruction of African life in German colonies, which he would probably admit exceeded 500,000 in German Southwest Africa, and almost as heavy a proportion in Togoland. In the Pacific Ocean the ghastly experiment of the Franco-British Condominium in the New Hebrides during the same period has been primarily responsible for a reduction of the population from 650,000 to less than 65,000.

What would not Germany have given could she have called back to industrial life the able-bodied Herreros? What would the copra merchants of Europe give today if they could call into activity again those prematurely dead Polynesians of the South Seas? These countless thousands of the world's workers have gone, and it is useless to bemoan the fact; but to the insane folly of the past would be added the crime of today if we ignore the lessons which a thirty years' martyrdom of native races should teach us.

One of the most encouraging features of native labor questions is that the commercial world is not only beginning to realize the importance of conserving native life, but is recognizing that the application of fraud or force upon the labor supply is a ruthless and unerring boom-crash.

If one wished to state in general terms the cause of this depopulation and suffering it might be summed up in the

phrase, "too intimate a contact with white social and industrial life," and this general cause falls into four main categories: (a) Labor systems; (b) disease; (c) the unrestricted sale of alcohol; (d) sexual irregularities.

Just as the main cause of depopulation has been a too intimate contact with white industrialism, so has it been established that the screening off of native races from this contact in the early stages of development has led to increased productivity, happiness, and prosperity. Not only prosperity to the native inhabitants, but to white industry outside these areas, for the surplus laboring population freely overflows its borders to the assistance of white enterprise. The

most complete illustration of this is Basutoland, where, within a century, the Basutos have increased from 40,000 to 400,000, while the annual outflow of laboring population is no less than 70,000 men, who assist the white man in garnering the wealth of South Africa.

The time has surely come when the white colonizing nations should agree to set aside an area in each colony or protectorate for the exclusive use of the native inhabitants.

The just claims of the child races of the world must be considered once again by a European and American Congress on Native Affairs, and peace terms must at least include a definite pledge to such congress.

Significance of the Word "Poilu"

By Maurice Barrès

Member of the French Academy

The word "poulu," meaning bristly, woolly, hairy, as applied to animals, has come into jocular and even serious use throughout France to designate the more or less unshorn French heroes in the trenches. An interesting comment on it from an eminent pen is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

POILU is a word that only half pleases. It pleases because it designates those whom all France loves and admires, but it seems not to respect them enough; it has a touch of the animal. Besides, the word was not born of this war. It has long been in use in and around French barracks. It was one of those thousands of words that live a precarious life in the margins of dictionaries. Littré writes: "Poileux, an old term of contempt." It was Balzac (the discovery is not mine) who, in 1832, in "The Country Doctor," rehabilitated these two syllables, and, for the first time, seems to have given them the generous, vigorous, and cordial sense that we see in them today. He used the word once, then let it drop and thought of it no more.

It lacks dignity. To my taste it belittles those whom it is meant to laud and serve. A hero can hardly be expressed by this brazen-faced and slanderous epithet. And yet, since it has taken root in

our battlefields now for more than a year, one hesitates to speak ill of this word, in which so many admirable acts are somehow visible. It is winning its historic titles. At certain moments when we meet it we are compelled to admire it. When the time comes to complete the article in Littré devoted to Poileux or Poilu, and to add to the old injurious sense the new meaning of today, the lexicographer will have superb texts to cite by way of example.

Here is one so beautiful that I cannot resist the impulse to pass it along. Listen to this order of the day addressed by a commander to his infantrymen. A Lorraine soldier gave it to me, and you will see in it how the word "poilu" may yet become one of the most beautiful in the French language:

"For the third time since the beginning of the campaign the —th Battalion has just covered itself with glory. Though harassed by the fatigue of six consecutive days and nights of sentry

duty, labor, and fighting, though a trifle weakened in your confidence by the check suffered in the first attack, you promptly got hold of yourselves upon discovering suddenly a good course to follow in order to avoid the flank fire of the machine guns, and especially by following step by step, shot by shot, the efficient preparatory bombardment of our artillery. Suddenly sure of success, you rushed forth together out of the trenches at the signal of your commander, behind your officers and section chiefs, leaped like lions, and in less than four seconds reached the enemy trench and swooped into it like an eagle on its prey; but the Barbarians, frightened by the vigor and suddenness of your attack, fled aghast without trying to make the least resistance. As at Saint-Leon, as at Lille, you proved that you were at all times a picked troop capable still of furnishing, after ten months of ceaseless and terrible war, a resistless attack worthy of

your ancestors, the heroes of Sidi-Brahim and Sebastopol, but especially capable of conquering the stubborn resistance of the detested Boche and hurling him "heels over head." With Poilus like you, my dear friends, victory is near and certain."

There can be no doubt that here the word "poilu" is magnificent in its weight, its freedom, and compels us to admire its savage nudity. Presented in such a sweep of thought, it is full of force and honor. It is true, bold, and creates an image; it is a soldier of Géricault, and one would be petty, indeed, to take offense at it.

How are words born? Spontaneously, by sheer genius. This one is admirable in its picturesqueness, but that is all. Its fault is that it paints only the outside of such a being as the soldier of 1916, in whom we venerate a sublime morality and the highest spirit of sacrifice.

Prince von Bülow Foresees an Era of Hatred and Vindictiveness

German and English newspapers have given much space to the preface of Prince von Bülow's book, "Deutsche Politik," in which he says that "Hass und Rachegefühl" will influence international relations for many years to come, and that Germany must protect itself from this hatred. He continues:

This war is a national war not only for us Germans; it has become one also for the English, the French, and the Russians, and national hate once kindled and sealed with blood will remain alive until it is replaced by a national passion directed otherwise.

The only means of protection in future against the enmity and against the renewed and the new lust for revenge in the west, in the east, and on the other side of the North Sea on which Germany can rely is her own augmented strength. Our opponents also will strengthen their armament on land and on the sea; we, however, must make ourselves stronger on our frontiers and on our coast, and make ourselves more unassailable than we were at the beginning of this war. We must do this; not, as our enemies allege, because we are striving for world supremacy, but in order that we may hold our own.

The outcome of this war must not be a negative one for us, it must be a positive one. It is not enough that we are not crushed, not reduced in size, or dismembered, and not despoiled; we must have a plus, in the form of real securities and guarantees as indemnification for unheard-of exertions and sufferings and as pledges for the future. In view of the feelings against us that this war will leave behind it a mere re-establishment of the status quo ante bellum would not be a gain for Germany, but a loss. We shall be able to say with a good conscience that our whole situation has been improved by the war only if the resulting strengthening of our political, economic, and military position considerably outweighs the animosity kindled by the war.



HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

An Episode in No Man's Land

By Pierre Loti

Captain in the French Navy and Famous Academician

THIS is the first time that I have found myself so absolutely and infinitely alone, in the midst of this stage setting of immense desolation, which to-day, as it chances, is sparkling with light, and is only the more mournful for that. Until I reach the little wood to which an errand of duty calls me I need think of nothing; I need not occupy myself with anything; I need not avoid the shells, which would not give me time to avoid them, nor even choose the spot to set my foot down, since it sinks in everywhere equally. And so it comes that I drift back again to the mood of former days, to my mood of mind before the war, and all these things to which I have grown used I see and judge as though they were new.

Only a score of months ago who would have imagined such a face of things? Thus, these countless excavations—white, because the soil of this region is white—excavations that stretch on all sides and which mark across the wilderness multitudes of zebra-tracings—is it possible that they mark out the only paths along which our soldiers of France can move today with a sort of half security? * * * Little sunken ways, some of them full of curves, some of them straight, which have been named "guts," and which we have had to multiply, to multiply to such a point that the earth is furrowed by them to infinity! What an enormous sum of toil they represent, these mole paths, lying in a network over hundreds of leagues! If we add the trenches, the shelter caves, all these catacombs that plunge down into the hearts of the hills, one's mind stops dead before such a total of excavation, that might seem the work of centuries.

And these things that look like fishing nets stretched on all sides. If one were not informed in advance and ac-

customed to them, could one divine what they can possibly be? You might think that gigantic spiders had been spinning their webs among these myriads of posts, sometimes planted in straight lines, sometimes forming circles or half moons, tracing across the wide expanse designs that must be cabalistic in order better to ensnare and envelop the Barbarians. And besides they have terribly reinforced them, multiplying them twice, nay, ten times, since my last passage, these stake nets, and our web-spinning soldiers have had to make among them turnings and passages, with the enormous reels of barbed wire which they carry under their arms.

But there is one thing that you can understand at the first glance, and which adds to the grim horror of the whole scene, and that is the inclosures sprinkled here and there, the wooden fences that shut in closely packed groups of poor little burial crosses, made of two pieces of wood. That you can tell at once, alas! and see exactly what it is! Here they lie, therefore, under the thunder of the big guns, as though the battle was not yet finished for them, our dear departed ones, our unknown, magnificent heroes—whom even those who weep for them cannot now come nigh, because death is passing ceaselessly in the air above their silent little gatherings.

Ah! To complete the unreality of it all, here comes a black bird of gigantic wing-stretch, a monster of the apocalypse, that flits past noisily high above me. He flies on toward France, seeking doubtless the more sheltered region where women and children begin to be found, with the hope of slaughtering some of them.

I walk on, if one call it walking, this wearisome and inexorable process of plunging through the mud. And finally

I arrive at the little grove of trees where we are to meet. I am glad of it, for my helmet and cloak had become a heavy burden under this unexpectedly burning sun. It happens that I am the first to arrive; the officer whom I have summoned—to discuss new defense works, new lines of stake nets, new burrows—is without doubt that blue outline making its way hither, but he is still distant, and I have still a few moments to continue my meditation of the way hither before it is time to become once more concentrated and exact. It is clear that the place is not left entirely alone, for these poor, half-stripped branches offer no more resistance than mere sheets of paper to the huge humming beetles that pass through them from time to time; but all the same a little wood like this keeps you company, shuts you in, spreads something of illusion about you.

I am on a bit of rising ground, from which I look down on all the terrible landscape, the succession of monotonous hillocks zebra-streaked by whitish "guts," and the few trees disheveled by shrapnel bullets. In the further distances these intertwined wires, stretched in all directions, sparkle in the sun, somewhat like "the Virgin's threads," which spread over the meadows in Spring. And on all sides the detonations of artillery keep up their accustomed rumble, which goes on unceasingly here, night and day, like the roar of the ocean against the cliffs.

Ah! the huge bird has found some one to speak to in the air! I see it all at once assailed by a host of those little tufts of white cotton—bursting shrapnel—which look so innocent, but which are so perilous for birds of its breed. It turns about hastily; its crimes are put off for another time.

From behind a nearby rising ground come forth a group of men in blue, who will reach me before the officer who is coming over there. It is the chance one, the one among thousands of these little processions which one meets incessantly, alas! along the battle front, and which form, so to speak, part of the stage setting. At its head four soldiers are carrying a stretcher, and others are following, to relieve them. Attracted also by

the illusory protection of the branches, they stop instinctively at the entrance of the little wood to take breath and change shoulders. They come from the first-line trenches, which are three or four kilometers away, and are carrying a "gravely wounded" man to an underground hospital, which is some quarter of an hour away. They also had not foreseen this vicious sun that scorches one's head; they are wearing their helmets and cloaks, and they feel the weight of them as much as that of the precious load which they take such pains to carry steadily; more, they drag along, on each foot, a thick shell of sticky mud which gives them feet like elephants, and the sweat runs in big drops over their fine, tired faces.

"What is the matter with your wounded man?" I ask in a low voice.

In still lower voices they answer me: "He is ripped up the belly—oh! the trench surgeon told us that * * *." They finish the sentence only with a shake of the head, but I understand. For the rest, he has not stirred. His poor hand remains pressed to his brow and his eyes, doubtless to protect them against the baking sun, and I ask: "Why did you not cover his face?" "We did put a handkerchief over it, Colonel, but he took it away; he said he would rather have it like that, so that he can still see something between his fingers."

Ah! but the two last men, besides sweat, have broad smears of blood across their faces and running down their necks. "Oh, nothing much the matter with us, Colonel!" they tell me; "we got that as we came along. We started to carry him along the 'guts,' but it shook him too much; so we came on outside in the open." Poor, admirable dreamer! To save their wounded man from jolting they have risked all their lives! Two or three of these huge death beetles which ceaselessly hum past have smashed themselves near them against the stones and have sprinkled them with their fragments; the Germans do not take the trouble to shoot at a single passerby like myself, but a group, and especially a litter, is irresistible for them. Of the two who are streaming with blood, one is, perhaps,

not much the worse, but the other has an ear torn off, and hanging only by a shred of skin.

"You must get your wound dressed by the surgeon immediately, my friend," I say to him.

"Yes, Colonel, we are on our way there to the hospital. It suits exactly."

That is the only thing that has occurred to him to say in complaint: "It suits exactly." And he says it with such a fine, quiet smile, while thanking me for taking an interest in him.

I hesitate to go closer to look at their gravely wounded man, who has remained without stirring, for fear I might disturb his last thoughts. I do go close to him, however, very gently, because they are going to carry him away.

Ah! He is a mere lad! A village boy; one can guess that at once by his bronzed cheeks, which have just begun to grow pale. The sun, as he wishes, floods his handsome 20-year-old face, which is at the same time vigorous and candid, and his hand is still held like a guard

before his eyes, which are set and seem no longer to perceive anything. They must have given him morphine to keep him from suffering too much. Humble child of our countryside, brief little life, what is he dreaming of, if he is still dreaming? Perhaps of his kerchiefed mamma, who wept happy tears every time she recognized his childish writing on an envelope from the front? Or is he dreaming of the farm garden that held his earliest years?

I see on his breast the handkerchief with which they tried to cover his face; it is of fine linen, embroidered with a Marquis's coronet—the coronet of one of his bearers. He had wanted "to go on seeing things," doubtless in his terror of the great night. But even this sun, which must dazzle him, will soon cease suddenly to be recognizable for him; to begin with, it will be the half-darkness of the hospital, and, immediately afterward, will begin for him the long inexorable night, in which no sun will ever dawn again.

The Heart of a Soldier

[The subjoined letter was written by Giosue Borsi to his mother, to be delivered only in case of his death. He died while leading his company to an assault on the Isonzo. The writer was a poet of reputation in his country, and the letter reveals his high literary attainments. The letter was shown by the mother to an Italian Senator, who recognized its unusual literary quality and a copy was sent to his friend in America, the Rev. Paschale Maltese, rector of a Catholic church at Van Nest, the Bronx, New York, by whom it was translated into English and communicated to CURRENT HISTORY. Giosue Carducci, the winner of the Noble Prize for poetry, stood as godfather of the infant Borsi at his baptism, hence his name Giosue; his poetry gave high promise of winning him also international fame]

MOTHER: This letter, which you will receive only in case that I should fall in this battle, I am writing in an advanced trench, where I have been since last night, with my soldiers, in expectation of the order to cross the river and move to the attack.

I am calm, perfectly serene, and firmly resolved to do my duty in full and to the last, like a brave and good soldier, confident to the utmost of our final un-failing victory; although I am not equally sure that I will live to see it. But this uncertainty does not trouble me in the least, nor has it any terror for me. I am happy in offering my life to my country; I am proud to spend it for so noble a

purpose, and I know not how to thank Divine Providence for the opportunity—which I deem an honor—afforded me, on this fulgent autumnal day, in the midst of this enchanting valley of our Julian Venetia, while I am in the prime of life, in the fulness of my physical and mental powers, to fight in this holy war for liberty and justice. All is propitious to me, all is favorable to die a beautiful and glorious death; the weather, the place, the season, the opportunity, the age. A better end could not have crowned my life, and I feel the pleasure to have made a good and generous use of it. Do not grieve over my death, mother, or else you will offend my good fortune. Do not

weep, mother, for it was written in Heaven that I should die. Do not mourn, mother, or else you would regret my happiness. I am not to be mourned but envied.

THE SACRIFICE

You know the ineffable hopes that give me comfort because they are the very same hopes in which you also have placed all that is dear to you. When you shall read these words of mine, I will be free, unfettered and in a safe place, quite far from the miseries of this world. My struggle will be finished and I shall be peaceful; my daily death shall have come to an end, and I shall have reached the place on high, to the life without end. I shall be face to face with the Judge whom I have greatly feared, with the Lord whom I have greatly loved:

Think of it, mother dear, when you shall read these words. I shall view you from Heaven, side by side with our dear ones, with father, with my dear Laura, with Dino, our guardian angel. We shall be in the regions above, all united to celebrate your arrival, to watch over you and over Gino, to prepare for you, with our prayers, the place of your everlasting glory. Should not this thought alone be sufficient to dry your tears and to fill you with unspeakable joy?

No, no, weep not, my dear and saintly mother, and be brave, as you have always been. Should the pleasure of having offered to our adored Italy, this glorious land, this land predestined by God, should the pleasure of having offered the sacrifice of the life of one of your sons be not sufficient for you, remember, nevertheless, that you must not rebel, not even for one instant, against the divinely wise and divinely loving decrees of our Lord. If He wanted to reserve me for other work, He could have permitted me to survive. Since He has called me to Himself, it is a sign that such was the best thing that could have happened and the best thing for me. He knows what He is doing, and it remains for us to bow and to adore, accepting with trustful joy His most exalted will.

HOLY BATTLES

I do not bemoan life. I have tasted of all its insane infatuations and have

withdrawn with an insurmountable weariness and disgust.

Like a young prodigal son, after so many wanderings, having returned to the house of the father, I could have hoped now, and reasonably so, to taste of the good joys, the joys of duty well performed, of the good practiced and preached, the joys born of art, of labor, of charity, of a fruitful mind.

Side by side with the good, beautiful girl whom you know and esteem, and whom I have always loved, always so tenderly, timidly, and faithfully loved, even in the midst of my errors and blame-worthy blunders, I could have hoped to make a good husband and a good father.

In the world there are so many battles to fight, for love, for justice, for liberty, for the faith, and for a time I must confess, I presumptuously believed myself predestined and assigned to the arduous and terrible task of winning one or another of these battles.

All this was, I admit, beautiful, flattering, desirable, but it cannot compare with my present lot. This is the very truth, and indeed I cannot say whether I would really be satisfied if the writing of this letter would have been in vain. Life is sad; it is a painful and annoying duty, a long exile in the uncertainty of our own lot. In order that life might go quickly in accordance with my wishes, and without leaving me in a thousand disappointments, there would be need of many very rare and difficult occurrences. Besides, I am and I feel weak, I have not the least confidence in myself. The whole battle against the ingratitude and wickedness of the world would not have frightened me as much as the battle against myself. It is better, therefore, dear Mother, as it has happened. The Lord, in His wise and infinite goodness has reserved for me just the destiny that was fit for me; a destiny that is easy, sweet, honorable, rapid; to die in battle for one's country.

With this beautiful and praiseworthy past, fulfilling the most desired of all duties as a good citizen toward the land that gave him birth, I retire in the midst of the tears of all those that loved me, from a life toward which I felt weary

and disgusted. I leave the failings of life, I leave sin, I leave the sad and afflicted spectacle of the small and momentary triumphs of evil over good. I leave to my humble body the weight of all my chains and I fly away, free, free in the end, to the Heavens above, where resides our Father, to the Heavens above where always His holy will is done. Just imagine, dear Mother, with what joy I will receive from His hands even the chastisements that His justice will impose on account of my sins. He, Himself, has paid all these chastisements by His superabundant merits, a God of mercy and of love, redeeming me with His precious blood, living and dying here below for my sake. Only through His grace, only through Jesus Christ, could I have succeeded that my sins be not my eternal death. He has seen the tears of my sorrow, He has pardoned me through the mouth of His spotless spouse, the Church. I do sincerely hope that the Madonna, so loving and kind toward us, will assist me with her powerful help, in the instant when all my eternity will be decided.

FORGIVENESS

And as I am about to speak of forgiveness, dear Mother, I have only one thing to say with all simplicity. Forgive me. Forgive me all the sorrows that I have caused you; all the agonies that you have suffered on my account, every time I have been ungrateful, stubborn, forgetful, disobedient toward you. Forgive me, if by neglect and inexperience I have failed to render your life more comfortable and tranquil, since the day when my father by his premature death intrusted you to my care. Now I understand well the many wrongs I have been guilty of toward you and I feel all the remorse and cruel anguish now that dying I have to intrust you to the providence of the Lord. Forgive me lastly, this final sorrow that I have inflicted upon you, perhaps not without stubborn and cruel inconsideration on my part, in giving up my life voluntarily for my country, fascinated by the attractions of this beautiful lot. Forgive me also if I have not sufficiently recognized and tried to compensate the incomparable nobility

of your soul, of your heart, so immense and sublime, Mother truly perfect and exemplary, to whom I owe all that I am and the least good I have done in this world.

CHRISTIAN COURAGE

I have so many things to say to you that a book could hardly contain them. Nothing else, therefore, is left me but to recommend you to our Gino, on whose goodness, on whose integrity, and on whose strength of will, I put all my trust. Tell him in my name to serve willingly our country, as long as she will have need of him, to serve her with abnegation, with ardor, with enthusiasm, even unto death, should that be necessary. Should he be destined to live a long and struggling life, let him be equal to it with serenity, with firmness, with indomitable love for justice and honesty, trusting always in the triumph of good with God's grace. Let him be a good husband and a good father, let him raise up his children in the love of God, respect for the Church, fidelity toward our King, to the observance of the law, to scrupulous devotion to our beloved country. Think often of us here above, speak of us among yourselves, remember us and love us as when we were alive because we shall be always with you.

Pray often for me, for I am in need of it. Be courageous in the trials of life as you have always been strong and energetic in the midst of the tempest of your earthly career, continue to be humble, pious, charitable, so that the peace of God may always be with you.

GOOD-BYE

Good-bye, Mother, Good-bye, Gino, my dear and my beloved. I embrace you with all the ardor of my immense love, which has increased a hundred-fold during my absence in the midst of the dangers and hardships of the war. Here, far away from the world, always with the image of imminent death, I have felt how strong are the ties that bind us to this world, how mankind is in need of mutual love, of faith in each other, of discipline, of harmony, of unity, what necessary and sacred things are the fatherland, the home, the family; how

blameworthy is the person who renounces these, who betrays and oppresses them.

Love and freedom for all, this is the ideal for which it is a pleasure to offer one's life. May God cause our sacrifice

to be fruitful, may He take pity upon mankind, forgive and forget their offenses, and give them peace; then, O dear Mother, we shall not have died in vain. Just one more tender kiss.

Story of a Russian War Prisoner

A Remarkable Experience

This very unusual narrative, with its light on Austrian prison conditions, appeared in the *Russkoe Slovo*, Moscow, June 30, 1916. It was written by a petty officer of the Russian Army at the request of the paper's Paris correspondent. The correspondent tells of a party of thirty Russians who had recently arrived in Paris from Italy, all war prisoners from Austria, who had managed at different times to slip through the lines on the Italian front.

I WAS taken prisoner by the Magyars in the Carpathians. We were driven to the station of Kashitzi, where we found more Russians, I don't know how many, and were placed in dirty cars, from which cattle had just been removed. The stench was terrible, the crowd unthinkable. The doors were locked all the time. * * * We traveled two days; on the third we arrived in a camp called Lintz. What did I see in this camp? Filthy barracks, naked bunks on which our soldiers were scattered, pale, exhausted, hungry, nearly all barefoot or in wooden clogs. Many were suffering from inflamed feet and exhaustion. I don't know how they call it in medicine, but to my mind it was the fever of starvation. One gets yellow, trembles incessantly, longs for food. * * *

The prisoners were fed very poorly, mainly with turnips, beans, and peas.

Once a soldier decided to complain to Francis Joseph or Wilhelm. He went up to an electric pole, formed his fingers so that it looked as if he were speaking into a telephone horn, and shouted, "Hello, Germans, give us some more bread!" He called and knocked with his fists for some time, but, of course, received no reply. Many soldiers made fun of him at first, but others began to look for a way to complain against such treatment of war prisoners. Meanwhile the bread became poorer and poorer in quality and less in quantity. The meals consisted of beans, and in addition there were bugs in the beans. We got meat

three times a week, the other days we got herring.

On the 24th of May, 1915, a company was recruited among us to be sent away to do some "agricultural" work. The soldiers would not believe it, claiming that peace was near. I was in the first contingent. Our train was passing between mountains covered with evergreen. Every now and then it would shoot through tunnels. This surprised me greatly. I understood that we were not going in the direction of Russia. And so it was. We finally arrived in a place, where the thousand of us were quartered in one building. We at once began to be treated differently, much more insolently and severely. On the 27th we were driven to the fields to work. We wondered what the agricultural labor we were to do could be. We were supplied with shovels and pick-axes, led to a wood on a hill some 1,600 meters high, mustered into rows, and ordered to dig a ditch—that is what the Germans called it—but we called it otherwise. It became clear that we were to dig trenches.

The first day passed in idleness and grumbling. All unanimously refused to work, even if we had to pay with our lives for it.

We waited for the following morning. The guards came to take us out to work, but we said that we would not dig trenches. Then the Colonel came and asked in Russian: "Why don't you want to work?" We all answered: "This work is against the law. You are violat-

ing the European laws and breaking all agreements by forcing us to construct defensive lines for you." The Colonel said: "Look out, don't resist, or we will shoot every one of you. We don't care now for the laws to which you point us. All Europe is at war now—this is no time for laws. If you don't go to work, I will have you shot."

We all exclaimed: "We won't. Shoot us, but we will not do the work."

All of the 28th we were in our yard. No food was given us. Thus we were held for three days without food. On the fourth day a company of cadets arrived. Leading them was the executioner, with stripes on his sleeves. They loaded their rifles, holding them ready. Then the Colonel asked: "Who will go to work?" The crowd answered "No!" The Colonel said: "I am sorry for you, boys, you don't understand that you are resisting in vain." Suddenly the crowd was split into two. Those who agreed to work were given dinner and put to work. The other half, in which I was included, was led away to another yard. From among us ten were picked out and taken away—we knew not where. We were ordered to lie on the ground with our faces downward, and not to turn our heads.

On June 2 there remained only fifty men who still refused to work, suffering hunger for the sixth day. The ten soldiers who were daily taken away from us were subjected to, besides hunger, suspense in the air from rings, with their hands tied to their backs. In about thirty minutes one would lose consciousness, and then he would be taken down to the ground. After he recovered his senses he would be asked if he agreed to work. What could one answer? To say "I refuse" meant another ordeal. He would begin to cry and agree to work.

The following day our heroes were led out into the open, ten were selected from our midst, arranged in a line facing the rest of us, and told that they would be shot immediately. Of the remainder half were to be shot in the evening, the other half the following morning. Their graves had been dug by the ten heroes themselves. I have not the slightest hesitancy in calling them so.

Then a space was cleared, and Ivan Tistchenko, Feodor Lupin, Ivan Katayev, and Philip Kulikov were ordered forward. The first was Ivan Tistchenko. An officer and four cadets approached him. The officer asked him if he would agree to work. He answered "No," and crossed himself. His eyes were bound with a white kerchief, and these pitiless and unjust cadets fired at the order of the officer. Two bullets pierced his head and two his breast, and the brave fellow fell to the wet ground noiselessly and peacefully.

In the same manner the second, third, and fourth were treated. When the fifth was led forward he also refused to work, and they already had his eyes bound. But some one in the crowd exclaimed: "Halt—don't fire!" And the comrades asked for his life, all agreeing to go to work. And I never learned the identity of the chap who saved that fellow's life and many other lives.

We remained in that camp for two and a half months. Then we were removed closer to the front, to a locality inhabited by Italians. Our soldiers there would inquire from the Italian laborers, to whom the guards paid no attention, where the boundary lay. We learned the direction and the distance to the boundary, which was about thirty miles. It was even nearer to the Italian front. And so on Sept. 29 a comrade and I decided to escape.

(Some particulars of the escape have been deleted by the Russian censor.)

Toward dawn we emerged from the thick of the pine trees and bushes, and descended to the base of the mountain. At our feet was a stream, about fifty feet wide, rapid, and full of rocks. Here we made good use of our training in gymnastics. My comrade, a tall fellow, was light on his feet. He jumped like a squirrel from rock to rock. To me it seemed that I would slip and be swept away by the current. My comrade was already on the opposite shore when I, making my last jump, failed to gain the beach. Fortunately he was quick to stretch out to me his long stick, and drew me out of the water as wet as a lobster.

We walked along the stream all day

without encountering anybody. At the end of the day we came in sight of a tiny village, but there were no people nor soldiers to be seen. Only near one house smoke was rising. We decided to approach stealthily and investigate. We saw an old woman at the fire, bending over a kettle of sweet corn. We surmised that the inhabitants of the village must have deserted it because of its proximity to the front, while the old woman refused to abandon her home.

We approached her and confessed that we were Russian soldiers. She thought long. What "Russian" meant she did not know, but she understood the meaning of the word "soldiers." She presented us with some of her sweet corn and pointed out the way to the Italian front.

It was six in the evening when we came upon an advanced Italian post. The sentinel stopped us with a "Halt!" He was pointing his rifle at us, showing that he would shoot if we advanced. He called for his superior. We were searched and taken into their quarters. An officer soon came in. Through an interpreter he asked us for our names, regiments, and army branches. He gave each of us a package of cigarettes.

Only then I understood that we were received as guests. When the officer gave us the cigarettes, saying "Bravo, Russi!" the soldiers began showering us with cigarettes, chocolate, and confetti. One soldier guessed better than the rest; he brought us a dish of soup, meat, and a bottle of wine. After this there was a regular wedding feast. Each of the soldiers brought something to eat, cheese, butter, sardines. We, knowing our condition, abstained from eating too much. Thinking that on the following day we would have to suffer hunger again, we put all the presents into a bag presented

us by one of the Italians. Thus we accumulated about fifteen pounds of bread, cheese, butter, chocolate, lard, and boiled beef. Then the Italians noticed that our clothes were wet, and began presenting us with underwear and clothing, so that we soon changed our appearance. We were anxious to converse with them. The interpreter, who spoke Russian imperfectly, had a great deal of work. Just the same, I will never in my life forget his first words in Russian, as he asked us, by order of the officer: "Who are you—brothers?" In tears we answered him that we were Russian officers escaped from captivity; he asked it so kindly, and we were infinitely gladdened by his sweet words.

The following day we were taken to the corps headquarters. Officers would come in, shake hands—some even kissed us, which embarrassed us. Unwittingly tears would come to our eyes when we recalled our life in the prison camp and this sudden change for the better.

The General also visited us. He pressed our hands, gave each of us a package of cigarettes, and presented us with 10 lire in gold. We wanted to decline the money, but the interpreter said, "Take," and we did.

We lived for about a month in Italy. What a noble people!—soldiers, civilians, and officers. It is impossible to describe! At every station, (on the way to France,) the public would surround us, all anxious to do us some favors, all showing their deep affection for the Russians. Once a Sister of Mercy was distributing coffee to our party as the train began to move. She ran along till the train gained full speed, desiring not to leave some of us without coffee. Our soldiers would wonder at the affection of the entire Italian people for the Russians, and would shout incessantly: "Viva Italia! Viva Italia!"



German Flame Throwers in Action

By an Eyewitness

A French correspondent on the Somme front obtained this glimpse of one of the most thoroughly "modern" horrors of war from an injured soldier in a first-aid station near the advanced trenches:

IT was decided to withdraw us to a better position some fifty yards in the rear. Then the Captain called for some one to stay behind to watch and signal the enemy's movements. That's my regular job, so I fixed myself about fifteen feet up in a cleft of a big tree and seized a telephone which was connected with the nearest battery. From there I could see a German trench at the edge of a little wood about eighty yards from the trench my comrades had vacated.

For nearly an hour nothing happened. Occasionally I noticed heads peering from the Boche trench trying to see into the empty trench which was hidden from them by a slight swelling of the ground just before it. They would have been a splendid mark for a sniper, but I had other work this time. Suddenly a group of about forty Boches crept forward from the wood, rapidly followed by the best part of a company. I telephoned: "Enemy advancing, led by a detachment of 'flamenwerfer,'" for I had recognized the devilish apparatus carried by the foremost group. When the latter were about thirty feet from the empty trench they halted in a hollow just below the rise in the ground, and then, with ap-

palling suddenness, a dozen jets of white and yellow flames darted up to fall plumb into the trench. The dense smoke hid the rest of the Germans, and almost choked me, but, thanks to my mask, I was able to gasp information to the battery.

It was then I had a glimpse of what hell must be like. Our gunners had the range to an inch, and a torrent of shells burst right among the fire-throwers. Great sheets of flame sprang up, one jet from an exploding container just grazing me, burning my clothes and scorching my ribs rather badly. But it was impossible to escape. The ground was a sea of fire. In the midst of it the Germans, like living torches, were dying horribly. One man spun around like a top, not even trying to run away until he fell in a pool of flame. Others rolled on the ground, but the blazing liquid ran around them everywhere, and I could smell the horrible odor of burning flesh.

I don't think any fire-throwers escaped. Their screams, heard despite the cannonade and rifle fire, seemed to continue terribly long. The company behind them appeared panicstricken. As the smoke lifted I saw them running back to the wood, and our mitrailleuses did severe execution. I was nearly fainting with the fumes and pain from my burns. The Captain sent a patrol, which found me hanging limply in the tree fork. They had trouble getting me, but luckily the Germans were too staggered to interfere.

The Gas Attack

By Eugene Szatmari

Lieutenant in the Austrian Army

This description of a battle between Austrians and Russians, in which gas played a leading part, was written by an Austrian officer on the southeastern front.

THE night is starlight, not pitch dark, as in the dreary month of January, but of a strange, weird, dark blue, and the shadows are long, scattered, and charming. This lukewarm night is rest-

less. Bright flashes from field rockets rip the dark blue velvet curtain asunder, and hardly has the glare died away, hardly have quiet, invisible caterpillars sewed the curtain together again, when

the shining finger of a searchlight begins to feel its way through the blue night. Rifles crack and cannon roar at us from the east. Since an early hour in the morning the guns have been thundering toward us from the north, and the lazy rattle of the distant drumfire penetrates with difficulty through the trees of the shot-torn forest. Now they have begun here, too. Heavy shells crash through the trees with deafening roars, severed branches fall slowly, but noisily, rifle bullets come whistling along and rattle through the leaves. My ten telephones hum and sing like mad. But my batteries are silent. We do not waste our shots in the air.

Now a rocket goes up. It goes high, very high, and sends down its colored stars in a crackling rain of fire. There is another, and still a third—and the cannon fire becomes still heavier, the shrapnel crashes like mad, and shell after shell whizzes toward us in a howling arch, to burst as it falls. We know what all this means, the sign that has just been made; short and sharp comes the message hissed over the telephone: "A gas attack!"

On comes the poison wave—we are armed for it. Gas masks to the front! In the twinkling of an eye we have transformed ourselves into masked robbers and are waiting in curiosity, braced for the battle with the unknown weapon, against the invisible, creeping, and, up to now, to us unknown enemy. What is it like, this gas?—and we await the coming wave almost with longing. Is it really coming after all?

It is coming. Something creeps into my eyes and I buckle my mask on again. So it is here, then, the sneaking enemy, the poison wave that we cannot destroy, the opponent wearing the cap of invisibility. Now it sweeps over us, overwhelms us; we are in its power, and our lives are dependent upon the potash tube that gives us air. We stand in the midst of its infected air, and its dragonlike breath toys with our clothing. What a frightful yet miserable enemy! The guns continue to roar in its neighborhood, and the charging enemy's cries of, "Hurri, hurri!" are smothered in the furious rattle of the

machine guns. They don't need any masks, nor do the cannon that are now spewing death in a hundred forms upon the enemy from the hidden depths of the forest, barking and howling like ever-faithful iron dogs. They are armed against the gas, for they need no air; and they stretch their bronze bodies out in the mad fire as they run back and forth on their carriages. What a mean weapon, what a wretched enemy is this invisible opponent!

I feel a strange weight on my chest. The air I am breathing is heavy and oppressive; I have to swallow at every breath I draw. The mask lies on my head like lead, and its big glass peep-holes make my eyes ache indescribably. I feel as if I stood in a leaden diving suit at the bottom of the sea, with the weight of the whole ocean upon me. Air! I must have air, and I loosen the straps of my mask, but a terrible shooting pain grips my temples, and instinctively I haul them tight again. With the telephone in my hand, with the leaden weight of the mask on my head, half unconscious, I shout orders into the instrument. The great glass eyes with which I am now looking bore dully into the roaring, rattling, flashing, glaringly convulsive night, the night that only an hour before was a quiet blue velvet curtain and that now has become a mad monster, spitting poison and death. I try to go to the telescope, and I step on something soft. I bend down. It is a dead mouse. It didn't have any mask. What a fearful opponent, this sneaking, invisible enemy!

I can stand it no longer. My temples thump like mad and I feel my blood course wildly through my veins. I tear apart the straps of the mask—and take a breath of pure, fresh, good air! There is a light breeze from the south. It has blown away the poisonous waves. The battle dies down; the rattle of shots begins to become weaker and the cannon are steadily becoming quieter. The flashing lights that pierced the night are extinguished. It becomes calmer. I breathe, breathe deeper, while once more the dark blue velvet curtain of the night slowly and softly settles down over us.

My Worst Experience

By a Man Who Stopped a Bullet

The writer of this vivid narrative, a British soldier, was wounded in Mesopotamia during an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amara, shortly before its fall.

I SLIPPED my left hand into my tunic and was surprised to feel the hot blood pouring out. Then it dawned on me that I had been hit, and pretty badly, too. My equipment was hurting me, so I took it off.

I felt very dizzy, and decided to try and get back as far as I could. I stood up, a very unwise thing to do, considering that I was about 150 yards from the Turkish trench and must have made an easy mark, but I was not hit again immediately. My legs gave way and I collapsed and lay flat for a time. I thought if I was not to bleed to death I must make an effort to put my field bandage in place. So with difficulty I pulled it from my tunic pocket. The outer covering came off easily, and I took out one of the packets, but could see no way to slit it open. Finally I gripped the edge of the packet in my teeth and tore at it with both hands till it opened. I put the pad on the wound, as near as I could, but had no means of keeping it there, so I staggered to my feet and ran on, keeping the pad in place with my left hand. I believe I covered another fifty yards when I dropped again and lay in a kind of stupor.

I was aroused by the almost continuous "krock" of bursting shrapnel. Shells were dropping right and left, and the air was full of moaning and screaming as the bullets flew by. I managed to get on my feet again, although the effort made the blood spurt out anew. The sodden pad had slipped down and a burning pain in the pit of my stomach caused me to double up in agony and slide on to my knees. I started crawling painfully along until I came to a small mound which would at least afford "head over." I crept behind it and lay in the only position I could, on my left side.

I passed my hand over myself to feel for a wound, but could not find one. The bullet had entered the small of my back

and lodged under my breast bone. Gradually the more intense pain passed away, leaving a not unpleasant sense of numbness over all my body.

The persistent calling of a man in pain brought me back to consciousness. The pitiless sun was blazing high in the heavens, and I felt hot and dry. Somebody was shouting "Fetch the stretcher-bearers, you fools; are you going to leave me here?" At first I felt very sorry for him, but soon wished he would stop, for I had a shocking headache. I judged it to be about midday, and thought that in another six hours I had a good chance of being brought in.

I was horrified to see that the water of the Suwaicha Marsh, which was on our right flank, had risen considerably, and I feared for any of our wounded who were further out on the right and unable to crawl away from the menace. The man who was shouting stopped, and everything was strangely calm and peaceful. I felt very happy and contented then, for as long as I kept quite still the pain was very dull, so I began singing and mumbling away in a quiet voice:

Where my caravan has rested
Flowers I'll strew thee on the grass.

I sang again and again, accompanied by a strange roaring in my chest. My caravan, I thought, had rested in some very unusual places, but none so unusual as this. And what was the use of talking about the grass in the desert of Mesopotamia, where there is nothing but the yellow earth, the blue sky, the hot sun, and dirty water?

There was a water bottle, equipment, and rifle lying close to my head, and I have a vague remembrance of a Sikh lying beside me for a time and then jumping up and running back. I slowly put my right arm up, caught the sling, and dragged the bottle nearer. I pulled the cork out somehow, and propped the

bottle against my face, with the neck to my lips, but was much upset to find I had not the strength to lift it up. Tears rolled down my cheeks after I had made two or three attempts, for I was very thirsty. I sang no more, as my throat was harsh and lumpy. So I lay staring at the yellow and blue till I lost consciousness once more.

This time I was roused by our own guns, and the sound was most comforting. "Giving 'em hell," I thought gleefully. They bombarded for about an hour, and then I slipped back into unconsciousness. It was getting dark when I came to again. A man was standing close to me, staring round the field. Somebody had put my sun helmet on my head. He came over to me. "Are the stretcher-bearers coming?" I asked, and he told me I was the next to be moved. It was not long before the bearers came, and they put the stretcher behind me. It was painful work getting on the stretcher, as I could not bear to have my body touched anywhere. However, it was managed at last, and I lay on my left side.

I suppose they went as gently as they could, but every step racked my body so much that I was nearly mad with pain. I cannot remember how far it was to the dressing station, but I remember passing through the artillery lines, where the guns had started again. I was put on a table, still on the stretcher, and was pleased to see our battalion doctor. "Well, laddie," he said, "how are you?" I replied that I was all right, but thought it "a bit thick" having to lie out there all day. Then he started cutting my clothes up, jersey and shirt as well. The dressing was by no means painful, but they left my hand untouched. I asked for something to drink, but the doctor said they would give me all I wanted at the field hospital.

Then began the worst experience I have ever been through. I was taken to a native springless mule cart, with a few sacks and blankets thrown in the bottom, and helped off the stretcher. The slight-

est movement caused great pain, but when the cart started bumping off I was in a positive inferno. I will not dwell on that four-mile journey from the marsh to the riverside; suffice it to say that what little breath I could summon was used in praying the driver to stop and leave me on the ground.

We came to the field hospital at last. The natives pushed a stretcher into the cart beside me, and one intelligent fellow nimbly jumped up and stood on my smashed hand. That was the last straw. I cursed him. When I stopped for want of breath they attempted to lift me on to the stretcher, but I begged them to stop. I tried to get on by myself, but could only manage to get my knees on and could not lift my body. The natives were chattering round the cart, so I started shouting "English, English. Fetch English," and at last a "Jock" came up to see what was wrong. I begged him to put his hand under my shoulder and help me on the stretcher, and in a moment I was lying on my stomach—not very comfortable on account of my labored breathing, but it was a rest for my left side. When my hand had been cleaned and dressed I was put on a mattress in a bell tent, where I tossed about in a high fever.

In the morning I was put in a paddleboat, and I slept till it started in the afternoon. We were taken ashore at Orah that night, and there received better attention. I was placed on the operating table and the bullet located and removed.

I will not describe my stay at Orah or the trip down the Tigris in the paddleboat to Bussorah. My hand was a fearful size and very painful. When the ship was moored in front of Bussorah Hospital I was very weak. Two orderlies helped me on to the stretcher, and I was carried down the gangway to the entrance of the hospital. A Major took particulars and consigned me to a veranda ward on the second floor. And so I was placed in one of the whitest, cleanest, and most comfortable beds in the world.

