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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period April, 1917—June, 1917

INTRODUCTION

THE revolution in Russia and the entrance of the United States into the war are the two epoch-making events which make the period under review far more important historically than any since the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. In a sense to which all past history offered no parallel the conflict now became a world war. There had never been previously a struggle between so many great nations nor on so large a scale, and, with other neutral nations following the lead of the United States, it seemed that hardly a single national entity would remain outside the vast arena.

Not only was there this extension of the war itself, but also to be taken into account was the effect of the change in Russia, now a democracy inspired by the spirit of internationalism and opposed to aggressive imperialist policies. While the United States brought enormous reserves of material and moral support to strengthen the cause of the Allies, the changed attitude of the Russian Government for a time threatened to become a source of weakness. The aims for which the Czar's Government had gone to war were not those which animated the new democracy, and with the abandonment of those aims there arose a movement among the soldiers to stop fighting altogether. During this period there were important military operations on several fronts, and, as will be seen, the temporary inactivity of the Russian armies, if it did not have an adverse effect upon the forces of the Western

Allies, at any rate denied them advantages which were to be expected from a concerted scheme of offensive movements. Such, then, were the outstanding features of this momentous period.

The campaign in the western theatre of the war during March, April, and May went through two phases. First, the German retirement, which had begun in February along the Ancre and the Somme, began about the middle of March to extend over the much wider region between Soissons and Arras; and, secondly, the British and French initiated in April two of the greatest offensives of the war.

The Germans decided to retire because they were aware that the Allies were preparing to make a great forward movement, and it was necessary to be in a more advantageous defensive position. Nevertheless, the retirement was unexpected, and at first the Allies were puzzled as to the meaning of the German movement. They accordingly advanced warily into the evacuated territory. In the British advance on a front of forty-two miles from north to south Bapaume and Péronne were taken, while north and south of the Ancre over sixty villages were occupied. On the line Roye-Noyon, adjoining the Somme front, the Germans abandoned considerable territory to the French, who had the satisfaction of once more being in possession of both Roye and Noyon. North of the Ancre the Germans fell back as far as Arras. The manner in which they conducted their retirement once more testified to their efficiency and the thoroughness of their or-

ganization. At no time did they have to suffer any of the troubles of a retreating army; at no time was there anything in the nature of a flight or a rout. On the other hand, the Germans systematically rendered the territory they evacuated not only difficult for the Allies to conduct military operations in, but they also devastated the countryside in such a way as to make it valueless for peaceful pursuits until after a vast amount of labor had been expended in restoring it to its original condition. Farms, woods, wells, roads, railways, and everything else that could be destroyed were dealt with in a ruthless manner. The fertile and carefully cultivated land which makes France one of the richest and most beautiful countries in the world was in many places transformed into a desert.

With a belt of twenty miles of devastated territory between them and the Allies' positions, the Germans early in April entrenched themselves on a new line—the so-called Hindenburg line—which had been carefully prepared to offer the greatest possible amount of resistance. The British on April 9 and the French on April 16 initiated their respective forward movements by attacking the terminal, or pivotal, positions of the Hindenburg line, namely, Vimy Ridge, to the north of Arras, and the Craonne Plateau, east of Soissons.

The British offensive was on a front of forty-five miles between Lens and St. Quentin, including Vimy Ridge, which dominated the plain of Douai, the coal fields of Lens, and the German positions around Arras. The bombardment of the German positions during the four days preceding the opening of the offensive was as intense and sustained as the artillery fire before or during any of the other great battles on the western front.

The most important episode in the opening of the offensive was the taking of Vimy Ridge, where the Canadians led the attack. Here and all along the line on a twelve-mile front north and south of Arras the British onslaught was successful. The German positions were penetrated to a depth of from two to three miles, and many important fortified positions were captured. Several

thousand Germans were taken prisoner, the number at the end of the first five days reaching 13,000. At this stage the British Commander in Chief was able to report that his army was "astride" the Hindenburg line. The Germans were forced to fall back toward an emergency auxiliary line running from Drocourt to Quéant.

The French opened their offensive on April 16 on an eleven-mile front east of Rheims and on the front between Rheims and Soissons. The objective was the southern pivot of the Hindenburg line, against the so-called Laon position, the principal attacks being leveled against the heights of the Aisne, from which, passing north toward Craonne, there is an abrupt limestone plateau, rising in a very difficult, heavily wooded country and terminating at Craonne itself. After the preliminary bombardment the French drove forward well up the plateau and captured many guns and thousands of prisoners. Finally they took the plateau and occupied Craonne, establishing lines about three-quarters of a mile from the Ailette River.

But at this point the Germans brought up large numbers of fresh troops and made furious counterattacks, particularly against the Craonne position. Here the French advance was halted, as it was also between Rheims and Berry-aubac after the French had almost entirely cleared the Aisne Canal north of Soivre and forced the Germans back to within a mile of the Suippes River. In the Champagne region east of Rheims the French advance was brought to a standstill at the heights of Moronvillers. Meanwhile the British were fighting over a narrow front from Fresnoy to Quéant, but without making any great progress.

By the end of May the Franco-British offensive had been stopped by the vigorous counterattacks launched by von Hindenburg, who called up all the reserves at his disposal as well as many men who were not required on the eastern front because of the inactivity of the Russian armies.

The effect of the Russian revolution on the military situation was unfavorable from the standpoint of the Allies. A complete change was made in the dis-

cipline of the Russian Army, and the soldiers, under the influence of the ideas of international solidarity, fraternized with the German and Austrian troops, thus lending color to the belief that a separate peace was to be concluded between Russia and the Central Empires. All hope of a Russian offensive in the Spring was abandoned, and Germany, freed of this threat, was able to strengthen her forces in the western theatre of the war.

In the middle of May the Italians initiated an exceedingly fierce offensive, the most sustained carried on by any of the belligerents up to that time. It lasted eighteen days without a pause, and this despite the fact that the Austrians had been able to strengthen their line by drawing troops from the Russian front. Nevertheless, these reinforcements ultimately made themselves felt, for the Austrian divisions which would otherwise have had to be kept on the Russian front were responsible for halting the Italian offensive and even recapturing some of the positions the Italians had taken in the first fury of their attack.

The Italian drive was made on a front extending from Tolmino to the sea, with the Carso Plateau as objective. A foothold had been gained on the plateau after the capture of Gorizia, but instead of attacking here the Italians began operations on the Isonzo between Tolmino and Gorizia. Vodice Ridge and Mount Cucco (Kuk) were captured. The Italians then, employing the strategy of oscillating attacks, shifted the scene of operations to south of the valley of the Vipacco. Advancing on a front from Castagnavizza to the sea, they finally reached a point half way up the western slope of Hermada Hill, or Hill 323, a height dominating the Adriatic and both the highway and the railroad which run along the coast at the foot of the plateau. The Italian Army was handicapped by not having sufficient supplies of munitions for anything longer than spasmodic, although terrific, offensives, and the Austrians being reinforced by several divisions from the Russian front, it was not surprising that the Italian advance was halted.

In Macedonia the fighting was confined to the Vardar Valley, on both sides of which the French and British made slight advances. The fear lest the Greek army under King Constantine's directions might sever the Allies' line of communication continued to have a paralyzing effect upon General Sarrail's army before Saloniki.

The British expeditionary force operating along the Tigris River from the head of the Persian Gulf, after recapturing Kut-el-Amara, continued to make rapid headway, and on March 11 occupied the historic city of Bagdad. Pushing still further on, the British reached a point fifty miles beyond Bagdad, and at the same time advanced along the road from that city to Teheran to link up with the Russians. So quickly did the British move that the retreating Turks were almost completely demoralized, losing many prisoners and large quantities of war material of all kinds. An important result was that the Turkish resistance offered to the Russians in Persia suddenly collapsed, and without any opposition the Russians drove forward past the Persian frontier into Mesopotamia and effected a junction with the British. In the process a considerable portion of the Turkish Army was cut off. A further important success gained by the British was the occupation on April 23 of Samara and the capture there of sixteen railway locomotives and a large number of trucks, as well as large quantities of military stores. The Bagdad-Samara railroad was now entirely in the hands of the British, and was at once put into operation for the conveyance of munitions and supplies from Bagdad.

That Palestine should once more be the scene of great events was another surprise produced by the war, but since the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire was one of the aims of the Allies, it seemed a matter of course that a British army from Egypt, under the command of General Sir Archibald Murray, should march into the land associated with Biblical story. Having laid down a military railway across the Sinai Desert to Rafa, on the Turkish border, the British began the invasion of Palestine. A march of

fifteen miles took General Murray's force to the Wadi Ghuzzeh, a river five miles south of the town of Gaza, to which it was proposed to push the railhead. But before this could be done, the Turks, 20,000 strong, entrenched midway between the town and the river, made a determined attack on March 27. They were severely beaten, and fell back on a strong defensive position between Gaza and Beersheba, which they held with 120,000 men, while another army protected them from a flank attack by the Anglo-Indian force ascending the Euphrates. In this theatre of the war the Russian revolution also affected the military situation, for the Turks were able to withdraw troops from Armenia and send them to oppose the British, who were not strong enough to make further progress in Palestine until reinforced. Nevertheless, on April 17 the British made an attack on Gaza, but without securing any advantage.

Aerial operations in the period under review attained proportions far greater than any since the beginning of the war. On the western front alone the work of the aviators would require a volume for adequate description. Perhaps the greatest single achievement in the annals of aeronautics up to this time was the taking by the British Flying Corps of over 1,700 photographs behind the German lines, showing large tracts of the enemy's country for many miles in the rear. These photographs were of immense value to the General Staff when the British offensive was begun in April. During the offensive itself airplanes literally swarmed in the sky. Innumerable battles and duels were fought high above the earth. The intensity of this aerial warfare was revealed in the figures of machines lost, most of them having been shot down. During April the Germans lost 369 machines, the French 201, and the British 147; during May German losses numbered 442 and those of the French and British 271. The raiding of territory not near the battle lines was more frequent. The French penetrated into Germany more than once, and the German bases on the Belgian coast were bombarded by the British. In a new series of raids on England the Germans

discarded Zeppelins and used airplanes. Some of these raids caused very heavy losses of life among the civilian population. On May 26, when Folkestone was attacked, 76 persons were killed and 174 injured.

No naval engagement of major importance took place, but there was a great deal of activity on the part of light warcraft, both sides losing destroyers and other small vessels. More interesting was the arrival in European waters of United States and Japanese naval units to aid in the work of fighting submarines. An American flotilla, under Admiral Sims, joined the British naval forces for this purpose, and similarly, in the Mediterranean Japanese destroyers began to co-operate with the French Navy.

The destruction of merchant ships by submarines during the months of March, April, and May was the most disturbing fact in the whole war from the allied standpoint. The policy of the British Admiralty and the naval authorities of other allied countries in concealing the real magnitude of the losses behind statements giving only the number of ships lost made it difficult to estimate the actual amount of tonnage destroyed. The only allied official statement that was of any value in this connection was that made by Admiral Lacaze, the French Minister of Marine, in the Chamber of Deputies on May 25. The total losses for the first four months of 1917, he said, might be put down at 2,500,000 tons. Germany claimed that the average amount of all shipping, allied and neutral, being sunk had reached between 800,000 and 1,000,000 tons monthly. But, according to a later statement by Admiral Lacaze, this was an exaggeration to the extent of from 30 to 50 per cent. After making all calculations and including the shipping of neutral countries with that of the Allies, there was no doubt that at least 500,000, and possibly 600,000 tons, was now the monthly average amount of destruction by German and Austrian submarines in all waters. Naval experts, scientists, and many amateurs were all busy trying to devise new means of coping with the undersea peril,

which became all the greater since the Germans were just as assiduous in improving their submarines and increasing the number available for the work of destroying the maritime power of the Allies and, above all, of Great Britain.

That the United States should finally become a belligerent in a war which began through a quarrel in the Balkan Peninsula, and which presented rival empires with an opportunity for settling old issues of conflicting interests, would have seemed incredible in the early months of the struggle, when the declared attitude of the Government and the majority of the people was one of strict and unbending neutrality. From the first days of the invasion of Belgium a section of the American people had certainly urged that war should be declared against Germany on humanitarian grounds. Former President Theodore Roosevelt, in particular, had taken this stand. But while there was much sympathy with the Belgians, and such efforts to help them as that of the Relief Commission presided over by Mr. Hoover, and horror was widespread over the Lusitania sinking, the Government steadfastly refused to intervene.

But in the course of two and a half years a new situation had gradually been created. As President Wilson had more than once indicated, American interests had developed in such a manner as to render obsolete America's traditional policy of isolation. New relationships of all kinds, particularly with Great Britain and the other allies, were forcing Americans to realize that their outlook could no longer be limited by merely continental horizons and that the United States must both assert its rights and acknowledge its duties as a world power. And as a world power the United States naturally had an interest in the freedom of the seas. Interference with American shipping was, therefore, an invasion of American rights, which became increasingly intolerable as Germany grew more ruthless in the conduct of its submarine campaign. We have seen how the submarine controversy had brought about more than one acute crisis and how finally in February, 1917, it led to the breaking off of diplomatic relations between

the United States and Germany. From this point onward there was an irresistible drift toward war.