A Bayonet Charge in Picardy

By a British Army Captain

A racy bit of battle description, hot from the guns, as spoken by a wounded Captain who led one of the first rushes against the German trenches in the great British drive.

EH? Oh, just an ordinary front-line trench, you know; rather chipped about, of course, by the Boche heavies, you know; but—oh, hang it, you know what the ordinary fire trench looks like; along the north side of the Mametz Wood we were. What? Oh, yes, we were packed pretty close, of course, while we were waiting; only got there a little before midnight. My chaps were all in splendid heart, and keen as mustard to get the word "Go!" I was lucky; met my friend —, almost directly we got in.

The weather was jolly then; but there'd been a lot of rain, and the trench was in a beastly state. You know what it's like, after a lot of strafing, when you get heavy rains on the churned-up ground. It was like porridge with syrup over it; and we were all absolutely plastered—hair and mustaches and everything—before we'd been half an hour in the place. The Boche was crumping us pretty heavy all the time, but it didn't really matter, because, for some reason, he didn't seem to have got our range just right, and nearly all his big stuff was landing in front or behind, and giving us very little but the mud of it.

What did worry me a bit was his machine guns. His snipers, too, seemed fairly on the spot, though how the devil they could be, with our artillery as busy as it was, I can't think. But I know several of my sentries were laid out by rifle bullets. I particularly wanted to let the others get a smoke when they could, seeing we'd be there three or four hours; helps to keep 'em steady in the waiting, you know; but we had to be mighty careful about matches, the Boche being no more than a hundred yards off.

• Just before 3 I got my position, right in the middle of my company. We were going over at 3:25, you know. The trench was deep there, with a hell of a lot of mud and water; but there was no

set parapet left; just a gradual slope of muck, as though cartloads of it had been dropped from the sky by giants—spilt porridge. I wanted to be first out, if I could—good effect on the men, you know—but I couldn't trust myself in all that muck, so I'd collared a rum-case from —'s dugout, and was nursing the blooming thing, so that when the time came I could plant it in the mud and get a bit of a spring from that. Glad I did, too.

I passed the word along at a quarter past to be ready for my whistle; but it was all you could do to make a fellow hear by shouting in his ear. Our heavies were giving it lip then, I can tell you. I was in a devil of a stew lest some of my chaps should get over too soon. They kept wriggling up and forward in the mud. They were frightfully keen to get moving. I gathered from my Sergeant their one fear was that if we couldn't soon get going our artillery would have left no strafing for us to do. Little they knew their Boche, if they thought that.

I thought I could just make out our artillery lift, about a minute and half before the twenty-five, but I wouldn't swear to it. On the stroke of the twenty-five I got a good jump from my rum-box, and fell head first into a little pool—whizz-bang hole; I suppose; something small. It loosened two of my front teeth pretty much. I'd my whistle in my teeth, you see. But I blew like blazes directly I got my head up. Never made a sound. Whistle full of mud. But it didn't matter a bit. They all saw me take my dive, and a lot were in front of me when I got going. But I overhauled 'em, and got in front.

I believe we must have got nearly fifty yards without a casualty. But it's hard to say. It wasn't light, you know; just a glimmering kind of a grayness. Not easy to spot casualties. The row, of course, was deafening, and we were running like

lamplighters. You remember our practice stunts at home? Short rushes, and taking cover in folds of the ground. "Remember your file of direction, Sir; dress-in' by the right," and all that. Oh, the boys remembered it right enough. But, good Lord, it wasn't much like Salisbury Plain, you know. We were going hell for leather. You think you're going strong, and—Woosh! You've got your face deep in porridge. Fallen in a shell hole. You trip over some blame thing, and you turn a complete somersault, and you're on again, wondering where your second wind is. Lord, you haven't a notion whether you're hit or not.

I felt that smack on my left wrist, along with a dozen other smacks of one sort and another, but I didn't know it was a wound for an hour or more. All you thought about was trying to keep your rifle muzzle up, and I guess the fellows behind must 've thought a bit about not stickin' us with their bayonets more'n they could help. I was shouting —, the local name of the regiment, you know. The boys like it. But my Sergeant, who was close to me, was just yelling, "Down 'em, boys!" and "Stick 'em! Stick 'em!" for all he was worth.

My lot were bound for the second line, you see. My No. 12 Platoon, with thirteen of "D," were to look after cleaning up the Boche first line.

There was no real parapet left in that Boche front line. Their trench was just a sort of gash, a ragged crack in the porridge. Where I was, there was quite a bit of their wire left; but, do you know, one didn't feel it a bit. You can judge a bit from my rags what it was like. We went at it like fellows in a race charge the tape; and it didn't hurt us any more. Only thing that worried us was the porridge and the holes. Your feet sinking down make you feel you're crawling; making no headway. I wish I could have seen a bit better. It was all a muddy blur to me. But I made out a line of faces in the Boche ditch; and I know I gave a devil of a yell as we jumped for those faces. Lost my rifle there.

'Fraid I didn't stick my man, really, because my bayonet struck solid earth. I just smashed my fellow. We went down

into the muck together, and another chap trod on my neck for a moment. Makes you think quick, I tell you. I pulled that chap down on top of my other Boche, and just took one good look to make sure he was a Boche; and then I gave him two rounds from my revolver, with the barrel in his face. I think I killed the under one too, but can't be sure.

Next thing I knew we were scrambling on to the second line. It was in the wire of the second line that I got my knock-out; this shoulder and some splinters in my head. Yes; bomb. I was out of business, then; but as the light grew I could see my chaps having the time of their lives inside that second line. One of 'em hauled me in after a bit, and I got a drink of beer in a big Boche dugout down two separate flights of steps. My hat! That beer was good, though it was German. But, look here, I'm in No. 5 train, that that chap's calling. I must get ashore. Just want to tell you about that dugout of —'s in our own line, you know. It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and we'd got the Bazentin Wood all right then, when my orderly, who never got a scratch, was helping me back, making for our dressing station. We crawled into what had been a trench, and while we were taking a breather I sort of looked around, and made out a bit here and a bend there. Begad, it was the trench we started from.

Seems nothing, but you've no idea how odd it was to me; like dropping into a bit of England after about a century and a half in—in some special kind of hell, you know. Seemed so devilish odd that any mortal thing should be the same anywhere after that day. Not that it was the same, really. My rum case was in splinters, sticking up out of the porridge, and I found my map case there, torn off my belt as we got over at 3:25. "Won't be much left of that dugout," I thought, and I got my orderly to help me along to see. Couldn't find the blessed thing, anyhow. Went backward and forward three or four times. Then I spotted the head of a long trench stick that — had carried, sticking out through soft earth at the back of the trench. The orderly worked that stick about a little,

GENERAL LETCHITSKY



The Brilliant Russian Whose Army Drove the Austrians Out of Bukovina and Is Pushing on Toward the Heart of Galicia.

GENERAL NIVELLE



French Commander in Charge of the Defense of Verdun Since the Promotion of General Petain.

and the earth fell away. It was just loose, dry stuff blown in off the front part of the roof of the dugout, and blocking the little entrance. Came away at a touch, almost, and there was the little hole you got in by. I worried through, somehow. I was really curious to see. If you'll believe me, the inside of that dugout—it looked like a drawing room to me, after the outside, you know—it was just exactly the same as when we'd left it the night before. There was the fine stove we made the café-au-lait on, with a half-empty box of matches balanced on the side of it, and the last empty tin of the coffee stuff we'd used, with the

broken-handed spoon standing up in it, just as I'd left it; and —'s notebook lying open and face down on an air pillow in his bunk—most extraordinarily homey. There I was looking at his notebook, and his hold-all, and poor — dead. Yes, I'd seen his body. And the rats, too; the rats were cavorting around on the felt of the roof, happy as sandboys. They didn't know anything about the Push, I suppose. By the way, we found only dead rats in the Boche trenches. They say it was our gas. I don't know; but there were thousands of dead rats there, and millions of live fleas. Very live they were. I must get. Cheero.

Lament of the Messiah of Flanders

By Edward Stilgebauer

German Novelist

A powerful indictment of Germany's treatment of Belgium has appeared in the form of a story called "Love's Inferno," written by a German, Edward Stilgebauer, and published in an English translation in London. Both the book and the author are said to be barred out of Germany. We reproduce the passage containing the dying lament of the Belgian hero.

NURSE Irene was bending over an unconscious man. He seemed scarcely twenty-five years old, and wore the uniform of a Belgian Lieutenant. A bomb had torn away both legs. * * * From the first moment Nurse Irene had seen that suffering face it had aroused her attention. Why did it seem so strangely familiar?

Suddenly she remembered; it was Guido's Head of Christ. * * * This wonderful face took possession of all her senses and thoughts; the Messiah on the battlefield of Flanders!

She suddenly remembered that she had read the name of the most famous man in the whole of Belgium; that she was about to render the last assistance to a man who in spiritual importance was the first poet of his nation. Josua de Kruiz was leader of a school of young poets

who sang the incomparable beauty of Brabant and Flanders. When the invaders fell upon his almost defenseless Fatherland he laid down the lyre to take up the sword, and carried the flag in the forefront of danger. He who once celebrated his country in song offered his blood for her when the treacherous hyena sprang at her unguarded throat.

His delirium had reached a climax; recovery was no longer possible. The poet of Flanders and Brabant was dying. His wandering mind voiced itself in lyrical words; it seemed as though the feelings and thoughts of his whole life were concentrated in these last words; Nurse Irene listened and listened. While the doors of the hospital were thrown open and one wounded man after another was hurried into the waiting vehicles, she hung upon his lips.

Josua de Kruiz was repeating verses. Like the sound of the far-away bells of Vineta drowned in the ocean, his voice chimed on, and to Irene his words seemed to sum up in themselves the fate of Belgium:

"Thou wert strong as a young lion, my country; thy loins were of steel, and thy limbs like the wood of the cedar, and thy claws were hardened in fire.

But in the night came the foe, my country, and destroyed the strength of thy loins; he broke thy claws and made them blunt like the teeth of a saw, which the woodmen hang on a withered branch for rusted iron.

"Blossoms and garlands were thy fields, my country; gems of price thy cities; thy villages were like the roses which the Summer weaves into the green of his festal robe.

"But the foe came, my country; and on thy fields he sprinkled the blood of thy children, so that the verdant meadows became like the purple wine pressed out of the ripened grape; he burned thy cities, that they became black like the ruins of Nineveh and fallen Babel; he beat down thy villages so that no stone remained on another, and they were like a bare bush from which the November wind has stripped the last leaves.

"The bosoms of thy mothers and virgins, my land, were like armed towers; they were full of beauty and sweetness; the mother's breast gave abundance of milk, nourishment, life to thy sucklings.

"But the foe came, my country; he cut off the breasts of thy mothers and maidens, raising them in mockery on the point of his lance. And the sucklings, the hope of thy future, withered away in hunger and thirst and shame.

"Thou hadst churches and palaces, my country. Thy skillful men created a new world on the cloth embroidered with colored thoughts; thy halls were full of the wonders of past centuries.

"But the foe came, my country; and he tore down thy towers, and churches, and thy palaces; he rent the tapestries embroidered with colored thoughts.

"Thou wast robbed of thy manhood, my country; thou hast become emasculated among the lands of the earth. Oh, my country, my tears of blood fall on thee, for I love thee, my country.

"I love thee in the robe of shame that thou wearest; with the crown of thorns on thy head and the ashes on thy locks.

"Doubly and trebly do I love thee, for thy suffering, thy pains, for thy wrongs, which are more grievous than the wrongs of any other land.

"Thou wast small, but thou hast become the greatest among the small; thou art raised to the right hand of the God of our forefathers, to whom thou dost appeal to judge between thee and thy foe, my country.

"How fair thou wast, my country! the bride of my youth and the wife of my silent hope.

"Thy sons and thy daughters walked with the wreath of flowering Spring, the immortal crown of eternal fame on their heads, through the streets of thy cities on the sea.

"Thy ships brought thee garments worked with gold from the coasts of the Orient; pearls and emeralds from the rivers and mountains of Ind; amber and rich unguents from the ends of the East; the procession of thy ships on the seas was like the procession of the three Kings who followed the star. Oh, my country, wast thou not an immortal child, joyous and glad? Laughter-like music rang from thy flower-like bosom, and I heard thy laughter and kept it in my heart.

"Like a girl who adorns herself for the dance on the day of the high festival, thou didst bind on thy brow, radiant in the sunlight, the blue band of the seas, bringing blessing and refreshment.

"To thousands of strangers thou didst offer healing and strength, and they found rest and peace in thy arms.

"Oh, my beloved country, thrice stricken and battered by the treacherous foe. Faithlessness and treason and lies he desired to stamp, like a brand, on thy brow.

"But the crown of thorns which thou bearest and the blood that drips on thy forehead efface the brand.

"The stamp of disgrace marks the brow of thy enemies; they shall go about branded amongst all the nations of this earth for ever.

"For this shall be their punishment,' says the Lord thy God. 'I will mark them with the mark of Cain, so that they shall be known among all men, and all men shall turn from them. They shall be strangers on the earth wherever they go, and their track shall be avoided and accursed.'"

Britain's Tribute to Belgium

By Herbert H. Asquith

Prime Minister

Belgian exiles in London on July 21 celebrated the eighty-fifth anniversary of their country's independence. A Te Deum was sung at Westminster Cathedral in the morning, and in the afternoon a great gathering filled Albert Hall. The Belgian Minister presided, and, speaking in French, told again the story of the nation's heroism. Despite invasion, massacre, fire, intrigue, and temptation, Belgians had not bowed their heads before the enemy. Once more they repeated the solemn oath of their national hymn, prophetically written by Charles Rogier in 1830, a stanza of which appears below. Such was the occasion on which Mr. Asquith delivered this brief address.

*O Belgique, O mère chérie,
A toi nos coeurs, à toi nos bras,
A toi notre sang, O Patrie:
Nous le jurons, oui, tu vivras!*

IT is eighty-five years today since Prince Leopold ascended the throne of the new kingdom of Belgium, and four months later the neutrality of that kingdom was guaranteed by the Treaty of London, to which Austria and Prussia, with Russia and Great Britain, were parties. For more than eighty years Belgium lived at peace under the aegis of that international guarantee, developing her resources with almost unparalleled industry and ingenuity, and contributing her full share to the common stock of European culture. Two years ago she was subjected to one of those testing ordeals which try and prove the stuff of which nations are made. The peace of Europe was wantonly broken, and Belgium was asked to become the stepping-stone and therefore the accomplice of the aggressor. With a decisiveness and an enthusiasm which blotted out all party differences and fused in a moment the whole nation into perfect unity, she declined the insulting offer and announced that if need be she would support her refusal by force. A more heroic resolve has never been taken by a small State since in the ancient world Athens and Sparta met the challenge of Persia and the East.

The odds at the outset were tremendous, for let it be always remembered, let us never forget, that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was not merely—I might almost say not mainly—a military campaign. The facts have been laid bare

after exhaustive and impartial inquiry, and we now know that the military operations of Germany were deliberately supported by and in some cases subordinated to organized butchery and pillage of the civil population, to carefully planned massacres of men, women, and children, the sacking of industrious towns, the desecration and the wanton destruction of the most precious monuments of the piety and the artistic genius of the past. This infamous story, which takes us back to the spirit and the methods of the Thirty Years' War, will never be blotted from the memory of Belgium or from the escutcheon of Germany.

The Belgian Army resisted inch by inch the advance of overwhelming force with tenacity, with endurance, and with brilliant courage, for which, let me say, the two great western allies owe them an immeasurable debt of gratitude. With its heroic King still at its head, that army, after the lapse of nearly two years, is still in Belgium, and neither the King nor his gallant troops have quailed. They form an important link in the allied lines which hold Germany in check, well found in men and in munitions, and well able to cope with all the latest exigencies of modern war.

But I should like to pass for a moment from the Belgian Army to point out that not less admirable has been the spirit which continues to be shown by the civil population at home. Their patriotism has yielded neither to cajolery nor coercion, though it has been subjected to a full measure of both. As lately as last May—and I want, if I can, to bring this fact home to the knowledge of the whole

civilized world—the German Governor General issued a new decree to give increased stringency to the law against Belgian workmen who refused to work for their oppressors.

There can be no doubt of the object. It is to enable the German invaders to requisition Belgian labor for their own military needs. This new decree imposes heavier penalties on those who refuse, and it contains further the remarkable provision which I am about to read and which I hope will be recorded everywhere—"Instead of having recourse to penal prosecutions, the Governors and military commandants may order that recalcitrant workmen shall be led by force to the places where they are to work." In other words, they are to be treated as slaves. This is the climax of a policy which has already resorted without success to starvation and deportation to subdue the untamable spirit of these brave men who refuse to become accomplices in the spoliation and oppression of their native land.

We here in Great Britain are taking note of these things. We do not mean to forget them; we intend to exact reparation for them; and in the meanwhile the spectacle of the sufferings and sacrifice of these patient and stubborn victims of inhumanity and tyranny is exciting the sympathy not only of the Allies, but of the whole neutral world.

Your Excellency, in the name of the British people I beg to send through you a message on this memorable anniversary. Tell your compatriots that their example has inspired and stimulated the allied nations and armies. Tell them that we are watching their suffering with sympathy and their patience and courage with heartfelt admiration. Tell them finally that when the hour of deliverance comes, and come it will before long, it will be to us here in Great Britain a proud and ennobling memory that we have had our share in restoring to them the freedom and independence to which no nation in the history of the world has ever shown a more indisputable title.

An Utterance That Caused the Suppression of a Berlin Newspaper

The article which caused the suppression of the Berlin Tageblatt on Aug. 1 is supposed to be one contributed by Maximilian Harden of Die Zukunft, in which this passage occurred:

Declarations that this war was an inevitable war, that Germany was forced into it all unprepared and against her will cannot be supported except by extremist partisans. Undoubtedly the conflict could have been avoided had the Government desired to avoid it.

Undoubtedly, too, it would have been avoided had the Reichstag been taken into the confidence of our rulers instead of being presented merely with a recital of actions taken independently of it. Such action was taken in the matter of the proposals for a conference on the Austro-Serbian situation that Sir Edward Grey made. They were rejected before the Reichstag had ever heard them.

The Imperial Chancellor's statement in regard to the regrettable necessity of violating the neutrality of Belgium was also made after the event. There are among us many indeed who maintain that the Reichstag should have been consulted before issuing the declaration of war. If that was impracticable, at least advice should have been taken from men like Prince von Bülow, whose long experience and profound acquaintance with the ways of diplomacy might perhaps have discovered a way to stop the war chariot from dashing us into the abyss.

The Germans and Science

By Paul Deschanel

Member of the French Academy and former President of the Chamber of Deputies

Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the preface of "Les Allemands et la Science," a new volume by Gabriel Petit and Maurice Leudet.

WHEN the learned societies of France replied last year to the manifesto of the German intellectuals, Professor Gabriel Petit and M. Maurice Leudet began an inquiry among our most eminent scholars regarding the part that Germany has played in the development of the sciences. Their conclusion is that Germany is far from possessing the scientific superiority which she attributes to herself.

With certain exceptions the Germans have especially excelled in putting into use discoveries made by others. As Sir William Ramsay has said: "The greatest works of scientific thought are not due to scholars of the Teutonic race; even the precocious applications of science do not come from them."

On Nov. 3, 1914, the Academy of Sciences, associating itself with the protests of the other academies of the Institute of France, expressed itself thus:

"The Academy must recall attention to the fact that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations are the ones that have, in the last three centuries, produced most of the great discoveries in the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences, besides being the authors of the chief inventions of the nineteenth century. We protest, therefore, against the attempt to tie the intellectual future of Europe to the future of German science; against the assertion that the safety of European civilization depends upon the victory of German militarism, the Siamese twin of German Kultur."

Upon this declaration the following pages are a stirring commentary.

In the Teutonic conception, science, history, philosophy, religion, are national forces, like the army, diplomacy, credit. From this point of view science is no longer a universal and human thing, it belongs primarily to the service of the

State. As Germany assumes to dominate the other nations, "German science" ought to be superior to that of other peoples. In the words of Fustel de Coulanges, "the interest of Germany is the ultimate aim of these indefatigable seekers."

For us Frenchmen it is not a matter of minimizing Germany's share, it is a matter of not allowing our own to be taken. France should no longer be a dupe of her own disinterested spirit. To put the case to a test, to perform a labor of justice, and not only of patriotism--this was the object sought to be attained by Messrs. Petit and Leudet. In giving publicity to the words of more than twenty French scientists, including those most highly qualified, it is not only France that they mean to serve, but truth. France has no need of feints and artifices to mark her place.

To appreciate the part played by each nation we must distinguish between invention, genius, and the works that follow discovery: the application of it, or the scholastic, industrial, and commercial organization of the idea, or, again, publicity, propaganda.

It is in application and organization that Germany excels; it is in these that we should profit from her lessons and perfect our methods. But creation belongs above all to France; in the seventeenth century, Descartes and Pascal; in the eighteenth, Lavoisier, and in the nineteenth, Pasteur.

In 1907 M. G. Darboux, permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, drew the following picture of the scientific achievement of France in the first half of the nineteenth century:

"If there should appear some day a man who desires to write the complete history of our society, he will pause with patriotic joy over the period covering the

first half of the nineteenth century. The academy then gathered into its fold along with the scholars created by the slow labors of the monarchy all those who had been brought into prominence by the fruitful agitations of the Revolution and of the empire: Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, Legendre, Cauchy, Poissot, Sturm, in mathematics; Dupin, de Prony, Poncelet, Gambier, Séguier, in mechanics; Messier, Arago, Bouvard, Lalande, Delambre, in astronomy; Buache, Beautemps-Beaupré, de Freycinet, in geography; Biot, Ampère, Fourier, Poisson, Malus, Fresnel, Becquerel, Regnault, in physics; Berthollet, Gay-Lussac, Vauquelin, Dulong, Dumas, Bous-singault, Proust, Chevreul, Thénard, Balard, in chemistry; Haüy, Brongniart, Ramon, in mineralogy; Cuvier, de Jussieu, Lamarck, Mirbel Lacépède, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Milne-Edwards, in natural history; Larrey, Portal, Dupuytren, Pinel, Corvisart, Flourens, Magendie, Pelletain, in medicine and surgery, and as many more who will be a lasting honor to the French name."

In short, at no moment has any other nation presented to the world so many creators. Germany at that time had only one great name to point to—that of Gauss, the mathematician and astronomer of Göttingen. France has never denied that he was the equal of the most illustrious:

The savants cited by M. Darboux have opened up new paths in all domains. Cauchy transformed the methods of mathematical analysis. General Poncelet gave an impetus to geometry whose effects are still felt today. Ampère created electrodynamics and prepared the way for the discovery of telegraphy by electric wires. Fourier, celebrated for his theory of heat, was the true creator of mathematical physics, which came into being through the works of Lagrange and Laplace. Berthollet and Gay-Lussac were, after Lavoisier, the great lawgivers of chemistry. Haüy founded mineralogy. Lamarck, Cuvier, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, from different points of view, laid the foundations of zoological philosophy. From their time the whole world bowed before the superiority of French science.

All nations came to our school. In England, in Germany, men studied our discoveries, applied them, and tried to follow up and perfect them. The circle of scientific studies was broadening every day.

But in France our scientists also found worthy minds to follow up their discoveries. In the domain of mathematics the name of Henri Poincaré shines with especial brilliance. Gabriel Lamé, one of the ablest geometers, followed up the labors of Fourier; Galois, though he died early, immortalized himself by his theory of groups; Charles Hermite won a place in the first rank of theoretical mathematics and abstruse analysis; Michel Chasles completed the discoveries of Poncelet and published an incomparable history of the progress and development of geometry; Joseph Liouville, a man of encyclopedic mind, will live especially through his theorems regarding the theory of functions; Joseph Bertrand, a precocious inventor, published the finest studies on the calculation of probabilities and on mathematical physics; Ossian Bonnet developed infinitesimal geometry; Georges Halphen, the glorious soldier of 1870, left us a great treatise on elliptical functions and precious original memoirs.

In physics Fresnel created the wave theory of light; Sadi Carnot, whose stroke of genius was developed later by the Germans Robermayer and Clausius, laid the foundations of the doctrine of energy by making known the principle with which physicians have honored his name; Regnault by his memorable experiences furnished engineers as well as theoretical investigators with the most valuable data; Amagat, who died in 1914, continued this work. If Röntgen made himself illustrious by his discovery of the X-rays, what progress does radioactive science not owe to Becquerel, Curie, and their emulators?

Hertz discovered the waves that bear his name, but the directing ideas had been given by an English genius, Maxwell. To Branly and to the Italian Marconi belongs the honor of wireless telegraphy. The first idea of the telephone came from the Frenchman Bourseul.

Foucault, Fizeau, Cornu discovered new methods of measuring the speed of light;

photography is due to Daguerre, photography in colors to Lippmann.

In mechanics it is to Seguin's invention of the tubular boiler that we owe the great development of railways. To Dupuy de Lôme belongs the idea of the armored cruiser. It was Marcel Deprez who first solved the problem of transporting power to distant points. The motor run by explosions is a discovery of our engineers; what the automobile owes to Forest and Levassor is already known.

After the labors of Meusnier and Charles aeronautics long remained an essentially French science. The first dirigibles were made by Dupuy de Lôme and Colonel Renard. In 1852 H. Giffard constructed a gas balloon equipped with a screw and rudder. It was two Frenchmen, Penaud in 1871 and Tatin in 1879, who demonstrated by experience the possibility of mechanical flight. Marey, by studying the flight of birds, and Renard, by his mathematical studies, gave us the theory of aviation. Ader and Santos-Dumont, in advance of the Wright brothers, built rudimentary and imperfect aeroplanes which were yet able to remain some moments in the air. Farman, in 1908, wrote the first page in the golden book of aviation.

If Germany gave the world Bessel, Fraunhofer, and Kirchhoff, the Frenchman Le Verrier, by his discovery of Neptune and his works on celestial mechanics, placed himself in the first rank of modern astronomers. Janssen, who created the spectroscope, should be ranked with the creators of physical astronomy. The renown of General Perrier, who has been called the restorer of French geodesy, is universal. Admiral Mouchez directed the international project of the chart of the heavens. Bouquet de la Grye and d'Abbadie took an important part in observing the two transits of Venus. Tisserand continued the work of Laplace by publishing an admirable treatise on celestial mechanics. The new measure of the arc of Quito was made under the direction of the Academy of Sciences by the officers of our geodetic service. The great works of Henri Poincaré have furnished the latest contri-

butions to the essential theories of mathematical astronomy, to the problem of the three bodies, and to the study of the configuration of celestial bodies.

In geography and navigation the French genius has shone with an incomparable brilliancy. Certain names awaken bright memories: Lesseps, Grandidier, Brazza, Marchand.

In the domain of the physical sciences the part taken by France is no less glorious or fruitful. J. B. Dumas, Laurent, Gerhardt, Adolphe Wurtz discovered the fundamental laws of organic chemistry. The wonderful labors of Berthelot in synthetic chemistry effaced every boundary line between mineral and organic chemistry, establishing that unity which had so long been denied. His studies in thermal chemistry enabled him to penetrate the constitution of explosive substances, the theory of which he restored. He it was who first employed electrical energy in organic chemistry to combine the elements.

Déville gave to industry a new metal, aluminium. To him and his students is due the beautiful and fruitful theory of dissociation, which has become the first chapter in physical chemistry. H. Moissan, who isolated flourine, has given to the scientific world all his labors for the creation of an electrical furnace.

How can we forget that Pasteur was first of all a chemist? It was his studies in crystallography that led him to take up the subject of fermentations; and his researches in fermentation led him on to those studies of biological chemistry and the microbe theory which have transformed medicine and surgery. Fifteen years later Robert Koch merely borrowed, in the botanical realm, his method of cultures on gelatine. It is well known that the isolation of the tubercular bacillus, whose existence Villemin affirmed as far back as 1865, was realized by the German bacteriologist.

Germany also has a right to be proud of her chemists, Liebig, Bunsen, Hoffmann, Kékulé. Applied and industrial chemistry has been one of the sources of her prodigious economic development. Her spirit of perseverance and logic has

given her free range in this vast domain; but only rarely has she possessed what is the chief characteristic of French genius—intuition, the forerunner of invention.

To France botanical science owes Bonnet, the distinguished phytologist; Zeiller and Renaut, the founders of paleobotany; van Tieghem, whose works have brought him a renown which his modesty never sought.

In mineralogy Haüy found disciples in our own country who were his equals. Delafosse, Bravais, Pasteur established molecular theories; optical properties were studied especially by Des Cloizeaux, de Sénarmont, Mallard; Fouqué and Michel Lévy established a new science, petrography; we owe to Henri Sainte-Claire Deville, to Daubrée, to Friedel, to Hautefeuille reproductions by synthesis of minerals found in nature; Albert Gaudry and his pupils made the most precious contribution to the study of fossil animals; Elie de Beaumont will go into history as one of the greatest geologists of modern times; Hébert, Gosselet, and Marcel Bertrand have carried forward our knowledge of the structure of our planet; the works of Charles Sainte-Claire Deville and of Fouqué on volcanoes are authorities.

Zoological science finds eminent representatives in France: De Quatrefages, Alphonse Milne-Edwards, who followed up the labors of his father; de Lacaze-Duthiers, creator of the laboratories of maritime zoology; Alfred Giard, author of beautiful studies in zoological philosophy, and histologists of distinction, founders of schools, Robin and Ranvier.

In medicine and surgery French savants stand in the first rank. Bichat, creator of general anatomy; Laennec, who invented auscultation; Bretonneau, who has been called the French Sydenham; Villemin, who proved that tuberculosis was contagious; Claude Bernard, of whom it was said that he was "physiology itself"; Brown-Séquard, who applied the doctrine of internal secretions to the art of healing; Paul Bert, author of many beautiful experimental researches in atmospheric pressure and mountain fever; Charcot, founder of the Salpê-

trière School; Ollier, the great Lyons surgeon; Marey, who was led by his study of the movements of animals to the invention of the cinematograph; Chauveau, the contemporary and rival of Pasteur; Laveran, who first analyzed the origin and nature of swamp fevers and diseases due to blood parasites; Charles Richet, who introduced into medicine two fundamental theories, serotherapy and, more recently, anaphylaxis; Duclaux, Dr. Roux, Nocard, worthy students of the great Pasteur, to whom the world owes the celebrated establishment in the Rue Dutot—and with them the Russian, Metchnikoff, who discovered phagocytose—are masters before whom Germany herself is compelled to bow.

Finally, if one considers the Institute of France at the present moment, can Germany offer the equivalent of the mathematical section of our Academy of Sciences: Jordan, Darboux, Emile Picard, Appell, Painlevé, Humbert, Hadamard? And if we did not fear to weary our readers by too long an enumeration, could we not, by examining the other sections of the same academy, extend this comparison?

It will be noted that France, while holding an eminent place in the domain of science in bygone times, has not degenerated. Today, as yesterday, it is on French soil that the greatest creative achievements find birth. But, because France has the spirit of justice, she knows how to give credit to men of other lands who have enriched universal science. The English have every right to glory in the names of Dalton, Darwin, Sylvester, Cayley, Maxwell, Lord Kelvin, Faraday, Lord Lister, Lord Raleigh, Sir William Ramsay, Sir Patrick Manson, and many other great innovators whose ideas have scattered their seeds across the world. The Italians, to speak only of physicians and chemists, can be proud of Avogadro, Malaguti, Sobrero, Bertagnini, Cannizaro. And as to Germany, we are not ignorant of what science owes, in mathematics, to Jacobi; in physics, to Ohm, in chemistry, to Liebig, Wöhler, Bunsen, and Fischer; in biology, to Jean Muller, to Schwann, to Helmholtz, to Rodolphe Virchow, to Ehr-

lich, to Behring. But what we deny is the hegemony of German science. We hold for ourselves the honor of having been the leaders, the initiators, in the scientific domain, as in so many others, and the nations in whom a spirit of justice survives will recall the services we have rendered.

Ten years ago the Royal Society of London had the idea of appealing to all countries for the publication of an annual catalogue containing only the titles of the theatises in pure science published in the whole world. At present this catalogue consists each year of sixteen or seventeen compact volumes. The fact illustrates the intense development of scientific work, day by day, everywhere. Now the Germans, affecting no longer to use the French language, have urged every scientist to write in his own idiom, so that, to keep informed, one would have to know ten languages.

In order that no part of this labor should be lost, and that it should be at the service of all, a certain co-ordination is necessary. The Germans have long understood this: they wished to take the direction of the movement and to bring under subjection any science that was not born among them.

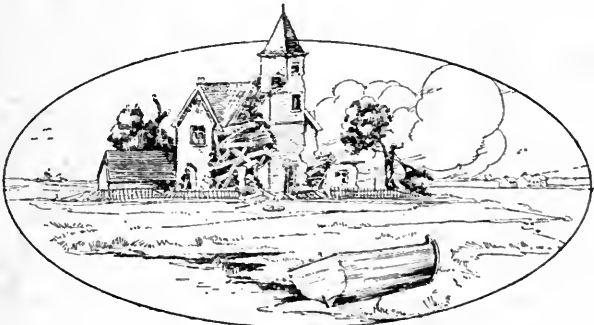
The German, in fact, is both disciplined and meticulous; he does not comprehend that the same thing can be done in two different ways; he does not see that, if co-ordination is good, liberty left in some degree to the choice of the worker vivifies and enriches the

product. That is why the German is so proud; why, when he has caught up and triturated with his own methods the rich ideas which come to him from elsewhere, he imagines that these ideas are his, that it is he who has conceived them.

A word in the German language expresses this tendency exactly—the verb “bearbeiten,” to work over. Frequently the German works things over. He does not admit that there can be found under the heavens any methods of work different from his own.

We think, on the contrary, that there is no need to do violence to anybody. In the scientific domain, as in others, each country should be guided by its own genius. It should apply itself to developing its own natural gifts in such a way as to form a harmonious whole, and different, in certain respects, from that of its neighbor. An orchestra is not made up of one kind of instruments, and, though concord is necessary, each instrument must yet preserve its own particular timbre and sonority.

Germany undertook to direct the concert, and even to stifle the other voices. Too long, among us, has the caprice of fashion, the superstition of force, served her ambitious designs. Our country ought to be grateful to the authors of this book for having established, not a truth at the service of the State, but the truth. An impartial judgment is the most beautiful homage that one can pay to the French genius.



England and Polish Relief

By Adolf von Batocki

Germany's Food Dictator

Grèat Britain, through Viscount Grey, has refused to allow American relief organizations to provision Poland unless Germany will agree to leave the new crops wholly for the Polish civilian population, and to give the American relief officials full control of the distribution of food. The following reply of Germany's food dictator was communicated through a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I CONSIDER Viscount Grey's arrogant and absurdly impossible terms dictated to Germany on which England would permit America to send foodstuffs into Poland not only a transparent and hypocritical play to the neutral gallery, but a subtle, cunning, and diabolical plot to draw Poland, Belgium, and Northern France into the theatre of the hunger war waged against humanity.

I am personally intensely interested in Viscount Grey's reported reply to America's appeal, and particularly in his threat that England would exact retribution and inflict punishment for every civilian life lost as a result of insufficient food in the territories occupied by the armies of the Central Powers. I am indirectly responsible for the feeding of Poland, because when foodstuffs are sent to the point of famine there I must give of our stocks in Germany, both for the army and for the civilian population. Thus there is no sugar in Courland, no sugar in Poland, or occupied Russia, for the retreating Russians destroyed all the beet-sugar factories, and so, although sugar is short in Germany, I must apportion small quantities to these occupied territories.

I am also intensely interested in the possibility of the neutral commission's ceasing its humanitarian work in France and Belgium, because in that case I would become responsible for feeding them. I must know what is needed in all the occu-

ried territories outside of Germany, too. I am also indirectly in touch with Austria, as well as directly with Serbia and Turkey.

Viscount Grey's threat of retribution and punishment frightens me, but fortunately there is an army between him and me. But, first, nobody will starve, and, secondly, Grey will not catch me. If America's humanitarian desire to aid in feeding Poland is balked and frustrated by the opposition of England, not one person will die of hunger, although the food rations will be short.

Although he threatens me with death if a single individual starves to death in the occupied territories, I nevertheless would be very happy to invite Viscount Grey to visit Germany, Poland, Belgium, and Northern France and personally convince himself of the conditions and the work we are doing at home and in the occupied territories, and I should also be pleased to show him what the Russians did to Poland. I would be happy to have him bring along some of his poor relations among the allied statesmen, and would gladly explain to him my whole economic system, and would even promise to go to considerable trouble to get him safe conduct. Then Viscount Grey could personally convince himself that England cannot starve Germany, nor Poland, nor Belgium, nor Northern France either. It might be a great step toward peace if the legend about starving out Germany were thus blasted.

I personally feel that it is unjust to treat Belgium better than Poland. Either give something to both or give nothing, is my attitude.

I am no professional politician, and I speak thus purely as my personal opinion from my economic viewpoint. What our statesmen will do in the matter of Grey's food ultimatum and how they will do it, is none of my business. But if our

statesmen say, "break with England on this impossible proposal," then it at once becomes very much my business. The whole responsibility will fall on me. I am not afraid of this responsibility. I shall have to care for everything in the food line in the occupied territories, and I will make it go, too. I shall treat Poland, Belgium, Northern France, and Germany as one economic and organic whole for the distribution of the necessaries of life. It will be hard on the Belgians, but better for the Poles and the Jews.

Belgium will get a little less and Poland a little more, but, all the same, nobody will hunger. There will be an equal distribution of the absolute necessaries. Both in Poland and Belgium all will receive enough bread, potatoes, and salt, also some sugar, very little meat, also very little fat, and fish not at all. Naturally, they will get no coffee, tea, or spices.

We must have complete control of the railways at all times. Where there are so few of them we cannot have outsiders meddling with the military railways. Under Grey's terms, no control over the railroads would be possible. It would simply lead to continuous friction with the neutral commissions in the matter of food transfers. Food shipments and distribution as between the army and the native population cannot be kept separate. As a practical example, Warsaw may have to give potatoes to the army, and we in turn may send potatoes to Warsaw. Furthermore, in the agricultural districts of Poland the Russians in retreating took away many of the inhabitants, as well as their horses. They destroyed the agricultural implements and machinery and burned down the barns and other farm buildings. As a result the German Army had to pitch in and help till the fields.

The German Army plowed and planted several millions of acres in Poland. It will now help in the harvest, and must further help in the farming in the future. The inhabitants alone cannot do it, because the larger part of their horses, tools, and buildings are gone and the greatest part of the seed had to be sent from Germany. There also are whole regions where there are practically no

farming inhabitants left, notably in the Baltic provinces. In Poland there are none at all immediately behind the front, so that the German Army has had and will continue to have to cultivate the land right up to the front.

Belgium and occupied France have until now been excluded from England's hunger war. The English have permitted foodstuffs to be brought into these territories under control of a neutral commission, and these were distributed as extra rations, in addition to the foods produced in the country. As a result, food conditions in those occupied territories became in many respects better than in Germany. Although from the German viewpoint this form of regulation gives rise to complaint, we nevertheless permitted it, in order to make the lot of the native Belgian and Northern French populations as pleasant as possible. In addition, our authorities, through the careful and thorough stimulation of agriculture in the territories occupied in the west, have assured to these territories the greatest possible food supply out of the present harvest, now beginning. And while Germany's stocks of cattle became depleted as a result of the shortage of fodder, necessitating a limit to the consumption of meat on the part of the German population, cattle stocks in the occupied territories in the west have developed favorably, even better than in peace times, and the Belgian meadows today are richer in cattle than ever before.

Much more hateful and ruthless has been Russia's attitude toward the Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, and other inhabitants of the vast Russian territory occupied by the German troops. This territory is so great and fruitful that the 1915 harvest would have sufficed adequately to feed the native population if the Russians before their flight had not destroyed as much as possible of the live stock and supplies, and even the standing harvest. Through their gruesome and senseless devastation of countless farmhouses and other buildings they condemned the unfortunate inhabitants to spend the Winter huddled together in the poorest shelters, to build which our troops aided the population as much as possible. After the oc-

cupation of this territory everything was done on our part to save that part of the harvest that had not been destroyed, and so to divide the food supplies that even in the large cities a famine was avoided.

The armies in the east were fed as far as possible from Germany in order to leave as much foodstuff as possible to the natives. Despite all this the situation was extremely hard for the poor population in many parts of the occupied territory, particularly in Warsaw, Lodz, and similar cities until the present harvest began. Naturally our authorities could not do England the favor of letting the inhabitants of Germany starve in order to send foodstuffs from Germany to the population of occupied territory to replace what the Russians had purposely destroyed.

A year ago the cries of the West Russian population were directed toward America and all neutral States. The desire to create in Poland as in Belgium an international relief work, has been shattered against the opposition of Eng-

land. England would rather see Polish women and children starve than run the risk of having anything whatever reach the German population from Poland. England, therefore, procrastinated, delayed negotiations, and set up conditions which for military reasons were impossible of acceptance by Germany. The consequences, despite all the care of the German authorities, have had to be borne by the women and children of West Russia. But there was one thing that our authorities could at least take care of; namely, that this year's harvest in West Russia was prepared for in the best possible way. This could not be achieved entirely without sacrifices on the part of the German people, for large quantities of seed had to be exported from Germany into the districts devastated by the Russians. This sacrifice has had its result. As in Germany and the territories in the west a very good harvest stands on the fields of this vast region of Poland, Livland, and Courland. In many cases the crop is better than ever was the case under Russian Government.

Peace Appeal of the German National Committee

The formal appeal of the German National Committee, which has been formed to procure an "honorable peace," is signed, among others, by Professor Harnack, the great theologian, and begins:

"The German National Committee wishes to unite independent and patriotic men belonging to the various parties who take the standpoint that, while no timidity should hamper the future safety of the empire, no frivolous covetousness should endanger that safety now or in the future. This can only be attained by a peace that resolutely avoids the unwillingness to fight of the pacifists at any price and the insatiability which is displayed in the manifestos of the Pan-German League. The Imperial Chancellor in March, 1916, in a speech on which Field Marshal von Hindenburg congratulated him, gave the formula for this peace, namely, the extension of our frontiers in the east and real guarantees in the west, without both of which there can be no peace and no surrender of the occupied territories."

The appeal adds that the task of the committee "must be to procure with similarly disposed people a uniform feeling as the basis for a German peace." It presses for freedom to discuss peace, "which has hitherto been refused by the Government."



The Allies of the Future

By Professor Hugo Münsterberg
Of Harvard University

AFTER the war the Russian and the British world empires will and must be the central energies of two diverging combinations, and Germany, whatever the peace may bring, will be the one European power which can tip the scale for either on the world balance. Many in Germany would quickly decide in favor of an alliance with Russia. Austria, Turkey, and Japan would join it heartily and other nations would lean toward it. It would be a tremendous alliance—and yet it would bring incalculable harm. One effect would be sure—it would lead to a war with England after a few short years. Russia, with Japan, Germany, Austria, and Turkey combined, would feel strong enough for the final blow of the bear's paw at India and Egypt. Revenge

on England would be the German motive for this unnatural alliance, and the war cry of revenge would stir all the nations which have winced under England's grasp.

This would be really the superwar, and the struggle of today would appear a mere prelude. The world would be at stake. Europe would be devastated, for the first time Asia would tremble, and America would be drenched with blood. The peace after this war would be only a signal for a new grouping which would raise the spectre of a new and more horrible struggle to terrorize the earth. The German-Russian-Japanese alliance would be a league to enforce the war; but we want

peace, and every effort ought to be bent to avert such a gruesome future.

Only one way remains open, the way in the opposite direction. Germany must join not Russia, but England. Moreover, as Japan has definitely allied itself with Russia for the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, and as the two Asiatic powers would

menace America's position in the Pacific, the United States cannot remain isolated. But every danger for its world commerce is removed if America joins the British-German alliance. The English Navy, the German Army, the American wealth, nay, the English diplomacy, the German thoroughness, and the American optimism and dash, form an alliance which is invincible. It is the one league in the world the mere existence of which would guarantee the

peace of the next generation.

France and Austria, Italy and Sweden, Holland and Spain, Brazil and Argentina, would naturally cluster about this massive union of the big three. It would be America and Central Western Europe on one side, Asia and Eastern Europe on the other; but such a partition of the world would not even suggest a contest of arms, as Russia could not dare to attack India and Germany at the same time. It would be truly a world division with a historic allotment of peaceful tasks. If America, Great Britain, and Germany frankly and heartily decide to stand together, the war of today may be the last great war for a century.



(Photo by W. Marshall Stead)

Obstacles surely crowd this way, but is it not worth every effort to remove the hindrances if it is clear that every other way leads only to abysses? America felt strong in its traditional policy of avoiding alliances with the distant European nations, but in this age of the storage battery and the wireless those European countries are no longer distant. They have become near neighbors, and the politics of the United States is firmly intertwined with their fate.

But it appears useless to discuss the small serious arguments against such a union, as one opposing power seems greater than arguments—the hate. The sowers of hate have gone up and down through the three lands and the seed has grown. Will not this hate strike out every line of a possible treaty? No, and a hundred times no, because British and Germans and Americans are not Sicilians and Corsicans who swear vendetta. Teutons can hate, but they hate nothing worse than hatred. It is tolerated as long as it serves its purpose of stirring the soul for the passionate deed, but when the smoke of the guns has been dispersed by the wind the hatred will have cleared away too. Among the many feelings in which these three noble peoples will find their union there will surely be the common feeling of shame at the absurd extent of their loathing.

The sober hours will come and the necessary illusions will lose their influence. Germans, British, and Americans alike will see that they operated with too simple psychology, simple as that of the moving-picture dramas where no complex mental states are allowed and every character is angel or villain and must shout yes or no. It is not true that the responsible men of any nation wanted war. They all sincerely wished to avoid it, while they all saw its unavoidable coming. They really did not want it, and yet subconsciously they all wanted it. Even when the furies of war had swept through the land no nation planned an immoral deed. It is true in Belgium and Greece, in Persia and Spain, in China and Africa, and where not, treaties were ignored in this war; but has not the Supreme Court of the United

States for all time proclaimed "that circumstances may arise which would not only justify the Government in disregard of their stipulations, but demand in the interests of the country that it should do so? Unexpected events may call for a change in the policy of the country." It stamps it as the American idea of international law "that, while it would always be a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy to refuse to execute a treaty, the power to do so was the prerogative of which no nation could be deprived without deeply affecting its independence." Many mistakes have been made. German statesmen regret sincerely the German ones; no doubt the British feel the same about the British ones. No one can wonder that in the heat of the struggle those blunders, when they did harm, were denounced as moral wrongs, that every unintentional homicide was branded as murder and every munition sale was abused as hypocrisy and violation of neutrality. But can this temper last?

Are we not anyhow too much under the suggestion of the impudent headlines? However much the press, the priests, and, alas! the professors have sinned in all three lands, do we not overestimate the amount of hatred? Germany and England have almost buried it, and America will follow. Above all, it has had to struggle more and more with the opposite feeling. Those who really know are sure that the strongest mental effect of these two years of war is a new mutual respect of the belligerent nations for one another. The Germans had never believed that France still possessed such wonderful courage and that Russia had improved its national life so much since the Japanese war and that Great Britain would find such imposing loyalty in its colonies. Nor had Western Europe believed that Austria or "the sick man," Turkey, would show so much strength, and the admiration for Germany's efficiency is proved by the eager imitation. The loud and fashionable detestation belonged to the claptrap of the war; the increased respect will be the lasting outcome. How England and France or England and the Boers hated each other!

How bitter was the hatred between Russia and Japan, and today they are cordially united. When peace comes the hatred will be the nightmare of yesterday; the Teuton mind will shake it off and America, Britain, and Germany will form the one alliance which will secure peace without any clouds on the horizon.

But surely one other resolution will be necessary for it. If the world wants real peace for the twentieth century it must prepare for it by the terms of Christmas, 1916. The one alliance which can save Western Europe will not come if it is not initiated by the spirit of this Fall's peace negotiations. If any great nation leaves the field humiliated its rankling wound will endanger the future. Each has bravely given its heart's blood for its freedom, each must return from the battle in honor with unbroken sword. The triumph of past conflicts was to see the foe in the dust; in our age of the new idealism the greatest triumph in the struggles of war, as in the battles of social reform, is not to crush the enemy but the enmity. This war was worth the appalling sacrifices only if through it not one people but mankind is advanced. Each nation must feel a stronger self-reliance, a happier willingness to live up to its mission, a larger trust in its safety and its future than it ever felt in the age before the explosion. That was a time of distrust and suspicion and envy and anger and fear which choked the strongest; we greet the new time of mutual confidence.

Germany has earned the most obvious war laurels of the old style, as its brave armies hold the conquered lands of the enemy. It is, therefore, first of all Germany's duty to initiate the coming age; and Germany is ready. Germany will not demand a square foot of the conquered territory in France or Belgium; this is an area abundant in treasures of the soil which Germany needs; but it will renounce them, and this ought to be the symbol for the settlements of the coming Winter. More than that, the Germans see with open eyes that they will suffer great and painful colonial losses.

The jewel of their love, Kiao-Chau, may never be returned to them; and, worse, the only large colony which was really fit for the German immigrant, Southwest Africa, may be held by the Boers who invaded it. It will be only a small territorial substitute if Germany receives the old German province of Courland from Russia and perhaps other African colonies from France, from Belgium, from Portugal, where German people cannot live, but from which at least raw material may be secured for German industry.

Germany even seems to be willing in the interest of the peace of Europe to have Poland made a kingdom again, connected with Austria. No doubt this, too, involves a certain German sacrifice, as it may easily bring restlessness to the Poles of Prussia's eastern provinces. It may be that Bessarabia will go to Rumania, but surely Russia will have no reason to complain. A wonderfully rich prize will be hers, as the world will be ready to give all Persia to Russia, and with it the harbors which no ice can block. Even Afghanistan may fall to her lot.

England, as always through the centuries, will be a winner without loss. The diamond land of Southwest Africa may be added to Rhodesia. But England will also get possession of Egypt, after having forgotten for a while that she does not possess it yet. France will receive back all the land which Germany has conquered, and it may be that the peace conference will give to her that part of Lorraine which she occupies today, perhaps in exchange for a good part of Morocco in order that Germany may have at least some foothold in Africa where Germans can live in a moderate climate. Belgium will certainly go back to the Belgians, and at last their racial instinct will be fulfilled; the Flemish and the Walloons will find the chance to have separate administration in their own languages.

It is easy to foresee that there will be some malcontents in every German village who will complain as the Japanese complained after the peace of Portsmouth. They will feel that the German

armies had made the greatest gains and that the diplomats took from their hands what they conquered. Their lament will sound faintly in the chorus of German approval.

When the war broke out no responsible German dreamed of conquest. The cartoonists of her enemies amused their public with Germany's plans for European dominion and comforted them with Germany's failure, as she did not even swallow Paris and Petrograd, not to speak of Peking and Rio de Janeiro. The Germans made in Germany see the hopes fulfilled with which they took up the defense of their country. Not the gain of territory but the safety of Germany's future was their dream. Long freight trains will move to and fro between Berlin and Bagdad, the pressure from east and west will be removed, the sea will be free for Germany's industry and world commerce, the encircling ring of jealousy is broken once for all. Europe knows now the German swords and spears; tomorrow they will be beaten into pruning hooks and plowshares. The jealousy between England and Germany will yield to an earnest desire for mutual understanding, and each will learn from the other. Germany's respect for England's success in its colonies and England's respect for Germany's social organization will mold the future of the two nations.

How much less would Germany gain, if it gained more!

But it is not enough that Germany and England alone lay the foundations for the great future alliance in the peace negotiations. The third partner must not wait until the decisive steps of the European nations have been taken. The one alliance which can crown the century demands not only that Germany and England find each other but that they find each other through the good-will of America. Sensationalists have tired our ear with their cries of remember this and remember that and remember everything; it is a greater art and a higher task to forget. If America will, both Germany and England can forget, and in the ocean of thought which binds the three peoples the submarines of emotion will leave their torpedoes at home and will ply unarmed to the foreign shores. Individuals are freer than peoples. Nothing seems needed but that three great men listen to the voice of the age and fulfill today the sacred task for which it may be too late tomorrow. The gods of history have put three great Democrats each into the place of honor and trust and power. If Woodrow Wilson, Bethmann Hollweg, and Lloyd George will speak the word for which the century is ripe, not only this war will be ended, but future wars will be impossible.

The Vitality of France

How the Nation Recovered From Three Devastating Wars

By Ernest Lavisse
Of the French Academy

This address, translated for CURRENT HISTORY from *Les Annales de France*, is the last of a series of twelve historic letters addressed to the French people. It is written by Ernest Lavisse of the French Academy, President of the Committee of Publication, which consists of fifteen of the intellectuals of the republic, including Bedier, Bergson, Boutroux, Denis, Admiral Degouy, and other conspicuous leaders in academic and literary circles.

THE English and the French, today faithful allies, often were bitter foes. One of their wars lasted a hundred years. France seemed definitely conquered when, in 1422, the foolish King Charles VI. died.

Charles VII., who succeeded him, reigned over only some cantons of the Loire country, and gave up hope of recovering his kingdom. Joan of Arc, a true daughter of our people, knew, as our people know today, that France cannot

VERDUN IN RUINS: PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A FRENCH AEROPLANE



The Portion of Verdun Around the Little Open Square, Where the Ring of Shrubbery Is Seen, Has Suffered Most From German Shells. The Cathedral Beyond Also Has Many Great Holes in It.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

CHARACTERISTIC RUSSIAN TYPES IN THE BUKOWINA DRIVE



The Russians Captured Many Pieces of Artillery in Their Onward Sweep. The Soldiers Here Photographed Are Grouped About a German Howitzer Taken From the Koenigsberg Regiment of Grenadiers. In the Background Is the Orthodox Church of Czartorysk.

(Photo by Central News Service.)

die; she said so to the King, to the Bishops, to the lords, to the common folk; they believed her, and you know that marvelous history—the triumphal entry at Rheims, where King Charles was crowned in presence of Joan, who, standing in the choir, held her standard aloft. Alas! Joan did not see the decisive victory; she died on the pyre at Rouen; but she had predicted that the invaders would be driven out except those who might remain to be buried there. The prediction was fulfilled, and King Charles reigned over France delivered.

But France suffered cruelly from this war.

A bourgeois of Paris, who wrote at the beginning of the reign of Charles VII., relates that the starving Parisians besieged the doors of the bakeries; the little children were crying, "I am hungry! I am hungry!" "They had," says he, "neither corn, nor wood, nor coal." They had cabbage stalks and "herbs without cooking them, without bread or salt."

The greatest evil was done by the troops of mercenary soldiers, who served indifferently the King of France or the King of England. They were neither French nor English; they were, as they called themselves, "Flayers," and merited that name, for they flayed France.

"I have seen with my eyes," says Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, "the countries of Champaign, Brie, Gâtenais, the Chartrain territory, Dreux, Maine, Perche, those of the Vexin, of the Beauvoisis, of the territory of Caux from the Seine as far as Amiens, of Senlis, of the Soissonais, of the Valois, and all the country as far as Laon and beyond Hainaut, hideous to look at, void of peasants, full of briars and thorns." We believed we were reading a description of the country ravaged in our days by the Germans.

A letter of Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Bishop of Beauvais, addressed to King Charles, seems also to bear upon the deeds of the German barbarians today: "How many churches have been burned! They seize the unfortunate laborers; they imprison them; they put them in irons in places full of filth, full of vermin.

They are not set free until after having paid more than they have. These brigands maltreat also the women and the girls. * * *

The Bishop speaks again, of mills, of kilns, of wine presses, of all sorts of utensils destroyed. In the same way today the German "Flayers" in Belgium and in France ruin the places and the instruments of labor, as if they wished to destroy the future.

The whole kingdom had its share of suffering.

"Alas! Sire," concluded the Bishop of Beauvais, "look at your other cities and countries, like Guyenne, Toulouse, Languedoc. All is going to destruction and desolation, even to final perdition!"

"Final perdition!" Jean Juvenal des Ursins thought then that this was the end of all.

But the peasants who had sought refuge in the strong castles and in the cities, immediately after the conclusion of peace, returned to the fields. "They deeply rejoiced," says Thomas Basin, "to see the woods and the fields again, the green meadows, and to see the waters of the rivers rolling. They began to work everywhere. Not only the old cultures are resumed, but the plow attacks the woods and the uncultivated ground, and soon the arable lands of the kingdom will be increased by a third.

"Commerce revives. The fair of Lyons attracts people of all lands. King Charles concludes treaties of commerce; he is in correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey and the Sultan of Morocco. Our merchants traffic in the seas of the North, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Syria. Also there is a revival of prosperity in the Kingdom of France, which poets of the time celebrated."

France recovers her ancient grandeur. Even before being completely free, Charles sends troops into Alsace; some of them he leads into Lorraine. He remembers that the left bank of the Rhine formerly belonged to his "predecessor Kings of France"; he protests against "the usurpations and enterprises practiced upon the rights of his kingdom and crown of France." He wishes "to

reduce to his allegiance" these usurped countries. Charles VII., so unimportant, so miserable upon his advent, became the greatest personage of Europe; the Doge of Venice, receiving his Ambassadors, declares that "the King of France is the King of Kings, and that without him there can be none."

IN THE TIME OF KING HENRY IV.

Let us pass a century and a half; we now come to the accession of Henry IV. in 1589. Just like Charles VII., he is a King almost without a kingdom. He is forced to fight not only three-fourths of his subjects, who did not want to recognize his authority, but also the Spaniards, who wished to subjugate France. He fights like a brave man with a handful of brave men. He is without the means to clothe himself. "My pourpoint is worn at the elbows," he says; and he lacks the means of daily sustenance; his "pot is overturned," and he eats sometimes with one, sometimes with another. With courage and skill he defeats all resistance. In 1598 he imposes peace on the Spaniards and he grants to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes liberty of conscience. Thus closed a deplorable period of foreign and civil warfare.

That war, which lasted forty years, had put France as low as the hundred years of the English war.

A foreign Ambassador writes: "There is not a noble family in France where the father or the son has not been slain or wounded, or made prisoner." More than 4,000 castles have been destroyed. The people have not suffered less—more than 700,000 men have been slain, nine cities destroyed, and more than 125,000 houses of villages burned. On the frontier almost all the villages are deserted. Starving wolves roam the country. Industrial work is stopped almost everywhere. At Provins, where 600 cloth workers were employed, there remain but four. At Tours, where the silk manufacture had engaged 800 master workmen and more than 600 journeymen, there remain but 200; the journeymen have disappeared. At Senlis, at Meaux, Melun, Saint-Denis, Amiens, the cessation of work is equal or worse.

The cities are filled with beggars, fugitive peasants, and workmen without work. At Paris these poor people crowded in the cemeteries, where they slept on the tombs. On March 4, 1596, the police counted 7,769 of them in the Cemetery of the Innocents.

The hospitals are glutted with sick whom they cannot nourish. The plague begins its work. It carries off at Paris 150,000 persons in the year 1597.

Considering all these evils, Etienne Pasquier said that a man who would have slept during the forty years of war and awakened would have believed that he saw, not France any longer, but "a corpse of France."

But behold how the corpse revives!

When war has ceased, the laborers vigorously resume the plow. Sully aids them with all his strength, for they were the subjects of the King whom he loved the best. He said: "Husbandry and pasturage are the two breasts by which France is nourished." The workmen commence to hammer. The necessary industries prosper. Even some industries de luxe are set on foot, that of silk, for example. Henry IV. is proud to display his feet incased in silk stockings made in France.

In order to facilitate the circulation of products of agriculture and of industry, the roads destroyed are rebuilt and the fallen bridges reconstructed. Navigation is revived. Treaties of commerce are concluded with foreign countries. The Sultan renews the privileges of our merchants in his States, and once more recognized the protectorate of France over the Holy Lands. More than a thousand French vessels carry on commerce in the Levant. At the same moment, France sets foot in America. Quebec is founded in Canada, and the "New France" colonized.

This renaissance of all our forces astonishes the foreigner. Just Zinzerling, who wrote a "guide" to France, avers that wine abounds in the south. "The City of Bordeaux forwards to itself alone a hundred thousand hogsheads a year." He saw everywhere extensive pasturages, with grazing cattle. He admires the abundance of fowl. Fortunately,

says he, they do not eat in other countries as many capons, hens, and pullets as they do in France in one day, for the species would perish. Even the provinces which were the most tried by the war regained their prosperity. Picardy became "the granary of France."

But it is especially to the testimony of the Venetian Ambassadors that we must have recourse. These men studied with great care and a serious intelligence the countries where they represented their republic. In 1598 the Ambassador Duedo announces that in ten years the kingdom, "if it has not regained its old splendor, it is not far from it." His successor, Vendramin, affirmed also that France would easily re-establish herself, "as that has happened several times in the space of a thousand years and more." Two Envoys Extraordinary, coming to Paris shortly after the death of Henry IV., write to their Government that "the Kingdom of France, by the misfortunes of the past, has not been diminished in any of its forces"; "the body, very robust, cheered up in sickness, developed in trials, and, as if raised from the dead, has recovered, after touching the ground, much stronger than before." Finally, the Ambassador Contarini writes these words, which we should think over: "France, when she herself does not weaken her own forces, can always counterbalance any power whatever."

Indeed, soon she counterbalanced the power of the family of the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain, who then menaced the liberty of Europe as the coalition of the Hohenzollern family of Berlin and of the Hapsburg family of Vienna threaten it today. Henry IV. was about to begin the struggle against them when he was assassinated; the Hapsburgs had a moment of respite; but soon Louis XIII. and Richelieu are to come, and then Louis XIV., and the King of France will be again the "King of Kings."

THE TESTIMONY OF AN ENEMY

In the times nearest us, other examples of French vitality succeed one another. Harken! Listen well to the

evidence of a foreigner, of an enemy, of a great enemy, the former Chancellor of the German Empire, the Prince von Bülow. He writes, in his book entitled "German Policy," that France has "an unshakable faith in the indestructibility of the vital forces of the nation," and that "this dogma is based on the precedents of history." He continues:

"No people has ever repaired as quickly as the French the consequences of a national catastrophe, none has ever recovered with the same ease, the elasticity, the confidence in itself and the spirit of enterprise after cruel mistakes and defeats which seemed crushing. More than once Europe believed that France had ceased to be potential, but each time the French Nation again stood up erect before Europe after a short delay, with her vigor of old or an increase of force."

M. von Bülow gives his proofs, of which here is the last:

"The defeat of 1870 had for France consequences graver than any other had had before it, but it has not broken the force which this people of a marvelous elasticity can produce for a new occasion."

This German of today thinks exactly as did the Venetians of the sixteenth century. Like them, and even more strongly, he affirms that France is indestructible, and that the quickening, after great crises, is a law of our history.

This law will apply itself once more after the terrible crisis of today, for the soil of France has preserved its natural richness and the French are on the point of proving that they have not lost the energy of their fathers. Certainly, the difficulties will be great. Not only will it be necessary to repair the desolated ruins, but portentous political and social problems, which our fathers knew not, will be presented to us. No matter! We shall write in our history a new proof of our vital force. We shall not ourselves "enfeeble our own forces" by domestic discord. We will not give to our abominable enemy this revenge—one of his punishments shall be to see standing erect, stronger and prouder, the France he believed he had crushed.

The New Russia: A Myth or a Reality?

By Isaac Don Levine

A Russian Jew Who Came to America to Escape Russian Oppression

BEFORE the great war there were in reality two Russias—the Russia of the people, the Russia of tomorrow, and the Russia of the Government, the Russia of yesterday. The line was so sharply drawn between the two that no observer failed to notice it. Russia's autocracy came to be regarded universally as the most autocratic institution among the nations of our time, while Russia's democracy, as any raw democracy is apt to be, was, to state it mildly, radical in the extreme. That the gulf between Russian bureaucracy and democracy could ever be bridged seemed beyond human credence. It was the general belief that only the overthrow of the bureaucracy could produce a new Russia.

But the great war made possible the impossible. The most bureaucratic autocracy came to fight for the very life of the world's democracy. Russia's radical forces could not but do the same thing. The war has thus produced a common object in the lives of the two Russias. This extraordinary condition could not fail to produce a corresponding effect. There came into existence a series of potent factors which are exerting their influence toward the regeneration of Russia, factors which are slowly but successfully working toward bridging the gulf between the two Russias and creating one free Russia.

The first and foremost of these factors is the nation's spontaneous response to the many needs of the army, as expressed through the numerous social organizations actively engaged in co-operating with the army to insure victory. Now social organization of any kind was always obnoxious to the Russian Government, for organization implies social gatherings, public discussions, all democratic agencies. This time the social organizations were working for the achievement of the same end as the Government,

and for a while it was thought were to be tolerated. But then they commenced teaching the Government some lessons in efficiency. They tackled the problems facing the country in a manner that made them indispensable to the Government. Also, the Government soon realized that there was a mutual bond between the army and the people, a bond of sympathy and loyalty which was generated through the people's devotion to the object of the war. As a result of that bond, a phenomenal process is taking place in Russia—the democratization of the army.

It is not the democratization of the army's organic life that is occurring, but the democratization of its spirit. The Russian Army, with the exception of Germany's, was the most soulless, blind, and obedient military machine in Europe. As the tool of the Government in crushing internal disturbances it was hated and feared by the people. The army paid the nation in the same coin, fully justifying its reputation. A Zabern affair was a very common occurrence in Russia, though seldom, if ever, reported in the foreign press. Russian junkerism built and fortified the wall between the army and the people.

But that wall is nearly gone now. Where there was mutual hatred, there are mutual affection and co-operation now. Not long ago Leonid Andreyev, foremost among Russian dramatists and one of the leaders of Russian democracy, made his passionate appeal on behalf of the Russian soldier. "Let us give all the love we have, all the care and attention we possess, to our soldiers!" he exhorted the Russian people. Such words had never before been heard in Russia from the mouth of a liberal. And how did the great Russian democracy respond to this appeal?

The anarchist, socialist, liberal Russia; her labor classes, her peasantry, and

Intelligentsia, all are giving generously and cheerfully their whole-hearted material support to the Russian Army. The Association to Organize Russian War Industries, for instance, has in the last year accomplished truly wonderful results. If the army is now receiving its ammunition in boxes bearing the inscription, made by the workmen, "Spare no shells!" it is mostly due to the fact that Russian industries have nearly all been turned into ammunition suppliers, that railroad transportation in Russia, thanks to the organization just mentioned, has been greatly facilitated, and that Russian labor has been intelligent enough to remain loyal to the cause of democracy. The military class has come to see that it was democracy which, in the hour of need, had produced men of sterling powers of organization, such as Shingareff, member of the Duma, and Prince G. Lvoff, President of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union. The army saw autocracy, its former idol, fail most miserably, as exemplified by the charges against Sukhomlinoff, former War Minister, and the nation rally to save it from shameful disaster. Hence the democratization of its spirit.

But the nation's response has not been expressed only in purely mechanical aid to the army. To that must be added extensive humanitarian work done by other organizations, such as the All-Russian Zemstvo Union and the Union of Municipalities. These bodies have recently held national conventions in Moscow, and it is amazing to read the reports of their activities for the last year. They have provided medical help for the army and refugees, food stations for trench diggers, care for war orphans, legal aid for refugees and others. They have bought the cattle of the peasantry in the invaded provinces, coped with unemployment, cared for crippled soldiers, and located lost relatives of refugees. These activities have not been carried on in an accidental, local manner, but in a well-organized, nationally systematized movement, which is absolutely new to Russia.

The Russian soldier could not remain unmoved, finding his hereditary foe, the

revolutionary-democratic class, engaged in providing food and shelter for his wife, children, and aged parents. And the Russian public has come to feel proud of its soldiers, to whom history has allotted the mission of fighting for civilization and democracy.

The one big outstanding fact in the situation is that public opinion has become a force in Russia's national life. The Government has become impressed by the growing power of the public, as seen in the latter's activities and contact with the army. It has recently demonstrated upon several occasions its new attitude toward the Russian democracy, and it makes little difference whether this change of attitude was voluntary or involuntary. The dismissal of that most reactionary bureaucrat, Goremykine, from the Premiership was forced through public opinion, as expressed by Rodzianko, President of the Duma, in his famous letter to the Premier. The personal visit of the Czar to the Duma, the first he ever made to that body, was an event of deep significance in the same respect. It was the acknowledgment by Russian autocracy before all the world that Russian democracy is now regarded as a legitimate institution. Then, only a short while ago, Sukhomlinoff, ex-War Minister, was arrested and held for trial as the individual responsible for the delinquencies of the army during the Teutonic invasion of last year. By this act the Government branded itself as guilty of gross inefficiency, incompetency, and criminality in the past, and hanged its head in shame, bowing before the new spirit in administration of public affairs, the spirit of public service, which has been injected into the life blood of the Government by the people's national organizations.

This injection means the creation of another force for the making of a new Russia. To make the rusty and antiquated machinery of the Russian Government modern and efficient is going a long way toward the transformation of the country. It would be humanly impossible, no doubt, even through the medium of a revolution, to change Russia's vast Governmental plant from a dead to

a live body in a short time. It is a task of years, even under the most favorable of circumstances. But this task has been begun! Corruption and personal ambition are slowly and steadily, though with obstinate resistance, giving way to the self-denying, self-sacrificing kind of public service. And each new day brings improvement and promise for the dawn of a new era in Russia.

Thus, in the month of June alone several epoch-making reforms were promulgated in Russia. The temporary ban put on alcohol by the imperial ukase at the beginning of the war has now been made permanent by a legislative act passed by the Duma. This act provides for the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages, with the exception of some grades of light wine. The scourge of the Russian people has been removed for good. And it was the peasantry, through its representatives; that was chiefly responsible for that removal.

Another reform of equal, if not greater, import is the passage of a bill providing for the full emancipation of the Russian peasant. This was a Government bill. It was an extension of the historic reform of 1861, which abolished serfdom in Russia. Since 1861 the moujik had been no longer a slave, but neither was he as free as the American negro, for instance. The moujik was barred from Government service. He was legally in a class by himself. And a peasant passport meant in some cases as much as a Jewish passport. Indeed, in some respects, the disabilities of the peasant were greater than those of the Jew. The peasant had no legal right to be represented in the Imperial Council, which is Russia's upper house, while the Jew had. His representation in the Duma amounted only to a fraction of the other classes.

The peasant is the backbone of Russian democracy. To unchain him has been the aim of liberal Russia for decades. And now the Russian Government itself has been forced to put the moujik on a basis nearly equal to that of the merchant and land-proprietary classes.

The Duma also passed at its last session a bill providing for the appointment

of women to the positions of factory inspectors. The Russian woman is progressing at a rate as rapid as her Western sister. She is forcing herself into the industrial field as vigorously and successfully as into the educational and professional realms. After eighteen months of war the number of women in technical trades has increased 74 per cent., and nearly 300 per cent. in the metal manufacturing industries. Of the teachers in the elementary schools of the empire, 63 per cent. were women in 1915, a considerable increase for the first year of the war. Thousands of new schools have been instituted throughout the country in the last two years. At this writing Russia is engaged in discussing extensive plans formulated by the progressive Minister of Education, Count Ignatyev, for fundamental reforms in the high school system of the empire.

Perhaps no more striking illustration of the changes for the better can be furnished than the phenomenal decrease in crime. In the year of 1915 the number of criminal cases in Moscow constituted only 49 per cent. of all such cases in 1913, a normal year. Prohibition was chiefly responsible for this decrease, but the new spirit permeating Russian social life contributed a considerable portion toward the reduction. This fact alone would justify the claim that the social forces now abroad in Russia are of a nature that would sustain the most optimistic forecasts in regard to that nation's future.

To sum up the value of the social forces which the war has put in motion for the making of a new Russia it would be necessary to add to their past achievements also the results which they are likely to attain in the future. Their past is summarized in the fact, which no observer of Russia's internal life will fail to notice, that the tide of democracy in Russia is visibly and indisputably rising in all fields of public life, while that of autocracy is just as visibly and steadily ebbing.

The question thereupon arises: Is this process to continue till democracy becomes the predominant power in Russian life, or may not a reaction set in and halt the

progress of the democratic current? The answer lies in the very social forces which are responsible for the rising tide of democracy. Will these forces cease their activities in the near future or at the end of the war? It is self-evident that such will not be the case, for they are coping with ills that will not pass away easily and quickly. No one will claim that the havoc wrought by the war has not been fundamental and vast enough to demand the attention of humanity for generations to come. And this havoc is daily growing more and more disastrous, undermining every now and then a new pillar of the social and economic structure of each warring nation, and therefore calling for greater and more strenuous national exertions, thus increasing the scope and momentum as well as the creative powers of the forces that are employed in the making of a new Russia.

The economic forces working for the same end constitute in themselves a factor powerful enough to warrant their reaching the political goal without any support. First among them is the development of Russia's natural resources, both industrial and agricultural. Russia's latent industrial wealth is yet to be computed. But it is generally agreed that it is enormous. The vastness of the country fully justifies this universal belief. The war has given strong impetus to capital to seek investments in Russia. American and other foreign investors are but awaiting the conclusion of the war to pour their savings into Russia.

And Russia herself is already preparing for the new day in her industrial history. A commission has recently been created by the Russian Government, which includes representatives of the Council of the Empire and the Duma, to study financial and industrial possibilities in Russia and to prepare her for the expected intense industrial activities. The remaking of Russia from a semi-feudal to a modern industrial country means also its political regeneration. Capital will produce those elements in the country's population which form the backbone of any true democracy, as it

will also revolutionize the governmental machinery. Industrial development means efficiency in all phases of a nation's life. It also means the birth of a mighty labor class, and therefore the inauguration of many social reforms.

But should the country enter upon an agricultural rather than an industrial era, as many believe who hold that Russia was primarily destined to remain a great rural nation, the results would not be different. The world would draw most of the raw material required for its industries from Russia. This would bring prosperity to the peasantry, and prosperity means education and modernity. Money is a productive institution. Wealth, whether in the possession of the urbanite or villager, means the acquisition of all that wealth can buy, and, first of all, of those elementary things that make up the bases of modern civilization. The net result for Russia would again be the growth of a powerful, intelligent democracy.

An interesting phase of the situation has been pointed out recently by Count Kokovtsev, who has for many years served as Minister of Finance and who was Premier after the death of Stolypin. Although a typical bureaucrat, he had the vision to see Russia's future as a radical might have seen it. "Nothing can go back to the old conditions," he said. "There will be a constantly rising standard of living which will affect all our people in time and which will result in the creation of entirely changed conditions. Do you suppose, for example, that the soldiers, who have now become accustomed to having meat every day with their rations in the army, and sugar with their tea, which they can have all day long at present, will ever be content to go back to their villages and get meat only a few times a year? This will result in the creation of new wants in other ways, and new industries and new imports will consequently become imperative."

Another economic factor for the making of a better Russia, independent of those enumerated, is the liberation of Russia from the economic yoke of Germany. "Russia was but a colony of Ger-

many, economically," wrote recently an eminent Russian publicist. It was the Teutonic domination of the Russian markets which sustained the political domination by Prussia over the Russian Government, and vice versa. When the political yoke was broken by the present war the economic yoke also burst into fragments. But Russia will stand no more economic domination, and her commercial relations with France, England, and, for that matter, with any other nation, will be based on absolute equality of mutual advantages. Should it come to pass, however, that any of the allied countries should attain a position to exert political influence in Russia, it would be of an entirely different dye from the Teutonic influence. It would be another force for civilization, democracy, and liberty.

There is every indication now that the chief economic forces enumerated are industriously preparing for immediate activity as soon as the war ends. Russia, in all probability, will develop simultaneously both industrially and agriculturally. Her commerce will expand in degrees parallel to the growth of her productive wealth. It is not impossible that Russia is now facing an economic epoch as marvelous as that through which the United States passed after the civil war. No imagination can calculate the possibilities of such an era for Russia and for the whole world.

With the social forces now pervading Russia's national life, and with the latent economic forces awaiting their opportunity to join them, the new Russia is evidently a reality already in process of evolution.

Serb and Croat Rivalry for Bosnia

By the Rev. M. D. Krmpotic

Croatian Priest and Historian, Now in America

The remoter causes of the great war can be traced directly to the Balkans, and especially to the conflict of races, religions, and national ambitions centering on the Dalmatian Coast. One phase of this age-long conflict is presented in Father Krmpotic's article. Bosnia and Herzegovina are claimed alike by Austria-Hungary, by the Serbs of the Orthodox Church, who desire to set up a Southern Slav kingdom, and by the Croats, who are mostly Catholics and have a different ambition. Austria's annexation of these provinces was the immediate cause of the Serbian bitterness that led to the assassination at Serajevo, and this in turn led to Austria's ultimatum and the catastrophe of Europe.

The purpose of the following article is to show that Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be incorporated in a Greater Serbia, as Serbians desire if the Allies are victorious, but that those territories should be united to the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which is part of the Hungarian divisions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Croatia-Slavonia was separated from Hungary and made an Austrian crownland in 1849, but was reunited to Hungary in 1868.

BOSNIA and Herzegovina were unknown to the Roman rulers until Croatian immigration had begun at the end of the sixth century from White Croatia, now Eastern Galicia; there it remained a part of Roman Dalmatia and Illyria, or Illyricum. The earliest inhabitants of the territory now covered by Bosnia and Herzegovina were the Illyrians. They were replaced in the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era by Croatian tribal divisions, or Zupanates. The two provinces were never united in the past. Their ori-

gin can be traced to a conglomeration of various political bodies, drifting together during the centuries, the changes being influenced at times by fate, or again by administrative policies. Most of these political bodies were integral parts of the Croatian, rather than of the Serbian State.

One must ascertain what territory was originally covered by the designation of Bosnia; then observe how this province widened, was subdivided and transferred to different jurisdictions and sovereignties, and, after vanishing entirely during

the period of Turkish occupation, has now become a territorial division, designated geographically as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The original Bosnian territory is mentioned in the middle of the tenth century as a part of Serbia, but it was before that time, as it was later, a part of Croatia. Herzegovina and Bosnia came under Turkish rule, like so many other parts of the Croatian Kingdom. The Turks joined all those divisions into one Governmental district, called a pashalic. At this time Bosnia reached its greatest extent. From 1437 to 1699 is the period of the Turkish wars. By the end of the fifteenth century the tide of the Ottoman invasion had crept up as far as the River Save, and this newly reached line of defense of the Christian West offered a stubborn resistance to the Turkish onslaught. In the decimating wars which terminated with the peace of Karlovci, Croatia proper never was conquered by the Turks, or by any of its later or present enemies.

In the first half of the fourteenth century the Serbian Empire had reached its zenith. Stephen Dushan the Strong, (1331-55,) the greatest of all the rulers of Serbia, had as his constant aim a Greater Serbia, which should unite all the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and win for himself the crown of a new Oriental empire, with its centre at Constantinople. In 1389 the Serbian imperial army was defeated on the battlefield of Kossovo by the Turks.* After this defeat Serbia became a Turkish pashalic, and so remained to 1804.

Dushan's program for a Greater Serbia is accepted by modern Serbian rulers and politicians, their agents and adherents, anticipating the soft, warm nests promised them. It is known among the high-spirited Serbians as an "avowed right, avowed thought, of all Serbs" to have, hold, possess, and dominate the whole Balkan Peninsula, between the four seas

and the valleys of the Rivers Danube and Drave.

As a result of the battle of Mohacs in 1526 the Turks subjugated the Hungarian Kingdom. But Croatia repulsed the Turks and defended itself and Christianity. Back to the dawn of history the Croat branch of the Slav race had lived a hard life and fought for existence. They had struggled with Avars, Fracconians, Saxons, Germans, Huns, Mongols, Latins, and Turks. They have saved Western civilization to posterity. Before the battle of Mohacs the Croatian magnates met in Diet and decided "to ask help from the Emperor Charles V. and the Austrian Prince Ferdinand as ruler of the Slovenian countries to reoccupy Bosnia and dominate it." After the battle of Mohacs, as the Hungarian Army was annihilated and the King of Hungary and Croatia had perished and the throne was therefore vacant, the Croats met on Jan. 1, 1527, in Diet sitting at Cetinje and unanimously elected Fredinand Hapsburg as their King and confirmed the succession to his heirs. The Hapsburgs ever since have been the legal Kings of Croatia. At the election of Ferdinand at Cetinje Bosnia was represented, which speaks for itself and proves that Bosnia was a part of Croatia. Ever since then the Kings of Croatia have held the title of King of Bosnia as an official appellation.

The Croatians have always asserted their rights to Bosnia. The miserable conditions and sufferings of their brothers in Bosnia were always in their heart and mind. The Pragmatic Sanction regulating the succession to the throne, unanimously accepted by the Croats in Diet on March 9, 1712, expressly requested that all parts of the Croatian Nation or State be united. This sanction, as well as the election diploma of 1527, was acknowledged by the present ruler of the monarchy in his answer to the Croatian Parliament on Oct. 8, 1861. Section 3 of the diploma to which he swore on his coronation in 1867 reads: "We promise * * * all the parts of Hungary and its sister kingdoms, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, which are occupied already, and those which shall be by

*The Serbs at Kossovo fought so gallantly that each recurring anniversary of the battle is still celebrated by their descendants. Recently in England, out of compliment to the Serbs, Kossovo Day was recognized by the British Government.

Divine help reoccupied, (Bosnia and Herzegovina,) to incorporate them according to the tenor of our oath on coronation, to the named land and the sister kingdoms." Here is the positive sanction of so solemn a law as the coronation oath indicating the rights of Croats to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On July 1, 1875, the villagers of Neve-sinje, in Herzegovina, started an insurrection, and within a few weeks the whole country was involved. In July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro joined the struggle, and in 1877 Russia declared war on the Sultan. By the agreements of 1876 and 1877, and by the secret convention of July 13, 1878, Russia had doubtless consented to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, in view of the impending Russo-Turkish war. These were intended to purchase Austro-Hungarian neutrality. In the war of 1877 and 1878, Rumania helped Russia and Turkey was compelled to sue for peace, which resulted in the treaty of St. Stefano. The treaty reduced the power of the Sultan in Europe to a shadow. If it had been carried into effect, Bulgaria would have owned three-fifths of the whole peninsula, with a population of 4,000,000.

The great powers now intervened, fearing that this big Bulgaria would become a Russian dependency. Under these circumstances it would have mattered little to Russia that the central power incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the exception of Montenegro, the Serbians long have been left out of account by Russian statesmen. The revision of the treaty of St. Stefano at the Congress of Berlin inflicted deep humiliation on Russia. Great Britain (represented by Disraeli) and France helped Germany and Austria to tear up the treaty, and incurred the moral responsibility for the carnage and havoc in the Balkans since 1878 up to these bloody days in Europe. For these diplomatic good offices Great Britain secured the Island of Cyprus, the price of peace with honor!

The Croats never tried to obliterate the name nor the existence of the Serbians, nor denied to them their customs, their history, and cultural achievements. On

the contrary they sympathized with them, won pride in their independence and their kingdom of Serbia, and always accorded to them all rights belonging to a nation. But the Serbian program or design laid down by Dushan the Strong, to absorb all the Slavic nations in the Balkans, so as to constitute a Greater Serbia, never was accepted, nor will it be, by the Croats or by any of the Balkan branches of the Slavic people. The platform containing the sweeping consequences of the losing of their national name, history, and independence is bitterly opposed by all patriotic Croats and Slovenes from the Drina to the Sotcha (Isonzo) and from the Danube and Drave to the Adriatic.

The Serbians are denying flatly the Croatian right to a name, a history, and even a language. They proclaim that Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina were and are provinces of the Serbian Empire, and that the people living there are pure and genuine Serbs. But, alas, the teachers of this doctrine, its defenders and propagators, cannot prove it by anything save their political fantasy and fanaticism, backed by mere assertion. Some native Croats are spreading such doctrines, playing the rôle of traitors to their people and cause; for a dish of lentils or a Judas reward or fat position in Greater Serbia. Traitors are everywhere.

Serbia never had a steady and permanent control over those countries, even at the time of Dushan the Strong. Serbians emigrated to the countries mentioned above and were welcomed by Croats to share their destinies. In the second half of the nineteenth century they played a more important rôle in politics. Their leaders in the Bosnian insurrection wanted to occupy those two countries and divide them between the two principalities of Serbia and Montenegro, or establish a new Serbian kingdom, but Britain and France nipped their hope in the bud.

The Croats are mostly Catholics, and as such are disliked by the Serbs, who do not know yet what it means to respect the religious convictions of their neighbors. The Catholics in Serbia itself are under the jurisdiction of the See of



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, WITH OTHER SERB AND CROAT PROVINCES, WHOSE ANNEXATION BY AUSTRIA WAS A PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE WAR.

Djakovo, in Croatia-Slavonia, and their Bishop never dared to pay them a pastoral visit. In the conquered Macedonia after the Balkan war was over, all the Catholic schools in the province were closed by order of the Government, and priests were interfered with in their pastoral work before and after the conclusion of the Concordat with the Holy See. All the Croats know well that if a Greater Serbia were formed they would, over night, by a Government order, be converted into Serbs. Religious freedom would be an imaginary and futile thing existing at the pleasure of Government parasites, as is shown by the fact that Catholics were not allowed in Serbia proper to erect a church building in which to worship God, and were forced to conduct services in the Chapel of the Austrian legation.

The Serbian Foreign Minister, Dr. Milovanovich, on Jan. 2, 1909, declared in the Skuptschina that the fate of Bosnia would be not merely an eminently Serbian, but also a European question, and

argued that the mission of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan Peninsula was now at an end. But the rivers Danube and Sava must at all costs remain the legal boundary between the Hapsburg Monarchy and Serbia. By this he avowed his desire to give up a part of Greater Serbia, namely Croatia and Slavonia, to Serbian friends, the Magyars.

The Serbian press does not know self-restraint, nor has it a sense of proportion. "Either Europe must concede our demands," wrote *Politika* on Feb. 6, 1909, "or it will come to a fearful and bloody war." *Samoprava*, the official organ of the Serbian Government on Feb. 2, was not less violent in its communiqué appealing to the signatory powers of the Berlin Treaty. The powers at the initiative of France made a joint representation at Belgrade, urging Serbia not to insist on her territorial demands. On the 27th of March, 1909, Serbia acknowledged the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a fait accompli.