The first step taken by President Wilson to assert American rights on the high seas was his request to Congress on Feb. 26 for authority to arm American merchant ships. A bill for the purpose was immediately introduced and passed by the House of Representatives, but in the Senate, through the filibustering of eleven Senators, it failed to reach a vote before the Sixty-fourth Congress expired, on March 4. Undeterred by this setback, the President announced on March 12 that he would exercise his authority to arm American merchantmen by executive act. Guns manned by naval gunners were accordingly placed on all American vessels sailing through the danger zones. Nevertheless, there was still hope that war would be avoided. But on March 19 the sinking of three American ships and the loss of fifteen sailors were announced.

President Wilson acted promptly. The following day, March 20, he conferred with the Secretary of the Navy and with his Cabinet; preparations for war were ordered to be accelerated, and the special session of Congress, originally called for April 16, was summoned to meet on April 2. There was no doubt that this was preliminary to declaring war. The rival organizations for and against war became intensely active. The pacifists instituted a nation-wide publicity campaign to bring pressure to bear upon Congress to keep the country out of war. But the mass of the people seemed strangely apathetic, and it was left to Congress to decide the question.

The Sixty-fifth Congress met at noon on April 2, and the same evening the President delivered to the two houses in joint session the address in which he recommended Congress to declare "the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States" and that Congress "formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it." Describing the motives and objects of the United States in entering the war, President Wilson defined

the issue as one of democracy against autocracy. "The world," he declared, "must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them."

Resolutions embodying the President's recommendations were at once introduced in House and Senate. In the latter body they were passed on the night of April 4 by a vote of 82 against 6. The six Senators who opposed the war—La Follette of Wisconsin, Gronna of North Dakota, Norris of Nebraska, Stone of Missouri, Lane of Oregon, and Vardaman of Mississippi—had been among those who prevented the passing of the armed shipping bill. The debate was maintained throughout on a high level of interest. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts said that there were some things worse for a nation than war. "National cowardice," he explained, "is worse. What we want most of all by this victory, which we shall help to win, is to secure the world's peace based on freedom and democracy, a world not controlled by a Prussian military autocracy." Again and again the phrase, "This is a war against barbarism," was used by Senators, and the idea was reiterated that if the United States did not join Great Britain and France to fight Germany now it would have later to fight alone. Senator Norris, opposing the war, branded it as capitalistic in its objective. It was, he said, "to preserve our commercial right to deliver munitions to the belligerents." Considerable resentment was roused by his remark, "We are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag." Even more vigorous opposition came from Senator La Follette, who asserted that the Middle West was overwhelmingly against war, and that the people, at a national referendum, and not Congress, should decide the question. The responsibility for the situation cre-

ated by the German submarine campaign, he declared, rested with Great Britain, because that nation had refused to accept the Declaration of London.

In the House the debate was more protracted. Arguments similar to those used in the Senate were heard from the supporters and opponents of going to war. Representative Kitchin from North Carolina, the floor leader of the Democratic majority, urged that inasmuch as the United States Government had condoned British violations of neutral rights because they were not aimed at the United States, the Government should again forego its rights and keep out of the war. The House finally adopted the war resolution early in the morning of April 6 by 373 votes against 50. Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress, and Meyer London, the only Socialist Party representative, voted with the minority. On Friday afternoon, April 6, the President signed the joint resolution, and by this act the United States and Germany were officially at war.

The declaration of war was received with remarkable calm by the American people. The situation was not unlike that in England in August, 1914. Here, as there, the people did not realize the nature or extent of participation that would be necessary. In 1914 the British people assumed that their navy and small expeditionary army would be sufficient to help France and Belgium. In 1917 the American people imagined that the assistance they would render to the Allies would be confined to providing money, ships, munitions, and food. As to actual fighting, the idea of the United States sending a huge army to France was not at first grasped by the majority of the people. In some quarters it was thought that naval operations to protect shipping and suppress the submarine scourge would suffice to attain the objects for which the nation had entered the war, and it was urged that the United States should fight Germany separately along these lines. But it soon became clear that America meant to make common cause with the Allies.

Whatever opposition there might be among the people found surprisingly

little expression. The pacifist organizations seem to have lost heart. Here and there sporadic efforts were made by anarchists to stir the people up against fighting, but they were easily suppressed. The most definite and deliberate stand against war was taken by the Socialist Party. American Socialists had severely condemned the Social Democrats of Germany for having betrayed the international ideal, and they were accordingly determined to set a good example to the movement throughout the world by defying the Government. An emergency convention of the party, which met at St. Louis in the middle of April, adopted a report in which the war was branded as a crime committed against the nation by the financial and industrial interests, which influenced and swayed the Government and Congress. A small group of prominent members, known as intellectuals, protested, and either resigned or were expelled. The Socialist Party began to secure new members more rapidly than at almost any time in its history.

In Great Britain and France the entry of the United States into the war was much more enthusiastically received and caused much more excitement. Special emphasis was laid upon the moral as well as the material value of American participation. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that America's decision was the turning point of the war. Congratulations from the rulers and Governments of all the allied countries poured in on President Wilson, and many old prejudices were swept away by the declarations of friendship and a common interest in destroying German militarism.

In Germany the pretense was made of regarding the fighting powers of the United States with scorn and contempt. The opinion was freely expressed that America could be of no importance as a military factor. President Wilson's differentiation between the German Government and the German people was bitterly resented in many quarters, and inspired Dr. Kaempf, the President of the Reichstag, to declare that President Wilson hoped to sow discord by his message, but that "we decline all interference by a

foreign Government in our internal affairs." A small group of more level-headed commentators, however, were obviously perturbed by having the United States among Germany's adversaries. "What the enemy demands too loudly," Maximilian Harden wrote, "is what we in secret feel to be a necessity."

The effect upon the neutral nations was diverse. Countries such as Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which had been talking of the power of the United States to lead the world back to peace, appeared disappointed. The Latin-American republics were for the most part sympathetic, and some, though inclined to hesitate about actually entering the war, supported the United States to the extent of breaking off relations with Germany. Brazil was the most important of the countries which took this step; but Cuba and Panama followed America's example and declared war.

Far-reaching readjustments in the life and national economy of the people became necessary as soon as the problems of carrying on the war were realized. For the first time in American history enormous invasions of individual rights and the strengthening of the central executive authority to an unprecedented degree became imperative. But, amazing as were the encroachments upon the freedom to which Americans had been accustomed, they were submitted to with very little protest.

The first hostile act on the part of the United States Government was the seizure on April 6 of all German ships in American ports. They had an aggregate tonnage of 600,000. Wireless stations were also seized or ordered to be dismantled. Recruiting for the army, navy, and marines was renewed with greater energy. Certain of the National Guard regiments were called into Federal service. All departments concerned with war preparations were placed upon a war basis. Most of the States organized committees to help the National Administration. Private and voluntary bodies of citizens for all sorts of purposes connected with the war were formed. Every factory, mill, and workshop became the scene of intense activity as the whole

industrial capacity of the nation was directed toward the production of war commodities.

Recruiting for the navy and marines was satisfactory. But there was little enthusiasm for the army, and enlistments to bring it up to its authorized strength of 293,000 were slow. Since there was no rush of the nation to take up arms, the Government asked Congress to enact a conscription law. After some opposition a bill empowering the President to raise an army by selective draft became law on May 18, and all male residents who were 21 but not yet 31 years of age were called upon to register on June 5. Various exemptions were to be allowed, such as aliens who had no intention of becoming citizens and members of religious sects opposed to war.

The first intimation that the United States meant to fight on the battlefields of Europe was the announcement that a division of the army was to proceed without delay to the western front. The news caused a great thrill of excitement throughout America, while in the allied countries it was received with an immense sigh of relief. This division was to be but the advance guard of the great army, yet to be created, which was to carry the American flag alongside the allied colors on the bloody fields of France and Belgium. The position of Commander in Chief of the American expeditionary forces on active service was conferred upon Major Gen. John J. Pershing, who at once proceeded to make his arrangements to establish headquarters in France. Pershing was not to be subordinate to either the French or the British Commander in Chief, but was to collaborate with them in the execution of a common plan of campaign.

America's financial relations with the Allies underwent an important change. For the last two years the Allies had been supplied with billions of dollars' worth of munitions, which were paid for by means of credits arranged by American bankers. It was now decided that the United States Government should lend the necessary money to the Allies, and thus undertake on behalf of the nation as a whole the risk hitherto borne

by the financial community. On April 14 Congress made a substantial start by authorizing a bond issue of \$5,000,000,000 and the issuance of \$2,000,000,000 of Treasury certificates. The Government was authorized to lend the Allies \$3,000,000,000. On May 18 the Government offered to the people bonds amounting to \$2,000,000,000, bearing 3½ per cent. interest, and exempt from taxation. This great war loan was called the Liberty Loan, and was largely oversubscribed.

As soon as the United States threw in its lot with the Allies, special missions were sent from the various countries to discuss the many questions of common interest. The British Mission, headed by the Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour, and representing all branches of the British Government and armed forces, arrived in America on April 21. Three days later came the French Mission, with M. Viviani as Chairman and Marshal Joffre as its most popular member. One of Balfour's first public statements was that the Allies did not seek a formal alliance with the United States, but privately full and frank discussions of war aims took place at Washington between President Wilson, the Secretary of State, and the allied diplomats. The missions visited many cities, and were everywhere enthusiastically greeted. Balfour and Viviani delivered many addresses, all of them, however, dealing with generalities and not the concrete realities which it is the purpose of diplomacy to conceal.

To cope with the economic problems raised by the war the President appointed a Council of National Defense, consisting of the Cabinet and an Advisory Commission of leading business men. Each member of the commission was assigned his own field, in which he was to be aided by a board of experts. In this way the railroads were virtually nationalized under the control of a small committee. Similarly, the supply of raw materials, the manufacture of munitions, shipping, and every other branch of trade and industry essential to the prosecution of the war were each placed under the supervision of boards of experts. Practically a complete industrial government was set up at Washington to co-operate with the regular departments of the Na-

tional Executive. This new organism had the services of almost all the great captains of industry and business directors who controlled the wealth of the United States. Nor were they alone in placing themselves at the disposal of the nation. The American Federation of Labor, through its President, Samuel Gompers, entered into unprecedented relations of harmony with the nation's capitalists. At a meeting at the headquarters of the Federation in Washington the unusual spectacle was witnessed of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other industrial magnates sitting in conference with the representatives of organized labor and agreeing that for the duration of the war there should be a cessation of the strife between employers and workmen.

One problem which deserves more than passing mention was that of food. It was a twofold problem. In the first place, the United States was committed to providing the Allies with as much food as possible; and, secondly, the high prices which the American people were being called upon to pay were likely to cause trouble by reducing the purchasing value of wages. The demands of the Allies, who had withdrawn millions of men from productive labor, and a general shortage in the world's supplies had certainly to be allowed for in the constant trend of prices upward, but there was abundant evidence that speculators and trusts were pushing the cost of living far above any level justified by the circumstances of the time. The Government instituted a campaign to induce every one who could to grow as much food as possible, at the same time responding to the popular outcry against profiteering by asking Congress for drastic powers to control the production, distribution, and prices of foodstuffs. As a first step toward the establishment of honest and efficient administration and in anticipation of the necessary legislative authority the President appointed Herbert C. Hoover as Food Administrator.

It was said that victory in this war would depend upon the last crust rather than on the last man. Insufficient food supplies, due to bad crops, shortage of

labor, and submarine depredations, forced both the Entente and the Central Powers to develop their already drastic systems of regulation and control. In Germany conditions were probably more serious, but reliable observers reported that there was no danger of starvation. In France bread cards were instituted in March, and in May, to make up for the deficiency caused by the temporary loss of 800,000 acres of land occupied by the invaders, refined flour in bread or cakes was prohibited. The regulation prescribing one meatless day a week was superseded by a new order forbidding butchers on two days a week selling anything but horseflesh. In Great Britain early in May it was reported that the stock of potatoes was almost exhausted, although days without potatoes as well as meat had been the rule in all hotels and restaurants since April 15. The Food Controller, Lord Devonport, on May 25 issued an order fixing the prices of wheat, barley, bacon, butter, cheese, and lard. No freshly baked bread was to be sold; the output of beer was limited, and all flour mills in the United Kingdom were to be taken over. But these regulations stirred up a good deal of discontent, and the Government decided to make a concession by suspending the meatless-day regulation.

The labor problem everywhere became more acute. The demand was far greater than the supply, and, apart from ending the war and so releasing millions of men to resume their peaceful activities of production, the only solution seemed to be the importation of colored labor, as in the case of both France and Great Britain, or of workers from conquered territories, as the Germans did by compelling Belgians and Poles to work in their factories and fields. In both Great Britain and Germany the organized labor bodies of the country resented such measures, and serious strikes took place. Strike troubles were so serious in Germany during April and May that von Hindenburg was forced to make a personal appeal to the workers to return to the factories. Those engaged in the manufacture of munitions were finally forced to yield by the Government threatening to take over

the factories and conscript the workers at the same rate of pay as that of the soldiers. The deportation of Belgians continued, and the misery of the people of Belgium was accentuated by the withdrawal of the American Relief Commission on the eve of the outbreak of war between the United States and Germany; but this service was assumed by the Dutch.

The principal sufferings in the neutral countries of Northern Europe were those of food shortage and inability to import both foodstuffs and raw materials because of the German submarine campaign. Many of their ships were lost, and there was a further difficulty owing to the Allies' belief that Germany was securing food and raw material through these countries. Holland in particular became engaged in a controversy with Great Britain. The Dutch Government prohibited the exportation of bread to Belgium and greatly reduced supplies to England. On the other hand, the British Government insisted that a certain proportion of Dutch ships should carry cargoes to England. The Dutch Government refused, whereupon forty Dutch steamers were held up in British ports. A food crisis ensued in Holland, and the Government was forced to put the population on rations as far as bread was concerned. The whole question of neutral trade had been complicated by America's entrance into the war, and at the end of May there was no sign of a settlement that would do justice to the neutral countries without interfering with the war measures of the Allies.