The Mohammedans in Bosnia avow at

present their national dependence on Croatia, and accept the program of the Croatian Party of Right, the most popular and strongest party in these countries. The Pan-Serb idea cannot reach the imagination of the Mohammedans, nor attract them to advocate it.

From the outset our explanations and reasoning show that Bosnia and Herzegovina are Croat countries. The present war in Europe will bring changes in the boundaries of that part of the Balkans. The Serbians expect and are working through the diplomatic channels of the Entente Powers to create a Greater Serbia. If they succeed, peace in that section of Europe never will be permanent; for the Serbs are not likely to diminish or quench the flames of their religious or national fanaticism.

What, then, would happen if Bosnia and Herzegovina should fall to Serbia? In answer let us quote a well-considered authority: "People in this country are apt to ignore the question altogether, or at least to say, 'Oh, yes, of course, if the Allies win, the Serbs will get Bosnia.' Those who talk thus have not grasped the elements of the great problem, of which Bosnia, like Serbia itself, is only one section. The idea that to transfer Bosnia alone from Austria-Hungary to Serbian hands would settle anything whatever, fatally ignores alike the laws of geography and those considerations

of national sentiment which dominate politics in Southeastern Europe. In every respect Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia complement each other." The acquisition of Bosnia by Serbia would at once compel the latter, willy-nilly, to aspire to possess Dalmatia.

It was possible before 1878, and a decade after, when there were no railways or other modern means of communication in the Balkans, with Bosnia stifled under Turkish rule, to keep national consciousness inactive, to foster local or provincial patriotism, with the effect of keeping the countries or States separated, even though it was unnatural. But in our time the situation is radically changed; the sentiment is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the people that in union is strength, and the solution of the problem should be effected through natural channels as they have existed in the past, all warranted by present conditions and justified by international law. Let every one have his own, and there will be peace in Bosnia, as runs a common proverb among Croats. The small nations have a right to existence and to work out their own destinies according to the laws of nature and its Author.

NOTE.—The Serbian Skuptschina, (Parliament,) which was abolished when the country was conquered, was convoked on Aug. 3, 1916, by the Serbian Government de facto at Corfu, with the sanction of King Peter.



The Russian Campaign In Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

ALL the Russian movements, whether into Turkey or into Persia, started from Transcaucasia, whose northern boundary, the Caucasus Mountains, marks the dividing line between Europe and Asia. These mountains resemble the Pyrenees in Spain, and stretch from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. The main railway of the province runs parallel with them from Baku to Batum. Another railway runs south from Tiflis, on the main system, to Alexandropol, whence it branches off—one section, via Kars, to the Turkish border, and the other, via Erivan, to Julfa, on the Persian frontier.

Baku is connected with the railways of Southern Russia by a line running north along the western shore of the Caspian Sea, and by steamer with the railways of Siberia at Krasnovodsk, on the opposite shore. It is apparent, therefore, that Russia has ample facilities for sending to the front in Turkey and in Persia whatever troops may be necessary for her military purpose.

The southern part of the province is taken up by a portion of the highlands of Armenia, the remainder extending beyond the frontier and covering most of Turkish Armenia and a little of Northwest Persia. It is here that the main armies of Russia and Turkey have been contending with each other.

HIGHLANDS OF ARMENIA

The present political boundary between Turkey and Russia is purely conventional, and for our present purpose may be disregarded. The same kind of country—the highlands of Armenia—is met with on both sides of the border. It is characterized by an exalted prolongation of the Persian plateau, sometimes flat and sometimes undulating, with rich pastures at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet. From this rise numerous bare mountain ranges, with an average elevation of 8,500 to 10,000 feet, while an occasional

peak attains the line of perpetual snow—like Mount Ararat, (16,930 feet.) The annual rainfall is less than twelve inches, and the climate presents extremes of heat and cold in Summer and Winter.

On the southeastern and southern sides the highlands descend through a series of terraces to the plateau of Persia and the plains of Mesopotamia, while on their western side they break down in gradation to the plateau of Anatolia, (Asia Minor.) The head waters of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers rise in these mountains, but, as they pass through deep mountain gorges, they are of little benefit to army transportation, although the natives use rafts when coming down stream.

WAR IN THE HIGHLANDS

Turkey opened the war of conquest she had sought by dispatching the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Army Corps, under General Liman von Sanders of the German Army, to drive the Russians beyond the Caucasus Mountains. The time was well chosen. The Russians had met with their early reverse in East Prussia and might be expected to be too preoccupied on their western front to meet an attack in their rear.

The plan of campaign was skillfully conceived, but its operation was badly timed, with the result that the Ninth Corps was overwhelmed at Sari Kamish, the Eleventh Corps driven back on Erzerum, and the Tenth Corps left in the air at Ardahan in an attempt to isolate the fortress city of Kars. In due course, the Tenth Corps was defeated and, in its retreat up the valley of the Chorakh, cut to pieces by the pursuing Cossacks.

The Twelfth Army Corps, from its base at Mosul, invaded Persia in January, 1915, by following the caravan road to Urmia, and hence to Tabriz, but was driven back later.

The Russians did not follow up their victory, but remained on the defensive

throughout the year 1915. Their efforts were mainly directed to holding their own frontier, to guarding the caravan route into Northern Persia, and to setting free as many troops as possible for their campaign in Europe.

In the Fall of the year Grand Duke Nicholas appeared on the scene and took hold of affairs. Nothing further was heard of him until the approach of the Russian new year—about a fortnight after ours—when the whole front began to agitate. On Jan. 10, 1916, the Russian right wing drove in the Turkish outposts and occupied Arkhava, on the Black Sea.

The Russian centre, which held the line from Lake Tortum to Alasgerd, was ordered to attack the opposing Turks, and after a three days' battle they were decisively beaten and retired on Erzerum, Kopri-Koi, and Hassankala fell in succession, and at the last-mentioned place 1,500 prisoners were taken, with much booty. The Russian Army was now within striking distance of Deve Boyun, the famous ridge, 6,860 feet high, which lies across the main road leading into Erzerum. It stands some 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the plateau, and was guarded by eleven forts.

On Feb. 12 the bombardment began. While one Russian army was engaged in a frontal attack, another swept down from the north and cut off part of the Tenth Turkish Army Corps, and yet another army turned the southern defenses of Erzerum through a mountain region where the Turks deemed it impossible for them to advance, and had neglected its defense.

The main assault lasted five days, and on Feb. 16 Grand Duke Nicholas reported to the Czar that Erzerum, the eastern gate of Asia Minor, had fallen to the valor of his Siberian troops.

This feat will rank high in military history, and may be compared with Napoleon's crossing of the Alps.

Meanwhile, the Russian right and left wings attacked simultaneously with their centre. The former drove the Turks, in the Lake Tortum district, back in disorganized flight to Erzerum, while the latter outfought its opponents and occupied Khryskale, and later Mush.

On leaving Erzerum, the Turkish Army broke up into three separate and unconnected bodies, one taking the road to Trebizond, on the Black Sea, another taking the main road due west to Erzingan, and the third retiring south along the road to Mush. The Russian armies conformed to these directions and followed in pursuit.

On Feb. 18, Ispir, on the Chorakh River, was captured; and on March 2 the important town of Bitlis was carried by assault during a snowstorm. Here 2,000 prisoners and twenty guns were taken. The defeated right wing retired on Sert, covering the partially built railway line from Aleppo to Mosul, the passage of the Tigris River, and the road to Diarbekr—the security of which is essential to the safety of the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia.

The Russian right wing, however, was held up by the Turks strongly posted among the razor-backed mountains and gorges in the vicinity of Baiburt, who were defending the road to Trebizond. The scene now shifts to the coastal region.

THE BLACK SEA LITTORAL

All the way along the southern shore of the Black Sea from the Russian frontier to the Bosphorus, a range of high, rugged mountains runs parallel with the coast. In places it reaches down to the seashore, and nowhere are the lowlands wider than fifty miles. Generally they are very much less. The climate on the sea front is mild. Russia has marked this region out as one of her spoils from this war, and intends that it shall be to her people what the south of France is to Western Europe.

These favored lands were, in olden times, developed as Greek colonies. The coast range, then as now, shut off communication with the interior of the mainland except by a road from Trebizond to Erzerum and another from Samsun to Angora. Intercommunication between the coastal towns was maintained by a rough road along the shore, or by vessel oversea.

The Russians, finding their right wing hung up in its advance on Trebizond by

the Turks strongly posted in the hills covering the crossing of the Chorakh River at Baiburt, had recourse to their effective command of the Black Sea. An independent force, dispatched either from Batum or Sebastopol, was landed on March 4, under cover of the guns of the fleet, some seventy-five miles to the east of Trebizond. Its progress was fiercely but ineffectively contested by the Turks at the crossing of Kara Deré, (Black River.)

The Turks withdrew to Trebizond, which the Russian warships were now bombarding, while their transports were landing more troops to the west of the town. This caused the Turks to evacuate Trebizond, and the Russians entered the city on April 17.

The road to Baiburt is still open to the Turks, but should they instead retire along the coast, they run the risk of being cut off by another Russian debarkation in the line of their retreat before they can reach Samsun—the next point where there is a reasonable prospect of offering effective resistance.

WAR ON THE TERRACES

In the meanwhile, the Turkish army at Erzingan, having been reinforced, attempted to drive back the Russian centre upon Erzerum, but was repulsed. The latter resumed its advance on Erzingan, the capture of which on July 26 forced the Turks to retire from Baiburt and cleared the road from Trebizond to Erzerum, as well as the branch road to Erzingan, and enabled the Russian army on the coast to progress rapidly toward Samsun.

The capture of Erzerum, Trebizond, and Erzingan has already practically given the Grand Duke command of all the mountain region to the south. His left army was lately beyond Mush and Bitlis, fighting its way down the terraces toward Diarbekr and Sert; but on Aug. 8 it was compelled by a strong Turkish offensive to evacuate both Mush and Bitlis. The plan of the Russians was to debouch on to the plains of Upper Mesopotamia and cut the Turkish communications between Aleppo and Mosul. This would leave the Turkish army beyond Bagdad in the air, although it probably

would, in these circumstances, attempt to retreat up the Euphrates to Aleppo.

THE URMIA FLYING COLUMN

The northwest corner of Persia may be considered as part of the Armenian highlands, with its mountain ranges and elevated plateaus. The country to the north of Tabriz and Lake Urmia consists of parallel ranges, deep ravines, and here and there fertile valleys. To the west and southwest live the Kurds—an important factor in the military situation. They dwell in the mountains along the Turko-Persian border, from north of Lake Urmia to the town of Kermanshah, and take no heed of the political boundary, which was settled over their heads by Britain, Russia, Turkey, and Persia; neither do they acknowledge Shah or Sultan as their overlord.

By religion the Kurds are orthodox Mohammedans, like the Turks, while the Turks of Persia are, almost without exception, unorthodox. The interest of the Kurds in foreign affairs is limited to questioning strangers as to what Russia is doing in Transcaucasia and what Britain is doing in India. In the previous year some of their tribes joined the incursion of Turks into Persia.

Grand Duke Nicholas deemed it prudent early in the year to detach a strong flying column to visit the Kurds and insure their neutrality, or at least their passive resistance. Nothing was heard of this column for some time beyond the fact that it was somewhere in the Lake Urmia district, when it suddenly provided the surprise of the campaign.

Passing through the unbeaten tracts of the Kurd country, probably by a detour from the caravan road between Urmia and Mosul, it emerged in the western foothills and surprised the Turkish garrison of Rowandiz.

The Turks hastily armed all the local Kurds and Arabs they could bring together and dispatched them, along with their own reserves, to oppose the Russian advance across the plain to Mosul.

The latest cables would indicate that the Kurds in the south, as well as those in the north, are disaffected. This will impede, but not stay, the advance of the Russian flying wings. It is none the less

a serious matter, because the Kurds in Persia alone number about 1,000,000 people who may now be assumed to be hostile to the enemies of Turkey. It may, therefore, be necessary at a later and more convenient period to disarm the Kurd tribes completely, a proceeding which their neighbors would view with satisfaction.

ADVANCES THROUGH PERSIA

At the outbreak of war Persia became the centre of German activities to embarrass Britain and Russia in the East. The propaganda was directed from the German Legation at Teheran and their Consulates throughout the country, and sought in the first instance to bring about a mutiny in the Indian Army and to inflame the Mussulmans of Afghanistan and India to a holy war.

Afghanistan is practically a vassal State of the Indian Empire—like the independent principalities in India—and a word from the British Commissioner was sufficient to have the German and Turkish emissaries there interned until the end of the war.

Certain Swedish officers in the Persian gendarmerie were won over by the Germans, although they owed their appointment to the British and Russian Governments. The Kurds and other tribes were armed, British and Russian Consulates attacked, and Persian tribes invaded British Beluchistan—some 300 miles beyond the Indian frontier.

The Ministers of the Central Powers had almost influenced the Shah to intrust himself to their protection when the Russian commander at Kasbin, who had considerable forces engaged in policing the Russian sphere of influence, warned the Shah in the name of Britain and Russia that he would forcibly intervene and marched on Teheran. The other party fled to Ispahan, where the Russians followed and arrested many of them.

Meanwhile the British landed troops at Bushire and looked after the southern rebellion. Bushire has been the seat of British power and influence in the Persian Gulf since the old East India Company transferred its headquarters from Bender Abbas. They occupied Kerman,

the principal town in Southern Persia, on June 12.

The Russian commander at Kasbin, having secured his communications with the seaport of Resht, on the Caspian Sea, whence he could receive reinforcements and supplies, advanced on Hamadan and drove the rebels before him to Kerman-shah. He occupied the latter town after some severe fighting with Turks and Kurds under German officers, who had come as reinforcements and sought to prevent a junction between the Russian and British forces. He lost it in June and regained it in July.

It is this Russian army which, advancing along the main caravan road toward Bagdad, is now held up on the frontier near Khanikin by a strongly entrenched Turkish force.

These Russians were within eighty miles of Bagdad—sufficiently near for a detachment of Cossacks to make a detour and join hands with the British at Kut-el-Amara—but the British, after suffering a long siege at Kut-el-Amara, and being unable to receive reinforcements or supplies, surrendered to the Turks, whereupon the Russians fell back.

While these events were happening, the Twelfth Turkish Army Corps from Mosul advanced in January, 1915, along the fairly good road through the Kurd country into Persia, occupied Urmia, and, skirting the southern shore of the lake, seized Tabriz, the capital of Northwestern Persia, and the most important commercial city in the whole country. This not only threatened the Russian left wing in the Armenian highlands, but also the great oil fields of Baku and the Russian main communications.

Russia was not slow in driving the invaders back the way they came, and her advance guard, by making a detour, as previously stated, surprised the Turkish garrison at Rowandiz and threatened Mosul itself.

The Russian engineers have since carried their railhead from Julfa, on the border, to Tabriz, which they were entitled to do under a railway concession granted by Persia previous to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. This enables them to open up a new base at Tabriz for the

Russian army advancing on Mosul, and to open new and direct communication with their army advancing on Bagdad.

THE PRESENT POSITION

It is apparent that the British and Russian armies in Turkey are marking time for the moment; and that the late Lord Kitchener was on his way to concert joint action with the Russian high command in regard to this theatre, irrespective of whatever other business he may also have had on hand.

The revolt of the Arabs in Arabia and their seizure of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina appears to have been engineered by the British as an effective and crushing reply to Turkey's proclamation of a holy war.

The Turks for some time have been apprehensive that the British may employ their large excess army in Egypt to effect a landing in the Gulf of Alexandria, or elsewhere on the Levantine coast, with a view to seizing the unfinished tunnels through the Taurus and

Amanus Mountains and the City of Aleppo. That route is the only remaining means of communication left to the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia and Syria, and, as it runs within twenty miles of the coast, their apprehension appears to be well founded.

Since the capture of Erzingan the Russians have steadily advanced in that region, but very slowly. Their left wing has met with stubborn resistance, and has met with reverses in the Mush-Bitlis-Urmia district. Bagdad seemed still secure in Turkish possession at the close of the second year of the war. Flying detachments of Russians have sought to cut the Bagdad Railway in the vicinity of Aleppo, but no substantial force had gained a footing in that district up to the middle of August.

But when the Allies again get to business in this theatre of war we may look for dramatic happenings, and the early elimination of Turkey from the war need not surprise us.

Remaking International Law to Justify Zeppelin Raids

Professor Eltzbacher, Rector of the Commercial University of Berlin, has published a book entitled "Dead and Living International Law," in which he argues that the international law which applied when army fought against army has become to a great extent a dead letter, now that nation fights nation. Seeing, therefore, (he proceeds,) that war is now waged against a whole enemy people, the justified aim of war is "to break the strength of the enemy people, this strength being the last foundation of military resistance." Professor Eltzbacher contends that any means that promises to be efficient may be employed for the purpose of breaking that strength, and he recommends particularly measures calculated to paralyze the psychic forces of the enemy nation.

Following up this argument, he asserts that "bombs may be dropped out of the air even when no purely military purpose may be served thereby and no economic damage caused, the justification being that fear and disinclination to war are thereby engendered among the enemy people and the psychic foundations of the conduct of the war thus destroyed." The learned author adds: "It is true that individuals will be killed and injured and private property will be damaged by bombs thus dropped, but this is only a means by which the nation as a whole can be reached." Herr Eltzbacher would retain one prescription of "obsolete" international law, namely, that which says: "The civilian population participates only passively in war. It is forbidden to resort to force in any circumstances." That is to say, the German professor argues that the civilian population must submit placidly to being bombarded from the air, but renders itself liable to be court-martialed, should the opportunity occur, if it takes any action in self-defense.

The Frankfurter Zeitung remarks that "as murderous inventions succeed each other very quickly, and one can never be sure of possessing the last and best, it will be very good policy to return to the 'old' international law." It does not quite see how this is to be done, but it concludes by asserting that "the legal system which characterizes as appropriate and as free from all objection the bombardment of open towns from the air, with all its consequences, might have conformed with Assyrian views and ideas, but does not conform with European ideas, and especially not with German."

The Kaiser's Attitude Toward France

By Ferdinand Bac

Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY

The distinguished French publicist, Ferdinand Bac, has contributed to La Revue a vivid study of the German Emperor, which seems to show that, not long before the war, the Kaiser warmly appreciated many qualities of the French Nation, and would have done something to lighten the lot of Alsace and Lorraine if this could have been accomplished without impairing his own prerogatives. But a few months before the war his attitude underwent a marked change, turning, as was indicated in a famous conversation with King Albert of Belgium, from partial sympathy to positive hostility. It is probable that the influence of the Crown Prince, as leader of the war party, counted for a good deal in this change. M. Bac tells how two French Dukes were the Kaiser's guests at Kiel on board the imperial yacht Hohenzollern while the Meteor was racing in the regatta.

DURING the race the Kaiser held the steering wheel, buttressed in a rigid attitude; during a turn of the race he said to his guest:

"Good! I see you can handle the ropes yourself! You enjoy having a real finger in the pie! You are a genuine sailor! I have no fancy for great lords who imagine they must always keep their hands in their pockets, and who would feel themselves dishonored if they even touched a deck chair!"

When the lunch hour came the Kaiser himself waited on his guests, passed dishes of pastry, and poured out the port wine.

"I love the sea passionately," he said, "even more than I love my army. I never feel completely free, except when I am at sea, liberated from all constraint. If it were possible for me I would pass my whole life on the water."

His noble guests noticed that he spoke very harshly to his Generals and the officers on duty about him; in fact, his orders were sharp as the crack of a whip, in true Prussian style; but, whenever he spoke to an inferior or a simple sailor, his tone became affable and good-natured. He loves to chat and joke with them, but there is always something artificial, an ill-concealed condescension in his tone. During the race two of the Meteor's crew fell into the water. The Kaiser himself took a hand in rescuing them, and received them in his arms, one of which, with withered tendons, was somewhat awkward in holding them. At last they were standing before him. He

passed his hands over their bodies, like a Custom House officer making a search, to press the water out of their jerseys; then he said to them, "Now, go at once and get dried; and don't think any more about the race!" But a member of the Kaiser's household, a great dignitary of the empire, seeing him thus occupied with his sailors, bent toward the Duke's ear and said to him laughingly:

"When a General falls off his horse, the Emperor never turns back. * * * At heart he does not love his officers so exclusively as is supposed. Abroad, he is thought of as ceaselessly in councils of war with his helmet and his sword, surrounded by his General Staff. But in reality he only loves his lords, and feels at his ease only with them. And then he detests officials. Sometimes I have the greatest trouble getting him to confer with the diplomatists."

That evening, in the cabin of the imperial yacht, the Emperor himself confirmed this view. Comfortably stretched on his cushions, he said:

"France has not always been quite lucky in recruiting her Ambassadors. I have never had closer relations with any one than with the Duke de Noailles. When he was at Berlin, I used to come to his house at 8 o'clock in the morning, and go straight to his room. He was still in bed. Then I used to sit on the edge of his bed and we chatted for hours. It was delightful and in the best possible tone. We were comrades. The Naval Attaché was J. I have a great affection for him. He was a real friend of

mine, and I felt as if we were fellow-countrymen; on the sea, at least, we are; we are compatriots of the sea.

"I do not think," he went on, "that many Frenchmen who have come into close relations with me have gone away with a favorable impression. But then there are very few with whom relations are so pleasant as with you! * * * I tell you this in all sincerity, because I think it." * * *

The Emperor went on to speak of Franco-German relations. This was some time before the war. Taking the devil by the horns, he said:

"Perhaps in France there are doubts as to my sincere desire for good relations with her. But there you are wrong. It is a constant and clearly formed wish. Naturally, not with M. Delcassé. But you understood the necessity of depriving him of power. If you did this, it was not to please me, I can easily believe, but to get rid of a man who wanted to correct the map of Europe without having the gift for it. What reasonable man would today think of forming a European coalition against us, without making himself ridiculous? For such a Utopian idea to be possible, it would be necessary for Germany to have incurred the hatred of all nations. * * *"

The Kaiser then talked about the capital of France: "My sons are very fond of Paris. They come home full of enthusiasm. I am even convinced that it would not do to let them go there too often.

"It seems that they believe in France that I visit Paris from time to time. It is a fable that amuses me. I myself ought to know whether I go there or not. In what disguise—with a false beard and black spectacles? No, I have not been in Paris since 1886. I stayed then at the Hotel M.—, in the Rue de la Paix, a quiet little hotel, very well kept. Is it still in existence? It was my mother who advised me to go there. * * *"

Then the Emperor's mind turned to what Frenchmen thought and said of him:

"You say in France that I am theatrical and that I change my uniform ten times a day for anything or for

nothing. But this is the criticism of democrats who understand nothing of the obligations of the head of the State in a monarchy. My view is that every renunciation of representative stage setting is equivalent for a sovereign, and even for any power, to a moral abdication. Do not your priests wear a special costume, and your Judges, and your Academicians? At the Assizes your Judges take their seats in red robes, and no one finds that ridiculous. With you it is a last remnant of the requirements of other days which are still those of today. You will tell me that this is not so in America and that things go none the worse there on that account; but America has no historical tradition of decorum, and it is made up of several nations, while France is the most unified in tradition of all countries. You have a recent past, which was very decorative. These things do not vanish in a day. The disappearance of pomp is a very bad thing for you. Believe me, it is necessary to fill the eyes of the people. * * *"

That evening, in the smoking room of the yacht, the Emperor said:

"You have not yet asked me, my Lord Duke, how I consider the question of Alsace-Lorraine. This astonishes me, for it is the chief preoccupation which I can read on the lips of every Frenchman I come in contact with. Well, it is without doubt a very serious question! What do you wish me to do about it? I was eleven years old at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, I found the situation there already formed, and formed by the blood of our soldiers. I should like to have a Frenchman put himself in my place for a single day.

"I have often meditated on this question, which preoccupies me more than you would believe. But I have not discovered the solution; you can well understand that I am responsible before the nation for this legacy which I inherited and that I cannot act without weighing all my duties toward every one concerned.

"I have thought of erecting Alsace into a Duchy; I have consulted competent men, the distinguished men of the province. Do you know what they

answered me? 'A Duchy with a Prussian Prince? Never!' What then? A distinguished man of the province, whom I should create Duke? Once again, No. They told me that he would be suspected and that he would incur the hatred of all the other families.

"I myself would never have annexed Alsace-Lorraine; I should have demanded indemnity of another kind. Today we should be friends. But what I want is not a salute with the hat; what I want is a warm grasp of the hand! * * *

"I have done everything in my power to come to a good understanding with your Government. Everything would be possible, if it did not ceaselessly fear opposing factions who would exploit the patriotic chord to upset it at the slightest open advance.

"What would you have, then? We shall never do anything. Consider that in ten years our position will be still stronger, if we admit that we shall have nearly eighty millions of population. No one understands your scruples better than I do. I have a high appreciation for your patriotism, but I am certain that all intelligent men see clearly that an understanding between us would make us the masters of the world. * * *

The meaning of the last phrase is, of course, that the combined fleets of Germany and France might be able to beat the English fleet, making Wilhelm II. "Admiral of the Atlantic" in reality. Later, he pulled every string in an endeavor to bring England to combine with him against France, still with the same ambition to be "master of the world."

A few months before the war, says M. Bac, Kaiser Wilhelm learned that a portrait bust of him, by a famous sculptor, had been refused by the Paris Salon. Shortly after this, while he was at Weis-

baden, chatting in the anteroom of his box at the city theatre with some Frenchmen, he said to them:

"Decidedly, there is nothing more to be done with you! You will have nothing to do with me—not even in effigy!"

And his Majesty repeated, with a nervous irritation, in which could be perceived bitter, almost childish disappointment: "Not even in effigy!"

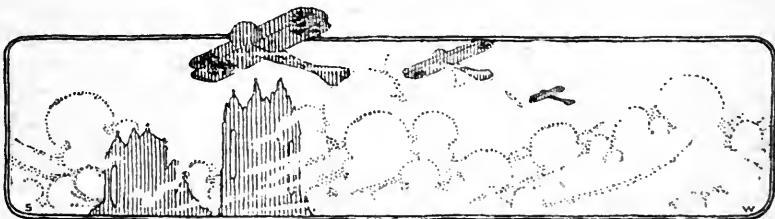
EDITORIAL NOTE.—In curious confirmation of the foregoing are the words of an eminent neutral who visited Berlin last July, and who tells of a conversation in which the Kaiser commented on the "British theory" that he was responsible for the war, saying:

"It is curious how this theory seems to fascinate my enemies. Yet, the people who accuse me of having caused the war are the very people who previously testified to the earnestness of my desire for peace."

He paused a moment, then continued in grave tones:

"I do not envy the man who has the responsibility for this war upon his conscience. I, at least, am not that man. I think history will clear me of that charge although I do not suppose that history will hold me faultless. In a sense every civilized man in Europe must have a share in the responsibility for this war, and the higher his position the larger his responsibilities. I admit that and yet claim that I acted throughout in good faith and strove hard for peace, even though war was inevitable.

"Why do you neutrals always talk about German militarism and never about Russian despotism, the French craving for revenge or English treachery? I think the next generation will strike a more just balance in apportioning the blame."



How the Kaiser Was Forced to Begin the World War

By Paul Albert Helmer

Directing Editor of Nouvelles de France

This study of "The Responsibility of the Pan-Germanist League for the War of the Nations" is the work of one of the most brilliant intellects of France. It was originally delivered by the author as a lecture in the Grand Amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, Paris, and has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY. In its originality of thought and its massing of evidence it must rank with the most important essays that have yet appeared on the European war.

SOME months ago the German journals reported to us an impressive scene. Before a hillock which covered the bodies of German soldiers fallen in the terrible combats in Flanders, William II. had halted—the prey of a lively emotion—and, after a moment of silent meditation, he had cried out:

"I call God to witness, I swear it: I have not wished that!" ("Ich habe das nicht gewollt!")

What did this cry which the German gazettes have spread throughout the entire world, which German propaganda has exploited by reproducing it on illustrated cards, distributed with profusion, even in the prisoners' camps, signify?

Our enemies saw in it a loyal protestation of the innocence of the German Empire, cornered and driven to war by the malevolence of its enemies; among us and among our friends, many have seen in it the supreme hypocrisy of a man whose frivolous caprice had unchained on the entire world the most formidable catastrophe which history has recorded. The Kaiser would have repeated once more the legend of the concerted attack of the Allies, jealous of the greatness of Germany, against an empire strong and enterprising to which the future reserved a destiny of power, of triumph, of glory. Recollecting the factitious and theatrical character of the anterior manifestations of William II., many saw in his attitude only a new melodramatic scene played by the imperial Lohengrin.

In my opinion the sense of these words

is quite different. Give me your confidence for a few moments, I pray, even though you shall hear me say that I believe in the sincerity of the Kaiser, that I take literally his words, "Ich habe das nicht gewollt!" that, in a word, I believe truly that the Emperor of Germany, William of Hohenzollern, second and last of that name, is not the principal responsible author of this war.

And if today I dare to tell you my sentiment, the opportuneness of which may appear doubtful at first sight, it is because it is necessary that on the morrow of victory, on the sacred day for the settlement of accounts, we should know how to find and chastise the truly guilty; that in place of the wolf which we wish to exterminate we should not be satisfied with an expiatory sheep, which, perhaps, might easily be abandoned to us.

Let us search then in the place where our principal enemies are; let us weigh the guilt of each and establish in a precise manner the responsibilities. Seen closely and in detail events often take on a different aspect; battles which have been able to escape the distant or inattentive observer give the means of distinguishing between those who have prepared, decided, and unchained the war, and others who, after having made long efforts to resist belligerent tendencies, have resigned themselves to it through impotence or want of character.

GERMANY'S WORLD POLICY

It was on the 18th of January, 1896, that, with a theatrical ceremony in the throne room of the castle of Berlin, with

his hand on the flag of the First Regiment of the Guard, William II. proclaimed his "Weltpolitik," the worldwide policy of the empire. Henceforth Germany wished to be present everywhere. In all countries, no matter on what point of the globe, no conflict was to be adjusted unless German interests were made productive, unless the empire gave its assent and obtained advantages or compensations.

But at this moment William II. had already held the helm of the empire for almost six years, and the policy which he had followed up to then was not that which suddenly he proclaimed on the day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the empire. The tendencies which the empire had pursued in the epoch of Chancellor Caprivi, and which the adversaries had attacked under the name of "Caprivism," because they dared not yet attack the person of the Emperor, had been a policy of conciliation and of peace, a policy of politeness, of concessions, and of good understanding; of good customs relations with the States of Central Europe bordering on Germany; a policy of colonial concessions as regards Russia and England, which are practical countries; a policy of simple telegrams, of felicitations, or of condolences with regard to France, which was satisfied with its disinterestedness. This effort of international appeasement had its day of triumph when William II. inaugurated the Kiel Canal in 1895, and traversed it at the head of the representatives of the navy of the entire world, even of the French fleet.

In fact, no power had been able to resist the graciousness of the Kaiser. From what quarter, then, could have come a serious opposition to his designs, since even in France great journals were already publishing inquiries upon the reception they would tender him in Paris if the fancy struck him to visit the exposition of 1900? I cast neither eulogy nor reproach at any one; I state a fact which is not contestable: The policy of concessions and of advances, the policy of amiability, and—let us say the word—of dupery inaugurated by William II. met no resistance in foreign countries.

Had it continued, little by little, Europe and the entire world would have passed under German hegemony. In order to obtain universal domination, Germany had no need of a war.

RISE OF OPPOSITION

But a people cannot change its state of soul. The Germany of Bismarck could not disown its origins. Created by iron and blood, it could not live in peace. Prussia, which was liberated by the war of 1813, which had imposed itself on Germany by the wars of 1864 and of 1866, and on all Europe by the war of 1870; Germany, which had realized its unity by violence, which had appropriated the wealth of others by force, which maintained its conquests under the yoke and threatened every moment to defend them by arms, Prussia and Germany could not accommodate themselves to a policy of condescension and concession.

Before William II. rose the partisans of Bismarck dismissed. They proclaimed themselves the holders of the national traditions, the continuers of the work of the great epoch, the trustees of the last wills of the founders of the empire.

One day, among his numerous pacific manifestations, William II. had affirmed that his "Christian conscience" would not permit him to assume the responsibility of a war. Those who rose against him were opposed to this mystic conception and formed the Pan-Germanist League, which, in contradiction with this "Christian conscience," assumed to personify the "national conscience of the German people," ("das Gewissen des deutschen Volkes.")

Then, on the day when William II. proclaimed his worldwide policy, he had, for the first time, abdicated his "Christian conscience" before that which was imposed on him as the "national conscience of the German people."

TRADITIONS OF BISMARCK

The Pan-Germanist League, when it directed the German Empire toward worldwide imperialism, availed itself of the traditions of Bismarck. But among these it had recognized only the principle of force, the employment of threats, the reign by fear. It had not seen the limits

which Bismarck himself had imposed. The Iron Chancellor had brought successes almost un hoped for; but, without letting himself be carried away by the most brilliant victories, he had known how to be moderate, and, if he had wiped out some, he had adroitly managed others. Very harsh toward Denmark in 1864, inexorable toward the little German States in 1866, he had been very liberal after the conclusion of peace with Austria. He was preparing for his decisive effort against France, which he laid low in 1870.

And then he reserved all his strength for us, he followed with rancor and implacable hatred our country, which he wished to prevent from retrieving itself. Voluntarily limiting himself in his international action, measuring his means, coldly weighing the possibilities, refusing to play once more on a map the gain of three successful wars, he believed he had done enough for Germany, in the last years of his life, if he defended the empire created by him against the chastisement which his last abuse of victory deserved. France, even though conquered and mutilated, was still in herself alone a sufficient object of Bismarck's fear and resentment. This willing moderation, in his opinion, committed Germany to a disinterested policy in all other conflicts. On the subject of the Carolines he willingly accepted arbitration with Spain, and for the Balkans, for which Germany today is putting all Europe to fire and blood, he had had this scornful saying, that "they were not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."

Nothing, therefore, was further from the idea of Bismarck than the worldwide policy imposed by the Pan-Germanist League, which nevertheless made use of his name.

PAN-GERMANIST PROGRAM

As soon as the Pan-Germanist League had imposed on William II. the official proclamation of German imperialism it began to develop its program in all its details. It established, continent by continent and country by country, the German interests.

It demanded all the countries where

the population speaks the German tongue; the Swiss cantons, the Baltic provinces, the German countries of Austria. But it went further: linguistic and ethnographical theories gave it a pretext to identify with the Germans all the peoples whose idiom is of Germanic origin—the Hollanders of the Low Countries and the Boers of South Africa, the Flemings of Belgium, and all the Scandinavian peoples.

In foreign countries where German colonists had established themselves, whether they preserved the German nationality, whether they repudiated it in appearance, their interests justified a continuous surveillance of the policy of these countries by the German Empire. Thus Germany reserved to herself the right to intervene in the United States, in Brazil, in Argentina, in Southern Russia. And the mere possibility of creating German interests, in a future more or less near, called the attention of the Pan-Germanists to Turkey, and then to Morocco.

Never in history, since powerful States aspired to the domination of the world, had an imperialistic program been developed with as much precision and method, with as much arrogance and impudence, as in the Pan-Germanist pamphlets at the end of the nineteenth century. But why has it been necessary to await in France almost twenty years to take cognizance of this appeal to universal battle for Germanism-Kampf ums Deutschtum? Why were we not interested in the danger which the meddling of Germany in the affairs of all countries caused to circulate in the entire world?

THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT

The Pan-Germanists did not confine themselves to the domain of theory. They imposed their demands on the Government and demanded the immediate realization of them. The Pan-Germanists called for a ringing manifesto in favor of the Boers; William II. telegraphed to President Kruger and caused misfortune to England.

The Pan-Germanists demanded intervention in Samoa and the Caroline Islands; Germany intervened against the United States and acquired these islands.

The Pan-Germanists demanded a port in the Far East; Germany occupied Kiao-Chau.

The Pan-Germanists demanded an action in Turkey; William II. visited the Orient, proclaimed himself at Damascus the friend of the Sultan and of all the Mohammedans and caused trouble for France.

The Pan-Germanists protested against the Badeai ordinances in Austria; Germany increased its army corps on the frontiers of Bohemia and obtained the abrogation of these ordinances.

That was a good deal to do in five years, but in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists it was not enough. What was Europe waiting for?

When, at the end of the Middle Ages, the countries revolted in Germany, they naively inscribed on their standard: "We wish to be the enemies of the whole world." Since the war of the Rustaids, Germany had learned nothing. On the threshold of the twentieth century, the Pan-Germanists still wished to be the enemies of all the world.

But in face of this menace openly proclaimed, before the challenges thrown in turn in the face of England, of the United States, France, China, and Austria, should the powers friendly to peace not have combined? Was it not necessary from the beginning to resist this turbulent and invading spirit which threatened the whole world? Now, far from understanding one another and organizing against the day when a war should be precipitated by Germany, the powers knit themselves still closer with the German Empire, and it was at the head of an army composed of all the civilized nations that Field Marshal Waldersee made his triumphal entry into Peking. On that day, by its carelessness and unskillfulness, Europe blinded, had committed the fault which we cruelly expiate today.

IMPERIALISM OF KULTUR

It was not Europe which arrested Germany, following the war with China. It was William II., who, having seen blood flow, cried out for the first time: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." He repudiated the clamorous and aggressive policy and

disowned Pan-Germanism. Henceforth no longer by diplomatic competitions, by threatening interventions, by affirmations of imaginary interests or by coveting of new territories was the supremacy of Germany to be manifested. German imperialism in the future was to be limited to the things of the mind. He formulated in one of his discourses a new principle:

"Very far beyond the seas our language is spread," said he, "very far is stretched the flight of our science and of our learned investigations; there is no work in the domain of modern studies which is not printed in our language, science produces no idea which is not utilized by us to be copied afterward by the other nations. There is the worldwide empire of which the Germanic mind is ambitious."

These words resound like a blasphemy in the temple of French science, where I have the honor to repeat them to you.

In this new program which William II. established at the beginning of the century he abandoned the worldwide policy which had engaged the empire in diplomatic conflicts, in violent press campaigns, and in a distant warlike expedition. The new imperialism which he proclaimed may appear to us today as a bloody irony, a pretention which excites our most violent indignation; William II. claimed for Germany a civilizing mission; he proclaimed the imperialism of Kultur.

THE CHALLENGE TO FRANCE

The Pan-Germanists were not the men to allow themselves to be driven from German political life. From the year 1902 the Kaiser again saw in front of him the spectre of the "national conscience of the German people." Through the mouth of its President, the Professor of Medicine Hasse, the league complained of being neglected by the representatives of the official policy. "They disown us when they can," said he. "And that is natural, since we always demand an active policy."

During the Summer of 1903, M. Class, a lawyer in Mayence, who was then brought to the attention of the Pan-Ger-

manists, and who, today, is the President of the league, established at the Congress of Plauen the "Schedule of the New Course."

In order to investigate the mistakes committed in the foreign policy of the empire and to fix precisely the responsibilities, he studied the changes that had befallen the worldwide position of Germany since the fall of the Great Chancellor. The German policy, for a dozen of years, had been exhibited only by oratorical manifestations and half-finished doings. "As soon as they had run up against opposition," said M. Class, "they had recoiled so as not to quarrel or in order not to disown the pacific declarations so often repeated." This love of peace at any price, this seeking of the friendship of foreign powers, had robbed the empire of the universal prestige with which it was surrounded in the time of Bismarck.

Formerly, in order to impose the "worldwide policy," the Pan-Germanist League had directed its criticisms against the Chancellor and what it called Caprivism. In 1903, M. Class no longer deigned to attack the Chancellors who for twelve years had succeeded one another. These brave officials had merely executed the orders of their master. It was William II. himself whom he declared openly responsible for the downfall of Germany. Between the Emperor and the league, hostilities had opened.

The campaign directed against the pacifism of William II. was pursued during the whole year of 1903. In February, 1904, once more, the committee of the league declared:

"The policy of realities is not the policy that seeks to attain its object without hurting any one. What is necessary for the normal and continuous development of the empire must, if essential, be found and imposed at the price of a conflict."

And just then the league believed that it could realize much on condition of not fearing a conflict.

CONCENTRATING ON FRANCE

Formerly the worldwide policy of the empire had attacked all the powers; Germany had wished to be "the enemy of

everybody." This time the Pan-Germanists confined themselves to a single nation, and they had selected it with care so as to have all the trumps against it—a nation, said they, old and fallen, incapable of making war, a nation to which England would not come in aid—for Edward VII. was beguiling it with smooth words—a nation which Russia, its ally, would not assist—for she was occupied in the Far East—France, finally, which then had an imperative, absolute, unquestionable need of peace. From France, said the Pan-Germanist League, we could at this moment obtain all. Beginning with the second half of 1903, the whole Pan-Germanist action was concentrated against France.

Germany needed colonies, not so much to sell in them the products of her industry as to establish there the surplus of her population. The empire must have a colony for settlement, of vast territories toward which the flow of the German emigrants should be directed. No country would be better adapted to that purpose, according to the sayings of the league, by its climate, by its fertility, by the richness of its subsoil, by its geographical situation, than Morocco. It was in the Shereefian empire that Germany was to follow up the success of 1871 and assure the "normal and continuous" development of the State created by Bismarck.

Now, the French influence was at that time established in Morocco. The moment had come, said the league, to occupy a part of it for Germany and to force France to quit there under the threat of war.

The Pan-Germanists openly discussed this double aim in their meetings and in their press. But this campaign, which lasted more than a year, stirred no one in France. No one noticed it. It was like a thunderbolt when, after a year and a half, in March, 1905, after the fall of Port Arthur, the taking of Mukden and the defeat of Tsoushima, William II. landed at Tangier.

THE TANGIER EPISODE

At Tangier, William II. had checked the policy of the French Republic in Morocco. France preserved the memory

of it as an affront so much the more painful as, in reality—the Pan-Germanists were right—she was then in no state to take up the challenge. But what matters today is not what the French thought of the incident of Tangier. It is, on the contrary, what the Germans said and wrote about it.

The Pan-Germanist campaign, after having persisted for eighteen months, had forced William II. to get busy with Morocco. But he was far from having done what the league had demanded of him.

The league had desired to make profit out of the necessities of a single occasion to aggrandize the empire; it wanted realizations, a tangible success. William II. did not wish to throw himself on France as a robber leaps upon a traveler in the corner of a wood. Since he would not let himself be tempted by the profit of the booty, it was necessary, in order to make him move, to shake before him the red rag of the "encirclement of Germany." And truly believing that he was defending the empire against a circle of enemies which M. Delcassé and Edward VII. were seeking to form around him, the Kaiser neglected the real and practical end which alone counted in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists. He made a speech besides, after so many others, when they had wanted an ultimatum addressed to France under threat of immediate war. Always hesitating, wavering between the interest of Germany and the fear of conflicts, he had taken an attitude odious in the eyes of the French, ridiculous in the eyes of the Germans.

He had treated France roughly, hurt her self-respect, opposed her projects, and yet he wished to conciliate her and had protested his pacific intentions. Before departing he had an interview with the Ambassador of France. Upon embarking at Hamburg he repudiated all the great conquerors of history. In passing before the Coast of Brittany, in order to please the little and the big children of France, he sent a telegram to Mme. Jules Verne. In Lisbon first, and on the morrow at Tangier, on the Balearic Islands and in Italy, he protested

his attachment to peace. The Pan-Germanists were right; at the moment of offering an affront to France, all this was ridiculous.

But again he had been awkward. Instead of allowing the Chancellor to act, he had advanced himself and, in his speech, had said what it was not necessary to say. The Pan-Germanists demanded possession of a part of Morocco, the acquisition of a territory under the German dominion. Now, William II. had proclaimed the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of the Shereefian empire. The day when Germany wished to occupy the Moroccan coast it would be necessary to begin by disowning the solemn words of the Emperor of Germany.

This is what the Germans thought of the landing at Tangier. Within a few days—in April 1905—a Hamburg journal used the phrase which will remain the judgment of history. In the midst of reproaches for having allowed a sure prey to escape, it declared it a crime for William II. to have awakened France.

"THE SHARPENED SWORD"

The official diplomacy of the empire tried to recover what William II. had lost. In the Spring of 1905 there was the resignation of M. Delcassé, in the Summer of 1905 there were laborious pourparlers to establish the program of the Algeiras Conference. France, awakened, knew how to stand firm. But, when the agreement was finally established, William II. had the unconscionable hardihood—for this man is not intelligent—to make new advances to France. Through the voice of the *Petit Parisien* and of the *Temps*, Chancellor von Bülow had to affirm once more the friendly dispositions of the Emperor. As on the field of battle in Flanders, William II. declared: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt."

France was dignified. The *Matin* replied by revelations touching the resignation of M. Delcassé. Germany's acts had never corresponded with her protestations of friendship. William II. no longer inspired confidence. If France had not at first understood the emptiness of his politeness, the vanity of his ad-

vances, the childishness of his telegrams on the day when she felt herself treated roughly, and was conscious of the greatest humiliation suffered since 1870, she no longer allowed herself to be decoyed with words.

William II. saw the policy of cajolery and of stupid civilities which he had so assiduously pursued with regard to the French definitely miscarry. This disillusion inspired the famous speech in which, full of rage, he appealed to "dry powder and the sharpened sword." And these words resound as a homage rendered to the pride of France.

GERMANY'S "ISOLATION"

At Algeciras, where the Pan-Germanists had wished to overwhelm France, Germany found herself, following the hesitations of the Emperor, confronted by a union of all the great powers. But it was not France which had caused Germany's isolation. The encirclement, the idea of which haunted the brain of William II., was the natural reply of all honest and loyal peoples to the dilatory and quibbling proceedings of Germany.

There remained a last awkwardness to commit, and William II. did not fail to commit it. He noisily averred the isolation of Germany in a resounding telegram.

Again Germany was the "enemy of everybody." So true is it that she will always bring against her a union of all the nations that have hearts. It is a case of the imminent justice of history.

THE KAISER UNPOPULAR

Dissatisfaction with William's acts was universal. The criticisms which he continually heard, the reproaches which the best patriots were offering him, at length decided the Kaiser to reply directly to the Pan-Germanists. In a discourse on Dec. 8, 1906, he made an appeal to the unity of the nation and asked the people to have faith in the future, not to give way to criticism, and not to doubt those who govern. "I do not want pessimists," said he. "He who is not suitable for the work, let him go away and let him seek elsewhere, if he wishes, a better Fatherland."

The Pan-Germanists took up the chal-

lenge. The word "pessimist"—"Schwarzscher"—became a mark of glory. The more ardent one's patriotic sentiments, the more one enjoyed having the name of the Kaiser's disapproval applied to one's self. Besides the entire press, which replied to William II. and justified the discontent of the nation, resounding pamphlets openly attacked the Emperor. Count Reventlow, whose name in the German press of today still represents the most jingoistic spirit, summed up all the bad temper of the Pan-Germanists in his book, "William II. and the Byzantines."

From year to year the criticisms had become more fiery. Between the Emperor and his people there was an abyss. A conflict was inevitable; it came in the Autumn of 1908. Germany had just yielded in the Casablanca affair. Again it was the Emperor whom the German Nation reproached for not having dared to resist the calm and decided attitude of M. Clemenceau. But suddenly these criticisms were eclipsed by new invectives more violent than ever. The Daily Telegraph had just published the famous interview with the Kaiser.

DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR

In face of the English people's mistrust of Germany, William II. had believed it to be his duty to address England by the voice of a journal. He affirmed his profound sympathy for his mother's native land, he recalled that he had never hesitated to translate her ideas into deeds; but he added that his friendship for England was shared in Germany by only a minority of his compatriots.

Indeed, the Pan-Germanist League had always denounced England as the great adversary of the future, against whom it was necessary to be prepared for a life-and-death struggle. She was the competitor with whom German commerce was clashing everywhere; it was against her that Germany was preparing a formidable fleet. Now it was to this enemy of tomorrow that the Emperor had made his protestations of amity, and he had denounced the underhand animosity of his compatriots by declaring

that his sentiments were only those of a minority.

Following these facts, five interpellations were addressed to the Chancellor. Violent reproaches of the Kaiser were uttered. A Deputy declared in the open Reichstag that if, instead of William II., another had done this he would have been condemned to penal servitude for high treason, and no one protested. Nothing could induce the Chancellor to undertake the defense of his sovereign. Before all Germany in fury, attacked by all parties, William II. found himself abandoned by all his Ministers and blamed by his Chancellor, Prince von Bülow.

William II. had humbly to submit; the "Monitor of the Empire" published a note declaring that the Chancellor had transmitted to him the remonstrances of Parliament, and that the Emperor had promised to correct his ways in the future.

There are people who believe—I read it quite recently in a great French journal—that William II. was, or is still, the idol of the German people.

Never in France has a statesman in office suffered what William II. was heard to relate in November, 1908. Never in France have our statesmen been abandoned by all their partisans; at the moment of their resignation, the day of their abdication, or of their downfall to the very foot of the ladder, they have always found in France intrepid, generous defenders.

LESSON OF THE "BLACK WEEK"

William II. had wished to warn the English. He had affirmed to them his sympathy, but at the same time he had cared to put them on guard against the hostile spirit of the German people. It was not only some few exalted persons who saw in England the great enemy of the future. The Emperor himself had been willing to give the alarm, and had denounced the evil disposition of the great majority of the German people.

And if England could be mistaken about the warning of the Kaiser, must not the reception given the interview throughout the empire been edifying to the English? What were they waiting

to understand? Why did they need six years more and the violation of Belgium to stand up before an enemy who did not even conceal himself from them?

In a matter of foreign policy; in order to defend the chauvinistic attitude of the majority of the nation, all the Germans united against the Kaiser. The Conservatives had denied their reactionary principles and their monarchical faith in order to discuss in Parliament some statements of the sovereign, the responsibility of which the Chancellor declined. The Social Democrats, who cultivated as a product for exportation a fallacious internationalism, were the most violent in branding the Emperor and his friendship for Great Britain with a hot iron.

Was not this unanimity of the Reichstag in November, 1908, a sign of the true spirit of the German Nation? Should we not have been forewarned of that other unanimity, which was displayed on the day of aggression and which astonished the world on the 4th of August, 1914?

But if we could not count on the people and Parliament, on whom, then, could we count to defend in Germany the idea of peace, and to oppose the jingoistic pretensions of the Pan-Germanists? Could it be on William II. himself? What could his power and authority still be?

DIVINE RIGHT ABANDONED

Royalty by the grace of God, that Divine right which he loved to invoke so much in mystical discourses, he himself had renounced when he had not accepted the resignation of his recreant Chancellor, when he had bowed to the censure of the Reichstag and piteously promised to be more reserved in the future, renouncing all personal policy. Before the threat of battle with the German chauvinists he had recoiled. He wanted no conflict: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." On that day his spirit of conciliation was surely what was probably always his attachment to peace—cowardice.

I pass over Agadir and the questions raised by the Baikan wars. I do so with regret; for I do not like to pass in silence an epoch in which the Post of Berlin

openly addressed the Emperor as a "valorous poltroon."

THE YEAR OF SACRIFICES

For five years William II. had endured violence, and had remained in humble and modest retirement. The year 1913 appeared propitious to him for a reconciliation with the German people. The centennial celebrations of 1813 would permit him, he believed, to communicate with the nation in the memories of history. His own jubilee, after twenty-five years of reign, and the marriage of his only daughter, should they not be, in a monarchical country, an occasion for rejoicing by the entire people?

In March, 1813, the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., had signed the manifesto of Breslau, calling the Prussian people to arms against Napoleon. William II. had a coin minted in commemoration of this act. The King was seen on it surrounded by men of the people, and around the edge ran this inscription: "The King called, and all, all ran to him."

The Pan-Germanists immediately denounced this attempt to forestall, for the house of Hohenzollern, the merit of the rising against Napoleon. The German press told the Kaiser that history affirmed the contrary. Frederick William III. had to be forced to sign the manifesto; all, all had called, and the King, far from running to them, had yielded only hesitatingly. The jubilee of 1913 was to be therefore a festival of the German people, and not of Kings and Princes.

They will speak more clearly yet during the course of the year.

William II. did not yet understand that he must continue to be silent. In a discourse in which he had recalled the sacrifices which the Prussian people had made in 1813, he thought that he could risk an allusion to the sacrifices which the German people were about to undertake again in consequence of the new military law and of the famous war tax.

Misfortune followed from this. Whose fault was it if the year 1913 was a year of sacrifices? they demanded, and M. Paul Liman, who is considered in Ger-

many the best biographer of William II., answered this question by an act of accusation against the Kaiser:

"We may trace the history of the last quarter of a century on a Byzantine groundwork of gold," said he. "We may quite glorify what has been done since the resignation of Bismarck; the fact remains that the year of the jubilee has become a year of sacrifices. The appeal of the Emperor has asked of the nation what only the hardest misery and the extreme necessity which existed a hundred years ago could justify. He has, therefore, again destroyed the legend which attributes to the living sovereign all the wisdom and an uninterrupted series of successes, until the day when history imposes on future generations the duty of engraving the truth. No, we have not gone from success to success, we have not daily climbed new heights; we have remained epigenesists, and, compared with our fathers, a generation of small people." The Germans, if they decorate for the jubilee, are honoring the tomb of their most beautiful hopes. Also "we must examine the mistakes of the last twenty-five years and try to find the answer to this question: Have we truly suffered a second Jena or an Austerlitz, since it is necessary again to demand sacrifices which formerly only the victories of Napoleon had imposed on the German people? Now, we all know it; under the reign of William II. we have made no war; the arms have remained suspended in the temple of peace. It is, therefore, his policy," said the Emperor's accuser, "which has lost what today the sword should recover."

A THREAT AGAINST PRINCES

It was in 1913 when these lines appeared in which M. Paul Liman announced that the sword would have to repair the failures of the twenty-five years of the reign of William II. Only a war could remedy the restlessness which was felt throughout Germany. Discontent had become general. An enterprising nation, full of energy, proud, and aspiring to the domination of the entire world, had found in past years no sufficient satisfaction, responsive to the program which, for fifteen years, Pan-

Germanism had mirrored before their eyes.

They caused the responsibility for this situation to be traced up to William II., to his desire to live in good relations with all the world, and to conciliate antagonisms, even at the price of concessions and capitulations. But all these attacks did not correct the Kaiser.

In the course of the same year, 1913, he married his daughter to the son of the Duke of Cumberland. What other end might this marriage pursue if it was not reconciliation with the fallen dynasty of the Guelphs? The question of Hanover had been settled since 1866. The Guelph family, excluded from Germany, was no longer a political power. And it was in order to reconcile himself with a pretender without importance that William II. renounced the influence of reigning houses through his daughter's marriage. He might have been able by a more useful alliance to attach to Germany a new foreign Court like those that we see today, among the neutrals, pursuing a Germanophile policy contrary to the wishes of their peoples.

William II. had seen in this marriage only the personal and dynastic advantage, not the national utility; he had remembered a little German State, for a long time destroyed and suppressed; he had neglected the needs of the nation and the empire's prestige in the world. A new campaign was begun against him. At its opening the Gazette of the Rhine and Westphalia put the question clearly. This is what it wrote:

"We are intoxicated with grandiloquent phrases and are praising Germany with much extravagance at the very moment when we have fallen back into the system of the little States. But one day a part of the Bismarckian spirit might awaken, the desire of greatness and of unity might again thrill the German people, and if on that day we see that the Princes have known in their policy only the right of the Princes, the little States, the princely alliances, the life of the little Courts, then the national torrent might again become democratic as in 1848, because there would be no longer any other safety than to wipe out

all the Princes. And then perhaps the Princes will tremble because of the mistakes which their ancestors commit today."

To threaten that the national movement might become democratic and "wipe out all the Princes" was truly a singular manner to feast William II. at the period of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his advent to the throne. But that proves how deep was the dissension between him and those who were directing the chauvinistic drive in the German Nation.

THE PAN-GERMANISTS DEMAND A WAR LEADER

William II. had at length understood that he would have to efface himself. He preserved silence after the dedication of the monument of Leipsic, and when we recall the exuberance of his eloquence at the beginning of his reign, we can divine the mortification to which he had to submit.

But his effacement was not sufficient for the leaders of Pan-Germanism. They openly demanded another man at the head of the empire, and they could see growing from day to day the manifest opposition between the Emperor and the Crown Prince, whom the chauvinists were then pushing forward without believing very much in his talents.

"Every people wishes to be led," declared M. Class to the gathering which the Pan-Germanist League organized at the time of the Leipsic festivals. "It makes its greatest efforts only when the leaders pursue their ideal with a strong soul and a firm will. This leadership thinks in default of us. * * * With all our vows we call for a chief who should make us forget the miseries of the present time. * * * It is men of character who make history; give a leader to the present generation of Germans, and it will show itself worthy of its fathers. Millions of Germans await this chief, and with him they would go forward to internal reforms and exterior expansion, even if the world were full of devils."

Let us have no illusions. Even on the day of its defeat it is not in order to

have peace that the German people "will wipe out its Princes." It is in order to have the war which it has threatened them with.

HUNGER FOR NEW TERRITORY

In his discourse, M. Class had precisely stated the ideal which for long years the Pan-Germanist League had implanted in the German soul with systematic insistence and unwearied urgency.

"Here is our program," said he: "The journey to Versailles is not the end of the development of the German Empire, it is merely a resting place; to tell the truth, it is but the commencement of a larger grouping of all the Germans of Central Europe in a unity which may permit them to resist all the tempests of the future."

But in order to realize this program, it was necessary to have the courage to recognize the needs of the hour and to face even war. The Emperor dares not; he speaks of sacrifices, of concessions, of renunciations.

"At the price of renunciations," declared the President of the Pan-Germanist League, "we could enjoy the friendship of the entire world. But we are not willing to and must not renounce.

"Already we hear among all classes of our people, but especially among the informed bourgeoisie, this question: Why are we making immense sacrifices for our fleet and our army if we do not demand and do not obtain anything? The Government cannot be mistaken on the meaning of this question. Our fleet is powerful enough to make England fear it; our army is again at the height of its mission. And under these conditions should we practice a policy of renunciation? * * * The hunger for new territories is characteristic of our period; it must be satiated. The necessity of satisfying it gives to our people a task which will lead them to a high flight. The Government will have to thank Providence for it. The task consists in working so that this instinctive hunger for territory, such as exists among the masses, shall become a conscious and energetic will, a violent and irresistible decision to procure for our people what it needs, for its existence, for its health."

UNANIMITY OF THE PEOPLE

Such was the spirit of the Pan-Germanist League in the year which preceded the war. Foreign countries were mistaken regarding the influence which the Pan-Germanists could have on the German people and on the decisions of the Government. Nevertheless, incidents were repeated from month to month and were exploited by the chauvinistic press to excite all the passions of the masses. Merely with regard to France I could recall, in the space of twenty months, the squabbles at Nancy, the tour of France by the Zeppelin which had to land at Lunéville, the incessant campaign of lies against the Foreign Legion, the preparation of numerous papers on the tribulations of the Germans in Morocco, the affair of Saverne, with the insult, not taken up, to the French flag—and I omit the rest.

The vote on the military law of 1913 made manifest the complete harmony which existed between the people and the Generals: "The nation," stated the Pan-Germanist organs, "has proved by a crushing majority that it did not wish to know anything of the debilitating idea of an eternal peace."

Indeed, everybody in Germany wanted war.

The Generals and the Admirals, who did not wish to have worked for nothing, dreamed of easy victories and laurels. They had shared in the direction of the associations which caused the agitation in the country; the Pan-Germanist League, the Navy League, the Army League, the Association for the Defense of Germanism in Foreign Countries, and all the others which, under different denominations or pretexts, spread among all the classes the same arrogant and aggressive spirit.

The professors of the universities and of the gymnasiums had not ceased for a century to inculcate ferocious hatred and contempt for the foreigner. To the ex-creation of France, hereditary enemy, they had joined jealousy and hatred against England, disdain for Russia. The bad faith of the official teaching—I can speak of it since I have made all my studies in the German schools—this bad

WONDERFUL ARTIFICIAL LIMBS



A Soldier Who Has Lost Both Feet, Yet Walks Fairly Well With Clever Substitutes.



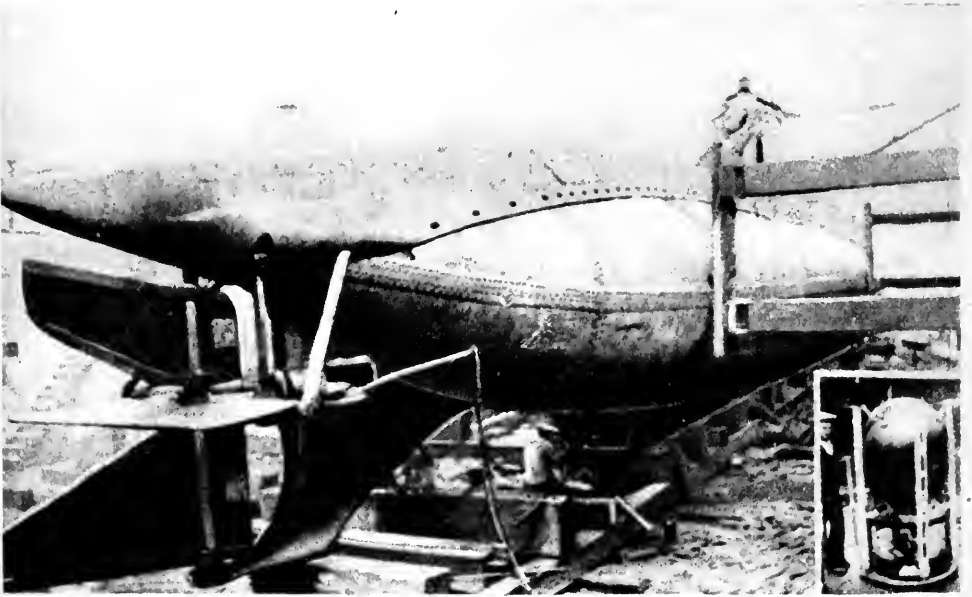
A Mutilated Soldier Who Follows a Manual Trade By Means of Artificial Hands.



A French Soldier Who Has Lost Both Hands, Yet Can Handle a Cigarette and Salute as Before.

(Photos from Paul Thompson.)

GERMAN SUBMARINE MINE-LAYER



The "U C 5," Which Was Captured by the British and Is Being Refitted in an English Drydock. One of the Mines Is Shown in the Inset.



TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED IN THE ALPS
Italian Red Cross Workers in the Mountains, Sending Down the
Wounded on an Ingenious Aerial Trolley Line

faith should not have needed the manifesto of the '93s to awaken the entire world.

A WAR OF COVETOUSNESS

The army and navy purveyors saw only advantages in a war which would procure for them immense profits. It was in the country of the Krupps that we found the most violent Pan-Germanist journals, the most exacting and the most influential. The manufacturers and the merchants, intoxicated with an economic flight unequalled in history, counted on victories and conquests to assure them raw materials and open to them new markets. The financiers, rashly engaged in too vast operations of credit, discounted, after a conflict which would be short, the rain of gold from new indemnities of war. The proletariat classes themselves saw only the economic prosperity of Germany, which would procure for them higher salaries after a military triumph of which no one was in doubt.

All parties, all professions, and all classes of the nation had let themselves be carried away by the Pan-Germanist propaganda. How could the Emperor alone resist it? The conflict existed for almost twenty-five years and had only been aggravated; had not monarchical journals appealed against him, even to the spectre of a democratic movement?

Carried beyond his intentions by the worldwide policy of 1896, he had in vain sought to calm the chauvinistic craze. Forced to intervene in Morocco, he had been blamed for the awkwardness of his

journey to Tangier. Attacked in consequence with the utmost violence, he had seen his authority exhausted in face of the reproaches of the "pessimists." Villified by all parties for having dared to express his sympathy to England, he had to accept the remonstrances of the Reichstag and had cowardly submitted to a traitor Chancellor. Now, after a reign of twenty-five years, they reproached him with having dug "the grave of the most beautiful hopes" of Germany, they demanded another leader than he, they spoke of "wiping out the Princes." William II, who does not like contests, preferred war. M. Jules Cambon stated the fact after a visit of the King of the Belgians to Berlin. On the 22d of November, 1913, the Ambassador of France telegraphed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace."

This conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us: On the day for the settlement of accounts, we do not stop at the Emperor. William II. is not interesting. It is the entire German Nation which has wished the war; the whole nation must be chastised. The entire nation has agreed to the worship of force and has approved the abuse which has been made of it. The entire nation has shared in the contempt of right and constantly coveted her neighbor's goods. An end must be put to her arrogance, to her invading spirit, to the encroachments of her policy.

We must finish it with Germany.

"He Is the Master Assassin"

By Joseph Reinach

Special Writer of The Paris Figaro

Another French view of the Kaiser's responsibility, very different from M. Helmer's, is that of the brilliant historian and publicist, Joseph Reinach:

UNLESS I am greatly mistaken, the question of the Hohenzollerns will become more important every day. It is too vague to speak of destroying German militarism; we must abolish German militarism's soul, which is the

House of Hohenzollern, with its feudal castes and all its birds of prey.

I have shown twenty times that the war is the personal work of the German Emperor. Exactly when he began to premeditate it perhaps even he does not know. But it is a fact that he had taken his stand Nov. 6, 1913, when he unbosomed himself to the Belgian King about "the necessity of war soon and his certainty of

success." It is a fact that this imminent war was the subject of the famous conference of April, 1914, with Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Konopstadt. It is a fact that finally, as accomplice of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, he with his own hand abolished all chance of peace, refused the conference proposed by England and the arbitration of The Hague Conference offered by the Czar, and declared war upon Russia at the very moment when the Vienna Government had welcomed Petrograd's proposals. And this though every pretext for war had vanished.

Since the brusque attack through Belgium failed and his bright dream of victory vanished, since German corpses strew the earth and the German Nation is hungry and bears the hatred of the world, while the horizon is lowering with menace, the German Emperor is afraid, and says, "I willed it not." Then who did will it?

His feudal chiefs, his junkers, the Kronprinz, and his Agrarians willed it, too, but Germany of the Hohenzollerns is no oligarchy or democracy. There is one lord and master, Hohenzollern the Emperor. It is he who willed, who ordered, who began this war. All other accomplices—and there are many, Austrian and German both—cannot alter the fact that the Kaiser is principally responsible. His is the first place at the dock of in-

famy where others after him will sit. He is the master assassin.

The British Premier, Asquith, has also said this in a solemn declaration before the House of Commons in connection with the case of Captain Fryatt. He said: "The British Government will bring to justice the criminals responsible, whoever they may be and whatever their position." Surely in such a case the man who is the author of the system under which the crime is committed is the most guilty of all. Who is that man? Over a year ago in the verdict on the Lusitania a jury of Kinsale pronounced guilty of wholesale murder the officers of the submarine, the German Government, and the Emperor of Germany. All those Generals, those officers, those soldiers are only his tools and accomplices. They struck the blow, but Nero ordered it. As Mr. Asquith said, it is he who is chiefly responsible. He was the arch-criminal.

The conduct of the war is one thing. We will employ against the Germans every instrument of destruction they first employed against us. The conditions of peace are another. We will not make our peace a mere truce between two slaughters. We will insure the future of free peoples.

But with him who premeditated, willed, and ordered all these crimes—one doesn't negotiate with him, one judges him.

The German Emperor's Appeal to His People

Following is part of an open letter to the German people, written by Kaiser Wilhelm late in July within sound of the enemy's guns on the western front. It was circulated by the semi-official Wolff News Agency and printed in all the German papers:

THE battle is raging, huge beyond all previous imagination. Rejuvenated, perfectly equipped with all they want, Russia's armies again have broken against our bulwarks in the east. This has eased the situation for Italy. France has experienced a regeneration in this war of which she hardly believed

herself capable. She has dragged her dilatory English ally into joining the offensive on the Somme, and whatever inward worth the British Army has it now has an abundance of artillery.

The iron hurricane rages against our brave German men at the Somme. Negroes and white men come upon us in wave after wave, in ever fresh storms, wild and sullen. Everything is at stake. The ice-cold haberdashers on the Thames yearn for our holiest things. The health and life of our women and our children are menaced. Even neutrals must bear hunger. Only the depths of the ocean

now are open to us. Should we be victorious there is threatening a 'war after the war' when the best energies and power of the nation, now expressed by its joy in arms, shall be taxed to the utmost to meet raw force, hatred, and columny.

What, German people, is your duty in this hour? The army wants no exhortations. It has fought superhumanly. It will fight until final victory. But the people at home—this is their duty: To suffer in silence, to bear their renunciations with dignity.

Those at home are not all doing these things. Not all are alive to the tremendous seriousness of the times. Are our people at home the same people as at the beginning of the war? The writer fears not. Let us remember that this is no ordinary rupture of ordinary life.

It is the hour of destiny for our Fatherland, the hour which will influence us for centuries. We must unite in opposition to the entire world. We must all cooperate in the struggle.

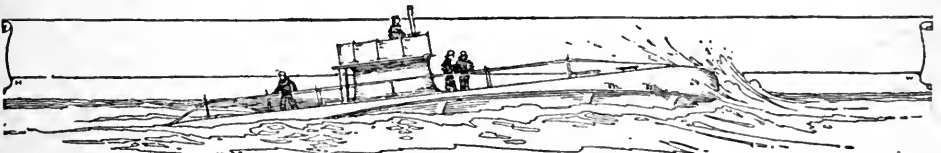
Any man or woman who hangs his or her head or suffers despondency to enter his soul is guilty now of treason. Every word of complaint or discouragement is a crime against our fathers, our sons, and our brothers. Let us show the greatness of the German Nation. Do not jeopardize everything by petty squabbling. It is no time for internecine strife. But it is time for holding together. In this hour the best manhood of the nation, mature men and budding youths, are presenting their breasts to the iron hail of the English, Russian, and African hordes. Everything is at stake.

The Kaiser's Sermon to Army Chaplains

A chaplain in the German Army, Dr. Ott, recently published in the Vossische Zeitung the following portions of a speech made by the Kaiser to a congregation of army chaplains at Main Headquarters:

It is a time of sifting. The world war divides and takes the chaff from the wheat. You, gentlemen, have to work to teach the German Nation to take things seriously and to accept the present as a time of trial. It is important to understand that life is a trial. We need practical Christianity to bring our life into harmony with the personality of our Lord. Live simply according to His acts and His deeds. Gentlemen, how fascinating and marvelously manifold is this personality! We have only to study it thoroughly. We must live with the Lord. Suppose the Lord entered this moment through that door, could we look into His face? Going to church once a week is not enough. He must become the ideal of practical life. Determine to live according to the Lord's teaching. You shall bring before us a vision of God, who now certainly, perhaps as judge, passes through the world. You must represent Him and show Him to us.

I believe that the men who are now in the trenches will be different men when they come home. Impress upon them that they must retain in the future the thoughts which fill them now. Everybody must admit that our nation is great, that it has without complaint or hesitation sacrificed everything for the great cause. This inspiration is derived from God. Give the men in the trenches my greetings, and impress upon them the need for firm reliance on God.



Bethmann Hollweg's Peace Plans

By Maximilian Harden

Editor of Die Zukunft

Maximilian Harden issued another defiance in *Die Zukunft* June 24, 1916, against the press censorship in Germany, and incidentally in this attack on the Government defended the Chancellor from the bitter criticism of his political enemy, General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg. The Chancellor himself answered Dr. Kapp in heated invective in the Reichstag and is reported to have received a challenge in consequence, but this is not confirmed.

NOW, for almost two years, speech and writing have again come under censorship in the German Empire; a law is in force which became sixty-five years old last Spring, so that it is much further removed from conditions today than it was in the first hour of its existence from conditions in the land of Frederick. The underlying idea is to show the enemy that sixty-seven million human beings have the same opinion on big and little matters; expressions of contrary views must not be allowed to come to the surface.

In July, 1870, all Germans read this sentence: "The war is a dynastic war, undertaken in the interest of the Bonaparte dynasty, as the war of 1866 was undertaken in that of the Hohenzollerns. As the determined opponents on principle of every dynastic war, as social republicans and members of the international association of workmen, which, without discrimination on account of nationality, combats all oppressors and seeks to unite all the oppressed in one great brotherly union, we cannot declare ourselves either directly or indirectly in favor of this war, and we refrain, therefore, from voting, in the hope that all the nations of Europe, taught by the present unfortunate events, will do all in their power to regain the right of making their own decisions, and do away with the present-day military and class domination as the cause of all Governmental and social troubles." This protest was drawn up by Delegates Liebknecht and Bebel, and the Government of Prussia and the North German Confederation was not afraid that it would have a bad effect on public sentiment nor

shake the desire of the South Germans for union.

This confidence was justified. The war ended in a German victory, although all the major questions (origin of the war, possibility of foreign intervention, conduct of operations, right of plunder in foreign territory, form of government for France, annexation, bombardment of Paris) were discussed in comparative freedom.

Today it is different. And for that very reason the Chancellor should not be surprised at the great output of writing by those under ground. He was especially bitter in the Reichstag against two secretly circulated hostile pamphlets. "Invention, garbling, foul, lying, vile instigation, abuse, poisoning of the people, pirates of public opinion, slanderers." Rage drowned the counsels of the preacher Salomo and of Boetius, the consoler of philosophers, who said that anger should never jeopardize a dearly bought reputation for constant wisdom. * * *

And there is no lack of mistakes in the two documents denounced by the Chancellor. That of General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg—head of the provincial credit associations—shows the seed of error in its very title, "National Circles and the Chancellor." * * *

He champions the belief that "the enemy has not yet been forced to make peace, though beaten." Whom does he mean? England? France, who, since September, 1914, has maintained her main positions? And can any German who wishes no self-deception call Russia a beaten enemy after her big successes in Armenia and Galicia? By fostering

such mistaken notions the strength of our people for attack and defense, which, so far as we can calculate, will exist still for a very long time, would be lessened. Herr Kapp parades as truth what has yet to be proved such, and, standing on this weak foundation, shouts forth that the weak will power of the Chancellor is jeopardizing a triumph which otherwise we might win. The submarine, he tells us, is "the deciding weapon." He states unqualifiedly that it can bring the decision, but fails to state anywhere that the three Admirals now in favor agree with the Chancellor that submarine warfare must be curtailed. The Chancellor is accused of allowing "political considerations to overrule military points of view." Had he achieved the triumph aforesaid he would have fulfilled what Clausewitz called the highest duty of a statesman and acted as Bismarck demanded that every conscientious head of a Government should act.

The Government of the United States, we are told, has for a long time been unneutral because it has (just as we did in every war of these last decades) allowed the exportation by private firms of war material, (which it could not have hindered except by changing the fundamental laws of the land.) We are told that it is our enemy, that it treats Germany like a negro republic, but that it could not seriously hurt Germany, who is "financially stronger than all her foes," should it go over to her enemies. Everybody has read this sort of thing in a hundred papers since the day of the Lusitania, and every unprejudiced person must at least have suspected that the public refutation of such statements is impossible in war time.

The only new thing in this document, it seems to me, is about the food policy. "Fear of the masses of consumers in the big cities and industrial centres has forced the Government to a highly unfortunate national socialism." An unnecessary state of affairs. The danger that the rich man may buy away means of nourishment from the poor could only occur, we hear, "if the rich man ate twenty times as much as he could digest"—not, likewise, if he stored away enough

to assure himself for six months of the same degree of good living to which he had been accustomed in times of peace. Instead of suppressing trade and introducing repressive measures against peasants, we hear, artificial organization ("which is really complete disorganization and bewilderment of the market") should be thrown on the rubbish heap and unhindered free trade promptly re-introduced.

Need exists only because there is coercion. Free markets would mean free fixing of prices by supply and demand—the reader begins to believe that the free trader, Friedrich Kapp, is speaking, he who, after practicing law for twenty years in the United States, returned to the new empire as a converted Forty-Eighter and became the comrade of Bamberger. But that Kapp, unlike the general provincial director, would not have demanded "stronger protection of national labor," nor exaggerated appreciation of export trade, nor plural voting rights for Prussia, nor the "increase of the voting age." But he would have appraised the power of the United States differently, from better knowledge, and he would have deliberated longer as to what would happen in Germany if now, suddenly, this confession should come from above: "All the orders issued by us during the last two years, from Delbrück to Batocki, were utterly crazy—centralized purchasing, embargo, fixing of maximum prices, distribution of rations, fights against speculation. Wherefore, beginning tomorrow, the procedure customary in time of peace is to be resumed in every market."

Thus would the man from Königsberg have it. To follow his lead is to assure a paradise to the German Nation. After peace is declared (its terms to be dictated to Britons, Russians, Frenchmen, Italians, Belgians, Americans, Australians, and Japanese) there will come a "tremendous national growth. Rivalry and disunion within the land will be silent; intellectual and political leaders of our people will disinterestedly devote themselves, in thought and act, to the welfare of the Fatherland. It

will be wonderful; all that is needed is faith.

"Germany's mission is to usher in a new and happy epoch for humanity." Whoever thinks differently is not national; he does not belong to the best circles. Among the many genuine Germans of every class with whom I have spoken during these years of war there are at most three who come up to the requirements of Kapp, and these three never bothered about politics until August, 1914. * * *

How easily his beliefs overcome reason is shown by his repetition of the rumor that "England, even before the war, demanded the dismissal of Herr von Tirpitz." Never did a Briton worthy of keeping out of the madhouse think of such a demand; as late as June, 1914, Mr. Churchill expressed a desire to confer with the admired Great Admiral. Herr Kapp looks upon everybody who wished, or still wishes, dignified reconciliation with England as a fool or a wretch. He is of the opinion that American financial aid "has a very disagreeable side for our foes, since the money is by no means given free." Enough! Even with a will as strong as that shown by the author one cannot find, in the fifty-one pages of his work, a single sentence worthy to provide food for thought to a politician.

The second hostile document does not leap from Pan-Germany to Manchester, nor prophesy a world power destined to bring humanity and nations unclouded days of peace. "Junius Alter"—so the author styles himself. * * *

The German Empire was not, after the retirement of Prince Bülow, "in desperate case"; it was able, both east and west, to make protective alliances. But, if the situation in 1909 was "desperate," by what right is Herr von Bethmann to be damned to the lowest depths? He is accused of "unqualified love of peace," of being impelled to obtain "reconciliation at any price." "Mad desire for reconciliation and arriving at an understanding" are brought up against the Chancellor, who ignored three English expressions of a wish to arrive at an understanding, who put through an army

increase never before dreamed of, who declared war on two allied great powers and sanctioned the onslaught upon Belgium. What is said about the attitude of Serbia, Belgium, Italy, and Japan can easily be proved false on the day when it becomes possible to speak openly of such things. Herr Ballin (whose "close personal relations" to Herr von Tirpitz antedate those with the Chancellor) never counseled timid compliance with English or American demands, but wrote, on the contrary, that he must needs despise himself if he allowed himself, at such a critical time, to be moved by the business interests of his Hamburg-American Line. * * *

And so forth. Good sense alternates with foolishness; weeds of error choke many a truth. Mistakes which should be censured are not noted by this critic; that which he deems reprehensible will appear to others—whose love of country is, notwithstanding, by no means more lukewarm—as worthy of praise.

On two important points both critics agree. They are firm in the rock-bound conviction that the war may be carried by military means to a triumphant conclusion; that the German Empire can obtain large territories in Europe and Africa; that indemnity for most of the war expenses can be assured to it; that only a man leaning toward submissiveness can fail to reach this goal. (Why a Chancellor whose existence and reputation depend on the hazard of war should be too weak to make others fight and bleed on land and sea, and to allow the strategists, upon whom he might shift responsibility, to go their way unchecked, nobody has yet explained. No matter.) Every wish for a worthy understanding, one that might organize peace and save Europe from exhaustion, is foolish or criminal. Whether America, a hemisphere, fights against us or not is unworthy of discussion. Submarine warfare is a certain means for the overthrow of Britain; after such a victory no conspiracy against us need ever again be feared. Whoever thinks otherwise excludes himself by that very act from the ranks of the patriots. * * *

A holy nation of heroic, unconquerable

angels surrounded by murderers, foot-pads, and the spawn of vipers, all of whom—except for three comrades of another stripe—are but a hellish brood devoured by lust for profit—never was there aught like that! Never were there on earth the human pests which you have imagined, nor such an unearthly, brilliant victory as you hope for. No nation could stand it; to none could it bring fruit from which good could come. Only at the cost of its own ruin can one group overthrow the other—shall it be in 1917 or 1920?

We may be content with the harvest of the war if it airs and cleanses the earth, transforms swampy lands, clouded with hate and ringed around with envy, into the bright home of free human beings, living within their own rights, and, by that very token, respecting the rights of those around them. It is not easy for a nation fighting in the shadow of deadly peril to weigh true values soberly. Woe to him who makes this task even harder by wicked passion! He burdens himself with a guilt that will crush him on the Day of Judgment.

Have a care lest ye force upon the nation the phantom of your soul, hungering in its cage. Snatch, rather, the bandage from its eyes; allow the people, which gives its blood and will give its worldly goods, to shape its destiny in freedom; everything not small would be far too great for it were it, tomorrow, to be yet under guardianship. Rant not about growth and character, muscle, the shepherd's staff! Nay, free yourselves,

and your wives and children, from the lazy craving to be sheep, forever to remain sheep!

"I shall endeavor to have the censorship applied as little as possible in political matters only slightly connected with the conduct of the war." Solacing words of shepherd wisdom! Nothing but a few words, which can never become reality. Were every censor squarely responsible to every writer and to the people, one might believe in mitigation of the censorship. It is merely the visible sign of the state of mind which makes it possible; it is the fever flaming out of illness. It exists because legislators and press demand it; it would perish miserably at the threat of a refusal to vote war credits, to suspend further publication of a newspaper. The masked writers demand freedom for themselves, not for those thinking differently.

"There can be no talk, of course, of a hollow, premature peace, for that will hurt us abroad." More nonsense, which becomes childish in the sunlight. Whatever Tom, Dick, or Harry may say in Germany about the conduct or object of the war will not hurt us abroad. Naught will harm us there except the constant attempt to look like sheep obediently trotting behind the shepherd.

Right and left the foe is listening; but nowhere can he detect the voice of the German people. Could he but hear it, we should be near to peace, which is possible today, which only a miracle could make better.

The Chancellor's Counterattack

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's Reichstag speech of July 5, part of which was printed on page 728 of the June CURRENT HISTORY, still stirs European echoes. The article by Maximilian Harden, which precedes this one, is a case in point, as is also the speech by Sazonoff, which follows it. The passages attacking the Chancellor's German critics have only recently reached this country, and are reproduced herewith:

After denouncing as "shameless lies"

the statements that he was in a state of physical collapse when informed that England would enter the war, or that he was opposed to measures prior to the war for strengthening the army, or that he could have won over Japan if he had favored a large loan to that country, he proceeded as follows:

I MUST place still lower one of the most repugnant assertions. I am accused of keeping back for three precious days, against the wish of the

military authorities, the order for mobilization, which have cost us not only part of Alsace, but also streams of blood, and the striking of the first blow at the right time, in the hope, based on my old idea, of an understanding with England—I know that these attempts at an understanding with England are my capital offense. I have already spoken once at length in the Reichstag against these poisonous and insidious calumnies. I must do it once more.

What was Germany's position? France and Russia were closely united by an indissoluble alliance; there was a strong party of revenge in France; an influential and growing section, moving toward war, in Russia. France and Russia could only be held in check if the hope of England was successfully taken from them. They would then never have ventured on war. If I wished to work against war—and I have done so—I had to attempt to enter into relationship with England. That would have kept down the war parties in France and Russia. I made this attempt in face of an English policy of envelopment, hostile to Germany, which was also known to me. I am not ashamed of it, even if it has proved abortive. Let any one who, after witnessing this world war, which has now lasted almost two years, with its hecatombs of human sacrifices, tries to represent my action as a crime, answer for his accusation before God. I contemplate my sentence calmly.

But the efforts to come to an understanding with England had nothing to do with the mobilization of the army. I am accused of keeping back for three days the order for mobilization, and thus having caused the streams of blood of our people. Does not the obscurantist who wrote that know that in these three critical days we feverishly worked for a settlement of the differences between Russia and Austria-Hungary, and that especially the Kaiser, whose most earnest desire was the preservation of peace in the interests of the people, remained in uninterrupted telegraphic communication with the Czar? Does not this writer see that, if we had mobilized three days earlier, we should have laid upon ourselves that blood-guiltiness which Rus-

sia took upon herself, when she did so when negotiations were proceeding favorably, contrary to the promises she had solemnly given us?

This man, who is falsifying history in this way, assumes to sit in judgment over me! Tear away the mask, that we may see who it is that, in these trying times, dares to misuse the names of the German people and of Bismarck with the basest hints and slanders.

Another publication, gentlemen, the author of which bears a good name. It is the Generallandschaftsdirektor Kapp. This man contrives to assert that the watchword issued by me is beginning to play the same unfortunate rôle as in 1806 did that traitorous phrase: "Tranquillity is the first civil duty," issued after Jena. Where is that Jena now? Has the author no appreciation of the greatness of the present time when he warningly recalls Jena? Has he the impudence to call me a traitor to the State when in the struggle, above all, I can only see a united Germany?

Gentlemen, it is not, indeed, pleasant to have to defend one's self against the lies of a foreign enemy, but libels and calumnies at home are loathsome; still, I accept the battle and will fight it through with all the means at my disposal. It is not my person that is in question. What does the individual matter today when the entire fit manhood of Germany looks death in the face? What is in question is the cause of the Fatherland, which will suffer most grievously if mistrust and error are systematically carried round at great expense and with a great waste of printer's ink.

It may appear remarkable that I occupy your time today with references to secret pamphlets, but I consider it my duty to take care that the mind of the people should not be poisoned and to throw light on these secret agitations.

Gentlemen, I know well that no party in this house would approve of incitements based on untruths and calumnies, but the pirates of public opinion unfortunately but too often make a false use of the flag of national parties. Under the protection of this banner I am now attacked as a despiser of the great national traditions of which the

old parties of this house are so justly proud. As a proof it is stated that I try to curry favor with the Social Democrats and patronize the pessimists. Again and again we hear: This Chancellor depends entirely on the Social Democrats and the pacifists.