The greatest political and social change, not only since the war began but since 1789, when the old régime in France was destroyed, was brought to pass in Russia in March, 1917. Although the war provided the necessary opportunity for the Russian revolution, events had been tending toward the overthrow of the autocratic system of which the Czar was the head ever since the first revolution, in 1905. The new industrial forces, which had been gathering unmistakable strength, demanded a system of government which should give them free play. At the same time revolutionary ideas

had become so thoroughly fixed in the minds of the working class and other elements with socialistic and radical inclinations that whenever the new bourgeoisie was ready to take the lead with sufficient boldness it was assured of the most powerful backing. Yet while the liberal and progressive parties which represented the financial and industrial interests were able to discredit the inefficient and traitorous autocracy, they took no decisive step to compel the Czar to concede a genuine Constitution or establish responsible Government. The downfall of Premier Stürmer in November, 1916, indicated the high-water mark of liberal and progressive influence, as represented by Paul N. Milukoff, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, popularly known as the Cadets.

The war had brought into existence a new and formidable factor. The Russian armies, recruited from peasants whose ideas ran along communistic lines and who seethed with revolt against the great landlords, and from workingmen, influenced by the philosophy of international revolutionary socialism, were of quite a different character from the armies which had fought in the first year or two of the war. The Russian soldier was simply a workman in a military uniform, and his officers were now middle-class men, more often than not intellectuals and radicals, with an outlook quite unlike that of the aristocrats who led the armies at the beginning of the war. A successful revolution at last became possible through the industrial proletariat and the insurgent peasantry having at their back the armed forces of the nation; and it was this combination of workers and soldiers that forced the Duma to act in defiance of the Czar and establish a Provisional Government which should usher in a new democratic régime. The Conservatives, Liberals, and Progressives, who constituted the majority of the Duma, thus became revolutionaries in spite of themselves. If history is to be interpreted merely in terms of leadership, then the makers of the revolution were A. F. Kerensky, the leader of the Group of Toil, a kind of socialistic or communistic party, drawing its strength from the millions of peas-

ants, and N. S. Tscheidze, a Socialist of the school of Marx and leader of the industrial proletariat.

It was significant of the character of the revolution that it began in the industrial field with a general strike paralyzing the life of Petrograd. While Milukoff, in the Duma and in the press, was still trying to reason with the Government, still trying to combat by his oratory the pro-Germanism and corruption and inefficiency which were hampering Russia's prosecution of the war, Tscheidze, the leader of the Socialists in the Duma, pointed out in a speech on Feb. 27, 1917, that the Czar's Government understood quite well that the Liberals and Progressives, unlike the revolutionary Socialists, were not prepared to adopt drastic measures, and that mere agitation for reform was therefore futile. Tscheidze warned Milukoff to drop these tactics, for the time was near when a choice of tactics would not be possible. But Milukoff, desirous as he was of victory in the war, clung to his maxim, "No infraction of the law," declaring that if victory could be obtained only by revolution, then he wanted no victory. Nevertheless, Milukoff felt that matters were coming to a crisis, for, in the Duma on Feb. 28, he warned the Government that the state was being reached when the people would take things into their own hands.

It was on March 2 that the revolutionary note was more clearly struck. Tscheidze, in a speech in the Duma, which is one of the most important documents of the Russian revolution, boldly stated that the Government was not the only element that was functioning in Russia. He was followed by Kerensky, who made the still more startling statement that a conflict with the Government was imminent, and would be put "in the most decisive form." These hints and warnings of what was going on behind the scenes were apparently unheeded by both the Government and the leaders of the Progressive bloc. The Socialists were thus left undisturbed to perfect their plans.

The first act in the revolutionary drama appeared to be little more than a bread strike. The people, urged on by hunger and the knowledge that specula-

tors were holding up vast quantities of grain, began to stop working on March 6. The following day the number of idle workers grew, and by the third day Petrograd was in the throes of a general strike. The streets swarmed with people crying, "Give us bread." On March 9 no newspapers appeared, the street cars stopped running, and gradually the life of the city came to a standstill. The fact that the soldiers, who had been ordered to disperse the crowds of strikers, had begun to fraternize with them ought to have been a hint of the coming upheaval. But few people outside revolutionary circles were aware that the revolution had begun. Even so astute a politician and gifted student of affairs as Milukoff, on looking out of a window and seeing a demonstration of workers, cynically remarked that it would be "all over in a quarter of an hour."

The Government resorted to its habitual methods of repression. General Chavaloff, Commander of the Petrograd district, on March 10 issued a proclamation forbidding all assemblies in the streets and warning the people that the troops were authorized to use their arms or any other means to preserve order. But at this point the soldiers made it quite clear that they could no longer be relied upon to support the old despotism. Apprised of the seriousness of the situation that had now arisen, the Czar issued ukases suspending the sessions of the Duma and the Council of the Empire. The Duma, though anything but a revolutionary body, might perhaps have been capable of a coup d'état. Efremoff, the leader of the Progressives, in fact stated that this had always been the favorite hypothesis. Unlike the bourgeois parties, however, the workers were willing to risk their lives, and when they found allies in the garrison of Petrograd, they were assured of success. These were the two facts of capital importance: the support of the army made the proletariat supreme; the union of workers and soldiers determined the democratic character of events. And thus the Duma, under pressure from the workers and soldiers, took the bold course of defying the Czar and refusing to dissolve. Rodzianko, the

President of the Duma, on March 12 telegraphed to the Czar that the hour had struck; and the same day a temporary Executive Committee of the Duma was appointed and a temporary Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates formed. The only defenders of the old régime were the police, of whom short work was made by the Petrograd troops and the workmen whom they armed. Outside the palace of the Duma, guarded by the revolutionary soldiers, great crowds wildly applauded speeches by Tschcheidze, Kerensky, and Skoveleff, while elsewhere in the city the prisons were captured and the Police Headquarters was sacked. Throughout Russia the people took affairs into their own hands. In all the larger cities councils of workmen's and soldiers' delegates were established. Everywhere the representatives of Czarism were deprived of position and power; everywhere the signs and symbols of the old régime were destroyed.

The new order was definitely established on March 15, when the Duma Committee and the Workmen's Council appointed a Provisional Government, with Prince G. E. Lvoff as Premier, Milukoff as Foreign Minister, Gutchkoff as Minister of War, and Kerensky as Minister of Justice. To Gutchkoff and Shulgin, a conservative whose support of the revolution was surprising, was assigned the task of acquainting the Czar with the demand that he should abdicate in favor of his son Alexis, with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent. This memorable meeting took place the same night in a train at the Pskof railway station. After Gutchkoff had spoken, the Czar said that he was willing to abdicate, but, since it would be impossible for him to be separated from his little son, he would abdicate in favor of his brother Michael. Gutchkoff and Shulgin agreed to this course, whereupon the Czar signed the act of abdication. But the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided that the monarchy must be abolished altogether and its place taken by a democratic republic, and the Grand Duke Michael prevented further controversy by refusing to become the successor of Nicholas II.

The supreme executive power was now

vested in the Provisional Government, with the Soviet—the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—as the dominant element in the framing of national policy. Space does not permit to describe even briefly the numerous reforms which were enacted, the old abuses which were swept away, the fever of excitement with which elements in the national life, hitherto repressed, now strove to make Russia a genuine democracy. There was naturally some confusion, and observers feared that there might be a transition stage of anarchy. But, despite the tumult of diverse counsels, it was remarkable how well the work of establishing the new order proceeded. The revolution had been brought about with practically no bloodshed, and most of the violence was in speech rather than in action.

The first great issue which divided the nation concerned the question of peace. The people had never been enthusiastic about a war waged by the Czar and the autocracy. Peace was the universal demand. But what kind of peace? There was a section of the Socialists which agitated for a separate peace with the Central Empires, on the ground that the war had originated in the clash between rival imperialisms and that it could not, therefore, be to the interest of the new democracy to continue the struggle. But the majority of the Socialists, though just as much inspired by the international ideal of the working-class movement, considered that it was their duty to bring about a peace which would end the war altogether and that a separate peace would be fatal from the Socialist standpoint itself. This view prevailed, and Russia continued in the war.

Outside the Socialist ranks there were other parties and interests which desired Russia to fight on, but for different reasons. These were the different bourgeois groups, which, glad to have got rid of Czarism, nevertheless still supported those imperialist aims to achieve which Russia had originally gone to war. One of these aims was the possession of Constantinople, which the Allies had agreed should be Russia's reward. The leading representative of imperialist policy now was Milukoff, with Gutchkoff

as one of his strongest supporters. Between these two men and the Socialists it was not long before a deep cleavage became manifest. The Provisional Government, for the most part, was behind Milukoff, for its members were representative of the new financial and industrial interests in Russia. But there was one notable exception, namely, Kerensky, who spoke for the Socialists in the Cabinet and whose mission was to see that the bidding of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council was done. The orthodox Socialists had refused to join the Cabinet, in accordance with the rule against coalitions with capitalists and their political agents, but the bourgeois groups held that the Workmen's Council had no right to dictate to the Government without sharing its responsibilities. Another question in dispute was that of army discipline, on which Gutchkoff resigned.

The split came when Milukoff, in a note to the Allies on May 1, tried to commit the Government to a continuance of the war policy as originally defined between the Allies in spite of the declarations of the Workmen's Councils against annexations and indemnities. Milukoff's defiance precipitated a crisis. The Socialists demanded his resignation, and the cry, "Down with Milukoff," was heard on all sides. The Socialists prevailed in securing the adoption of their ideas as to war aims, but in doing so they had to concede the demand that they participate in the Government, for there was apparently no other way of getting rid of Milukoff. The Workmen's Council on May 15 adopted a resolution approving of a coalition, and the following day Milukoff resigned.

The Cabinet was now reconstructed. Terestchenko, the Minister of Finance, became Foreign Minister; Kerensky succeeded Gutchkoff as Minister of War, and half a dozen Socialists were placed at the head of the different departments of the Government. The separate peace proposal was discarded for a vigorous war policy, but at the same time every effort was to be made for a general peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. In the interests of peace

the summoning of an International Socialist Conference was indorsed.

Kerensky began to reorganize the War Department and solve the problem of maintaining discipline in the army without violating the democratic principles on which the troops insisted that military control should now be based. In all directions the work of securing national efficiency proceeded apace. The legacy of corruption and incompetence left behind by the old régime was enough to stagger any people, but good progress was made toward order and the creation of a new life. Though the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was accentuated by the revolution, something in the nature of a temporary compromise for war purposes was established. Nevertheless, in the sphere of industry some remarkable experiments along syndicalistic lines were made, and the spectacle was witnessed of workmen taking possession of factories and becoming their own masters.

The Socialists steadily gained a firmer hold on the Government, and through the Soviet, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, came nearer to establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat" than at any time in the history of the world. Yet there were also other powerful elements, and they were not merely the financial and industrial capitalists, but included the Zemstvos which had helped Russia to carry on the war when the Czar's Government had failed, and the peasantry—the moujiks—who constituted the great majority of the people and who, though they had been driven into radicalism and revolutionism by the landlords, the police, and their other oppressors, were not dominated by the same class interests as the industrial proletariat which formed the backbone of the Socialist movement and who had been the driving force in the revolution.

A new Russia had emerged out of the darkness of Czardom. The ground was cleared for the struggle for those ideas of social justice which became clear only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is easy to draw parallels between the superficial aspects of the French and Russian Revolutions, but the

great change in Russia, the greatest event so far since the opening of the twentieth century, must be studied in and for itself if we are accurately to estimate its full significance.

It was natural that the Government of the United States, in common with the Governments of the Allies, should be deeply concerned about the epoch-making change in Russia. The United States Government was the first to recognize the Provisional Government, and without delay a special mission headed by Elihu Root was sent to Petrograd. The selection of Root was condemned in many quarters on account of his conservative outlook and lack of sympathy with socialist ideas, but he acquitted himself well, and the speeches he made while in Russia seem to have struck hardly a jarring note. The object of the mission was ostensibly to welcome Russia into the circle of democracies, but its real purpose was to exert whatever influence the United States possessed to induce Russia to continue fighting on the side of the Allies and to secure a financial and commercial understanding which would be to the advantage of both countries. Russia was sorely in need of just those things which the United States was most capable of supplying, such as the means to provide an efficient railroad system, up-to-date industrial equipment of all kinds, financial assistance, and skilled organizers. The business of the mission was therefore mainly to offer help from a highly developed industrial nation to one that was practically undeveloped.