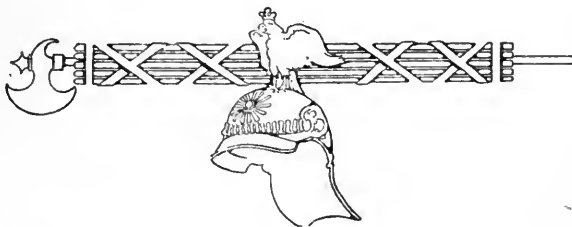
Gentlemen, in this war in which there are but Germans, am I to keep to parties? I am well aware that the difference between national and other parties played a great rôle in political life before the war, but the best fruits that this war can bring us will be that these differences be laid aside once for all, because the national spirit will have become a matter of course. My hopes in this direction are confident and firm, in spite of the gentlemen around Herr Liebknecht. These will be called to account by the people after the war.

We shall have party strifes after the war as violent, perhaps even more so, than before. It will be a new era with new mental movements and new social demands! The time will come when these battles will have to be fought, but are we to poison them from the outset by continuing to operate according to the old plan of national and anti-national parties?

I see the entire nation in heroic stature, fighting for its future. Our sons and brothers are fighting and dying side by side. There we see equal love for home in all, whether home comprised for them possessions and riches, or whether it was a place where only their own strength afforded them a livelihood. This sacred flame of love of home burns in every heart, so that they defy death and face a thousand dangers. Only a heart completely dried up can fail to feel the af-

fecting impression of the great primitive strength of this nation, or resist the most ardent love for this people. Ought I to divide? Should I not rather unite? Should anxiety and care concerning the struggle in the future cripple the forces which we need to continue the great battle' in the present? No, gentlemen, belief in and love for my people give me the firm certainty that we shall fight and conquer as we have fought and conquered hitherto.

Gentlemen, I must now conclude. Our enemies wish to let it go on to the end. We fear neither death nor the devil, nor the hunger devil which they wish to send into our country. The men who fight out there around Verdun, who fight under Hindenburg, our proud blue-jackets who showed Albion how the rats can bite, are fashioned from a breed that knows how to bear privations also. These privations are there. I say that calmly and openly, even to foreign countries, but we bear them, and in this battle also progress is being made. A gracious Heaven allows a good harvest to ripen here. It will not be worse but better than in the previous hard year and better than it is now. This reckoning of our enemies on our economic difficulties will prove deceptive. Another calculation was sharply upset by our young navy on June 1. Nor will this victory make us boastful; we know well that England is thereby not yet beaten, but it is a token of our future, wherein Germany on the sea also will win for herself full equality of rights, and also for smaller peoples the lasting freedom of the sea routes now closed by England's domination. That is the bright and promising light that shone out on June 1.



Who Is Responsible for the War?

An Answer to the German Chancellor

By S. D. Sazonoff

Russian Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs

From a statement made to a correspondent of the *Russkoe Slovo*, Moscow, which has been widely discussed in the German press. This was one of the last public utterances of the Minister before retiring from office.

THE substance and vehement tone of the latest declarations of the German Chancellor are explained when one remembers that Bethmann Hollweg had to defend his reputation as a statesman and his policies, not before some neutral audience, but against the rebukes and criticisms of his own fellow-countrymen. * * * In an attempt to whitewash himself he has surpassed all that he ever said before. Thus, for instance, he does not hesitate to make the extraordinary statement that "England, France, and Russia were closely united in an alliance against Germany." In order to say such a thing one must be sure of his audience. It is true that the Germans, on account of their military education, are capable of accepting collectively everything told them by their Government as a revelation from on high. Nevertheless, what the Chancellor dared to declare no literate man elsewhere in Europe would dare to claim. That there was no such alliance in existence between England, France, and Russia is known to the Chancellor as well as to many others; but he thinks it unprofitable to confess it.

As far as I am concerned, I was personally always of the opinion that if Germany began a war in Europe for the establishment of her hegemony, England's participation in such a war would be inevitable. However, I was not so certain that England's entrance into it would take place immediately after Germany's attack upon France. The Chancellor permits himself to say that we, that is, France and Russia, would never have dared to accept Germany's challenge for war had we not been assured of England's co-operation. But in reality the situation was exactly such as the Chan-

cellor refuses to admit. Though loving peace and desirous of relieving the situation without bloodshed, France and Russia, nevertheless, had decided to resist Germany, and once for all to put an end to her habit of stepping on her neighbors' toes.

What happened then? As a result of Germany's clumsy diplomacy, the Entente Cordiale, with its loose form, has grown into a firm political alliance, bound together for many years with the object of defending the rights and interests of the powers belonging to it, and to preserve peace in Europe.

In addition to the many charges of the Chancellor, which are all remarkable for their bad faith, he also condemns Russia for burdening her conscience with the guilt of a bloody crime by her "premature" mobilization. Of course, the Chancellor did not consider it expedient to remember that the Russian mobilization took place after the full mobilization of the Austrian Army, and after the mobilization of a considerable part of the German Army.

The fact of the early mobilization order printed in the Prussian official organ, the *Lokal Anzeiger*, is known to all, and although the copies of that paper were later torn by the police from the hands of the public, the fact remains a fact.

Ignoring the methods selected by the Chancellor in his self-defense, I am ready to admit that it is indeed possible that the Chancellor himself did not desire the war and was not even its immediate culprit. But, should we even admit such a possibility, that will only make it apparent that the war was sought and aimed at by his many official colleagues. The conviction, firmly established in Eu-

rope, that the ultimatum to Serbia was worked out under the direct supervision of a German diplomat occupying a high post, and was immediately dispatched to the German Emperor for approval, passing the responsible leader of German politics, will but attest the fact that the Chancellor was not master in his own house. At the same time it is hard to entertain the thought that the Chancellor could remain completely outside the machinations of the enemies of peace in Europe, or that he could be entirely unaware of them.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg frequently speaks with artificial satisfaction of what Germany has accomplished since the beginning of hostilities, and carefully avoids mentioning the things Germany had definitely planned, and which still remain but a dream. A list of these unaccomplished things would

prove, in comparison with that of the achievements, many times longer.

By no amount of ingenuity can the Chancellor ever succeed in proving that the war was caused by Russia or England. The war is exclusively the work of the Pan-Germanic cancer which has been eating into the body of Germany for years, and which has now reached her vital organs.

To me, personally, it seems that at times both the Chancellor and von Jagow realized the danger hidden in that terrible malady, but neither of them had the courage to enter into a struggle against it. So long as Germany's neighbors are not convinced that Pan-Germanism, in whose hands Prussian militarism is the chief instrument, has ceased to be a world menace, so long is peace impossible between the Allies and Germany.

Verdun

By EMILE CAMMAERTS

[From Land and Water]

La neige saupoudre les collines,
La glace frange les ruisseaux,
Les bois découpent leurs ombres fines—
Vert des sapins, brun des bouleaux—
La Terre dort sous un ciel sourd,
La Meuse
Noire murmure une berceuse . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Avril sourit sur les collines,
La crue gonfle les ruisseaux,
Les buissons chantent, les bois s'animent—
Noir des sapins, jaune des bouleaux
La Terre fait un rêve d'amour,
La Meuse
Bleue roule ses eaux furieuses . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Le soleil inonde les collines,
Les prés en fleurs et les ruisseaux,
Sous la feuillée, l'abeille butine—
Vert des sapins, vert des bouleaux—
La Terre se pâme au bras du Jour,
La Meuse
Claire démêle ses boucles langoureuses . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Lutz est tombée, Koloméa,
Asiago et Posina—
La Terre mange ses conquérants—
La Boisselle tombe et Montauban,
Dompierre tombe et Becquincourt—
Tandis que, là-bas, la Meuse
Rouge berce ses eaux trompeuses . . .
Mais Verdun tient toujours!

Juillet, 1916. [All rights reserved.]

The Kaiser's Message to America

By Alfred K. Nippert

Judge of Common Pleas Court, Cincinnati, and Vice President of American Commission for Relief of East Prussia

Judge Nippert dined with Emperor William at the German headquarters near Verdun on June 24, and afterward talked with him for two hours, receiving an informal message from the Kaiser to President Wilson, which he delivered on his return to the United States. The following article is condensed from a verbal statement made by Judge Nippert to a representative of THE NEW YORK

TIMES:

THE German Kaiser asked me to deliver this message to the President of the United States:

"It might be well for America to know that of 3,000 inhabitants, women, children, and old men, driven by the Cossacks out of one town on the Prussian frontier, across the icy fields and snow-covered steppes into Russia, 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. Ten thousand women and children and old men have been driven into Russia from the Prussian frontier.

"It is the fate of these nonbelligerents that causes me to express to the President of the United States the wish and hope that America, as the great nation which has done so much for the different war-stricken districts, will not turn a deaf ear to the call of the children and the tears of the mothers who are still surviving Russian captivity today.

"If America, with her standing among the nations of the world, could exercise her great influence through her Government and its President, to prevail upon Russia to release the surviving remnant of this vast number of those who have suffered, then America would, indeed, be doing an act of humanity for which my people would be eternally grateful. We ask nothing for our army or for ourselves, but fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, are standing in despair at our frontier, looking for the return of

those who are near and dear to them, and we are helpless.

"A third Winter of war in Russia will mean the absolute annihilation of every woman, certainly every child, who is being held captive in the country beyond the Fatherland. Here is an opportunity for America to invoke the spirit of humanity and bring happiness and joy where today is only sorrow and distress."

Judge Nippert spent three and one-half months in Germany visiting particularly that part of East Prussia which was invaded by the Russians early in the war. He went abroad to see how the \$400,000 sent by the American Commission for the Relief of East Prussia had been expended.

The Emperor, according to Judge Nippert, expressed much surprise that the American people, who had accepted as true all the stories of the destruction of Rheims Cathedral and the Hôtel de Ville in Louvain by the Germans, should take no interest, seemingly, in the wanton destruction by the Cossacks of churches erected in East Prussia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Knights of the Crusades.

"I saw the Emperor by invitation at his headquarters at the Western frontier," said Judge Nippert. "I am not at liberty to be more precise as to the geographical location. It was on the evening of the day of the Kaiser's visit to the Verdun front, and I had just returned from Rheims, that is to say, Zerney, a village just across the field from the Rheims Cathedral, and the nearest place occupied by the German troops.

"The Rheims Cathedral, by the way, is not destroyed, but, on the contrary, one is able to count every tile in the roof, and to notice every Gothic ornament upon its beautiful turrets or steeples. Remembering the fake pictures which were published of the burning cathedral at

Rheims, as well as the ruins of the Hôtel de Ville, or Town Hall, at Louvain, one had to rub his eyes when he beheld both of these structures intact and still used for the purposes for which they were originally erected hundreds of years ago.

"There is not a scratch on the thousands of ornaments that decorate the Hôtel de Ville, at Louvain.

"The Kaiser remarked to me that it was strange that Americans should have failed to realize the terrible destruction of the beautiful and historic edifices of worship, built by the Knights of the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries throughout the length and breadth of East Prussia.

"The Kaiser then added:

"Even Napoleon, during his invasion of East Prussia in 1807, and at the battles of Friedland and Eylau, destroyed only those edifices which were considered necessary for military reasons, and scrupulously avoided the wanton destruction of houses of worship. But not so the Cossack. He is neither respecter of persons nor of religions, and what those beautiful churches of the Knights of the Crusades have suffered along the Prussian frontier can be appreciated only by those persons who have seen them."

Asked to describe the Kaiser's appearance and personality, Judge Nippert said:

"The Kaiser is the healthiest mortal that—I was going to say—I ever saw. There is fire in his eye, he shows a quickness of mind in conversation, and an alertness of spirit that is amazing—simply amazing. There is about him not only freshness, and virility of spirit and mind, but I became conscious of his absolute optimism and assurance of ultimate and complete victory of the German arms. That optimism is, perhaps, the distinguishing feature of this remarkable personality.

"His complexion is as brown as an Indian's, his eyes are blue and responsive in their expression to the emotion of the moment. They never leave the eyes of the person addressed. He will put a question quickly, fold his arms, and stand looking you straight in the eye, waiting for an answer. He would rather have you say that, for some reason, either because you don't know, or are not

sure, or prefer not to reply to a question he puts to you, than for you to offer an evasive rejoinder. He likes a plain yes or no, and your reason therefor.

"I was struck by his fund of general information. His knowledge of American literature and history was a surprise to me as it would be to any other American who had been surfeited with misinformation concerning this striking personality, either through the allied press or American newspaper lies.

"As a matter of fact, the Kaiser is more familiar with the history of the War of Independence and the War of 1812, and of the lives of the men who made the success of the American arms possible, than most of the graduates of some of our big colleges whom I have had occasion to meet within the last two years. The Emperor is today deeply appreciative of the service which his distinguished forebear, Frederick the Great, was able to render George Washington, during the dark days of Valley Forge, and the Kaiser was particularly pleased to recall to me that the first Major General of the American Army was Baron von Steuben, who demonstrated to the American troops that the bayonet was not a toasting fork for potatoes, but an effective weapon of offense if properly used.

"The Kaiser had been at Verdun that day, June 24, visiting with his son, who had achieved a notable success the day before at Fleury. He was in splendid spirits when we met at the dinner table. The menu was simple and short. We sat down at eight o'clock. Including the Emperor's staff and others, the party was composed of twelve to fifteen persons.

"The dinner party broke up at 8:45 o'clock. We had been served with, first, a plate of clabber—the best clabber I ever tasted in my life. The next thing was pike, then came a plate of veal roast, with peas, beans, and potatoes; then a side dish of cauliflower, with gravy. There was ice cream, and the company had its choice of three kinds of wine—claret, Rhine wine, and a strawberry bowl.

"After dinner," Judge Nippert contin-

ued, "we all adjourned to the smoking room, and the Kaiser lit one of his favorite Turkish cigarettes, offering me my choice between one of those or a clear Havana cigar. It was remarkable that, though it was now 9 o'clock, the twilight permitted our being able, without artificial assistance, easily to read a newspaper.

"In a few minutes the Kaiser started for a walk, and invited me to accompany him. From that time until after 11 o'clock he carried on a most interesting and many-sided conversation, touching largely upon the relief of East Prussia, the work of the American commission, and the work of those citizens of the United States who are interested in the destinies of Germany; that is to say, those who are sympathizers of Germany in this world struggle.

"The Emperor told me he took no issue with those in America who take another view of this world struggle. He is broadminded and liberal in all such matters. He was interested to be told by me that, even though my forefathers had left Germany in 1829, I was still concerned in the history, traditions, and future of the German people.

"In my opinion," said Judge Nippert enthusiastically, "the Kaiser is one of the few monarchs who are real servants of their people. I believe it to be truly his motto that the first duty of the Hohenzollerns is to be the first servant of their people.

"What inspired his Majesty's acute interest in my mission to East Prussia was that the American Commission for East Prussian Relief was organized among the people of the United States for the purpose of aiding in the rehabilitation of that country. It has met with wonderful response from all sides.

"While Belgium and Poland had their relief fund, and Northern France its aid, and Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Macedonia were also under the affluent protectorate of benevolent American millionaires—even far-off Armenia has her wealthy American benefactors—poor East Prussia had been left out. The ravages of war have been more violent and more uncompromising there than in

any part of the area covered by the armies. And yet, little is known in this country of the extensive material destruction which has been carried on without any military necessity or reason.

"The history of sorrow, distress, crime and devastation, the murder of innocents, the rape of women, torture of men, destruction of schools and churches, the burning of farms, killing of wonderful Holstein herds—it all goes to make a page in the history of the European war that, as yet, has not been read by the American public. There is no sadder story—none that should appeal more to the sympathetic hearts of a sympathetic nation than this story of Cossack invasion of the beautiful prairies and forests of East Prussia.

"It was this district that I was especially interested in," Judge Nippert continued, "and in company with the Province President, his Excellency von Batocki, who is now Minister of Food Distribution for the German Empire, we started at the Russian frontier village of Eydikuhnen. We visited the different towns as far as Stalluponen. There a large squad of Russian prisoners were cleaning up the débris of the ruins which they themselves had been instrumental in creating.

"While we were examining the wrecks of the houses a message was handed to von Batocki notifying him of his appointment. He immediately left for Berlin, and I was then put in charge of the President of the Gumbinnen district, Count von Lambstorff. It was one succession of burned buildings, ruined homes and mourning people.

"There is so much of sorrow and so much of distress in all these places that it is impossible to mention the details and the peculiar methods used by the different Cossack regiments in various districts. But the American Relief Commission, being especially interested in the district of Ragnit—the very frontier township of the Gumbinnen district—it will be of peculiar interest to the American people to hear what happened in that Benjamin of the twelve townships of Gumbinnen.

"To appreciate the situation," ex-

plained Judge Nippert, unfolding a map of the country, "one must realize that the northeastern part of the Township of Ragnit is the shape of a bear skin—geographically speaking—cut off from the rest of the country on the south by the broad River Menel, on the west by the swamps of the Yura, while the north and east are wholly Russian, densely forested to the very edge of the German frontier.

"There are only a few roads, and they are bad, until you come to the first German village in this district, which I have named the bear skin. The history of the bear skin is a history of tears and sorrow. At the beginning of the war 6,000 people lived there—happy with their children and crops. When the war broke out, between 700 and 1,000 men joined the troops, or the Government service in one line or another, leaving the women and children to attend to the crops and flocks.

"The Russians came out of the forest over night like hungry wolves and took possession of the entire bear skin. The bridges to the Fatherland were blown up and the ferries across the Yura were either destroyed or captured by the Russians. Five thousand people were literally marooned. The Germans were unable to drive the Cossacks out of these districts, and up to Feb. 15, 1915, they had undisputed sway and added a bloody page to the history of warfare.

"When the Cossacks left, of the 5,000 people of the bear skin district 3,000

were carried to the den of the Russian bear. When I say 3,000 I do not mean men; I mean women, with all their children. The men were at war, or had been taken prisoners by the Russians early in the game. This fate befell mothers with from two to twelve children, ranging in age from two months to 16 years. Little girls, little boys—neither sex nor age received mercy at the hands of these Russian brutes.

"The Cossacks gathered them like the Texas cowboy would round up his cattle and drove them along the highways into the Russian inferno. Mothers gave birth to children in the forests with the snow for a cradle and a dark Russian pine for a canopy. The children were buried as soon as they were born; a blanket of snow was all that kind nature contributed to cover the bones of the new-born victims.

"Let me tell you that there is in the history of our Western frontier during the bloodiest days of Sioux and Apache warfare nothing that can equal the story of the bear skin. I have in my possession records of villages, family by family, with the age, and so forth, of the mother and each of the children. And it is shown that of the 3,000 persons who were carried into Russia 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. The Russian cattle cars and the Russian steppes are no more the respecters of persons, sex, or age than the Cossack, and each has demanded its toll."

Lord Kitchener

By ROBERT BRIDGES

Unflinching hero, watchful to foresee
 And face thy country's peril wheresoe'er,
 Directing war and peace with equal care,
 Till by long toil ennobled thou wert he
 Whom England call'd and bade "Set my arm free
 To obey my will and save my honor fair"—
 What day the foe presumed on her despair
 And she herself had trust in none but thee:

Among Herculean deeds the miracle
 That mass'd the labor of ten years in one
 Shall be thy monument. Thy work is done
 Ere we could thank thee; and the high sea swell
 Surgeth unheeding where thy proud ship fell
 By the lone Orkneys, ere the set of sun.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

Survey of Past Events and Forecast for Third Year by Chief Powers on Both Sides

A permanently valuable summary of the second year of the war is offered in the following symposium. One of its significant features is the heightened confidence displayed by the Entente Allies, with Germany's tacit assumption of a defensive attitude. To the neutral on-looker who tries to regard the facts dispassionately the year 1915 marked the high tide of German success, while the year 1916 thus far has steadily tended to reverse the situation, placing the Teutons on the defensive and turning the tide of battle gradually in favor of the Allies. Germany's failure at Verdun promises to be the historic landmark indicating the momentous change. It will be interesting, when the end comes, to see how the official predictions recorded below look in the light of events which the third year of war still hides behind the veil of the future.

Proclamations of Kaiser and King

Anniversary Utterances

The following proclamation to the German forces on land and sea was issued by Emperor William on Aug. 1:

COMRADES, the second year of the world war has elapsed. Like the first year, it was for Germany's arms a year of glory. On all fronts you inflicted new and heavy blows on the enemy. Whether the enemy retreated, borne down by the force of your attacks, or whether, reinforced by foreign assistance, collected and pressed into service from all parts of the world, he tried to rob you of the fruits of former victories, you always proved yourselves superior to him. Even where England's tyranny was uncontested, namely, on the free waves of the sea, you victoriously fought against gigantic superiority.

Your Emperor's appreciation and your grateful country's proud admiration are assured to you for these deeds, for your unshaken loyalty, for your bold daring, and for your tenacious bravery. Like the memory of our dead heroes, your fame also will endure through all time. The laurels which our ever-confident forces have won against the enemy, in spite of trials and dangers, are inseparably linked with the devoted and untiring labor at home.

This strength at home has sent an ever-fresh inspiration to the armies in the field. It has continually quickened

our swords, has kindled Germany's enthusiasm, and has terrified the enemy. My gratitude and that of the Fatherland are due the nation at home.

But the strength and will of the enemy are not yet broken. We must continue the severe struggle in order to secure the safety of our beloved homeland, to preserve the honor of the Fatherland and the greatness of the empire.

Whether the enemy wages war with the force of arms, or with cold, calculating malice, we shall continue as before into the third year of the war. The spirit of duty to the Fatherland and unbending will to victory permeate our homes and our fighting forces today, as in the first days of the war. With God's gracious help, I am convinced that your future deeds will equal those of the past and present.

Main headquarters.

WILHELM.

On Aug. 1 the German Emperor also sent this message to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor:

For the second time the anniversary of the day arrived when our enemies forced me to call Germany's sons to arms to protect the honor and existence of the empire.

The German Nation has been through two years of unprecedentedly heroic deeds and suffering. The army and navy, in union with our loyal and brave allies,

GRAND DUCHESS ANASTASIA



The Talented Wife of Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia—Formerly a Princess of Montenegro—Has Given Valuable Aid in Organizing the Munitions Campaign

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE



Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada,
Appointed June 28, 1916, to Succeed the Duke of Connaught.

have gained the highest glory in attack and defense. Many thousands of our brethren have sealed their loyalty to the Fatherland with their blood.

In the west and in the east our heroic men in field-gray resist in unshaken fortitude the terrible onslaught of the enemy.

Our young fleet on that glorious day in the Skagerrak inflicted a heavy blow on the British armada. Deeds of untiring sacrifice and loyal comradeship at the front glow brightly before my eyes.

At home also we see heroism. Men and women, old and young, all quietly and bravely wearing mourning, and the anxiety of all who organize and help to lessen the suffering caused by the war and of all who labor day and night unceasingly to supply our fighting brothers in the trenches and at sea with the necessary armament.

Our enemies' hopes to outstrip our production of war material will prove as unattainable as was their plan to secure by starvation what their sword could not attain. God's blessings on Germany's fields has rewarded the farmers more bountifully than we dared to hope. South and North in friendly rivalry strive to find the best means for an even distribution of the foodstuffs and other necessities.

To all those fighting either on the battlefield or at home, my heartiest thanks.

Still hard times are ahead. After the terrible storm of the two years of war a desire for sunshine and peace is stirring in all human hearts, but the war continues because the battle-cry of the enemy Governments is still the destruction of Germany. Blame for further bloodshed falls only on our enemies. The firm confidence has never left me that Germany is invincible in spite of the superior numbers of our enemies, and every day confirms this anew.

Germany knows she is fighting for her existence. She knows her strength, and she relies on God's help. Therefore nothing can shake her determination or her assurance. We shall bring this struggle to such an end that our empire will be protected against future attack, and that a free field will be assured for the peace-

ful development of German genius and labor.

We shall live free, secure, and strong among the nations of the world. This right nobody shall or will snatch from us. I ask you to make this manifest public.

KING GEORGE OF ENGLAND

King George telegraphed to the heads of Entente States on Aug. 4, the second anniversary of Great Britain's entry into the war, the following pledge:

On this second anniversary of the great conflict in which my country and her gallant allies are engaged I desire to convey to you my steadfast resolution to prosecute the war until our united efforts have attained the objects for which we in common have taken up arms.

I feel assured that you are in accord with me in the determination that the sacrifices our valiant troops have so nobly made shall not have been offered in vain, and that the liberties for which they are fighting shall be fully guaranteed and secured.

King George also sent this message to King Albert of Belgium:

I desire to assure you of my confidence that the united efforts of the Allies will liberate Belgium from the oppression of her aggressors and restore to her the full enjoyment of her national and economic independence.

I also desire to convey my deep sympathy in the grievous trials to which Belgium is so unjustly subjected and which she has borne with such admirable fortitude.

PRESIDENT POINCARÉ

The President of France addressed these words to his nation on Aug. 1 through the official journal, the Bulletin des Armées:

For the second time we have to commemorate a soul-stirring anniversary. Two sections of mankind have been grappling with one another and are fighting amid streams of blood. The nations who have let loose that stupendous catastrophe have not yet completely expiated their act. But justice is on its way.

Instinctively, mutilated France, which during forty-four years had imposed

silence on her sorrow, understood in 1914 that the foe who was attacking her, blinded by pride and fanaticized by hatred, had no grievance to plead, no right to defend, no menace to ward off. It is in vain that today the aggressors are attempting to falsify history.

They were at first less knavish and more cynical when they flattered themselves in seeing in the treaties granted by them nothing but common scraps of paper. With insolent frankness they accepted the responsibility of their crime. The French Nation was conscious that theirs was a case of legitimate defense; it realized spontaneously that sacred union which is the main condition of victory and which found in the memorable sitting of the Parliament on Aug. 4, 1914, an imposing consecration.

The war became immediately, in the whole force of the term, a national war. There is not a Frenchman who remained deaf to the call of his country. When you were called upon to protect our frontiers and save our natal soil you were not only conscious that your material interests were at stake; you knew also that you were going to defend your hearths, that you were going to defend all which constitutes France—traditions, ideas, moral forces, preserved and developed by a nation which will not die.

Your patience and gallantry during long months have restrained the pressure of the German Army. The battlefields where you have repulsed the enemy—the Marne, the Yser, Champagne, Artois, the Meuse, and the Somme—mark so many stages of victory. It is you who have enabled France to organize her equipment, and Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their armies. It is you who have given to England the time to form the admirable divisions which are fighting now at your side. It is you who have given to Russia the means to supply rifles and guns, cartridges and shells to her heroic troops.

Today, as you see, the Allies are beginning to gather the fruits of your perseverance. The Russian Army is pursuing the Austrian Army in flight. The Germans, attacked at the same time on the eastern and western fronts, are engaging

everywhere their reserves. British, Russian, and French battalions are co-operating in the liberation of our soil.

The struggle, alas, is not yet ended. It will still be hard, and all of us must continue working and working unremittingly and with fervor. But the superiority of the Allies is already apparent to every one. The scales of fate had protracted oscillations. Now one of the trays keeps on the ascent, the other is lowering under a burden which nothing will lighten.

JOFFRE TO HIS SOLDIERS

The following address by General Joffre to the French Army was issued as an official order of the day on the second anniversary of the outbreak of the war: Soldiers of the Republic:

Your third year of fighting has begun. For two years past you have been supporting with unflinching strength the weight of an implacable conflict. You have caused all the plans of our enemies to fail. You vanquished them on the Marne; you checked them on the Yser, and you beat them in the Artois and in the Champagne at a time when they were vainly seeking victory on the plains of Russia. Then your victorious resistance during a battle of five months' duration broke the German effort in front of Verdun.

Thanks to your stubborn courage, the armies of our allies have been enabled to manufacture arms, the weight of which our enemies today are experiencing over their entire front.

The moment is approaching when, under the strength of our mutual advance, the military power of Germany will crumble.

Soldiers of France, you may be proud of the work you already have accomplished! You have determined to see it through to the end! Victory is certain!

JOFFRE.

RUSSIAN VIEW

General Chauvaieff, Russian Minister of War, tempers the Allies' expressions of confidence with this statement:

It is necessary to dispel the illusion that the war can end in the Autumn. The breaking down of the enemy's forces has already begun—a fact as well known

by the Germans as by the Entente Allies—but Germany's technique is so high that, in spite of her economic weakening and the lowered morale of her troops, she still has the power to resist, and we must look forward to a further struggle before the final victory.

This explains the recent orders calling men ordinarily exempt to the colors. Russia already has a large reserve, but it is our intention that this reserve shall not diminish. It is fitting also that the foreign races in Russia, who ordinarily would not be obliged to serve, should be recruited, if not in the active army, at least in work connected with the conduct of the war, for all elements in Russia will receive the benefits of victory.

General Alexeieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, says:

I think that we may now be said to have passed through the most difficult period of our great war. While still offering stubborn resistance, our enemy is beginning to weaken, but we have need to summon all our powers yet before we can hope to attain the definite goal of our hopes.

Premier Stürmer of Russia says:

At the moment when the Allies are entering upon the third year of the war the Russian Government is more than ever resolved to continue the struggle to the end, and is firmly convinced that, with the help of the Almighty, the Allies

and their cause of justice and equity will triumph.

GERMAN OFFICIAL FIGURES

The German Government issued officially the figures relating to its conquests at the end of the second year of the war in a statement which reads:

The Central Powers occupied 431,000 square kilometers, (161,625 square miles,) against 180,000 (67,625 square miles) a year ago. The enemy occupied in Europe 22,000 square kilometers, (8,250 square miles,) against 11,000 (4,125 square miles) a year ago.

The Central Powers, Bulgaria, and Turkey captured 2,678,000 enemy soldiers, against 1,695,000. Of those taken prisoner by the Germans 5,947 officers and 348,000 men were French, 9,100 officers and 1,202,000 men were Russian, and 947 officers and 30,000 men were British.

The war booty brought to Germany, in addition to that utilized immediately at the front, comprised 11,036 cannon, 4,700,000 shells, 3,450 machine guns, and 1,556,000 rifles.

According to the latest statistics of German wounded soldiers, 90.2 per cent. returned to the front, 1.4 per cent. died; the rest were unfit for service or were released. The military measures of the Central Powers, in consequence of vaccinations, were never disturbed by epidemics.

How the Second Crisis Was Passed

Summary of a Year's Developments

This excellent summary of the war events of the year that ended Aug. 1, 1916, is a condensation of the statements of various French diplomatists and military experts. It is the story of the second year as seen from the viewpoint of France:

WHILE French, British, and Russian preparations are daily becoming more complete, a crisis of exhaustion is fast arising for the Austrians and Germans. Our adversaries thought it would be impossible for us to prepare,

and certainly during the first year of the war there were difficulties that had to be overcome. We are proud to say that this was accomplished even while our valiant soldiers were resisting the German invasion. Thanks to the patriotism of the country and the abnegation shown by all classes in France and England, thanks also to the campaign in both countries for more cannon and more ammunition, industrial action was everywhere multiplied, and General Joffre was able to say in an order of the day to the

army at Verdun: "We have munitions in abundance."

The extent of the difficulties of the Central Empires does not even now appear from the state of the war as viewed from a geographical standpoint, but has shown itself in the changed tactics in evidence and is becoming obvious in the altered map. The operations of the Franco-British armies, outnumbered in men and guns during the first six months, saved France by sheer heroism, but could not end the war; could only prolong it and gain time. The Russians pushed into East Prussia, conquered the Bukowina, invaded Galicia, crossed the Carpathians, and even threatened Silesia, but exhausted their armament in April, 1915, and lacked even the essentials for defense. The Germans knew it would be impossible for Great Britain and France to have caught up in nine months with the Germans' forty-five years of preparations, and felt themselves free, dealing first with France, to turn upon the Russian armies. Nine divisions transported from the Franco-British front reinforced the Austrians, and the offensive against the Russians began in May. By the end of July Przemyśl and Lemberg had been retaken, and the Russians were considering the abandonment of Warsaw and the line of the Vistula. Short even of rifles, many of Emperor Nicholas's troops defended themselves with clubs during the long retreat, in which was accomplished the second miracle of the war, the continuity of their line being everywhere maintained, as well as the integrity of the Russian armies.

The battle of Arras in June, 1915, was considered to have proved the Allies, man for man, able to beat the Germans in the offensive, other things being equal, but the munitions and artillery of the opposing forces were not yet equally balanced. The transformation of field tactics as the war progressed multiplied the need for heavy guns and powerful projectiles to break through concrete-armored lines. This transformation thus increased the superiority of belligerents who had the initial advantage in preparation, forcing their adversaries to a greater expenditure of munitions than

their industries were as yet able to produce, while they themselves were able to shower the Russian lines with the biggest of shells.

The end of the first year of the war was the beginning of the second crisis for the Allies—a munitions crisis, aggravated by a diplomatic crisis requiring new enterprises that drew on their main forces. The landing of the French and British at the Dardanelles in April had weakened the Allies elsewhere, reducing the number of reserves on the main front, and if it did not modify their general plan it obviously made the elaboration of new plans difficult and hampered their movements.

At the same time the enigmatic situation in the Orient became serious, Greece refusing the compensation offered for territorial concessions to Bulgaria which might have facilitated a union of the Balkan States. The situation in Persia and Asia Minor, following the entry of Turkey into the war, had developed a menace to Great Britain in the Far East. The favorable impression produced by the advance north of Arras had diminished in the absence of further operations, and there was a notable absence of news favorable to the Allies.

"More cannon, more ammunition" was the comment of the French people on the difficulties that beset them. Women and girls joined in the efforts of the trained mechanics brought back from the armies to the forge and the lathe, and the curve of munitions production took a sharp upward turn.

The industrial efforts of the Allies were given the required time by the resistance of the Russian armies. The Germans advanced, but they could neither destroy nor dislocate the Russian forces.

While intensifying to the utmost their production of arms and ammunition the Allies began early in the second year of hostilities, with the visit of Field Marshal Earl Kitchener to France, the series of conferences that was finally to co-ordinate their military effort.

The French, in the Champagne and in the Artois in September, gained considerable territory and made important captures in prisoners and material, but as in the preceding offensive north of Arras

in June this movement failed of decisive results because of the narrowness of the front of the attack and the impossibility to push artillery preparation deeply enough into the German lines. That the offensive was considered to have confirmed the superiority of the French soldier in attack in nowise altered the general situation.

After the campaign in the Balkans, which from the German viewpoint was successful but not decisive, Germany turned her attention again to the western front. She then decided upon the venture at Verdun.

The German plan seems originally to have been to concentrate artillery, munitions, and men in such force over a limited length of front that the onrush would be irresistible. They chose Verdun because the position of the ancient fortress was such that the defenders had their backs to the River Meuse on two sides and because success there would give the greatest possible prestige with neutral powers and the maximum comfort to their own people. It was also possible they knew what subsequent political events in France disclosed—that the defenses of Verdun were not, in view of the field tactics of this war, as strong as other parts of the front. It is the belief of military experts that the Germans hoped to break through the front there and destroy the French armies. It was imperative that success be rapid, according to this view, and when, after three days, the advance was checked in the region of Douaumont the project had failed. General Pétain, as an official citation later revealed, had time to "re-establish a delicate situation." There was no longer hope of breaking through the French front.

Every yard of ground gained by the Germans before Verdun since Feb. 24 has been at an extremely heavy sanguinary cost. The continuing of so expensive and fruitless an operation has puzzled the critics. It has been advanced that the Germans persisted with the object of exhausting the French forces and preventing an offensive by the Allies elsewhere. If that end was in view the success of the Allies in the battle of the Somme shows it was not attained.

The battle of Verdun, if ordered with the intention of interfering with the offensive plans of the Allies, in nowise diminished the chances of carrying them out, whatever the fate of the discarded fortress, it having now no more significance apart from the prestige of the name than any other point along the front. Local success there has long been discounted, and, in military opinion, can have no vital effect, while the attempting of a wastage process by the Central Powers at this stage of the war is held to be illusory and certainly enormously costly. The Central Empires have no longer reserves in such numbers that they can afford to launch them against the Allies in the mere hope of inflicting more damage than they suffer.

The heroic defense of Verdun, on the other hand, has been for the Allies one of the notable developments of the war. It held German reserves there in such numbers as to put an end to the shifting of troops from front to front. It prevented the reinforcement of the Austrians, suffering from the loss of prisoners, with perhaps as many in casualties, to the armies under General Brusiloff. It obliged the Germans to prolong during five months a vast daily expenditure of projectiles that was expected to continue only a few days, and has so drawn upon their reserves of munitions that in the battle of the Somme they were able to reply to the French and British guns in the proportion of only one shot for three. The successful defense of Verdun and the successful offensives of the Allies in the North of France and on the western front show at the end of the second year of the war that the finally prepared war map on which the German Chancellor held that the Allies ought to accept negotiations is undergoing singular modifications, with the Russians occupying Bukowina and part of Galicia; the Italians recovering territory lost in the recent Austrian offensive and still in possession of the Isonzo region, and with the French and British in possession of more than thirty villages on the banks of the Somme that had been occupied by the Germans for twenty months and each of them transformed

in the meantime into miniature fortresses. The Allies have caught up with the advantage of the Central Powers in preparation, and any further modifications of the respective positions of the contending forces, it is believed, must be a reconquest of invaded territory by the Allies.

The destruction of adversary forces is another and a far more difficult mat-

ter. In this war the end may be nearer than many hope or may yet be far distant. There are no bases on which to calculate the progress of military operations or the resistance of the belligerents, even when apparently doomed to defeat. What is clear is that the anticipated ascendancy of the Allies, arising from their unrestricted resources, appears to have been realized.

"Stonewalling in France"

By General Sir Douglas Haig

At the beginning of the third year of the war Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, made the following statement in the presence of press correspondents:

THE tide has turned. Time has been with the Allies from the first. It is only a question of more time till we win a decisive victory, which is the one sure way to bring peace in this as in other wars. Until this victory is won it ill becomes a British soldier in France to think of peace.

The problem of the first Summer's campaign and the second for the Allies was to hold the Germans from forcing a decision with their ready numbers of men, guns, and shells. Whether it was the able Generalship and heroism of the French on the Marne, the dogged retreat of the little British expeditionary force from Mons, the stubborn resistance of the French and British to the Germans' effort for the Channel ports, the Russian retreat last Summer, Belgium's or Serbia's sacrifice, Italy's stonewalling against Austria's offensive or France's immortal defense of Verdun, the purpose was always to gain time for preparations necessary to take the offensive away from the enemy.

Our unpreparedness at the start of the war, due to its unexpectedness, is no secret. While France, which had a great national army and universal service, was giving all her strength, we had to begin building from the bottom.

The majority of our best regular offi-

cers had been killed or wounded in the early fighting. With the remainder as a nucleus to drill and organize the volunteers, who were raw but had the spirit that quickeneth, we undertook to create an army of millions, which must be officered largely by men of no military experience, to fight the German Army, with its forty years of preparation.

Meanwhile we had to keep on stonewalling in France with such troops as we had ready against that prepared foe, whose blows were the sturdier in his efforts for a decision owing to his realization that time was against him. Now the new army has had its first practical experience in attack on a large scale.

However well trained an army, however able its Generals, however ample its artillery and munitions, the supreme test in a war of this kind is its capacity, unit by unit, for bearing heavy losses unflinchingly. Wherever sacrifice of life was necessary, to the end these new army men have borne it without wavering and in manner worthy of the best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race when it has had to fight for principles associated with its history the world over.

[Turning to the map, he put his finger first on Pozieres and then on Delville Wood, where Britain's incessant struggle has gained precious high ground, and said:]

Here our men, after they had conquered the maze of trench fortifications which the Germans had been a year and a half in building, have fought under

field conditions, digging what cover they could, withstanding counterattacks with all the stubbornness of the regulars at Ypres, continuing to advance, putting their skill, courage, and resources against those of an army with forty years of preparation. Their confidence that as man to man, with equally good artillery support, they were the superior of the German has been justified by the event. They feel that they have taken the measure of the Germans.

In relation to our own losses they have been severe in the instance of some units whose steadiness in the face of a most galling fire has insured reliance on the others under a similar test. I may say that the total for the month of July

to date, in the midst of a continuous offensive, has been less than five times the total in June, when we were in our trenches.

The third year of the war will be the Allies' year. No less than France, now that we are ready, we shall give all the strength there is in us to drive the invader from her soil and that of Belgium. England will not achieve her full strength on land, however, until next Summer.

All those who believe that our cause is the cause of civilization may rest assured that this army has no thought except to go on delivering blow after blow until we have won that victory by force of arms which will insure an enduring peace.

British Deeds in the Critical Year

By Sir Gilbert Parker

Novelist and Member of Parliament

LOOKING back at the end of the second year; one is forced to wonder how Germany was stayed in her march of conquest. According to every rule she should have been in Paris at the time she herself appointed—early in the Autumn of 1914. She came very near it.

What stopped her? She had left out of her calculations the strategical skill which belongs by nature to the French Army, the new French Army, from behind Paris, and "the contemptible little British Army."

It is a remarkable thing that on the western front the only gains of Germany were achieved in the first few weeks of the war. Those gains were of immense strategical value to her. They included the mining and industrial districts of France and nearly the whole of Belgium, from which she has steadily drawn practical support and advantage and supplies. The wonder is not that the Allies have done so well, but that, with all her preparations and her perfect armament, Germany and her obedient colleagues, Austria and Turkey and Bulgaria, have done so badly.

Apparently at the beginning of the war

everything was in their hands, everything except one—the British Navy. If Germany could have mastered her as she mastered Belgium and a goodly portion of France the war would long since have been over. France would have been a third-rate power under practical German control; Russia would have been driven back into her steppes and plains, once more the slave of German influence and control, and the British Empire as we know it would have become a thing of the past.

What the British Navy did was to sweep German merchant commerce from the seas, prevent Germany from trading with the rest of the world, except by crooked methods, bottle up her fleet to uselessness, drive her South Atlantic fleet to the bottom of the sea, and throttle and choke German export to an extent that great cities like Hamburg have lost the hum of their activity, and, outside the Baltic Sea, there is no stir of German commerce, save in a freakish enterprise like that of the Deutschland. Those, however, who count the work of the Deutschland as extraordinary should remember that it is not original, since a

considerable number of British submarines have crossed the Atlantic during the last year safely and surely. It is not strange that the Deutschland accomplished its feat. It will be very strange, however, if that feat is repeated by many sister submarines.

German foreign commerce cannot be rehabilitated by the activities of submarines. Since the battle of Jutland it can be safely and surely said that the seas are still controlled overwhelmingly by the British fleet. The German fleet came out, and then fled to cover again after a stiff fight.

But let us now take the field of battle on the western front. For a whole year or more critics in the United States, whose only idea of warfare was that of constant action, have continuously asked why was it Great Britain, which had recruited between three and four million men, should be doing nothing on the western front. They complained that France was left alone at Verdun and elsewhere. They did not realize that France knew she had at her disposal at any moment the British troops which were holding their own line of the front and steadily extending it. They did not remember that at the beginning of the war Great Britain was armed on a basis of a mere handful of men; that all the machinery of equipment was upon a basis of the handful, and that having men—a million or two millions—she still could not equip them, because she had not factories of munitions except upon the scale of the handful.