The Russian revolution stimulated democratic and radical movements in almost every country of the world. The nation which it was universally hoped would benefit by the object lesson and endeavor to emulate the Russian revolutionaries was Germany. Here there was undoubted unrest; and here, too, was the most thorough and best organized of all Socialist parties. But whatever hopes there might be of a German revolution were doomed to disappointment. The German autocracy was founded on a rocklike efficiency, and far more capable of maintaining its hold on the people

than the corrupt and inefficient despotism which had met its fate in Russia. Moreover, despite the strenuous and uncompromising fight which the Social Democrats had always made against the German Government, there was not in the German people that revolutionary temper which made the Russian people ready to risk all for the cause of Russian freedom. The German Nation was too thoroughly regimented, too well disciplined, and too much inclined to regard its rulers as infallible guides and trustworthy protectors. The Germans did not despise their rulers as good revolutionists should, and the small band of brave men, of whom Karl Liebknecht was the shining example, could not rely upon popular support for any root-and-branch plan of campaign. And the army, which in Russia had been a decisive factor, was in Germany just as greatly devoted to the cause of the Fatherland as it was obedient to its military chiefs. In short, careful study of the national psychology of Germany would have convinced any of the glib prophets of revolution that such a thing was impossible until the ground had been better fertilized by the ideas of revolutionary propaganda. Strong as the German Social Democratic Party was, it represented, after all, only a minority of the people, and since the war the majority of the party itself had yielded to the counsels of expediency and compromise, and in the eyes of true internationalists betrayed the worldwide working-class movement.

Nevertheless, if Germany was uninspired by the revolutionary spirit, it did not lack large and influential progressive and reformist elements, all, of course, bourgeois in character. But like such parties in all modern countries, the bourgeois progressives were content with carrying on their agitation within the law, hoping to persuade the nation's rulers into making concessions. The revolution in Russia immediately stimulated German liberals and progressives to make fresh efforts, and the Government, fearful for the moment lest events in Russia might make a deeper impression on the minds of the people, pretended at least to have become convinced of the

necessity of political reform. The Imperial Chancellor seems to have received the first news from Petrograd with considerable emotion, for, intervening in a debate in the Prussian Diet on March 14, he startled everybody with a speech in which he exclaimed: "Woe to the statesman who does not recognize the signs of the times." He went on to speak of "equal rights and the participation for all in the work of the State," which was regarded as a definite promise. The Social Democrats eagerly jumped at the opportunity of attacking Junkerism and demanded the abolition of the Herrenhaus, the Prussian House of Lords. Adolf Hoffmann threatened that he and his fellow-Socialists would refuse to vote for the budget. "Militarism," he declared, "bears the responsibility for bloodshed in Europe, and only when militarism and despotism are removed will the people breathe freely." The attacks of the Socialists took on a new vigor, and we had Kunert, on March 22, creating a sensation by charging the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor with having been the originators of the war. That Liebknecht's anti-war attitude was not disapproved was shown when, at this time, the seat in the Reichstag of which he had been deprived was won at a special election by Franz Mehring, an equally strong anti-war Socialist.

The Government's good intentions came to nought as soon as the dominant Junker and Conservative Party, supported by the Catholic Centre, asserted itself. Thus, on March 29 the Chancellor declared that all questions of political reform must be postponed till the end of the war. The Socialists were bitterly disappointed, and Georg Ledebour was roused to declare that they regarded "a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany." The Reichstag was finally sufficiently emboldened to appoint a committee of twenty-eight to consider reforms. The Kaiser endeavored to placate the Socialists and other radical elements by asking on April 7 for suggestions as to future reforms of the electorate. But this was not enough for Ledebour, who in a speech in the Reichstag declared that what Germany wanted was a republic and that the committee of

twenty-eight should take preparatory steps in that direction. Although the agitation for reform persisted, it was clear that the Government had no real intention of doing anything at this time.

The controversy over political reform was merely part of a larger issue which embraced the whole question of war aims and peace terms. Here again the influence of the Russian revolution was manifest. The Socialists in the Reichstag, including the majority group led by Scheidemann, demanded that the Government accept the Russian proposal for peace based upon the principle "No annexations, no indemnities." Scheidemann, speaking on May 15, said: "We cry to all Governments, 'It is enough.' If France and Great Britain renounce annexations and Germany insists thereon, we shall have a revolution in the country." The Conservatives, through their spokesman, Dr. Roesicke, denounced the Socialist attitude as "anti-national and as tending to a prolongation of the war." The Chancellor refused to commit himself to the policy of either the Socialists or of the war party and took the middle course of refusing to set forth "a program of conquest," on the one hand, or, on the other, relieving the enemy by saying, "We shall not touch a hair of your head." As on the question of political reform, von Bethmann Hollweg evaded the issue with the result that the Government not only caused dissatisfaction at home by refusing to let the people know what they were fighting for, but also deprived the friends of peace in the allied countries of the information necessary to discover a basis upon which peace negotiations might be initiated.

In Austria the demand for peace was much stronger, and there seems to be little doubt that if the Government had not been so completely under the control of Germany a genuine effort to end the war would have been made. The new Emperor was, according to all reports, intensely desirous of peace, and he also showed more respect for the self-governing rights of the people by convoking the Reichsrath for the first time since the beginning of the war. The session opened on March 31, and the Emperor Charles in his speech said that the happy

development of the nation's constitutional life was not possible without expanding the Constitution and the administrative foundations of the whole public life both in Austria proper and the separate kingdoms and countries, especially Bohemia. Austria's difficulties were of an unusual kind, for Germany controlled its policy, while Hungary, the co-equal of Austria in the Dual Monarchy, was ruled by the Magyar autocracy, which had aims different from those which animated their monarch.

The two most interesting developments in British politics had their origin in the tendency toward greater imperial unity and cohesion. The first was the Imperial War Conference held in London in May; the other was the decision of the British Government to call a convention representative of all parties and interests in Ireland to discuss and, if possible, settle the vexed question of how that country should be governed.

The Imperial War Conference was attended by representatives of the British Government and the Governments of the self-governing dominions and India. Among the important resolutions adopted was one declaring that all the dominions should have an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, thereby ending the anomaly of Canada and Australia and other autonomous communities being called upon to fight in a war in the making of which they had had no hand. While taking this important step toward the democratization of the empire the conference laid plans to co-ordinate and standardize the naval and military systems of the different parts of the empire, and to make provision for the supply of munitions and war material along the lines of closer economic union, without, however, adopting the scheme of the English tariff reformers.

Perhaps an even more important result of the conference was the consideration of the question of meeting the accusation that British control over India was exercised through an autocratic Government. In this great country, with an area of 1,800,000 square miles, and 315,000,000 population, there had been since the beginning of the war several seri-

ous revolts against the Government, and the continuance of the agitation for national rights had made it imperative that substantial concessions be made to the Indian people. The conference decided that henceforth India must be recognized as a "member of the Imperial Commonwealth," and no longer as a dependency ruled exclusively by and in the interests of the upper classes of society in Great Britain. The conference resolution was therefore regarded as a much needed beginning of the application of democratic principles to the government of India.

The agitation for Irish home rule received a fresh stimulus from the Russian revolution, and the entrance of the United States into the war. Irishmen attached particular importance to what American influence might achieve for them, and generally to the fact that the grand alliance waging war against the Central Empires had in a few weeks been transformed into a league of democracies, which now included three great republics—the United States, France, and Russia—and which placed in the forefront of its program the preservation of the rights of small nations. Since the rebellion of 1916 the Sinn Fein party had been steadily supplanting the Nationalists as the exponents of Irish freedom. The party led by John Redmond was losing its hold because it had become too much inclined to temporize and compromise, and whenever a seat in Parliament, formerly held by a Nationalist, became vacant, it was won at the bye-election by a Sinn Fein candidate. Thus, Joseph McGuinness, though in prison for the part he had taken in the Dublin rising, was elected to Parliament by the Sinn Feiners. The intensification of the animosity against the British Government since the rebellion was seen in the Sinn Fein convention, which demanded not only that Ireland should be a separate nation, but an independent republic, and have its own representatives at the peace conference at the end of the war. Throughout all these discussions Ulster maintained its opposition to both the conciliatory Nationalists and the uncompromising Sinn Feiners, an opposi-

tion which now, as always, derived its strength from the support of the English aristocracy. Lloyd George, well aware that the feud must always be a source of weakness to the empire, made an attempt in May to put through a compromise home rule measure, which was to exclude the six Ulster counties, where the Protestant element was predominant, and which would set up a Council of Ireland to deal with matters of common concern to both parts of the island. If this plan failed, Lloyd George announced that he would invite all Irish interests to meet in convention and decide for themselves. On May 17 Redmond, on behalf of the Nationalists, rejected the compromise Home Rule bill, but agreed to take part in the convention which, it was arranged, should be held in the Summer.

A Ministerial crisis was precipitated in France by the criticism of the conduct of the war in the House of Deputies. General Lyautey, Minister of War, after a stormy session, during which he was violently attacked, resigned his position, and on March 17 the whole Briand Ministry followed suit.

A new Cabinet, the fourth since the beginning of the war, was formed, with Alexandre Ribot as Premier and Foreign Minister, René Viviani as Minister of Justice, Paul Painlevé as Minister of War, and Albert Thomas as Minister of Munitions.

In Spain a curious situation arose. The great change in Russia immediately gave the Spanish revolutionaries a fresh impulse to overthrow the existing order, but the Government was prepared for trouble, and the country was placed under martial law. But there were too many complications for this to be an efficacious remedy for the disease which afflicted Spanish society. The war had given a new impetus to industrial development, and there arose the familiar spectacle of a new industrial bourgeoisie beginning to assert itself against a decadent aristocracy. The discontents of army officers, the republican movement in Catalonia, and the spread of a form of socialism more akin to anarchism were further elements in a complicated polit-

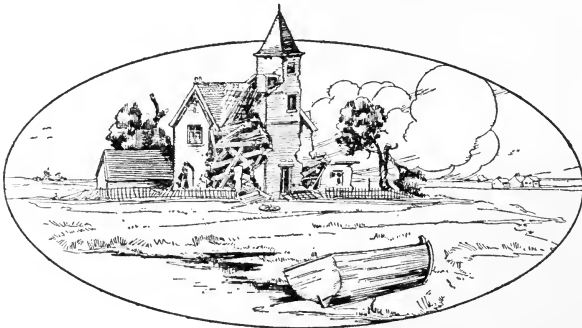
ical situation. But for the most part issues were along the lines of sympathy for one or other of the two groups of belligerents. The Conservatives, the nobility, the Church, and the army were pro-German; the Liberals, Republicans, and moderate Socialists favored the cause of the Allies. Unable to secure adoption of his view that acquiescence in German submarine policy was endangering the life of the Spanish Nation, Count de Romanones resigned as Premier on April 19 and was succeeded by the Marquis Prieto. Under the influence of the pro-German ruling classes Spain remained neutral, but the internal problems were just as far from solution as ever.

Probably no nation continued to experience more unrest and commotion in the attempt to adapt itself to the conditions induced by a world at war than China, which had been caught in the midst of the painful transition stage of modernization. The European powers were unable to aid in the work of creating a new order, and when the United States entered the war and began to concentrate its energies and resources to assist the Allies, only Japan was left to intervene. The Allies endeavored to enlist China on their side in the war, promising to suspend the Boxer payments and to permit a revision of the tariff. On March 4 the Chinese Cabinet voted to break off diplomatic relations with Germany, but on the question of actually declaring war sharp differences arose. The Premier, Tuan Chi-jui, was in favor of war, but the President, Li Yuan-hung, and the Radicals were against it, and, as they were more powerful, the Premier was dismissed from office on May 23. But Tuan Chi-jui had great influence with the northern Generals, who immediately rebelled, thus commencing a new period of upheaval.

Once more, in concluding, we have to ask what were the prospects of peace during the period we have been surveying. We saw how President Wilson's efforts had been defeated and how, instead of leading the world back to peace, the United States had become a belligerent. But the peace movement which had been initiated in December, 1916, continued,

though mainly in the form of an attempt by the Socialists to restore the International, and, for the most part, in the face of severe discouragement by some of the most powerful of the belligerent Governments. An International Socialist conference was summoned to meet at Stockholm in May, but the difficulties experienced through Socialist organizations refusing to be represented or through Governments prohibiting delegates from attending caused considerable delay, while the suspicion which arose that it was engineered by Germany helped to defeat its purpose. On May 11 the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates assumed the responsibility for

summoning the assembly by voting to call a peace conference in a neutral country after "an appeal to the peoples of the world and a special appeal to Socialists in allied countries." The invitation was indorsed by the Russian Provisional Government, which in a declaration of policy on May 19 rejected "all thought of a separate peace," but welcomed "a general peace, without annexation or indemnity." Little progress, however, was made, apart from the preliminary consultations and informal discussions conducted at Stotckholm by the Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Committee with Socialists from the different belligerent countries.



PERIOD XXXI.

Russia in Revolution—Abdication of the Czar—
The Kaiser Today—Hunger Stalks Through Europe—
Germans and Turks in Retreat—The British Advance on
Bagdad and Jerusalem—The German Submarine Blockade
—Sinking of the Laconia and Algonquin—United States
Prepares for Defense—Ambassador Gerard's Difficulties
—The German-Mexican-Japanese Alliance—Microbes as
War Weapons—America Through English Eyes—Austria-
Hungary's Submarine Note—"The Blacks Attack!"—
Colossal War Expenses of Belligerents—A German War
League That Failed—At the Western Fighting Fronts—
—The "Liberators" of Poland—Ordeals of the Wounded
—Serbia and the War's Beginning—The Sufferings of
Neutral Greece—The Story of Saloniki—Blame for the
Dardanelles Failure—Financial Aspects of the War.



RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION

Abdication of Czar and Rise of a Republic in the Stronghold of Autocracy

RUSSIA experienced during the four days of March 8-11, 1917, the most dramatic and effective political upheaval in recorded history. The Romanoff dynasty, which had ruled the nation for more than 300 years, was completely overthrown, as in the twinkling of an eye. The most absolute autocracy in the civilized world crumbled and fell almost without a struggle, and was replaced by a modern democratic Government without serious loss of life. The new régime set up by the people is pledged to extremely advanced ideas of liberalism and democracy, including universal suffrage.

The news of the revolution came upon the world outside of Russia with startling suddenness on Friday, March 16. There were intimations two days earlier that some political crisis was at hand, but they were so meagre and fragmentary that they gave no clue to the stupendous nature of the change in progress. It was on March 16 that the Provisional Government issued its Appeal to the People, and this act may be accepted as the beginning of the established career of the new régime.

For weeks all the news from Russia had indicated a state of unrest, dissatisfaction and imminent crisis. There were evidences of gross mismanagement in the distribution of supplies, the transport system was faulty, the munitions supply irregular, the hospital service subject to constant criticism. Finally food in the cities became so short that prices rapidly mounted to prohibitive figures, and the poorer classes were on the verge of starvation. Previous to these conditions there was a general feeling, which gained strength every day, that a certain clique or camarilla of the nobility and ruling classes was traitorous and pro-German, intriguing to have Russia desert the Allies and effect a separate peace. In November, 1916, Professor

Paul N. Milukoff, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the leaders of the revolution, delivered a speech in the Duma in which he denounced the Prime Minister, Stürmer, as a pro-German and a traitor to Russia, and intimating that the Premier had betrayed his country for German gold. This speech, though its publication was forbidden in Russia, leaked out and produced a profound sensation. The Treppoff-Protopopoff Ministry, which succeeded, was at first supposed to be liberal, but it soon became even more reactionary than its predecessor, and hints were freely circulated that it was corrupted by Germany and intended to betray the country. In fact, charges were openly made in the Duma early in March that the failure of the army administration was intended to impede the progress of the war, and that the shortage of food in the great cities was a deliberate plot of the Government to inflame the masses so that they would demand a separate peace.

This was the critical situation of affairs on March 8, when a group of workmen in Petrograd decided on a general strike and began manifestations of discontent against the shortage of food.

For weeks there had been protests and threats of a general strike, but it was the opinion of the liberal leaders in the Duma that, despite the wretched state of affairs, an open revolution was impossible, as the country realized that a revolution would seriously interrupt the work of the war and would be playing into the hands of those who had this very end in view.

Open letters were printed in the Petrograd newspapers from popular Duma leaders, and proclamations were posted in the streets, urgently begging the population not to create demonstrations or cause disorders which might lead to interruption of the manufacture of muni-

tions or paralyze the industrial activity of the city.

People at Last Convinced

Manifestations already arranged for March 6, including a general strike and the marching to the Duma of a deputation of workmen, were in this way averted. But the moment was only postponed. The people, who were convinced that they were being exploited by a hostile clique, received what they regarded as the last proof of the inefficiency and corruption of their own Government when they were apprised that the already insufficient supply of food had become still more meagre and that for some days it would be necessary to go without bread altogether.

Patient and long suffering by nature, this was too much for the population of Petrograd, who knew that the interior of Russia was stored with immense quantities of grain and all kinds of provisions, and, without other motive at first than to voice a demand for bread, the people paraded the streets, and this demonstration was the spark that started the conflagration.

The unrest at first expressed itself in an unusually mild manner, without excitement and with no indication of revolutionary intent, but merely as an insistent demand for a vigorous solution of the food problem.

The Duma meanwhile was actively debating the question, and the majority received with ill-concealed irritation the statements and explanations of the Minister of Agriculture.

On the 10th General Chavaloff, commander of the Petrograd district, issued a proclamation forbidding all assemblies in the streets and warning citizens that the troops had been authorized to use their arms or any means to preserve order in the capital. On the 11th the Czar put the match to the powder train by issuing two ukases suspending the sittings of the Russian Duma and Council of the Empire. This was the final stroke, and the revolution soon came full grown into being.

Michael V. Rodzianko, President of the Duma, a man of strong force and firm conviction, realized that a serious blun-

der had been committed, and telegraphed the Czar that the hour had struck. The Duma unanimously decided that it would not dissolve. The Imperial Council, realizing the gravity of the situation, added its appeal that the Emperor should hearken to the demands of the people. The Emperor, who was absent from Petrograd, hastily started back to the capital, but it was too late.

How the Flood Broke

The story of the upheaval as related by accredited correspondents is as follows:

The most phenomenal feature of the revolution was the swift and orderly transition whereby the control of the city passed from the régime of the old Government into the hands of its opponents.

The visible signs of revolution began on Thursday, March 8. Strikes were declared in several big munitions factories as a protest against the shortage of bread. Men and women gathered and marched through the streets, most of them in an orderly fashion. A few bread shops were broken into in that section of the city beyond the Neva, and several minor clashes between strikers and police occurred.

Squads of mounted troops appeared, but during Thursday and Friday the utmost friendliness seemed to exist between the troops and the people.

This early period of the uprising bore the character of a mock revolution, staged for an immense audience. Cossacks, charging down the street, did so in a half-hearted fashion, plainly without malice or intent to harm the crowds, which they playfully dispersed. The troops exchanged good-natured raillery with the working men and women, and as they rode were cheered by the populace.

Long lines of soldiers stationed in dramatic attitudes across the Nevsky Prospect, with their guns pointed at an imaginary foe, appeared to be taking part in a realistic tableau. Machine guns, firing rounds of blank cartridges, seemed only to add another realistic touch to a tremendous theatric production which was using the whole city as a stage.

On Saturday, however, apparently without provocation, the troops were ordered to fire on people marching in Nevsky Prospect. The troops refused to fire, and the police, replacing them, fired rifles and machine guns.

Then came a clash between troops and police, which continued in desultory fashion throughout Saturday night and Sunday. The Nevsky Prospect was cleared of traffic by the police and notices were posted by the commander of the Petrograd military district warning the people that any attempt to congregate would be met by force.

Troops Join the Revolt

Until Sunday evening, however, there was no intimation that the affair would grow to the proportions of a revolution. The first serious outbreak came at 1 o'clock, when the men of the Volynski Regiment shot their officers and revolted when they received an order to fire upon striking workmen in one of the factory districts.

Another regiment detailed against the mutineers also joined the revolt. The news spread rapidly to the other barracks and four more regiments went over. Some of the revolting troops marched to the St. Peter and St. Paul Fortress on the left bank of the Neva, and after a brief skirmish with the garrison took possession of it.

Dissension spread among the troops, who did not understand why they should be compelled to take violent measures against fellow-citizens whose chief offense was that they were hungry and were asking the Government to supply bread. Several regiments deserted. A pitched battle began between the troops who stood with the Government and those who, refusing to obey orders, had mutinied, and even slain their officers.

A long night fight took place between the mutinous regiments and the police at the end of St. Catherine Canal, immediately in front of the historic church built over the spot where Alexander II. was killed by a bomb. The police finally fled to the rooftops all over the city and were seen no more in the streets during the entire term of the fighting.

Turning Point in Revolution

Monday morning, March 12, the Government troops appeared to control all the principal squares of the city. Then came a period when it was impossible to distinguish one side from the other. There was no definite line between the factions. The turning point appeared to come about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. For two hours the opposing regiments passively confronted each other along the wide Liteiny Prospect in almost complete silence.

From time to time emissaries from the revolutionary side rode to the opposing ranks and exhorted them to join the side of the people. For a while the result seemed to hang in the balance. The troops appeared irresolute, awaiting the commands of their officers, who themselves were in doubt as to what they should do.

Desultory firing continued along the side streets between groups of Government troops and revolutionists. But the regiments upon whose decision the outcome rested still confronted each other, with machine guns and rifles in readiness.

Suddenly a few volleys were exchanged; there was another period of silent suspense, and the Government regiments finally marched over to join the revolutionists. A few hours after the first clash this section of Petrograd, in which were located the Duma building, artillery headquarters, and the chief military barracks, passed into the hands of the revolutionary forces, and the warfare swept like a tornado to other parts of the city, where the scene was duplicated.

At first it seemed a miracle that the revolutionists, without prearranged plan, without leadership or organization, could in such a short time, with comparative ease, achieve a complete victory over the Government. But the explanation lay in the reluctance of the troops to take sides against the people and their prompt desertion to the ranks of those who opposed the Government.

The scenes in the streets were by this time remarkable. The wide streets, where the troops were stationed, were completely deserted by civilians, except

for a few daring individuals, who, creeping along walls and ducking into courtyards, sped from one side to the other. But the side streets were choked with people.

Groups of students, easily distinguished by their blue caps and dark uniforms, fell into step with rough units of rebel soldiers, and were joined by other heterogeneous elements, united for the time being by a cause greater than partisan differences.

Unkempt workmen, with ragged sheepskin coats covering the conventional peasants' costume of dark blouse and top boots, strode side by side with well-groomed city clerks and shopkeepers.

An Impromptu Army

This strange army of people, mustered on the street corners, shouldered their newly acquired rifles and marched out to join the ranks of the deserting regiments.

The economic and industrial life of the city came to a complete standstill. Street car service was suspended from the beginning of the disorders and stores were closed. The two leading hotels which housed officers were wrecked. Others restricted their service to regular patrons. In response to an appeal by the revolutionist committees, citizens distributed food to the soldiers.

The scene at the Duma before the revolution was in full flame was extraordinary. The members stood about the broad corridors talking calmly, the serious priest members in long black gowns, with flowing hair, and members from the provinces in top boots and blouses mingling with well-groomed and frock-coated representatives.

At the front gates the troops began to assemble. They were without arms. They were the revolting regiments. One body in marching order entered the side gate and halted before the entrance. A Duma member spoke from the steps, explaining the attitude of that body and assuring the regiments that the Duma was with them.

Auto trucks packed with men, soldiers, and civilians, with and without arms,

rolled up to the circular drive and stopped before the door, while some occupant delivered a lurid oration, and then went on, cheered by the crowds.

Then came a small army of citizen soldiers, factory workers, clerks, students armed with rifles taken from the captured arsenals, their pale faces and black Winter clothing forming a strange picture against the snow piled high in the Duma garden.

For an hour they stood in more or less military formation before the building, and at dusk marched away toward the centre of the city, followed by the revolting soldiers. The crowd was extremely orderly. A group of a dozen soldiers pushed into the corridor of the building and demanded to be allowed to address the members. A mild-mannered young civilian of the student type took them in hand with little difficulty and led them into the open. A delegation asked for food. Immediately waiters from the Duma restaurant were sent out with trays of tea and food until the place was cleaned out.

Last Stand of the Old Regime

At nightfall on March 12 only one small district of the city, containing the War Office, the Admiralty Building, St. Isaac's Cathedral, and the Military Hotel, still resisted the onslaught of the revolutionary forces, and the battle for the possession of Petrograd came to a dramatic conclusion. In the Admiralty Building the Council of Ministers secretly gathered for a conference, and the last regiments loyal to the old Government were drawn up as a guard.

While the Council sat in the last meeting which they were destined to hold, the building was surrounded and the besiegers poured rifle and machine gun fire upon the defenders.

For a few hours the fiercest battle of the day continued; the streets were swept by a steady fusillade and the crowds scattered for the nearest shelter, some of the people being compelled to spend the night in courtyards or corridors of office buildings or wherever they first found refuge.

Toward morning there was a sudden

lull, broken by exultant shouts, which deepened into a roar, and were succeeded by the Russian revolutionary "Marseillaise." The regiments defending the Admiralty had surrendered and gone over to the side of the revolutionists.

The Ministers in the Admiralty Building were then arrested and the Russian national colors were replaced by the red flag of the revolutionists.

Rodzianko's Telegrams

During the day revolutionary publications appeared in the streets, with the simple caption "News." These contained a résumé of developments, and they were eagerly read by all classes. Rodzianko's telegrams to the Emperor and others to the commanders of the troops at the front were reproduced. The first message to the Emperor read:

The situation is grave. Anarchy reigns in the capital. The Government is paralyzed. The transport of provisions and fuel is completely disorganized. General dissatisfaction is growing. Irregular rifle firing is occurring in the streets. It is necessary to charge immediately some person trusted by the people to form a new Government. It is impossible to linger, since delay means death. Praying God that the responsibility in this hour will not fall upon a crowned head.

Later President Rodzianko sent the following to the Emperor:

The position is becoming more serious. It is imperative that immediate measures be taken, because tomorrow will be too late. The last hour has come when the fate of the fatherland and the dynasty are being decided.

Similar telegrams were sent to all the commanders at the front with an appeal for their support before the Emperor of the Duma's action. General Alexis Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the armies of the southwestern front, and General Nicholas Ruzsky, Commander of the northern armies, replied promptly. General Brusiloff sent this message:

"Have fulfilled duty before fatherland and Emperor."

General Ruzsky's reply read:

"Commission accomplished."

The revolt seemed to overspread all Russia simultaneously. Kronstadt, the great fortress and seaport at the head of the Gulf of Finland, joined the revolutionary movement without firing a gun.

Moscow joined in with enthusiasm, as did Odessa. Within twenty-four hours news came from all parts of Russia that city after city, fortress after fortress, provinces, towns, and villages were aflame with enthusiasm, and that the revolutionists were in control, with the soldiers and workmen in fullest accord.

One of the most impressive scenes of the revolution at Petrograd was the arrival of the Preobrajensky Guards with their Colonel and officers at the Tauris Palace. The men, all of giant stature, were drawn up in ranks four deep the whole length of the enormous Catherine Hall. The President of the Duma came out to greet them. On the appearance of M. Rodzianko the Colonel's voice rang out, "Preobrajensky, attention!" and the whole regiment stood at salute. M. Rodzianko saluted them as follows:

"Soldiers of the true faith, let me as an old soldier greet you according to our custom. I wish you good health."

"We wish good health to your Excellency," came the thunderous response.

The President continued:

"I want to thank you for coming here to help the members of the Imperial Duma to establish order and to safeguard the honor and glory of our country. Your comrades are fighting in the trenches for the might and majesty of Russia, and I am proud that my son has been serving since the beginning of the war in your ranks. But in order that you should be able to advance the cause and interests which have been undertaken by the Duma you must remain a disciplined force. You know as well as I do that soldiers are helpless without their officers. I ask you to remain faithful to your officers and to have confidence in them, just as we have confidence in them. Return quietly to your barracks and come here at the first call when you may be required."

"We are ready," answered the Preobrajensky Guards. "Show us the way."

"The old authority is incapable of leading Russia the right way," was the answer. "Our first task is to establish a new authority in which we could all believe and trust, and which would be

able to save and magnify our mother Russia."

The soldiers marched out, shouting, "Hurrah!"

M. Rodzianko greeted in the same manner the officers and men of the Grenadier Guards and the officers and troopers of the Ninth Cavalry Regiment.

After the President's speech to the troopers their Colonel, addressing them, said:

"Men, I intend to carry out all orders given to me by the President of the Imperial Duma. I remain with you on condition that you obey my orders. Hurrah for the President of the Imperial Duma!"

The troopers cheered loudly.

The Provisional Government

The members of the new National Cabinet are as follows:

Premier, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior—Prince Georges E. Lvoff.

Foreign Minister—Professor Paul N. Milukoff.

Minister of Public Instruction—Professor Manuiloff of Moscow University.

Minister of War and Navy, ad Interim—A. J. Guchkoff, formerly President of the Duma.

Minister of Agriculture—M. Ichingareff, Deputy from Petrograd.

Minister of Finance—M. Tereschtenko, Deputy from Kiev.

Minister of Justice—Deputy Kerenski of Saratoff.

Minister of Communications—N. V. Nekrasoff, Vice President of the Duma.

Controller of State—M. Godneff, Deputy from Kazan.

Minister of Trade and Commerce—A. I. Konovaloff.

Procurator General of the Holy Synod—M. Lvoff.

The new Premier is the most popular man in Russia, head and chief of the combined Urban and Rural Zemstvo Committees, organizer and feeder in chief of the Russian armies in the field, the man whom all students of Russian affairs have expected to see made head of any new Government established. He is a Russian, a Slav in fact as well as in name, and has the entire confidence of the Russian people.

The new Foreign Minister, Professor Milukoff, has been for years the courageous leader of the Russian liberals. He was banished from Russia for political

views expressed while a member of the Faculty of the University of Moscow. He came to Chicago and became Professor of Russian History at the University of Chicago, a post which he relinquished later to return to Russia.

In 1898 Milukoff, then a Professor at Moscow, was snatched from his classroom one day, subjected to a summary Russian trial, and exiled to Siberia. He was guilty of liberal tendencies. He was in exile for two years, the result of which was his "History of Russian Culture," a justification of revolution on historic grounds.

On his return to Russia he was rearrested and led across the frontier into Bulgaria. A warrant of expatriation, issued from Petrograd, excluded him from the Czar's domain for two years. Milukoff's answer was an immediate return to Petrograd, where he was again arrested and held in jail for five months without trial. When he was released he again came to Chicago.

At the University of Chicago Professor Milukoff was looked upon as one of the most brilliant members of the Faculty. He is an eminent scholar in several lines, though he confined himself here to lecturing on Russian social conditions. In addition to his lectures here he has lectured at various times before the Lowell Institute in Boston. In all he spent four years in Chicago.

Milukoff's influence upon European opinion outside of Russia has been great. On his third visit to America, in 1908, he told interviewers that his speeches in the Duma frequently were interrupted by some one shouting, "American," or "American citizen." In proof of his imperturbability, he added: "So now I almost invariably begin my speeches by quoting something 'American.'"

Late in January a plot to assassinate Professor Milukoff was exposed. The assassination was planned by the organization known as the Black Hundred, the reactionary body which has for years been an instrument of political crimes in Russia. The man chosen, however, confessed the part he was to play before the crime was committed.

Labor Leader as Minister

The Minister of Justice, Deputy Kerenski, is the leader of the workingmen and a conspicuous Russian journalist. His selection and acceptance of a post in the new Government welded together the labor leaders and Moderate Democrats and prevented what at first threatened to prove a serious split in the revolutionary ranks. The first act of the new Government, M. Kerenski stated, was the immediate publication of a decree of full amnesty. Continuing, the Minister said:

"Our comrades of the Second and Fourth Dumas, who were banished illegally to the tundras of Siberia, will be released forthwith. In my jurisdiction are all the Premiers and Ministers of the old régime. They will answer before the law for all crimes against the people."

"Show them no mercy," many voices in the crowd exclaimed.

"Comrades," M. Kerenski replied, "regenerated Russia will not have recourse to the shameful methods utilized by the old régime. Without trial none will be condemned. All prisoners will be tried in open court.

"Comrades, soldiers, citizens, all measures taken by the new Government will be published. Soldiers, I ask you to cooperate. Free Russia is now born, and none will succeed in wresting liberty from the hands of the people. Do not listen to the promptings of the agents of the old régime. Listen to your officers. Long live free Russia!"

The speech was greeted by a storm of cheering.

The labor leader, Chkueidse, addressing the officers and soldiers, paid a glowing tribute to the soldiers and workmen who had participated in accomplishing the revolution. He recounted the recent provocative efforts by the secret police in publishing proclamations regarding the murders of officers by soldiers. He exhorted the soldiers to regard their officers as citizens who had helped raise the revolutionary flag and as brothers in the great cause of Russian liberty.

Subsequently officers, soldiers, and workmen carried M. Chkueidse on

their shoulders through a cheering throng of soldiers and civilians.

Kerenski won a victory in a speech that will be historic. Appearing in a stormy labor assembly, mounting a table, with flashing eyes and passionate utterance, he announced that he had accepted the post of Minister of Justice. The announcement turned the tide, and amid cheering Kerenski continued:

"Comrades, in entering the Provisional Government I remain a republican. In my work I must lean for help on the will of the people. I must have in the people my powerful support. May I trust you as I trust myself? [Tremendous cheers and cries of "We believe you, comrade!"] I cannot live without the people, and if ever you begin to doubt me, kill me! I declare to the Provisional Government that I am a representative of democracy, and that the Government must especially take into account the views I shall uphold as a representative of the people, by whose efforts the old Government was overthrown. Comrades, time does not wait. I call you to organization and discipline. I ask you to support us, your representatives, who are prepared to die for the people and have given the people their whole life."

Appeal to the People

The first act of the new Government was the issuance of the following appeal, dated March 18, 1917:

Citizens: The Executive Committee of the Duma, with the aid and support of the garrison of the capital and its inhabitants, has succeeded in triumphing over the obnoxious forces of the old régime in such a manner that we are able to proceed to a more stable organization of the executive power, with men whose past political activity assures them the country's confidence.

[The names of the members of the new Government are then given and the appeal continues:]

The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

First—An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.

Second—Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials within the limits admitted by military requirements.

Third—Abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

Fourth—To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional Assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental régime.

Fifth—The substitution of the police by a national militia, with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the Government.

Sixth—Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

Seventh—The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

Eighth—While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

The Provisional Government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned.

Abdication of the Czar

Czar Nicholas's abdication was announced on March 16. The document was signed at the town of Pskoff, where the train on which he was traveling toward Petrograd was halted early in the week. From Pskoff, according to accounts now available, the Emperor communicated with members of the Executive Committee of the Duma, who informed him that they were sending emissaries to meet him there. Accordingly, a member of the Duma committee and one of the Ministers of the new Cabinet proceeded to Pskoff and had an interview with the Emperor in the presence of General Nicholas V. Russky, a member of the Council of the Empire and of the Supreme Military Council; Baron W. Federicks, Minister of the Court; Count Narishkin, and others.

After relating to the Emperor the latest developments in the revolution, the emissaries advised him not to send any troops from the front to Petrograd, since all the troops were going over to the revolutionists as fast as they arrived.

"What is desired that I should do?" the Emperor inquired.

"Abdicate the throne," was the reply.

After devoting some time to deliberation Emperor Nicholas said:

"It would be very hard to be separated from my son. Therefore I will

abdicate in favor of my brother, in behalf of myself and my son."

The document, which had been prepared in advance, was handed to the Emperor, and he signed it at once.

The text of the abdication is as follows:

We, Nicholas II., by the Grace of God Emperor of all the Russias, Czar of Poland, and Grand Duke of Finland, &c., make known to all our faithful subjects:

In the day of the great struggle against a foreign foe, who has been striving for three years to enslave our country, God has wished to send to Russia a new and painful trial. Interior troubles threaten to have a fatal repercussion on the final outcome of the war. The destinies of Russia and the honor of our heroic army, the happiness of the people, and all the future of our dear fatherland require that the war be prosecuted at all cost to a victorious end. The cruel enemy is making his last effort, and the moment is near when our valiant army, in concert with those of our glorious allies, will definitely chastise the foe.

In these decisive days in the life of Russia we believe our people should have the closest union and organization of all their forces for the realization of speedy victory. For this reason, in accord with the Duma of the empire, we have considered it desirable to abdicate the throne of Russia and lay aside our supreme power.

Not wishing to be separated from our loved son, we leave our heritage to our brother the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, blessing his advent to the throne of Russia. We hand over the Government to our brother in full union with the representatives of the nation who are seated in the legislative chambers, taking this step with an inviolable oath in the name of our well-beloved country.

We call on all faithful sons of the fatherland to fulfill their sacred patriotic duty in this painful moment of national trial and to aid our brother and the representatives of the nation in bringing Russia into the path of prosperity and glory.

May God aid Russia.

Fortunes of the Romanoffs

On March 19 it was reported from Petrograd that the former Czar, to be known as Nicholas Romanoff, had left with his staff for his personal estate at Livadia, on the south coast of the Crimea. It was at first believed that his twelve-year-old son and heir, Grand Duke Alexis, who renounced the throne when the father abdicated, had been killed, but later news was to the effect that the Czarina was with her children and that all save

Grand Duchess Marie were very ill with measles. In the case of the little Prince the attack was complicated by the breaking out of the old wound in his foot, dating from the alleged attempt on his life about four years ago. The Grand Duke was attended by his mother and the old sailor, Berevenke, who has been his constant companion. Grand Duchess Tatiana was in a serious condition, and oxygen had been administered.

News of the disaffection of the troops reached the Empress on Feb. 27. The palace guard was mobilized for defense, the riflemen remaining within the palace with machine guns, while outside were armored motors. When the Tsarskoe-Selo garrison revolted a collision with the palace guards appeared inevitable. The Empress went to the commander of the guard and said:

"My desire is that you do not fire."

This was taken as an order to surrender, which he did. Soon revolutionary troops entered the palace, and officers went to the apartment of the imperial family. To these the Empress said:

"Let there be no violence. I am now only a Sister of Charity at the bedside of my afflicted children."

Grand Duke Michael Declines

The Czar in abdicating transferred the supreme power to his younger brother, Grand Duke Michael, but the latter declined to accept the responsibility unless he should be declared the choice of the people by vote. The refusal was signed at his private residence, whither he went with a large part of the Duma committee, headed by Prince Lvoff, Professor Milukoff, and President Rodzianko.

The Grand Duke addressed the committee and declared that the responsibility devolving upon him found him undecided because of the existing differences of opinion. He added that since the happiness of Russia was the only consideration, he believed this would be assured by his abdication, and therefore surrendered his authority. The text of his declaration, dated March 16, is as follows:

This heavy responsibility has come to me at the voluntary request of my brother, who has transferred the imperial throne to me during

a period of warfare which is accompanied with unprecedented popular disturbances.

Moved by the thought, which is in the minds of the entire people, that the good of the country is paramount, I have adopted the firm resolution to accept the supreme power only if this be the will of our great people, who, by a plebiscite organized by their representatives in a constituent assembly, shall establish a form of government and new fundamental laws for the Russian State.

Consequently, invoking the benediction of our Lord, I urge all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, established upon the initiative of the Duma and invested with full plenary powers, until such time, which will follow with as little delay as possible, as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, shall, by its decision as to the new form of government, express the will of the people.

Siberian Exiles Freed

The first act of the Provisional Government was one of amnesty for all political offenders, including Terrorists. The series of agreements opens up astonishing possibilities. A main feature of the program is that the form of government, whether republican or otherwise, is to be decided by a constituent assembly, to be elected after the war.

The famous prison of St. Peter and St. Paul at Petrograd, which has immured countless political prisoners, was thrown open, as was the Kremlin at Moscow, and exiles in all parts of the world were invited to return. The fleet and the naval commanders accepted the revolution with enthusiastic unanimity. Grand Duke Cyril, commanding the sailors of the guard, came in person with his officers and announced that this historic corps would place itself under the orders of Rodzianko. News from the army of 6,000,000 on the various Russian fronts was entirely favorable.