Men had to be recruited, fed, uniformed, equipped; artillery had to be developed and extended beyond all experience of the past. Rifles had to be supplied. And the one reason why there was such delay in making a move on the western front by the British was lack of equipment. The push forward at Loos was not final and effective because there were not sufficient munitions.

But what is the condition of affairs today? There are enough munitions. Why? Because big men have given their brains and skill to the task of organization; because the manual workers of England have roused themselves to a

complete sense of duty; because they have given up trade union regulations for the period of the war; because, without murmuring, they have thrown up their holidays; because hundreds and thousands of women have joined the munitions works or have entered into fields of occupation formerly monopolized by men, such as the conduction of cars on tram lines, driving vans, working upon farms, clerking in offices, doing men's work in scores of small trades; because all England, in every corner of it, is alive to the terrible significance of the world fight and has given its best blood, mind, strength, and craft to the nation's cause.

In spite of criticism and complaint England would not and did not move on the western front until she was ready, although she was ready to help at Verdun if needed, and said so. And she was not ready until she could dominate, as she has done, the German artillery by a greater weight of metal; until, making a move forward over the whole of her line, they both could make good their successes, mile by mile, and steadily and surely diminish the capacity of resistance upon the part of Germany. This they have done.

What is the position today? Every one of the Allies has moved forward and at the same time, and every one has succeeded, as she has moved. Italy, like Russia, France, and England elsewhere, has succeeded in her field against Austria. Germany cannot put forward her men to help Austria. Austria is harassed by Italy and by Russia. Germany is harassed and hammered by England, Russia, France, and Belgium.

There is no rest for Germany anywhere. She cannot shift her troops from front to front, as she did in the early days of the war, smashing one enemy here and then whisking her troops over to smash another enemy there.

Mistakes? The Allies no doubt have made mistakes, but England has made no such mistakes as have been made by Germany, all of whose plans have gone awry. England was expected to, and promised to, furnish 150,000 men for the protection of Belgium in case of a European war—and that was all.

She has, in fact, provided an army and navy personnel of nearly 5,000,000 men and has trebled the personnel of her fleet. Could any other nation in the world furnish over 4,000,000 men on a voluntary basis, as Great Britain has done?

Americans should understand that it is not alone in the field of battle that Great Britain has proved her capacity for organization. She has proved it in the civil field; she has nationalized the railways of the country and has paid the regular dividends; she secured the sugar crop of the world at the very beginning of the war, through which sugar is cheaper today in Great Britain than it is in the United States, and at the same time has got out of it a revenue of nearly \$34,000,000.

She rescued the British people from being done by meat trusts by seizing all ships which could carry chilled meat, and, having the ships, she could get her meat on fair terms, and has done so—50,000 tons a month for Great Britain and France, and 10,000 tons for Italy. She has also supplied France with steel, boots, shoes, and uniforms. She has made coal a public military service, and by act of Parliament has fixed the profit of the coal mines, and she supplies the British, French, and Italian Navies with coal. She has organized the purchase of wheat by a small committee, which also buys and ships wheat and oats, fodder,

&c., for Italy. She has bought up the fish supply of Norway, and very lately bought up against German intrigue the great bulk of food exports of Holland.

She has put on a 5 shilling income tax, which has been paid without protest by the mass of the British people. She has drawn upon her financial resources till she has loaned her allies and her oversea dominions £450,000,000, and she has taken as high as 80 per cent. of the war profits of the great manufacturing firms.

The organization of Great Britain is not ornate and spectacular, but there never was a time when all the people of the country were so occupied in national things, when so many have given themselves up, without pay or reward, to doing national work. Her power of organization is proved thoroughly by the work of the Ministry of Munitions, which, under the indefatigable Mr. Lloyd George, has increased the three Government munition factories before the war to 4,000 establishments, with 2,000,000 workers; has arranged canteens for 500,000 people, and has erected twenty national workshops, with, in one case, a population of 50,000 people.

As for manufacture—in a fortnight as many heavy shells can be made as were made in the first year of the war. Great Britain has shown her ancient skill for organization in a new and successful light.

Russia's Two Great Campaigns

Striking Change in the Outlook

Following is a summary of the situation as seen by various Russian officials and military experts:

THE beginning of the third year of the war finds Russia on the offensive along a large part of her western front. In the Caucasus Russian forces are pushing westward well beyond Erzerum and southward toward the Mesopotamian border. Her armies have been re-organized and strengthened, and the shortage of ammunition, which was re-

sponsible for one of the most spectacular and at the same time one of the most successfully conducted retreats in history, has been remedied. Today she has shells, cannon, and small arms in abundance. Her munition factories have been improved and enlarged and are putting out large quantities of war materials in addition to the enormous shipments arriving from abroad. The personnel of the troops is as high, if not higher, than it was a year ago. The

present financial needs have been adjusted through loans placed in England, France, and America.

The outlook today presents a striking contrast to that of last August, which saw the fall of Warsaw and the continuation of the retirement of the Russian Armies, with the Germans and Austrians, buoyed up with a long succession of victories, still fiercely engaging in rear-guard attacks. The turning point came early in the Fall. On Sept. 9 the Russians stopped the Austrians at Tarnopol. The German wave of invasion continued to roll onward, but in the latter days of September it had spent its force. The Russian Armies turned upon the enemy along the line of the Dwina, Berezhina, Shara, Styr, and Sereth Rivers and checked them there. Desperate repeated efforts of the Germans to capture Riga and Dvinsk, in which they hoped to establish Winter bases, failed. They attacked again and again throughout the Winter, but the Russian line held—and still holds.

Emperor Nicholas took personal command of the armies early in September, and since then has been continuously at General Staff headquarters here and there along the front, counseling officers, cheering and encouraging the men. He appointed General M. V. Alexeieff, who was the right-hand man of General Ivanoff in the latter's brilliant campaign in Galicia during the Fall and Winter of 1914, to be Chief of Staff, and Grand Duke Nicholas, hitherto Commander in Chief, was assigned to command in the Caucasus.

The Winter saw offensives and counteroffensives locally in various sections of the western front, but no definite advance was undertaken until January, when the Russians moved forward slightly along the 200-mile line from Czartorysk to the Rumanian frontier—the scene of General Brusiloff's recent successes, but the Spring thaw put an end to the movement, and the armies settled into another period of inertia, which lasted until the beginning of June, when General Brusiloff, who had recently been appointed successor to General Ivanoff as commander of the south-

ern armies, began the drive which carried the Russian front forward to the Stokhod and to Kolomea on the west, and overran the entire province of the Bukowina.

Meanwhile Grand Duke Nicholas had been justifying the wisdom of his appointment to the command in the Caucasus. He reorganized the armies which had been carrying the struggle against the Turks with varying success since the beginning of the war, and by New Year's Day had started a campaign along definite lines. The Turks were driven back upon Erzerum, and the Russians on Feb. 16, after overcoming what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles in the way of difficult mountainous country and fearful weather conditions, forced the surrender of Erzerum and scattered the Turkish armies. In the succeeding months they carried the advance beyond Mamakhatum, fifty miles further west. On April 19 Trebizond, an important port on the Black Sea, capitulated. The more recent capture of Baiburt, an important stronghold between Trebizond and Mamakhatum, followed. To the southward the armies occupied the greater part of Kurdistan, including the cities of Bitlis, Revanduz, Serdasht, Khanikin, and Kermanshah, constituting a front of 400 miles from the sea southeastward into Western Persia. On July 25, or only a few days ago, the Russians, after breaking up a Turkish attempt at an offensive, occupied the important city of Erzenagan. Thus practically all Armenia is now in their hands.

General Brusiloff's advance reached its point of deepest penetration in the Bukowina, where it pushed the enemy back sixty-five miles and gained an average of twenty-five miles along a total front of 275 miles from the Kovel-Sarny Railway to Rumania. The Russian Commander cut the forces under General Pflanzer into pieces and shoved them into the Carpathian Mountains; had General Bothmer fighting on the defensive west of the Stripa. General von Boehm-Ermolli was driven out of Brody, in Galicia, the eastern defense of Lemberg, while General von Linsingen and Archduke Ferdinand are engaged in a

life-and-death struggle along the Stokhod before Kovel.

General Brusiloff's stupendous bag of prisoners, according to the latest estimates, numbers 300,000 officers and men, and this is still being increased by thou-

sands and tens of thousands from week to week. It is declared that probably an equal number have been put out of action, counting the dead and wounded. His booty in guns and equipment runs into extravagant figures.

Italy's War in the High Alps

An Official Summary

Italy entered the war on May 23, 1915, so that this retrospect, prepared by the Italian War Office, covers fourteen months:

WHEN the European war began Italy held back for ten months, respecting the alliance which for a third of a century had bound her to the Central Empires. But longer than this she could not disregard the call of the Entente Powers. They were fighting for a principle of nationality to which Italy is indebted for her existence. They were fighting for principles of law and justice of which Italy has been an exponent since the time of the Romans.

Furthermore, Italy could no longer delay solution of the question of the Italian provinces that were still subject to persecution by Austria. It was imperative that Italy should contest the frontier imposed by Austria after the war of 1866 which gave her northern neighbors possession of all the gates and passes leading into Italy. It was imperative also that Italy should gain supremacy in the Adriatic, without which she could never be said to enjoy liberty and peace in full security.

Although unprepared for war, we fortunately possessed in General Cadorna a powerful organizer and a cautious strategist. Taking the Italian Army on its modest peace footing as a backbone, he transformed it, through miracles of energy and military science, into a powerful, efficient, brilliant modern army, which on May 24, 1915, the day after war was declared on Austria, suddenly threw itself across the whole frontier into the enemy's territory.

In doing this General Cadorna won two principal advantages: First, he gained

the initiative of action; secondly, he made Austria the scene of the warfare. Throughout the campaign Cadorna aimed to render his allies the greatest possible services.

Italy began her operations just at the time when the Russians were obliged to retreat. The strong army which Cadorna threw across the northern border menacing Austria may have saved that Russian retreat from a complete disaster. Similarly, when the Germans attacked Verdun Cadorna started a strong offensive along the Isonzo River, which prevented Austria from sending to the aid of the German Crown Prince large numbers of troops and artillery which had been prepared for that purpose.

Equal advantages have recently been obtained by Austria's temporary invasion of a small section of the Italian Trentino front in the Asiago district. If Austria had not centred all her forces in this enterprise it would have been much more difficult for Russia to launch the marvelous offensive which she is now conducting. Profiting by the situation, General Cadorna attacked the Austrians so energetically that their removal from the Alps to the Carpathians to fight the Russians has been out of the question.

In Albania General Cadorna likewise aided our allies. It being materially impossible to save Serbia and Montenegro, he transformed the Albanian seaport of Avlona into an impregnable intrenched camp, threatening and checking the Austrians in the same manner that the allied troops at Saloniki have held back the Bulgarians.

Above all others in this war stands

our King, modest soldier and fervent patriot. He and King Albert are the only sovereigns in this war who have never abandoned their place at the front.

The difficulties of the war which Italy is waging may be understood only by visiting our battle fronts. They are stretched along the highest altitudes at which warfare has ever been known. With all the advantageous positions in the prior possession of the Austrians, our enemies have to be dug out of their nests, 10,000 feet up amid eternal snows. To her natural defenses Austria has added the most powerful modern system of fortifications.

Still, the Italians have gained ground, and all along have conquered territory on the right bank of the Isonzo, except

at Gorizia and Tomlino, which are entrenched camps defended by almost impregnable mountains, part of the Carso plateau, the high Monte Nero Ridge, the Ampezzo territory, including Cortina, and part of the famous Dolomite Road, which is the shortest communication between Toblach and Trent. We had almost reached Rovereto when the Austrian incursion into Trentino obliged us to retreat within our own frontier.

But with this exception the Austrians have always been on the defensive, and have lost about 200 towns and villages, 40,000 prisoners, dozens of cannon, hundreds of machine guns, several thousand rifles, all of which have more than ordinary value, because they were taken in a mountainous country, where it is difficult to replace captured artillery and stores.

The Policies of Germany's Enemies

By the Berlin Foreign Office

Reviewing the political events of the second year of the war, the German Foreign Office issued the following statement:

THE world war was caused by Russia's aggressive policy, supported by France's policy of revenge. But it was rendered possible solely by the fact that England subordinated to her economic antagonism to Germany all her other interests. Whereas Germany's enemies regard it quite in order that they demand territorial aggrandizements at the cost of others—like Russia, who wants Constantinople and Galicia; like France, who desires Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine, and like Italy, who seeks Austrian territory—they grudge Germany even that she strive to develop herself economically in peaceable competition, and they pronounce this an unpardonable sin against the world's order of things.

They are unwilling that Germany should become great and strong, because the other powers want to be the economic masters of the world. Territorial and economic aggrandizement has united

Germany's foes in a war of destruction against us.

The second war year has brought these true aims of our opponents into clearer light. In Russia this is openly admitted, they having an understanding with England and wanting Constantinople as their war goal. In France there is a war-mad cry for Alsace-Lorraine. In England, too, the mask has been dropped. It is openly admitted that Belgium was only a pretext to justify England's participation in the war which was undertaken only from self-interest.

Germany must be destroyed. Germany shall never more raise her head economically nor militarily. In this way is the goal of our enemy more clearly enunciated during the second year of the war.

It is equally clear that the talk of a struggle of democracy against militarism is only a catch-word used by our enemies to create sentiment and to cloak outwardly their real purpose of destruction. Assuredly there can be no talk of a struggle for the maintenance of democratic principles when one side

sets out to destroy the enemy completely, including the civilian population.

And is England really the land of democracy she pretends to be? Has not the entire development of England during the war shown that England is drawing further than ever away from democracy?

Moreover, if England had really resorted to war in defense of the rights of the smaller nations, as she fondly announces to the world, she could without damage to her position have answered otherwise than with the threat of destroying Germany. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's remarks made in the course of the year outlined German aims with sufficient clearness. England, therefore, wants a war of destruction, a war to the knife which, according to the plans of our enemies, shall continue even after the cannon is silenced; for their former talk about the permanent peace that they wished to establish has been drowned under the shout that Germany's enemies are raising over the Paris Economic Conference.

It is not enough that the world must be shaken by a protracted, bloody war. The world must not even thereafter enjoy a settled peace if the will of the Entente Powers prevails, for the decisions of the Economic Conference do not signify an economic peace, but a permanent economic warfare which never will permit the world to come to rest upon the basis of peaceful competition.

This shows at the same time that the great words of the Entente Powers about fighting for the rights of smaller nations and international order are empty sounds, for when Germany's enemies seek to control neutral trade they simply ignore the rights of other countries and base, not on the principle of right, but upon pure might, precisely what they allegedly want to abolish.

The second year of the war therefore shows that our enemies are precisely what they all along wrongly reproached Germany with being, namely, disturbers of the peace. Russia, through her unbridled passion for extending her borders; England, through being uncontrollable for dominating alone the economic

world, and France, through her passion for revenge.

This second year of the war further proved that it is our enemies who follow the principle of might before right. They show this in the more and more reckless violations of the generally recognized principles of international law, not only in the struggle against the Central Powers, but still more in their treatment of neutrals. * * *

One observes, therefore, in the second war year increasing violations of the rights of neutrals in the interests of England and her allies. These violations will also continue through the third war year, and even increase, unless all signs prove false. * * *

Germany proved in the last year, contrary to England's example, that in attaining her end she seeks so far as possible to avoid violating the just rights of neutrals. She even went far toward meeting the wishes of the United States in her conduct of submarine warfare, in spite of the fact that the enemy was trying to subdue Germany through an illegal war upon her peaceable population.

Out of regard for the interests of neutrals Germany relinquished for the present one of her most effective weapons against the enemy, although she was compelled to wage a life-and-death struggle.

At the opening of the third year of the war Germany is able to look back to her splendid military successes on water and on land, which are not without political importance. Germany and her allies remained firmly united during the past year in bonds of friendship and common interests. Bulgaria, as the fourth member, entered the alliance in October, 1915, after having satisfactorily arranged matters with Turkey. Through the accession of Bulgaria, which resulted in the subjugation of Serbia, the way was opened for the Central Powers from Berlin to Constantinople and to Bagdad, an event of far-reaching importance.

The alliance of the Central Powers rests upon a community of political and economic interests. It is an intrinsic necessity for all four States and it guar-

antees to them among themselves the greatest advantages without in any way threatening the interests of the others.

Building upon what she already has achieved Germany treads the threshold of

the third year of the war with unshaken confidence. But the goal has not yet been reached, for the enemy has not yet come to see the impossibility of subjugating Germany.

German Deeds On the High Seas

By Admiral von Holtzendorff

Chief of German Naval General Staff

THE naval warfare of the second year of the war, which envy and a spirit of revenge forced upon Germany and her allies, has passed, the chief impression left by it being increased British naval terrorism and the battle of the Skagerrak. The neutral powers in 1916 were throttled more than in the first year by the sea power of England, and hindered in the justified exercise of their commerce, postal rights, &c., by threats and violence. The victory of the German fleet over the British May 31 and June 1, therefore, was won in the interest of all the neutrals and all those who are dependent on the freedom of the seas.

While in the first year of the war twenty proved violations of the law of nations by enemy merchantmen (firing upon German submarines, attempts to ram them, &c.) occurred, thirty-eight such cases were reported in the second year. Merchantmen owned by the Allies therefore during the two years violated in the grossest manner the rules of international law no less than fifty-eight times against our submarines. This can be proved up to the hilt.

The warships of Germany's enemies during the war have violated the law of nations in three particularly extreme cases, namely, the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, the Dresden, and the Albatross. Two cases, the Baralong and the King Stephen, must be characterized not only as violations of the law of nations and a breach of the most ordinary tenets of humanity, but as common murder. Countless cases in which British warships have violated international law in their conduct against merchantmen owned by the Central Powers or neutrals cannot be enumerated.

During the second year of the war the British and their allies lost 22 warships of a total of 266,320 tons and Germany and her allies 10 warships of 82,210 tons. The total losses for the two years of the war are: Great Britain and her allies, 49 ships of 562,250 tons, and Germany and her allies, 30 ships of 191,321 tons. Of these losses England alone had 40 ships of 485,220 tons and Germany alone 25 ships of 162,676 tons.

The British losses comprised 11 battleships, 17 armored cruisers, and 12 protected cruisers. The battleships include the Audacious, the loss of which has not yet been officially announced, and a ship of the Queen Elizabeth class. The cruisers include the still contested loss of the Tiger and the destruction of an armored cruiser of the Cressy class on the night of May 31, which was established by observations from almost the entire German fleet, and two small cruisers in the battle of Skagerrak.

Furthermore, during the year preceding June 30, 879 enemy merchantmen, of a total of 1,816,682 gross tons, were lost as a consequence of war measures of the Central Powers, which brings the total for the war up to July 1 to 1,303 enemy merchantment of 2,574,205 tons, not including enemy merchantmen confiscated in the harbors of the Central Powers.

The total result of the two years' war for England and her allies is a loss in material and prestige which cannot be made good. This great and unexpected success of the German fleet and confederated naval forces deserves the more consideration because the strength of warships afloat or under construction at the beginning of the war for the enemy fleets was 443 vessels of 5,428,000 tons,

excluding auxiliary cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other armed craft, of which England alone had far more than 2,000 in service. Against these vessels Germany and her allies could oppose 156

similar ships of 1,651,000 tons. The Central Powers therefore have inflicted on an enemy three and a third times stronger than them losses in large warships almost triple their own.

Review of the Year's Naval Battles

By Captain Persius

Leading German Naval Critic

IT seemed likely that the second year of the war would end without a sea fight of the first magnitude, but May 31 brought a gratifying proof that our great battleships were not built in vain, and that our fleet, despite seeming inactivity, was quietly and assiduously preparing itself for a blow against the strongest sea power in the world. We still hear the question asked as to who was the real victor in the fight off Skagerrak. A comparison of the clear, concise reports of the German Admiralty Staff with Admiral Jellicoe's long-winded reports, which contain only a few facts, leaves no doubt that the German official account gives a thoroughly truthful description of the battle. The English version, with its barrenness of facts, labors in vain to conceal its improbability.

Whatever the final judgment is of the battle in detail the loss of British prestige at sea and the pronounced success of our fleet remain indisputable if only the British losses in men and ships are considered. The waves of the North Sea swallowed 6,104 British seamen and 117,150 gross registered tons of shipping, while the German losses were 2,414 men and 60,720 tons. These figures were officially published on both the German and British sides.

Numberless authorities, both hostile and neutral, have expressed opinions on the battle, but the German people will not permit themselves to be influenced by any foreign judgment. They understand alone how proud they may be of a navy whose quality and honor have stood the test of battle with the strongest sea power. They know that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg rightly expressed the

general sentiment in his speech in the Reichstag on June 5 when he said: "This victory, too, shall not make us vain-glorious. We know that England is not subdued or conquered by this battle."

By the side of the battle of the Skagerrak the other events in the second year of the war, navally speaking, pale into insignificance. In the first year the activity of German submarines aroused general astonishment. In the second year their activity was sharply circumscribed, but nevertheless their successes in war upon commerce were considerable in comparison with those of the first year.

On the other hand, the destruction of warships by submarines occurred but seldom. The U-27 destroyed an English protected cruiser in the North Sea on Aug. 10, 1915. Another of our boats sank the French armored cruiser Amiral Charnier in the Eastern Mediterranean on Feb. 8, 1916. A number of minor war vessels were also sunk.

English submarines did some damage to German commerce in the Baltic and succeeded in torpedoing several of our warships like the armored cruiser Prince Adalbert, Oct. 23; Undine, Nov. 7, and Bremen, Dec. 17.

Special attention is merited by the bold flights of our marine aircraft and their important scout work in the North Sea and Baltic. Attacks were made against fortified places on England's east coast and the English were able to destroy only two German airships, No. 15 on April 1, and No. 7 on May 4. Within a few hours our airships were able to reconnoitre the entire North Sea and they did valuable service in the battle off Skagerrak. Marine aeroplanes also did excellent work.

and especially distinguished themselves in the Baltic where they were of the utmost value in various ways. On several occasions they were able even to take the offensive with success, damaging warships with bombs and capturing merchantmen.

In the Black Sea and the Mediterranean German submarines, working with those of Austria-Hungary, operated successfully in war against commerce and destroyed numerous transports laden with troops and war material. In the Black Sea the Yawuz Sultan Selim, formerly the German cruiser Goeben, and the Midullu, formerly the German cruiser Breslau, bombarded Russian fortified towns on the Crimean coast at various times and damaged Russian commerce.

The glorious deeds of several German auxiliary cruisers remain to be mentioned. The *Möwe*, under the command of Count von Dohna, made a successful raid into the Atlantic in January and February. The *Appam*, one of the steamers captured by it, carried the pas-

sengers and crew of other captured merchantmen to the United States under the command of Lieutenant Berg. The *Möwe* herself made her home port safely on March 4 laden with booty. The auxiliary cruisers *Meteor* and *Greif* destroyed on Aug. 7 and Feb. 29, respectively, the much stronger armed British auxiliaries *Ramsey* and *Alcantara*.

On the threshold of the third year of the war it remains to be pointed out that the German Navy has hitherto fulfilled its chief task of keeping the enemy from German coasts, and, beyond this, has scored a series of successes that have exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The German people do not ignore the fact that British sea power still dominates the seas, but nevertheless they look with confidence upon their navy. They expect it to show itself able and willing to win victories in the third year of the war as it has done hitherto and thus contribute its part toward the general aim of securing an honorable peace.

Jutland and the Turn of the Tide

By Arthur J. Balfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

THE second anniversary of the British declaration of war provides a fitting opportunity for a brief survey of the present naval situation. The consequences, material and moral, of the Jutland battle cannot be easily overlooked; an allied diplomatist assured me that he considered it the turning point of the war.

The tide, which had long ceased to help our enemies, began from that moment to flow strongly in our favor. This much, at least, is true that every week which has passed since the German fleet was driven, damaged, into port has seen new successes for the Allies in one part or other of the field of operations. It would be an error, however, to suppose that the naval victory changed the situation; what it did was to confirm it.

Before the Jutland battle, as after, the German fleet was imprisoned. The battle was an attempt to break the bars and burst the confining gates. It failed, and with its failure the High Seas Fleet sank again into impotence. The Germans claim Jutland as a victory, but in essence they admit the contrary, since the object of a naval battle is to obtain command of the sea; and it is certain that Germany has not obtained that command, while Great Britain has not lost it. Tests of this assertion are easy to apply. Has the grip of the British blockade relaxed since May 31? Has it not, on the contrary, tightened?

The Germans themselves will admit the increasing difficulty of importing raw materials and foodstuffs and of exporting their manufactures; hence, the

violence of their invectives against Great Britain.

[Mr. Balfour argues that if they had felt themselves on the way to maritime equality the Germans would not have so loudly advertised the Deutschland incident, the whole interest of which, in German eyes, was to prove their ability to elude the barrier raised by the British fleet between them and the outer world. He advises those requiring further proofs of the value the Germans attach to their "victorious fleet" to study the German policy of submarine warfare, and says:]

The advantage of submarine attacks on commerce is that they cannot be controlled by superior fleet power in the same way as attacks by cruisers; a disadvantage is that they cannot be carried out on a large scale consistently with the laws of war or the requirements of humanity. They make, therefore, a double appeal to German militarism—an appeal to its prudence and an appeal to its brutality.

The Germans know that their victorious fleet was useless. It could be kept safe in harbor while the submarine warfare went on merrily outside. They knew that submarines cannot be brought to action by battleships or battle cruisers. They thought, therefore, that to these new commerce destroyers our merchant ships must fall an easy prey, unprotected by our ships of war and unable to protect themselves.

They were wrong in both respects, and doubtless it is their wrath at the skill

and energy with which British merchant Captains and British crews have defended the lives and property under their charge that has driven the German Admiralty into their latest and stupidest act of calculated ferocity—the judicial murder of Captain Fryatt. * * *

What blunderers they are! They know how to manipulate machines, but of managing men they know less than nothing. They are always wrong, because they always suppose that if they behave like brutes they can cow their enemies into behaving like cowards. Small is their knowledge of our merchant seamen. I doubt whether one can be found who has not resolved to defend himself to the last against piratical attack. But if there is such a one, depend upon it, he will be cured by the last exhibition of German civilization. And what must neutrals think of all this?

The freedom of the sea means to Germany that the German Navy is to behave at sea as the German Army behaves on land. It means that neither enemy civilians nor neutrals may possess rights against militant Germany; that those who do not resist will be drowned, and those who do will be shot.

Already 244 neutral merchantmen have been sunk in defiance of law and humanity, and the number daily grows. Mankind, with the experience of two years of war behind it, has made up its mind about German culture. It is not, I think, without material for forming a judgment about German freedom.

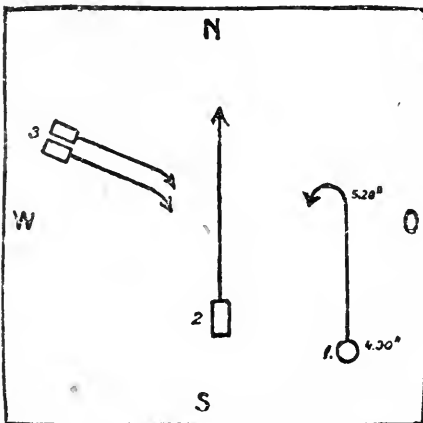


Two Explanations of the Battle of Jutland

A Berlin dispatch in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, evidently with official sanction, offers the following diagrammatic explanation of the great naval engagement of May 31 in the North Sea. The numbers in the text refer to the arrows representing the tactical moves of the opposing fleets. These diagrams, as well as the text, will be found to be objects of lively controversy in the British official commentary, which is also presented herewith.

I.—THE GERMAN VIEW

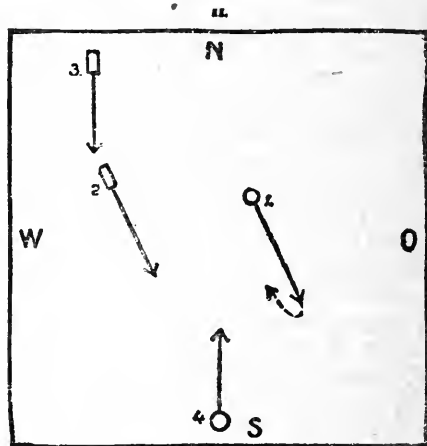
IN its official report of June 5 the German Admiralty Staff has described in brief outlines the victorious course of the naval battle at the Skagerrak. This account is confirmed in all details upon the basis of the more precise information which has since been received. The accompanying sketches illustrate in four periods the chief individual phases of the battle, while the accompanying map shows plainly the strategic importance of the German victory for the war position in the North Sea.



On May 31, at 4:35 P. M., our cruisers (1), proceeding ahead of the High Seas Fleet, sighted, seventy nautical miles to southwest of the Skagerrak, four small English cruisers of the Calliope class

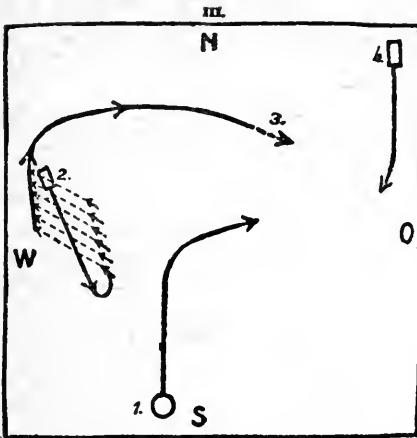
(2), which ran at highest speed northward, pursued by our cruisers.

At 5:30 our pursuing cruisers sight to the westward two further enemy columns (3), consisting of six battle cruisers, a considerable number of small cruisers and destroyers. Our cruisers take a course toward the new opponent—this becoming a course toward the south.



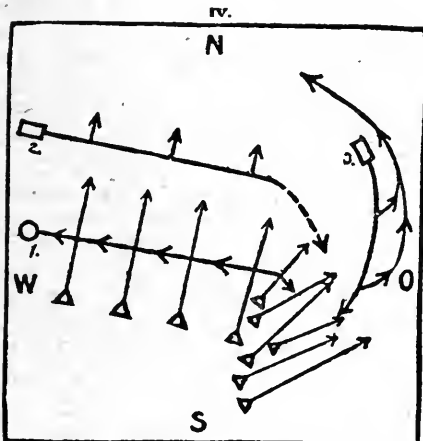
Our cruisers (1) (compare also sketch 1) have advanced to thirteen kilometers from the English battle cruisers and destroyers, which meanwhile have moved southward (2), and open fire on southerly to southeasterly courses. In the course of this fight two English battle cruisers and a destroyer were sunk. After half an hour's fighting powerful new enemy forces come in sight from the north of the enemy; they prove to be five ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (3). At the same time the main German force (4) approaches from the south and intervenes in the fight. Our cruisers place themselves ahead of their own main force.

The five big ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (compare sketch 2) have attached themselves to the enemy cruisers. The whole combined German fleet (1) is now steering northward, and in face of its attack the enemy (2) immediately turns



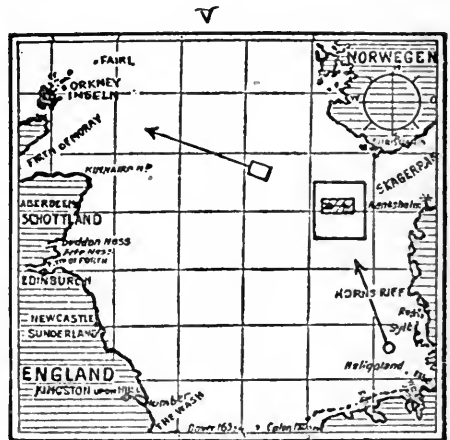
away to the north, and attempts at the highest speed to escape from our extremely effective fire, and at the same time, with an easterly course, and employing its speed, which is superior to that of our fleet as a whole, to pass (3) the head of our line, while the German battleship squadron in the rear of the line cannot yet get into action with the enemy. Our fleet, the cruisers still leading, follows the movement of the enemy at highest speed. An English cruiser of the Achilles class and two destroyers are sunk. This period of the battle lasts some two and a half hours.

Meanwhile, there approaches from the north, presumably coming from Norwegian waters, the English main force, consisting of more than twenty battleships (4).



The climax of the battle is reached.

Toward 10 o'clock all the German ships (1) are together facing the whole English fleet. At a distance of some fifteen nautical miles the battle now pursues its course eastward. While the English cruiser fleet (2) continues its attempts to catch up the head of our line, Admiral Jellicoe is striving to put himself with his large battleships (3) like the cross of a T in front of the head of our line. As the head of our line thus comes for a time under fire from both sides, Admiral Scheer throws the German line round on to a westerly course, and at the same time our torpedo boat flotillas (marked with triangles in the sketch) are ordered to attack the enemy, and they do so three times in succession with splendid vigor and visible success. A number of the large English battleships suffer severe damage, and one sinks before our eyes. By these attacks the English main fleet is driven away to the east, whence it will afterward have taken a north-westerly course homeward. The German fleet ceases its violent cannonade at 11:30, as the English had already stopped firing, and after nightfall there was nothing but the flash of their salvoes to give us a target. As the enemy cannot be found again the main battle is broken off.



During the night numerous cruiser fights and torpedo boat attacks develop

against individual enemy ships, which either had gone astray or had been ordered to worry us and to cover the retreat of the English. In these actions an enemy battle cruiser, a cruiser of the Achilles or Shannon class, several small enemy cruisers, and at least ten destroyers are sunk—six of them by the Westfalen alone.

A squadron of English battleships came up from the south, but not until June 1, after the battle was over, and it turned away without coming into action or even coming in sight of the main German force. It was observed by one of our Zeppelins, which, as is well known, owing to the foggy weather on the previous day, could not make reconnoissances until June 1.

II.—THE BRITISH VIEW

A British naval authority, writing with official sanction for The London Daily News, interprets Admiral Jellicoe's report in a very different diagram and commentary:

Seen in its broadest aspect, the battle of Jutland stands out as a case of a tactical division of the fleet, which had the effect of bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. Such a method of forcing an action is drastic and necessarily attended with risk, but for great ends great risks must be taken, and in this case the risk was far less great than that which St. Vincent accepted off Cadiz, and that division gave us the battle of the Nile, the most complete and least debated of British victories. Then the two portions of St. Vincent's fleet were divided strategically with no prospect of tactical concentration for the battle.

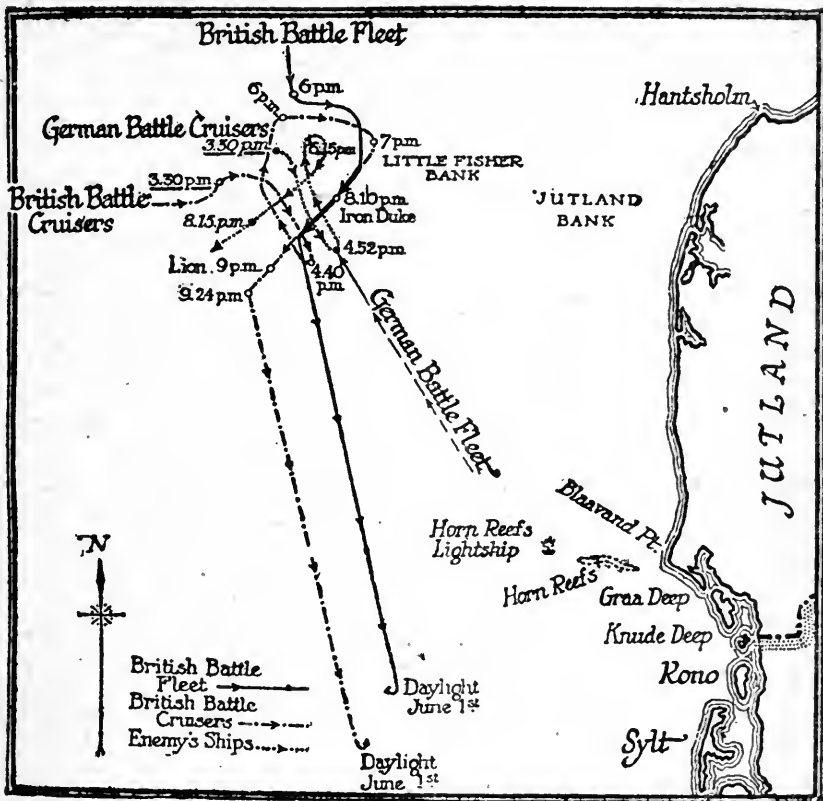
In the present case there was only an appearance of division. The battle fleet was to the north and the battle cruiser fleet to the south, but they formed in fact one fleet under a single command acting in combination. They were actually carrying out, as they had been in the habit of doing periodically, a combined sweep of the North Sea, and Admiral Beatty's fleet was in effect the observation or advanced squadron. The measure of the risk, should he have the fortune to find the enemy at sea, was

the length of the period which must necessarily elapse before the Commander in Chief would be able to join the battle. It was a risk that would be measured mainly by the skill with which Admiral Beatty could entice the enemy northward, without being overwhelmed by superior force.

In the light of this outstanding feature the action will be judged, and the handling of the battle cruiser fleet and the splendid group of four battleships that was attached to it appraised.

When Admiral Beatty got contact with the German battle cruisers they were proceeding northward and, being inferior to his force, they turned to the southward. The inference was they were either trying to escape or bent on leading him into danger. When such a doubt occurs there is in the British tradition a golden rule, and that is to attack "the enemy in sight." It was the rule that Nelson consecrated, and it was good enough for Admiral Beatty. He engaged and continued to engage as closely as he could till he found the enemy's battle fleet coming north. Then he turned, but he did not break off the action. The enemy was in overwhelming force, but by the golden rule it was his duty to cling to them as long as his teeth would hold. They had spread a net for him, and it was for him to see that they fell into the midst of it themselves. It was a task that demanded some courage. Yet he did not flinch, but continued the fight to the northward, and signaled the four Queen Elizabeths to turn sixteen points.

Now was the hour of greatest risk, but he was well disposed for concentrating on the van of the enemy's line, and the Commander in Chief was hurrying down at full speed. For an hour and a half the unequal battle raged as Admiral Beatty and Admiral Evan-Thomas led the enemy on, before Admiral Hood could appear with his battle cruiser squadron. The action was then at its hottest, but Admiral Hood, without a moment's hesitation, and in a manner that excited the high admiration of all who were privileged to witness it, placed his ships in line ahead of Admiral Beatty's squadron. No Admiral ever crowned an all too short



This chart must be taken as diagrammatic only, and as a general indication of the course of the battle from the time when the opposing battle cruisers sighted each other (3:30) until, owing to the growing darkness and the dispersal of the enemy's forces, it became impossible to continue the action as an organized whole. Sir David Beatty's successful manoeuvre in doubling the head of the enemy's line, and, reinforced by the battle fleet, establishing himself between the Germans and the Danish coast, is graphically shown. The enemy was compelled not only to make a complete turn, but to cross his original course almost at right angles after circling, and when the battle proper came to an end soon after 8:30 the bulk of the German fleet was heading southwest into the open sea with the British fleet between it and its bases.

It is amusing to recall that the most "authentic" German plan of this stage of the battle shows one arrow stretching from Denmark toward the Orkneys to indicate the line of the British retreat, and another from Heligoland, pointing north, to represent the Germans in chase. For comparative purposes it may be pointed out that the distance from Heligoland to Blaavand Point is ninety-three miles. The official tracks of the British fleet end at daylight on June 1, but it will be observed from Sir John Jellicoe's report that it was not until 1:15 P. M. that "course was shaped for our bases."

career more devotedly or in a manner more worthy of the name he bore.

With his fine manoeuvre the risk was in a measure reduced, but there still remained the more delicate work of the Grand Fleet effecting its junction and entering the ill-defined action. With the exact position of the enemy's fleet shrouded in smoke and in the gathering mist, the danger of interference was very great, and before the Commander in Chief lay a

task as difficult as any Admiral could be called upon to perform. To the last moment he kept his fleet in steaming order, so as to preserve up till the end the utmost freedom of deployment, but by what precise manoeuvres the deployment was carried out must for obvious reasons be left in a mist as deep as that which was hiding all that was most important for him to know. Suffice it to say that the junction was effected with consum-

mate judgment and dexterity. So nicely was it timed that the deployment was barely completed when, at 6:15 P. M., the first battle squadron came into action with the enemy, who had by that time turned to the eastward and was already attempting to avoid action.

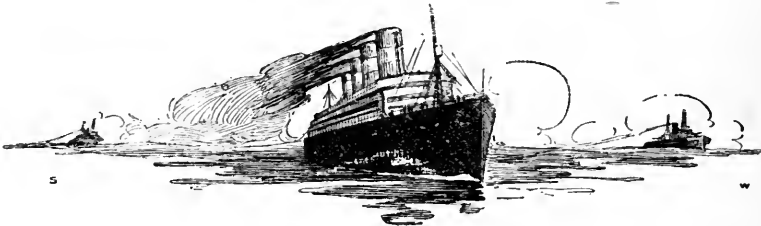
Thus the fine combination had succeeded, and the unwilling enemy had been brought to action against the concentrated British fleet. They had fallen into the midst of the net which had been drawn about them, but in the plan of the sweep there was inherent the inevitable limitation that the time left for completing the business could but barely suffice. There were hardly three hours of daylight left, and, as darkness approached, the action must be broken off unless a needless chance were to be given to the enemy for redressing his battle inferiority. Still our battle fleet was between the enemy and his base, and there would have been little hope of his escaping a decisive defeat but for the mist that robbed those who had prepared for the chance, and those who had seized it with so much skill and boldness, of the harvest they deserved.

It was a beaten and broken fleet that escaped the trap. It had lost many units, its gunnery had gone to pieces, and no one can blame its discretion if it fairly ran for home and left the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea.

For that, in a word, was the result of the battle. What it was the enemy hoped to achieve we cannot tell. Whatever their

effort meant it failed to shake our hold upon the sea, and that is what really matters. We have fought many indecisive actions, but few in which the strategical result was so indisputable, few which more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy's fleet could do. It is by such standards that history judges victories, and by such standards the country cherished the memory of the men that prepared and won them. Current opinion will always prefer the test of comparative losses. Let this be applied, and it will be found that the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories—none of which we obtained on a first attempt.

From another aspect it is clear the battle can rank beside any in our history. In the fringes of the fight, in the work, that is, of cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers, officers and men had chances such as their ancestors never knew, and they seized them with all the daring, the skill, and the devotion that the greatest of their predecessors could have hoped. From the vigorous offensive against the enemy's cruisers which cost Admiral Arbuthnot his life, to the least conspicuous of the destroyer exploits, all was of the same pattern. It is impossible to read of what they did and what they failed to do without feeling there is one thing at least which the battle has given us, and that is the assurance that the old spirit is still alive and vigorous. It is able and willing to do all the old navy could do, and in the battle of Jutland, as we now know, it has done it.



Fifty Billions, Cost of Two Years' War

War Loans in Detail

THE belligerents have borrowed approximately \$40,000,000,000 in their two years of war and have spent some \$10,000,000,000 more from their own exchequers or from their creations of paper money. The total of \$50,000,000,000 compares with the generally accepted estimate of \$5,000,000,000 as the cost of our civil war. Two years of the European war have cost ten times as much as four years of our civil war.

The debt of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Turkey has increased from \$27,273,000,000 to \$66,638,000,000 in the two years. Great Britain, France, and Germany have each added more than \$14,000,000,000 to the sums they are bound to pay, Great Britain leading with more than \$15,000,000,000 of war indebtedness. Neutral nations, constrained to mobilize, have borrowed nearly half a billion.

The following tables, compiled by John Barnes, bond editor of The Wall Street Journal, give figures that tell the story:

DEBTS IN 1914 AND 1916 (000 omitted.)

| | Pre-War Debt. | Pres. Debt. |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Great Britain..... | \$3,485,000 | \$15,106,000 |
| France | 6,607,000 | *14,966,000 |
| Russia | 4,537,000 | 10,363,000 |
| Italy | 2,836,000 | 4,301,000 |
| Total for Allies..... | \$17,465,000 | \$44,736,000 |
| Germany, (emp. & Sts.).. | 5,198,000 | 14,291,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 3,970,000 | 6,757,500 |
| Turkey | 640,000 | 854,000 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Central Powers..... | \$9,808,000 | \$21,902,500 |
| Grand total..... | 27,273,000 | 66,638,500 |

*Includes advances from Bank of France.

COST FOR TWO YEARS AND BY THE DAY

| | Cost to Aug. 1. Daily Cost. | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| Great Britain..... | \$11,190,000,000 | \$25,000,000 |
| France | 9,000,000,000 | 17,000,000 |
| Russia | 8,770,000,000 | 18,000,000 |
| Italy | 2,500,000,000 | 8,000,000 |
| Other Allies..... | 1,580,000,000 | 4,000,000 |
| Total Allies..... | \$33,030,000,000 | \$72,000,000 |

| | Cost to Aug. 1. Daily Cost. | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| Germany | 11,500,000,000 | 22,000,000 |
| Austria-Hungary .. | 5,360,000,000 | 12,000,000 |
| Turkey & Bulgaria.. | 800,000,000 | 1,500,000 |
| Total Cent. Pow..... | \$16,960,000,000 | \$35,500,000 |
| Grand total..... | 49,890,000,000 | 107,500,000 |

LOANS DUE TO THE WAR ALLIED LOANS

British Empire.

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| First war loan 3½s on 3.97 per cent. basis..... | \$1,750,000,000 |
| Second war loan 4½s on 4.58 per cent. basis..... | 2,970,000,000 |
| Treasury bills to June 24..... | 3,518,330,000 |
| Exchequer 5s to June 30..... | 1,383,098,000 |
| Exchequer 3s, due 1920..... | 239,710,000 |
| War expenditure certificates to June 30..... | 50,663,000 |
| Other war debt to June 30..... | 121,000,000 |
| Estimate to Aug. 1..... | 600,000,000 |
| Half of Anglo-French loan in United States..... | 250,000,000 |
| Banking credit in Canada..... | 101,000,000 |
| Banking credit in United States. | *50,000,000 |
| Canadian ten-year 4½s in London | 25,000,000 |
| Canadian one and two year 5s in United States..... | 45,000,000 |
| Canadian five, ten, and fifteen year 5s in United States..... | 75,000,000 |
| Canadian ten-year internal 5½s at 97½..... | 100,000,000 |
| Indian Government internal 4s. | 15,000,000 |
| Indian Treasury bills in London | 17,500,000 |
| Australian 5s, at 99, in London. | 10,000,000 |
| Australian internal loan..... | 50,000,000 |
| Australian second internal loan. | 250,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$11,620,971,000 |

France.

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| "Loan of Victory" 5s at 87 on 5.75 per cent. basis..... | \$3,100,000,000 |
| National defense bonds..... | *1,700,000,000 |
| National defense obligations... | *300,000,000 |
| Advances from Bank of France to June 29..... | 1,580,000,000 |
| Estimated to Aug. 1..... | 500,000,000 |
| Advances Bank of France to foreign Governments..... | 228,000,000 |
| Bonds and notes in London.... | 506,000,000 |
| Half Anglo-French loan in U. S. | 250,000,000 |
| Collateral loan in United States | 100,000,000 |
| One-year 5 per cent. notes in United States..... | 30,000,000 |
| Banking credits in New York.. | *50,000,000 |
| Advances from Bank of Algeria | 15,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$8,359,000,000 |

| Russia. | |
|--|------------------------|
| First internal 5s at 95 on 5.35 per cent. basis..... | \$257,500,000 |
| Second internal loan..... | 257,500,000 |
| Third loan, five-year 5½s..... | 515,000,000 |
| Fourth loan, ten-year, 5½s at 95..... | 515,000,000 |
| Fifth loan, 5½s at 95..... | 1,030,000,000 |
| Four per cent. bonds..... | 309,000,000 |
| Treasury bills, 5 per cent..... | *2,000,000,000 |
| Issues discounted in England..... | 642,886,860 |
| Issues in France..... | 120,896,250 |
| Special currency loan..... | 103,000,000 |
| Loan in Japan..... | 25,000,000 |
| Three-year 6½ per cent. credit in United States..... | 50,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$5,825,783,110 |

| Italy. | |
|--|------------------------|
| Twenty-five-year 4½s at 97.... | \$200,000,000 |
| Twenty-five-year 4½s at 95.... | 190,000,000 |
| Twenty-five-year 5s at 97½.... | 800,000,000 |
| English credit for war supplies. | 250,000,000 |
| One-year 6 per cent. notes in United States..... | 25,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$1,465,000,000 |

| Belgium. | |
|--|---------------|
| From French and English Governments..... | \$218,000,000 |

| Japan. | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Internal loan of 1914..... | \$26,000,000 |
| Loan to refund bonds in France..... | 20,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$46,000,000 |

| Serbia. | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| From French Government..... | \$33,000,000 |
| Total allied loans..... | \$27,567,754,110 |
| Duplications..... | 501,000,000 |

Net total allied loans.....\$27,066,754,110

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN LOANS

| Germany. | |
|---|------------------------|
| First war loan 5s at 97½ on 5.32 per cent. basis..... | \$1,115,000,000 |
| Second war loan 5s at 98½.... | 2,265,000,000 |
| Third war loan..... | 3,025,250,000 |
| Fourth war loan 5s at 98½.... | 2,667,750,000 |
| Bank loan in Sweden..... | 10,000,000 |
| Note issue in United States.... | 10,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$9,093,000,000 |

| Austria-Hungary. | |
|--|---------------|
| Austrian 5½s at 97½ on 6.10 per cent. basis..... | \$423,000,000 |
| Hungarian 6s at 97½ on 6.70 per cent. basis..... | 237,000,000 |
| Austrian second war loan..... | 534,000,000 |
| Hungarian second and third.... | 230,000,000 |
| Austrian third war loan..... | 815,000,000 |
| Hungarian war loan..... | 240,000,000 |

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| Loan from German bankers.... | 113,500,000 |
| Second loan in Germany..... | 125,000,000 |
| Credit in Germany..... | 60,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$2,787,500,000 |

| Turkey. | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| First loan in Germany..... | \$108,000,000 |
| Second loan in Germany..... | 106,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$214,000,000 |

| Bulgaria. | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Loan from German bankers.... | \$30,000,000 |
| Total Central Power loans.. | \$12,124,500,000 |

Grand total war loans.....\$39,191,254,110

NEUTRAL LOANS DUE TO WAR

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Netherlands 5 per cent. internal loan..... | \$110,000,000 |
| Netherlands India loan..... | 25,000,000 |
| One-year Treasury loan..... | 8,000,000 |
| Rumania 4 per cent. loan from Nat. Bank of Rumania.... | 40,000,000 |
| Internal loan..... | 30,000,000 |
| Egypt, Treasury bills..... | 25,000,000 |
| Switzerland internal loan.... | 16,000,000 |
| Internal 4½ per cent. loan... | 20,000,000 |
| Notes in United States..... | 15,000,000 |
| Internal 4½s at 97..... | 20,000,000 |
| Danish 4s and 5s..... | 28,000,000 |
| Spanish 4½s at par..... | 10,000,000 |
| Spanish 3s..... | 14,800,000 |
| Loan to refund bonds in France..... | 40,000,000 |
| Greece from England, France, and Russia..... | 8,000,000 |
| Internal 5s at 88½..... | 23,000,000 |
| Norway internal loans..... | 8,000,000 |
| Notes in United States..... | 3,000,000 |
| Seven-year 6s in United States | 5,000,000 |
| Sweden internal loans..... | 9,380,000 |
| Notes in United States..... | 5,000,000 |
| Total neutral loans..... | \$463,180,000 |

Grand total loans due to war.\$39,654,434,110

*Estimated.

The daily cost of the war now approximates \$100,000,000, of which the Allies are spending two-thirds, or \$67,000,000, and the Teutons and Turks \$33,000,000. Probably the high rate of daily expenditure has been reached. The borrowing continues. Subscriptions are being received for the fourth Austrian and Hungarian loans. Germany and France are making ready for new forays on the purse. England is thinking of a great loan to refund Treasury bills and to maintain her position as banker for her allies. Russia, which is \$3,000,000,000 behind Great Britain, France, and Germany

in war loans, will borrow when the time is ripe.

SECOND YEAR'S LIFE LOSSES

Estimates of casualties based on official data show that the second year of the war has cost more than 3,000,000 lives and has inflicted wounds on more than 6,000,000. Estimates for the first year ranged between the German report of 2,500,000 slain and more than 5,000,000 wounded and Beach Thomas's estimate of 5,000,000 killed and 7,000,000 wounded.

Up to the period of the present great offensives the British had lost in killed or totally incapacitated 228,138 and 68,046 in prisoners; Germany, respectively, 664,552 and 137,768; France, according to Deputy Longuet, 900,000 and 300,000. German reports of Russian casualties amounted to 3,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 were prisoners. Austria is just now trying to have her men up to 60 years enrolled.

SECOND YEAR'S COST

| | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Great Britain..... | \$7,670,000,000 |
| France | 6,643,000,000 |
| Russia | 4,118,000,000 |
| Italy | 2,464,000,000 |
| Allies' total..... | \$20,895,000,000 |
| Germany | \$9,975,000,000 |
| Austria | 3,000,000,000 |
| Turkey | 2,000,000,000 |
| Bulgaria | 150,000,000 |
| Teutonic total..... | \$14,225,000,000 |

CONQUERED TERRITORY

| | Square Miles. |
|--------------------|---------------|
| Allies Hold In— | 700 |
| Europe | 52,000 |
| Asia | 96,160 |
| The Pacific..... | 600,000 |
| Africa | 748,860 |
| Allies' gain..... | 11,000 |
| Teutons Hold In— | 9,000 |
| Belgium | 80,000 |
| France | 25,000 |
| Russia | 125,000 |
| Balkans | |
| Teutonic gain..... | |

| | Men. |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Russia | 9,000,000 |
| France | 6,000,000 |
| Great Britain..... | 5,000,000 |
| Italy | 3,000,000 |
| Serbia and Belgium..... | 300,000 |
| Allies' total..... | 23,300,000 |
| Germany | 7,000,000 |
| Austria | 3,000,000 |
| Turkey | 300,000 |
| Bulgaria | 300,000 |
| Teutonic total..... | 10,600,000 |

PRESENT EFFECTIVES

| | Men. |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Russia | 9,000,000 |
| France | 6,000,000 |
| Great Britain..... | 5,000,000 |
| Italy | 3,000,000 |
| Serbia and Belgium..... | 300,000 |
| Allies' total..... | 23,300,000 |
| Germany | 7,000,000 |
| Austria | 3,000,000 |
| Turkey | 300,000 |
| Bulgaria | 300,000 |
| Teutonic total..... | 10,600,000 |

BATTLE FRONTS

| | Miles. |
|------------------------------|--------|
| In Europe— | 500 |
| Western | 785 |
| Eastern | 300 |
| Italian | 110 |
| Balkan | 750 |
| In Asia, (intermittent)..... | 300 |
| Africa, (intermittent)..... | 2,835 |
| Total..... | |

The War's Effects on Prices in the United States

IT is interesting to study the European war's effects on American prices. Our excess of exports over imports in the two years of war reached the amazing total of \$3,250,000,000, of which our munition exports alone, in the twenty-two months ending with May, 1916, amounted to \$458,000,000. Since then, that is, in June, July, and August, at least \$100,000,000 must have been added to the total. This extraordinary demand for our products has naturally affected prices of all commodities. In the first

few months there was uncertainty, then there were sensational advances, followed in time by a steady situation at a high level, which is the present condition. There has been a decline in acids and heavy chemicals; for illustration, caustic soda since January, 1916, has declined from 5¼ cents a pound to 3¼ cents; sulphuric acid from 3 to 1¼ cents, bleaching powder from 13 cents to 4½ or 5 cents, glycerine from 55 cents to 43½ cents, carbolic acid from \$1.40 or \$1.45 to 55 cents.

In drugs in general there is still a higher level of prices, as the following comparisons indicate:

| | 1914. | 1916. |
|---------------------|---------|--------|
| Acetanilid | \$0.20½ | \$0.65 |
| Alcohol | 2.52 | 2.70 |
| Borax | .04¼ | .08¼ |
| Chloroform | .20 | .44 |
| Opium | 7.50 | 11.30 |
| Quinine | .26 | .61 |
| Saltpetre | 4.75 | 15.00 |
| Soda benzoate | .34 | 6.00 |

In the metal markets the increase has been chiefly in copper, spelter, lead, iron, and steel, as the following figures prove:

| | 1914. | 1916. |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| Pig iron, foundry..... | \$14.75 | \$19.75 |
| Pig iron, Bessemer..... | 14.90 | 21.95 |
| Billets, forging..... | 25.00 | 69.00 |
| Billets, wire rods..... | 24.50 | 55.00 |
| Steel bars..... | 1.15 | 2.50 |
| Wire nails..... | 1.55 | 2.50 |
| Cut nails..... | 1.55 | 2.60 |
| Barb wire..... | 1.95 | 3.35 |
| Aluminium..... | .18 | .61 |
| Copper | .13¾ | .26½ |
| Spelter | .05 | .10 |
| Lead | .039 | .063 |
| Tin | .316 | .37¼ |
| Tin plate..... | 3.49 | 6.24 |

The shortage of dyestuffs and the restriction of immigration of foreign textile laborers have raised the price of textiles, but the expansion of business has been considerable. Our imports of dry goods prior to the war exceeded exports by \$150,000,000; now the balance in our favor is \$15,000,000. Exports of cotton goods have doubled, of knit goods increased eightfold, of woolen goods tenfold, and we have invested hundreds of millions in dyestuff industries. The shortage of dyes still continues, and colorings which normally sell at 40 to 50 cents a pound are bringing \$20 or \$30. As to prices, the following are the latest comparisons:

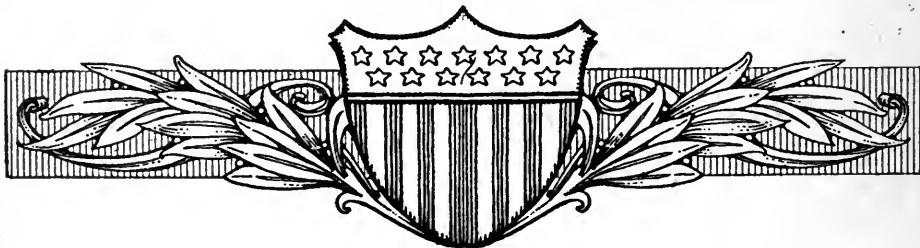
| | 1914. | 1916. |
|----------------------|--------|---------|
| Brown sheetings..... | \$0.08 | \$0.08¼ |
| Wide sheetings | .30 | .35 |
| Bleached | .09¼ | .09½ |
| Ginghams | .06¼ | .08 |
| Prints | .03¾ | .05¼ |
| Silk | 4.40 | 5.40 |
| Wool | .27½ | .38 |
| Serge | 1.20 | 1.67½ |

Cotton has had a violent advance recently, and 15-cent cotton is now predicted. October cotton was selling at 14 2-3 cents during August. A sharp advance is now expected in all cotton goods.

Wheat has had violent fluctuations since the war, going as high as \$1.67 a bushel in February, 1915, and as low as 99½ cents in June. In August there was a violent flurry on account of reports of short crops, and in ten days the price rose 20 cents a bushel, to \$1.50. At the same time flour of the baker's grade rose \$2 a barrel in the course of one month, reaching \$7.25.

Oils have had an advance, but it is said to be due to restricted flow and not to the war, as the exports have declined. Petroleum exports in 1915 showed a loss of 40,000,000 gallons. Gasoline had a sensational advance, rising from 11 cents a gallon to 26 cents. This is explained as due to the increased domestic demand and diminished production. Within the last few weeks there has been a rapid and sharp increase in prices of essential oils; they nearly all come from abroad, and shipments are very uncertain.

All household and building supplies have advanced from 10 per cent. to 60 per cent. since the war began, and food prices show fluctuating conditions, but always with an upward tendency.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[English Cartoon]

What Will His Harvest Be?



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

[After a plate in Holbein's "Dance of Death."]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Nocturne



—By Cesare Giris, Italian Artist.

The Birds That Follow the German Eagle.

[French Cartoon]

The Emperor's Sowing



—A. Roubille in the *Paris Journal*.

He Sows Iron Crosses, but the Crosses That Spring Up by Thousands Are of Wood.

Drawings That Stirred Italy



The Murder of Nurse Cavell

—By T. Corbella.



RHEIMS: An Allegory That Helped to Cause Italy to Enter the War.

—By Cesare Giris.

[English Cartoon]

The Disillusioned

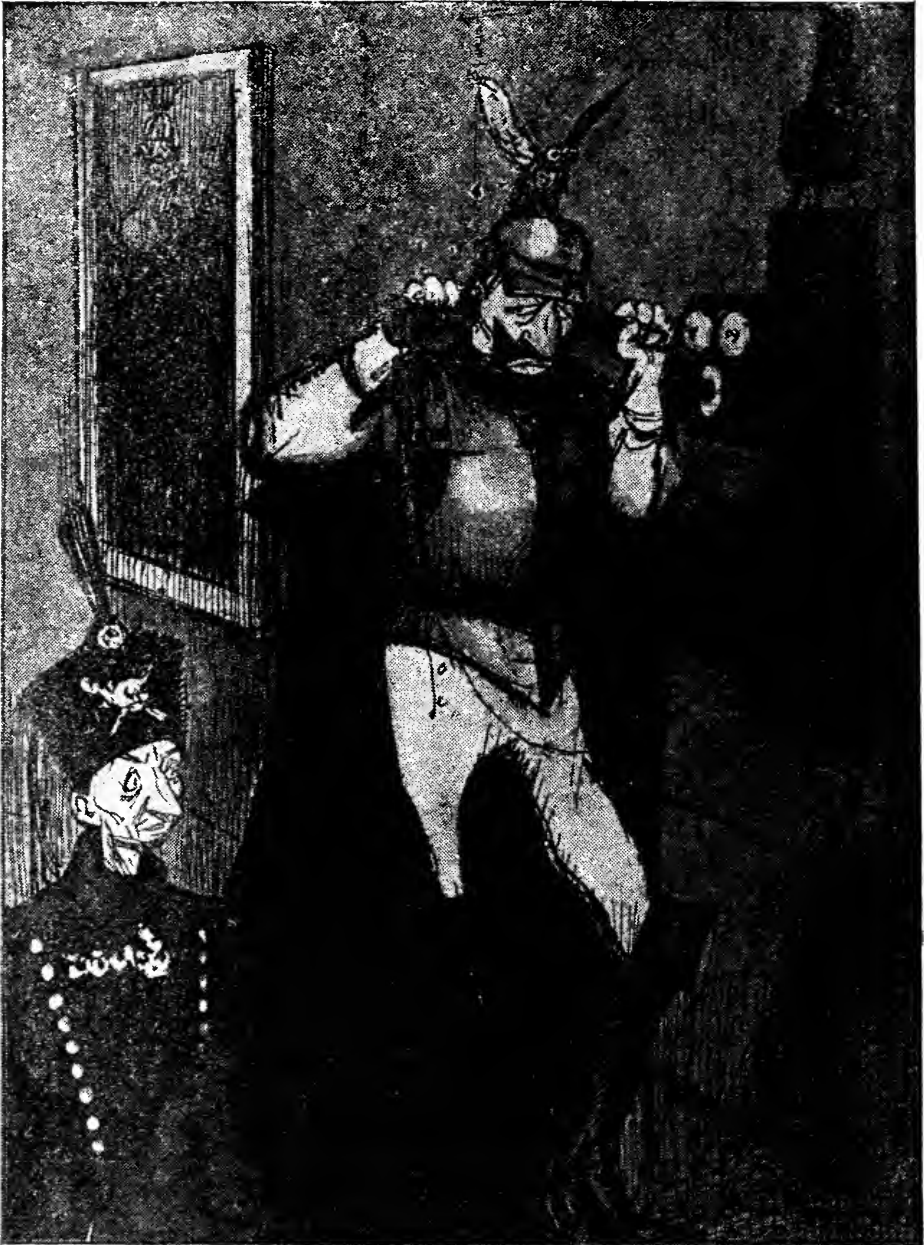


—By Will Dyson, Noted English Artist.

“We were promised the earth—and are given potato tickets.”

[Italian Cartoon]

Communications Interrupted



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

“God don’t answer any more. I’m afraid he is gone over to the Allies.”

[French Cartoon]

A Test of Courage

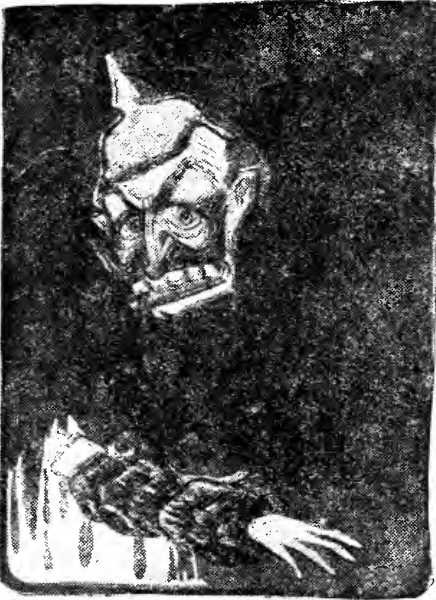


—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

“General, my little Dédé asked me to kiss you.”

“Well, what are you waiting for?”

The War Birds



The Vulture.



The Vampire.



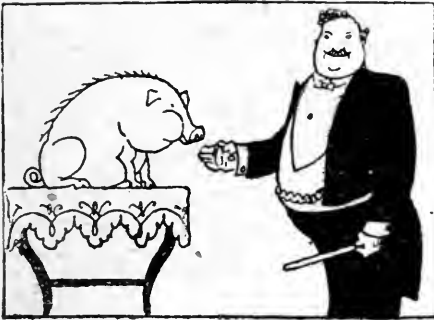
The Screech Owl.



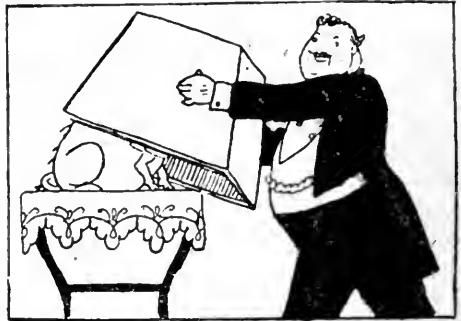
The Crow.

—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

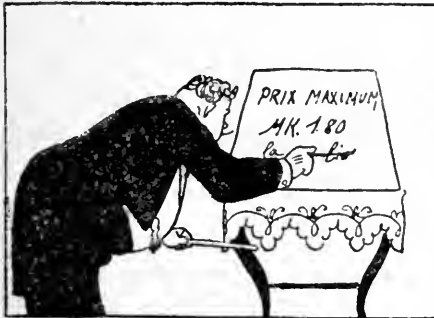
Sleight of Hand



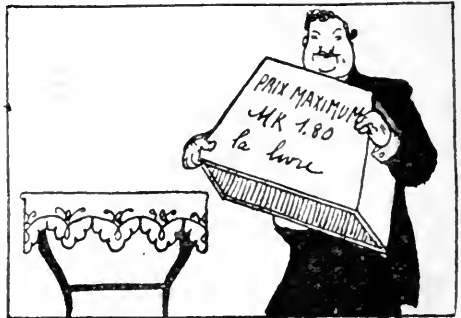
"Ladies and gentlemen, you see this pig. Come up on the platform and convince yourselves that it is alive."



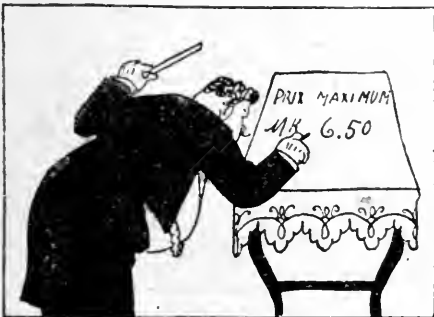
"I cover it with a pasteboard box that has neither a hole in it nor a false bottom, as you can see."



"Now I inscribe a magic formula on the box, and I strike it with my enchanted wand—"



I raise the box * * * the pig has disappeared!



"Again I put down my box, and inscribe another formula. I wave my wand—"



—and the pig has returned!"

—© *Simplicissimus, Munch.*

[Italian Cartoon]

The Last Review



—From *L'Asino, Rome.*

The Triumph of Militarism.

[French Cartoon]

The German Bastile



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

BRIAND: "It is tottering, Asquith; another effort and it will fall."

[French Cartoon]

Another Atrocity

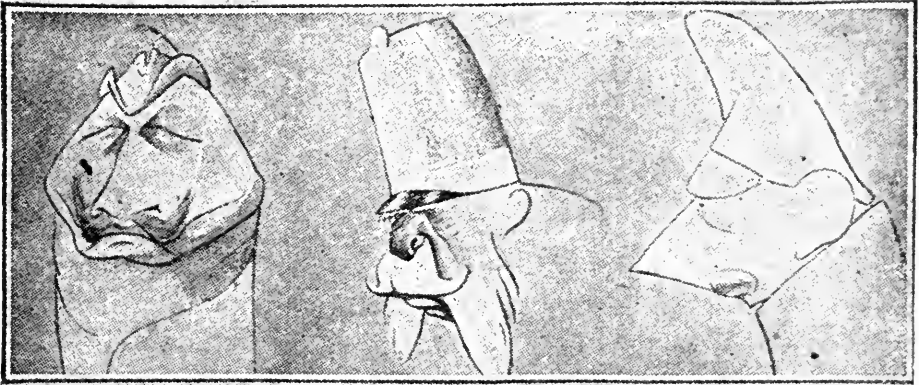


—Ricardo Flores in the Paris Journal.

“We Germans wish to rebuild Louvain.”

“For mercy’s sake, your Majesty, spare us this new crime.”

A War Menagerie



—Drawings by Umberto Tirelli.

A Kaiser

An Emperor

A Crown Prince

[German Cartoon]

"Ungrateful Italy"



—© *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

Judas Italiano in the act of betraying his brother for 30,000,000 pieces of silver.

[American Cartoon]

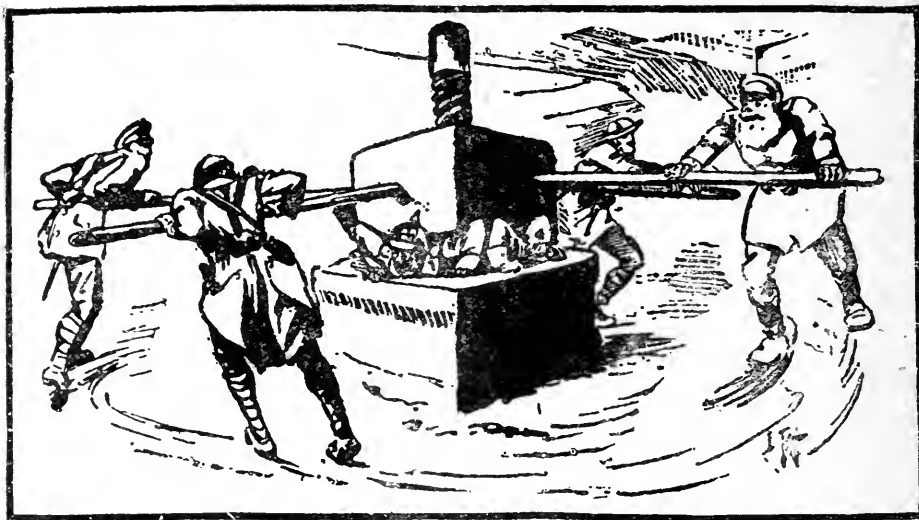
Do You See Anything, Watson?



—From *The Baltimore American*.

[French Cartoon]

The Situation



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

THE KAISER: "Oh, the scoundrels! Now they are all working at the same time!"

[English Cartoon]

A German Luxury



—From *London Opinion*.

FRITZ: "How goes it this morning?"

HANS: "Very well. I am just making a sandwich for myself with a meat card between two bread cards."

[French Cartoon]

Toilet of the Austrian Eagle



—From *Le Temps*, Paris.

RUSSIA TO ITALY: "Hold it tight. I'll pull out the feathers."

[English Cartoon]

La France



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

[Suggested by the French Eagle at Pierrefonds.]

[English Cartoon]

"Special Constables Should Use Discretion"

—(Extract from Manual.)



—From *The Bystander*, London.

WOMAN CONDUCTOR: "Will you deal with this man? He won't pay his fare and he won't get off the bus."
SPECIAL CONSTABLE: "Er—er—well, how much IS his fare?"

[English Cartoon]

“God Save Ireland!”



—Edmund J. Sullivan in *The London Chronicle*.
[Apropos of the failure of the provisional home rule settlement.]

[French Cartoon]

The Hour of Punishment

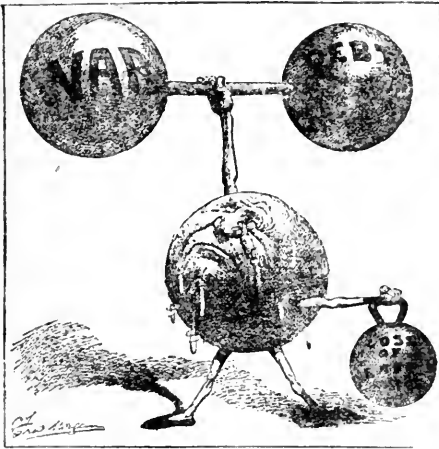


—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

The Last Trench, (Under the German Throne.)

[American Cartoon]

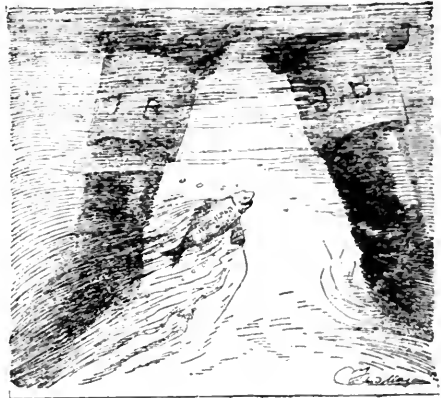
How Long Can He Keep It Up?



—© 1916, by The Philadelphia Inquirer Co.

[American Cartoon]

Oh Where and Oh Where Has That Deutschland Gone?



[German Cartoon]

Italy's Gauntlet



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.
Not Fit to Touch.

[American Cartoon]

The Third Lap



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoon]

The End of a Perfect Year



—From *The New York Times*.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From July 12 Up to and Including
August 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- July 12—British retake the whole of Mametz Wood and repel two heavy German attacks against Contalmaison; Germans take French trenches at the junction of the Fleury and Vaux roads.
- July 14—British capture German second line from Bazentin-le-Petit to Longueval and the whole of Trones Wood.
- July 15—British cut German third line in Faureaux Wood and reach Pozières.
- July 17—British capture 1,500 yards of German second-line position northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood and complete the capture of the village of Ovillers-la-Boisselle.
- July 18—British gain north of Ovillers; Germans south of the Somme gain ground near Blaches and attack near Longueval and Delville.
- July 19—British retake half of Delville Wood and all of Longueval.
- July 20—French advance on the Somme on front of 10½ miles and capture German first position from Estrées to the height of Yermendo-Villers.
- July 23—British resume offensive from Pozières to Guillemont.
- July 26—British occupy whole of Pozières.
- July 27—Delville Wood taken by the British.
- July 30—British move their line forward east of Waterlot farm and Trones Wood.
- Aug. 2—French advance on three-mile front, from the Meuse at Vacherauville as far east as Fleury.
- Aug. 4—French reoccupy the greater part of Fleury.
- Aug. 5—British break through German second line north of Pozières on a front of nearly two miles.
- Aug. 6-7—Germans defeated in counterattacks northwest of Pozières.
- Aug. 8—British and French troops advance 300 to 500 yards on four-mile front near Guillemont; Germans gain near Pozières; recapture Thiaumont Wood and lose part of it again; French take second-line trenches on Vaux-le-Chapitre-Chenois front.
- Aug. 9—British advance 200 yards on 600-yard front northwest of Pozières; French gain north of Hem Wood.
- Aug. 11—French advance line to ridge south of Maurepas on road to Hem; British advance near Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- July 12—Austro-German and Russian armies locked on the Stokhod River.
- July 14—Teutonic offensive near Stobychwa, northeast of Kovel, fails.
- July 17—Part of General von Linsingen's army in Volhynia forced to retreat across the Lipa River.
- July 19—Russians cross the Carpathians and advance toward Hungary.
- July 20—Violent Russian offensive resumed in the Carpathians, at Kovel, Vladimir-Volynski, and in the Riga sector; Germans attack southwest of Lutsk.
- July 21—Russians flank General von Linsingen on the Styr and force him across the Lipa at several points.
- July 22—Russians pierce the German lines at several points south of Riga; forces moving south on the railway from Delatyn reach the Carpathian Pass.
- July 23—Austrian forces in the Carpathians thrown back into the Jablonitza Pass; Russians are within four miles of the Hungarian frontier; General Kuropatkin's forces pierce Hindenburg's Riga line five miles.
- July 24—Russians advance on the Riga front from the Gulf of Riga to Uxkull.
- July 29—Russians cross the Stokhod River at Gulevich and press the Teutons along the entire front from the Kovel-Lutsk railway.
- July 31—Russians cross the Stokhod River on a 27-mile front in drive at Kovel.
- Aug. 1—Russians in Southeastern Galicia cross the Koropiec River.
- Aug. 4—Russians advance on the Rudka-Merynskaia railroad to the Stavok River.
- Aug. 5—Russians cross the River Sereth south of Brody and capture two villages; Archduke Charles Francis begins an attack in the Carpathians against General Lechitsky's army.
- Aug. 6—Russians take six villages south of the Sereth River.
- Aug. 7—Austrians reported falling back along the Lemberg railroad from the Tarnopol region; Russians capture more positions south of Brody and trenches on the Stokhod front.
- Aug. 8—Russians advance on ten-mile front in Galicia, take Tlumach and capture group of villages centring around Zalocze; civilians ordered out of Lemberg.
- Aug. 9—Russians take Tysmienitza, push on

toward Stanislaw and cross Koropiec River.

Aug. 10—General Lechitsky captures Kryplin, crosses Zlota Lipa River on the way to Halicz; Austrians in Lemberg reinforced by 150,000 Turks.

Aug. 11—Russians take Stanislaw, pierce General Bothmer's front in Galicia in three places, take Monasterzyska and compel Teutons to retire from Gliadka and Voroblevsk; General Bothmer's right flank retreats on Halicz, left also falls back.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 14—Italians blow up the summit of Castelletto in the Tofana region.

July 15—Italians take the town of Vanzi on Monte Hellugio.

July 19—Austrians repulsed in Pasubio sector.

July 21—Italian artillery bombards Riva, Arco, and Rovereto in the Adige Valley and Doberdo, Jamiano, and St. Giovanni on the Isonzo front; Austrians shell Monfalcone.

July 23—Italians advance along the Posina line and storm Dolomite positions.

July 25—Monte Cimone captured by the Italians.

July 29—Aug. 1—Italians repel attempts to recapture Monte Cimone.

Aug. 2—Austrians severely defeated in attacks on Italian lines at Seluggio, Castelletto, and Monte Cimone.

Aug. 7—Italians capture important positions commanding communications between the Travenanzes Valley and the Sare torrent in the Gader Valley; Austrian attacks on the slopes of Monte Zebio checked.

Aug. 8—Italians captured Sabotino and San Michele Mountains and Gorizia bridgehead in offensive begun Aug. 6.

Aug. 9—Gorizia captured by Italians; Austrians abandon nearly all principal positions on Isonzo and Carso fronts.

Aug. 10—Italians capture Boschini northeast of Gorizia.

Aug. 11—Italians occupy whole Doberdo Plateau, capture Rubbia and San Martino del Carso, and reach Vallone River in advance on 12-mile front.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 18—Cannonading along the entire Saloniki front.

July 27—Serbs begin an attack on Bulgarian positions within the Greek border.

Aug. 6—Serbs take the village of Pemli, near Proska, which had been occupied by the Bulgars.

Aug. 11—Allies occupy Doiran station and nearby hill.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

July 12—Russians capture the town of Mamakhatum, fifty miles west of Erzerum.

July 16—Russians capture Baiburt.

July 22—Russians occupy Ardasa on the Caucasus front; Turks advance to within thirty miles of the Suez Canal.

July 24—Russians in Armenia advance within fifteen miles of Erzengan; Turks claim victory in Persia, east of Pzandoz.

July 26—Russians capture Erzengan.

July 31—Turks advance in Egypt to a ridge nine miles from Romani.

Aug. 3—Turks drive Russians from Sakiz and reach Bukan.

Aug. 4—Turks attack British positions near Romani, east of Port Said, in attempt to reach the Suez Canal.

Aug. 5—British defeat Turkish force at Romani and pursue them for eighteen miles.

Aug. 9—Russians give up Bitlis and Mush; Turks force British cavalry to retreat near Suez Canal.

Aug. 11—Turks force Russians to retire from Hamadan, Persia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

July 14—British occupy Muanza, on the southern shore of Lake Victoria.

July 22—British occupy Muheza and Amani and capture the Usambara Railway.

July 24—General Northey defeats German forces at Malangali and advances toward Madibira.

NAVAL RECORD

Russia formally announced that in reprisal for the torpedoing of the Portugal and the Vperiode, she would attack Turkish hospital ships.

German submarines have renewed their activity in the war zone. Belligerents' losses included twenty-six British, one Japanese, four French, and six Italian ships. In addition to these, many neutral vessels have been destroyed, including one Dutch, five Norwegian, two Finnish, three Danish, six Swedish, and one Greek. Many lives were lost in an attack on the Italian mail steamer Letimbro.

Germans capture Danish excursion boat Ydun with 200 children aboard.

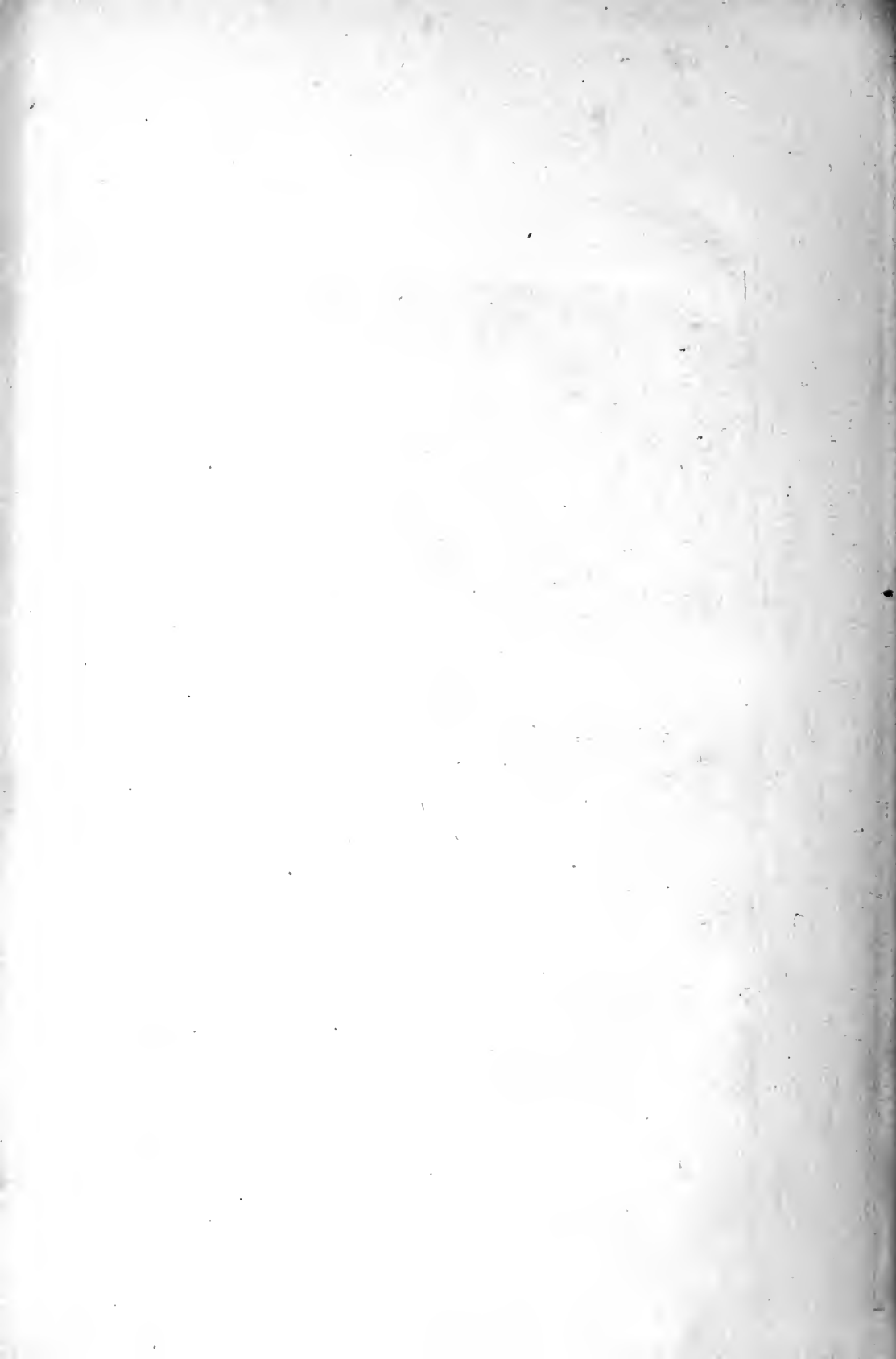
MISCELLANEOUS

Judge Waddill of the United States District Court held that the steamer Appam is still the property of her British owners, but refused a petition that she be delivered to libellants. The German Government filed a formal petition in the Supreme Court for a new trial, giving a \$2,000,000 super-sedeas bond.

The last forts of Mecca surrendered to the Arabian rebels, who later besieged the Turkish garrison at Medina. There were heavy casualties on both sides.

German Government issued a revised list of contraband and announced that German warships were ordered to destroy all ships carrying contraband.





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