One of the most important gains in the revolution was its acceptance by the Holy Synod. The final meeting of the Synod since the revolution was held at Petrograd March 18 under the Presidency of the Metropolitan of Kiev. The new Procurator General of the Holy Synod, M. Lvoff, in opening the sitting, said he rejoiced at the advent of freedom of the Orthodox Church. He ordered the removal of the imperial chair from the conference room, symbolizing

termination of interference by the Emperor in the affairs of the Church. The Metropolitan and other members of the Synod said a new era for the Orthodox Church had come.

Public subscriptions for released political prisoners and for the families of men killed in the street fighting were opened. The Russo-Asiatic Bank has subscribed \$250,000 for the released political prisoners.

Everywhere in Petrograd, Moscow, and other large cities the imperial insignia of the House of Romanoff were removed from all public buildings.

Foreign Minister's Notice

Professor Milukoff received the diplomatic representatives of the Allies on Sunday, March 18, and at the same time gave official notice of the revolution to the world in the following address, which was transmitted by cable to all Russian diplomats abroad:

"The news transmitted by the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency (the semi-official Russian news bureau) already has acquainted you with the events of the last few days and the fall of the old political régime in Russia, which collapsed lamentably in the face of popular indignation provoked by its carelessness, its abuses, and its criminal lack of foresight. The unanimity of resentment which the order of things now at an end had aroused among all healthy elements of the nation has considerably facilitated the crisis. All these elements having rallied with enthusiasm to the noble flag of revolution, and the army having lent them its speedy and effective support, the national movement obtained decisive victory within eight days.

"This rapidity of realization happily made it possible to reduce the number of victims to a figure unprecedentedly small in the annals of upheavals of such extent and importance.

"By an act dated from Pskoff March 15, Emperor Nicholas renounced the throne for himself and the hereditary Grand Duke Alexis Nikolaievitch in favor of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. In reply to a notification which was made to him of this act, Grand

Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, by an act dated Petrograd, March 16, in his turn renounced assumption of supreme power until the time when a constituent assembly, created on the basis of universal suffrage, should have established a form of government and new fundamental laws of Russia. By this same act Alexandrovitch invited the citizens of Russia, pending a definite manifestation of the national will, to submit to the authority of the Provisional Government constituted on the initiative of the State, which holds full power. The composition of the Provisional Government and its political program have been published and transmitted to foreign countries.

Responsibility Fully Realized

"This Government, which assumes power at the moment of the greatest external and internal crisis which Russia has known in the course of her history, is fully conscious of the immense responsibility it incurs. It will apply itself first to repairing the overwhelming errors bequeathed to it by the past, to insuring order and tranquillity in the country, and, finally, to preparing the conditions necessary in order that the sovereign will of the nation may be freely pronounced as to its future lot.

"In the domain of foreign policy the Cabinet, in which I am charged with the portfolio of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will remain mindful of the international engagements entered into by the fallen régime, and will honor Russia's word. We shall carefully cultivate relations which unite us to other friendly and allied nations, and we are confident that these relations will become even more intimate, more solid, under the new régime established in Russia, which is resolved to be guided by the democratic principles of respect due to the small and great nations, to the liberty of their development, and to good understanding among nations.

"But the Government cannot forget for a single instant the grave external circumstances in which it assumes power. Russia did not will the war which has

been drenching the world with blood for nearly three years. But, victim of premeditated aggression prepared long ago, she will continue, as in the past, to struggle against the spirit of conquest of a predatory race which has aimed at establishing an intolerable hegemony over its neighbors and subjecting Europe of the twentieth century to the shame of domination by Prussian militarism. Faithful to the pact which unites her indissolubly to her glorious allies, Russia is resolved, like them, to assure the world at all costs an era of peace among the nations, on the basis of stable national organization guaranteeing respect for right and justice. She will fight by their side against the common enemy until the end, without cessation and without faltering.

"The Government of which I form a part will devote all its energy to preparation of victory and will apply itself to the task of repairing as quickly as possible the errors of the past, which hitherto have paralyzed the aspirations and the self-sacrifice of the Russian people. I am firmly convinced that the marvelous enthusiasm which today animates the whole nation will multiply its strength in time and hasten the hour of the final triumph of a regenerated Russia and her valiant allies.

"I beg you to communicate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs [of the country to which the diplomat addressed is accredited] the contents of the present telegram."

Tons of Food Discovered

In vindication of the justice of the cause of the revolutionists after the emeute, thousands of tons of grain and other food were found hidden in remote places in Petrograd, apparently proving that the shortage was part of a treasonable design of the then existing Government.

On March 18 assurances had been received from all the armies in the field that the new Government was enthusiastically accepted. M. Kerenski had rescinded the order of banishment against Grand Duke Dmitri and Prince

Yousoupoff, the slayers of Gregory Rasputin, the monk who exercised great influence over the imperial family, and the two men were returning to Petrograd. Members of the former Cabinet had been placed under arrest and would be cited for trial later. It is believed, however, that there will be no prosecution of the nobility, and that amnesty and moderation will be the watchwords of the new Government.

As to the Czar and his family, it is believed they will not be further molested; there seems to be no vindictiveness felt against him, as he was regarded as but a weak instrument in the hands of unscrupulous plotters. The explanation of the Camarilla's desire to have Russia meet disaster in the war, so as to force a separate peace, was the fear among the nobility that success with republican France and democratic England over autocratic Russia and Austria would spell the downfall of autocracy and the triumph of the Russian liberals.

Anti-German Sentiment

The strongest anti-German feeling animates the population. They are systematically hunting down all highly placed personages suspected of German proclivities or bearing German names or titles. The aged Minister of the imperial household, Count Fredericks, whose home was wrecked, was discovered in hiding and was taken as a prisoner to the Duma. Soldiers and a crowd of people long hunted for Countess Kleinmichael on suspicion of her being German. She was discovered hiding in the Chinese Legation, whence the soldiers removed her under arrest.

Baron Stackelberg fired on the soldiers from his window. He was dragged out of his home, taken to the quay side, and there summarily executed.

All the factories resumed operations on March 19, paying full wages for time lost during the revolution. Former members of the police force at Petrograd, numbering many thousands, were sent to the front. The Metropolitans of Petrograd, Moscow, Pitrin, and Mulary were sent into compulsory retirement. Pro-

vincial Governors were replaced by Presidents of Zemstvos or Mayors of cities in management of food supplies.

All censorship, except on military affairs, was abolished, and the department itself was discontinued. A committee headed by Maxim Gorky was appointed to safeguard palaces and artistic property. Home rule will be given to Finland. The former Governor, Zein, who was an oppressor and reactionary, was sent to prison, and it is understood that Baron Roditscheff, who has been a staunch advocate of free Finland, will be appointed Zein's successor.

Manifesto to the Nation

On March 20 the Russian Provisional Government issued the following manifesto to the nation:

"Citizens: The great work has been accomplished. By a powerful stroke the Russian people have overthrown the old régime. A new Russia is born. This coup d'état has set the keystone upon long years of struggle.

"Under pressure of awakened national forces, the act of Oct. 30, 1905, promised Russia constitutional liberties, which were never put into execution. The First Duma, the mouthpiece of the national wishes, was dissolved. The Second Duma met the same fate, and the Government, being powerless to crush the national will, decided by the act of June 16, 1907, to deprive the people of part of the legislative rights promised them.

"During the ensuing ten years the Government successively withdrew from the people all the rights they had won. The country was again thrown into the abyss of absolute ruin and administrative arbitrariness. All attempts to make the voice of reason heard were vain, and the great world struggle into which the country was plunged found it face to face with moral decadence and power not united with the people—power indifferent to the country's destinies and steeped in vices and infamy.

"The heroic efforts of the army, crushed under the cruel weight of internal disorganization; the appeals of the national representatives, who were

united in view of the national danger, were powerless to lead the Emperor and his Government into the path of union with the people. Thus when Russia, by the illegal and disastrous acts of her Governors, was faced with the greatest disasters, the people had to take the power into their own hands.

"With unanimous revolutionary spirit, the people, fully realizing the seriousness of the moment and the firm will of the Duma, established a Provisional Government, which considers that it is its sacred duty to realize the national desires and lead the country into the bright path of free civil organization. The Government believes that the lofty spirit of patriotism which the people have shown in the struggle against the old régime will also animate our gallant soldiers on the battlefields.

"On its side the Government will do its utmost to provide the army with everything necessary to bring the war to a victorious conclusion. The Government will faithfully observe all alliances uniting us to other powers and all agreements made in the past.

"While taking measures indispensable for the defense of the country against a foreign enemy, the Government will consider it its first duty to grant to the people every facility to express its will concerning the political administration, and will convoke as soon as possible a constituent assembly on the basis of universal suffrage, at the same time assuring the gallant defenders of the country their share in the Parliamentary elections.

"The constituent assembly will issue fundamental laws, guaranteeing the country the immutable rights of equality and liberty.

"Conscious of the burden of the political oppression weighing on the country and hindering the free creative forces of the people during years of painful hardships, the Provisional Government deems it necessary, before the constituent assembly, to announce to the country its principles, assuring political liberty and equality to all citizens, making free use of the spiritual forces in creative work

for the benefit of the country. The Government will also take care to elaborate the principles assuring all citizens participation in communal elections, which will be carried out on a basis of universal suffrage.

"At the moment of national emancipation the whole country recalls with pious gratitude those who, in the struggle for their political and religious ideas, fell victims of the vengeance of the old power, and the Provisional Government will joyfully bring back from exile and prison all those who thus suffered for the good of their country.

"In realizing these problems the Provisional Government believes it is executing the national will and that the

whole people will support it in its efforts to insure the happiness of Russia."

The news from all parts of the country on March 20 indicated that the revolution had been successfully accomplished everywhere without serious bloodshed, and the people, the army, and the navy were acclaiming the new order with enthusiasm. It was decided, in order to avoid all complications, not to give any commanding position to a member of the Romonoff house; hence the proposal was abandoned to name Grand Duke Nicholas as Generalissimo and Grand Duke Michael as Regent. The full sovereign powers rest with the Provisional Government until the National Assembly convenes.

Scientific Discoveries Due to the War

Paul Painlevé, a member of the French Institute and recent Minister of Inventions, has cited the following facts by way of reply to Thomas A. Edison's remark that science is playing a rather small part in the war:

The processes of wireless communication and for the registering of sounds at distances, that is, by the ordinary wireless currents and by ground induction, have been marvelously perfected through the requirements of the war. All the armies are rivaling each other in skillful methods for tapping the enemy's lines of telephonic communication from a considerable distance; not tapping as it is generally understood, but by the use of a marvelous instrument that enables the sentinel in his advanced listening post out beyond the front line of trenches to hear the enemy communications by telephone going over wires that are several hundred yards away.

I would mention also a system that we perfected and put into use for locating the enemy's batteries by sound. The principle was known before the war, but it was regarded as impracticable. It has, since the war, been brought to the highest state of perfection and efficiency and for months has been in use over the entire front. It has proved so effective that our adversaries, who captured a motor car with one of the outfits, have equipped themselves with similar appliances but lacking the delicacy and the precision of our instruments. It was France that had the entire initiative of this brilliant application.

Inventions for following the enemy's sapping and mining operations by sound that were, in all armies, very crude and insufficient before the war, have made the most remarkable progress, and will reflect honor upon French science later on.

Aviation in every respect has been remarkably perfected by the efforts of science and technicians since the war began. Today a pilot goes up in all kinds of weather without fear of being upset by sudden squalls, so well have been perfected the measures for the stability of flying machines. Great progress also has been made in the improvement of motors, particularly in the reduction of their weight in proportion to their effective power, so that they speed up to 150 miles an hour. Finally, in spite of the difficulties, wireless telegraphy has been marvelously adapted to aviation.

The Kaiser Today

This intimate, first-hand study of the Kaiser, duly authenticated, is written by a prominent American correspondent in Berlin. It is the first exclusive pen picture of the Kaiser since the war began.

IN the half lights of dawn there emerged from the shadows down the road a column of poplar trees; motionless and erect, it seemed they were on sentry duty, too. The gray-green of their uniforms almost invisible against the fields, soldiers in twos crossed and recrossed the road, ghostly they in the quickening spectrum of day, helmeted shadows of the Kaiser's Guard. Further down the road a light gleamed. That was the château; there Wilhelm II., "by God's grace, King of Prussia and German Emperor," slept.

In a nearby field horses whinnied and neighed; men moved, talking in harsh early morning voices. Two squadrons of the Dragoon Guards were encamped there—should the Kaiser call. There, too, one glimpsed a thin, lean glimmer of steel; and, as the sky changed from gray to pink, there came out of the vagueness, taking sinister shape, guns of the horse artillery—should the Kaiser call.

Guarding him as he slept, files of the gray-green men paced through the château park. An outer circle who tramped along the spiked iron fence of the grounds, another circle stalking through the trees, another, another, until, after circle upon circle of sentries, one came to a double guard at the narrow, prim entrance to the château. Even there the guards over the Kaiser did not end. Upstairs sentries stole through the high-ceilinged halls. In the rooms just above, just below, and on either side of the Kaiser chamber Secret Service men spent a sleepless night, watching, listening, the

eternal vigil over the imperial body. For the German Emperor is never so guarded as he is at the front. Twenty miles from the firing line, this château. Guarded against what?

All through the night there had come down to the soldiers in the park the faint purring and clattering of the guards above, airplanes circling high above the imperial head, two eyes of the army peering through the high places, lest an enemy flyer swoop near. And on the gravel drive below, carefully posted motor trucks, platforms on wheels, mounting long-ranged anti-aircraft guns, others with monstrous glazy eyes that twinkled now in the dawn—the searchlights, that had been ready to sweep the night with light, had the enemy fliers come. And in the château room, under which



KAISER WILHELM II.

slept their Emperor, more of the gray-green men watched the yellowing sky and yawned and felt hungry. Since midnight they had held the watch there, their machine guns tilted skyward; all about them the layers of sandbags to swallow the explosion of an enemy bomb. Nets, an arbor of wires over their heads, every precaution to nullify the effect of a bomb that might be cast down upon the château where the Kaiser slept.

The sun came up again, ruthlessly lighting the scarred face of France. Weird seemed the land in the faint light of day. Houses to the east, through which the golden glow gleams, framed on their gray stone walls by the cavernous holes of the shells. There a church with tumbled rafters, its cross shot

SINKING OF THE PASSENGER STEAMER LACONIA



One of the Tragic Events of the War, Depicted at the Moment When the Submarine Commander Questioned the Helpless Victims in an Open Boat

(From a Drawing by J. Burns. © 1917, N. Y. Times Co.)

SENATORS WHO HELPED TO DEFEAT ARMED SHIP BILL



WILLIAM J. STONE
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
(© International Film Service)



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
Who Led the Filibuster
(American Press Association)

away; here what had been a field of plenty, ugly now with the pockmarks of the shells. For over this land whereon the Kaiser slept his legions had rushed of a day in August two years before, and their imprint lay still upon the earth.

Six o'clock. A commotion at the door. The guard stiffened into statues, transfixed in the imperial salute. A man dressed in gray-green like theirs, a gray military cape, lined with red, hanging from his square shoulders, the short baton of a Field Marshal protruding from his left hand, appeared in the doorway. With a quick gesture his right hand returned their salutes: "Good morning, soldiers!" Another day for the Kaiser has begun.

Under the trees purred the imperial motor; behind it a second, gay with the gold and black of the imperial standard. The Dragoons cantered up from the field near by, slashing the air into twinkling shreds as their sabres swished to the salute. "Good morning, soldiers!" cried the Kaiser, the silver-knobbed baton flashing a salute in return. "Good morning, your Majesty!" roared five hundred horsemen.

The Kaiser stepped into the car. His tall Pomeranian grenadier footman tucked a rug around the imperial legs. The Dragoons divided, half riding out in front of the car, half galloping behind. "To General Bülow's headquarters," ordered the Kaiser, and, to a trumpeting of motor horns, the imperial cavalcade slipped through the park, and, leaving the château behind, moved toward the front.

So began one day for the Kaiser; so has begun many a day for him during this war. For the German Emperor is more often at the front than he is at the castle in Berlin.

The Kaiser Takes Risks

For, whatever else may be said of the Kaiser, he is a man, and, considering this war a man's job, he is ever on the job. No occasional trips to the front for Wilhelm II. No remaining quite comfortable in a palace and every so often, at intervals of months, going on a royal sort of Cook's tour to visit his army. Rather

the Kaiser ever holds his hand on the war pulse. One hears of him in France, then in Russia, then in Serbia.

At one time during the early fighting against Russia he barely retreated with a division across the River Niemen in time to escape capture by a Cossack patrol—an event, this, little known in Germany. Again, riding in an automobile with von Hindenburg in front of the fortress of Kovno, the Kaiser's car was picked up by Russian artillery observers, and there was a race for life against the shells. Again with his staff, and against their wishes, the Kaiser ventured upon a hilltop opposite Soissons in France and brought the crash of shrapnel down about his ears.

Yes, the Kaiser has seen this war. He has seen it at the front. He has seen regiments surge into action for him and die. Under his eyes—he deeming that his presence would stir the men to greater efforts—the Germans charged again and again to break the British lines at Ypres. And the Kaiser saw the flower of his army, the Prussian Guards, blasted away. And later he saw the funeral pyres of their dead lighting one of those Ypres nights made greenish with the rocket flares, one of those nights when mad colors seethe up from No Man's Land and the trenches slowly turn to great long graves. The Kaiser has seen these horrors by night, those unearthly nights by the Ypres Canal that always seem to come out of the pages of a Maeterlinck play.

Yes, war has made its imprint on the Kaiser's mind. One can see it today. The rebellious lock of hair over the temple is more gray. A deep furrow between the brows where there was none before, a shadowing in his gray-blue eyes that used always to be clear. At times on the imperial face the gambler's expression is discernible, the Monte Carlo face intensified illimitably. The Kaiser seems then like a man who has thrown everything on the wheel—people, country, dynasty—and the uncertainty, the stress of waiting and waiting for a result is portrayed there. Correspondingly the Kaiser's reactions of expression are violent today. After the victory at War-

saw in 1915 he looked extravagantly joyous. It was as if one had been trying to tell one's self that everything was coming out all right—although subconsciously one often feared not—and that then something happened, a victory! And for a moment the tension of doubt was broken. These changes of emotion show on the Kaiser today. But generally his face is grave. As he whirls from one point to another on the front, indeed, as he rushes from one of his far-flung battle fronts to another, the Kaiser's expression is always the same, gravity.

The war lord on parade, the Kaiser of the manoeuvre fields of peace times, the Kaiser who would order a cavalry charge of huge proportions, and who, as his horsemen thundered by, would turn to his military guests with a look of supreme pride and confidence—that Kaiser is no more. Instead one sees a harassed expression that shows the mind behind to be thinking: "Will the terms of peace satisfy my people for the sacrifices they have made? Will my people hold loyal and true to the end? I believe we are in God's hands, and he will not desert us."

His Religion Appallingly Sincere

For the religion of the Kaiser has been his cornerstone or his poison in this war. Calling upon the Almighty for aid in everything he undertakes, the Kaiser has come to approach the fanatically religious sovereigns of centuries gone by. In religion and his belief that God is on his side the Kaiser is appallingly sincere. Better were it a pose; he would have made peace long ago.

What of the Kaiser today? Always dignified, the war has grown about him a grave, almost reverential mood, lightened only by the smiles of victory. That the war weighs heavily upon his heart every American who has talked with him affirms. That he feels deeply at the sight of the dead and wounded is also true. Conceptions of the human character always differ. It has been written that Joan of Arc was a saint; that she was a madwoman; Molière scoffed at her. It has been written that Catherine of Russia was a great Empress; that she was a mere sexual pervert; that Edward

VII. of England was a peacemaker, that he was a Janus-faced diplomat, who bred war. Conceptions of the Kaiser have been written, presenting him as an arch-hypocrite, the greatest actor in the world, and as a madman. The conception I have is neither of these. He is dangerously sincere. He believes in himself and in the destiny of the German people. He believes strongly in Nietzschean "will to power"—in his speeches to his soldiers during this war he has called it the "will to victory."

Always religious, the war has made him more so, until it approaches almost mysticism. His constant calling upon God is sincere. His belief that God is on his side is sincere. Whenever he goes to the front the imperial banner, orange, black embroidered with a cross, and bearing the legend "God with us," goes with him. He has caused that motto of his to be inscribed on the buckles of his soldiers. He has caused every soldier in the army to receive a little pocket Bible. He is accompanied by a Chaplain wherever he goes—accompanied by a surgeon, too.

The Kaiser's Health Uncertain

For during this war the imperial health has more than once been the cause of great worry to the German Nation. In December of 1914 a throat affection, the curse of the Hohenzollerns, which laid low his father and his grandfather, confined the Kaiser to the Schloss in Berlin. No one knew exactly what was the matter with him; only those at the top knew. An operation was performed, the Kaiser lived. For a year the malady left him alone, and he rushed from battlefield to battlefield, then in December of 1916 it overtook him again. The aged Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria, died. The Kaiser's physicians permitted him to attend a mass for his ally, but refused to let him go to the funeral. Now, the absence of the Kaiser from Franz Josef's funeral was a most conspicuous thing, and it is certain that in no circumstances would he have tolerated it had not the danger to his health been great.

Will the Kaiser survive the war? No one can tell. Wilhelm I. was a tall, pow-

erful man. One day he was taken down to a resort on the Riviera. The curse of the Hohenzollerns had caught him, and there he died quickly. The Kaiser has had a battle with himself from the day he was born. His left arm crippled, his figure drooping and sickly, as a boy Prince he worked against fate until he developed himself into a broad, muscular man. But he was not able to strengthen his throat, he was not able to ward off that disease, be it cancer or what, which took off his Hohenzollern ancestors.

Active at the Front

Physically strong the Kaiser is today. At the front he does not pamper himself. He has gone without meals. He has scorned the course luncheons of château headquarters for plates of stew at field kitchens. He has been in the saddle for hours at a time, always leaving the imperial motor when the zone of military fire, with its alert enemy observers, drew near. At Lille he stood in the rain for hours and watched the Bavarians, who were to drive on Arras, go marching by. Day after day, during the height of the Verdun offensive, he went to bed after midnight, and was up at daybreak, consulting with his Generals throughout the night.

Visiting points on the front by day, ever haranguing the soldiers with speeches, it is not an uncommon thing for the Kaiser to make twelve speeches a day at the front. It has been said of him that he believes his presence is worth more in a battle than two army corps. Let a column of infantry be overtaken by the imperial motor. "Halt!" cries the Kaiser—to the distant drumming of the guns he almost seems to beat time with the little Field Marshal's baton generally to be found clasped in the imperial hand. "Soldiers, you have given the Fatherland many glorious victories, you will continue to win victories until, with God's help, peace comes." Such is the pith of the typical Kaiser speech at the front—acknowledgment, instilling of will, reminder of God. It is his inevitable construction.

That the army loves him there can be no doubt. The Kaiser's attitude is as if

Germany were the father; as if all the soldiers were children; as if he were the representative of the father, Germany, looking after them. He does look after his soldiers, too, as much as circumstances will allow—obviously impossible for the Kaiser to know his millions of soldiers personally. A visit to the groaning hospital cot, a word of kindness, a clasp of a day laborer's hand, a decoration bestowed, an unexpected visit to a company at meal time, a dish of stew with them from out of the field kitchen; an unheralded coming to the quarters where his soldiers rest behind the firing line, an imperial call-down for the officer because the men are not comfortable enough—such things the Kaiser is ever doing, and the stories of them are spread like wildfire throughout the army; and the men come to feel that he is an Emperor who is fighting with them, not lounging back in a palace, getting the reports.

Now, obviously it is good business for the Kaiser to create such sentiment among the soldiers; but to give that as a reason for the Kaiser being at the front is unfair and untrue; for the Kaiser is a man, and while he approaches war in the mood of utmost gravity and religiously inspired, still he loves the thrill of it all.

In a room of the General Staff in Berlin where the officers whose duty is railroad transportation keep track day and night of the movements of all passenger and military trains throughout the empire, there come nights when every man is unusually alert. Those are "Kaiser nights." In the great headquarters of Charleville, Brussels, and in Lille, three staffs whose sole work is railroads sit.

The Imperial Special

The Kaiser decides to leave the western battlefield for the east. His headquarters, during July, was a château behind Sedan. From Sedan the word is flashed to Lille that the Kaiser is coming. Lille flashes it on to Brussels. Brussels to the great railroad room in Berlin. From that building of yellowish brick on the Königsplatz, railroad chiefs at every point, from Aachen on the Belgian frontier to Alexandrovo on the Po-

lish frontier, are notified that the Kaiser's train is leaving Lille bound for Warsaw, over Brussels, Berlin. There is a separate staff for the administration of the roads in Poland, to which headquarters in Warsaw comes the same message from Berlin, and it in turn notifies the yard chiefs in Poland, at Lodz and Skiernewice, of the coming of the imperial train. All is ready. The yards know just how many military and passenger trains are scheduled to pass through them in the next twenty-four hours. The "Kaiser's schedule" is put in operation. Tracks are cleared for the imperial special.

Drawn by one of the powerful engines of the Heckle works, it pulls into Sedan, a drawing-room car for the Kaiser and his personal aids, a combination dining and study car, the imperial sleeper, and three sleepers for the rest of the staff. As the big locomotive waits, there sounds above its panting the clatter of airplanes, and overhead, in V formation, flying like crows, a big Fokker at the apex, the Kaiser's aerial guard, to keep off any possible enemy flier until the German frontier is reached, circles and circles on high.

The night after the Kaiser has stepped into his special train at Sedan, he is detraining at Warsaw and driving at midnight down the Jeruselamer Allee into the Nowy Swiat and down to the palace of the old Polish Kings, where he will spend the night. A few days getting the Polish sentiment, possibly sounding out the temper of the people, to see if shoulder to shoulder they will fight with the Germans against Russia, and the Kaiser moves on. From Warsaw he radiates north to watch the hammering at Riga; east, beyond Brest-Litovsk, where Reincke holds the line of Barnovitch against the Russian drive; or the imperial train goes hammering southwest over Ivangorod toward Kovel, where Litchowsky and his Cossacks drill the Austrian wall.

Wherever the situation seems to be critical, there goes the Kaiser—to inspire his troops. Wherever a great victory has been won, there goes the Kaiser—to thank his troops. Whenever a new

country has been captured, Serbia, Rumania, there goes the Kaiser to strike awe into the hearts of the captive populace, awe and respect for the Prussian eagle. Wherever an ally is becoming a little uneasy, there goes the Kaiser—to stiffen weak backs and bolster causes that seem lost.

Methods of the War Lord

One of the Kaiser's prerogatives is that he holds the supreme command of the German Army and the German Navy. Incidentally, the German military title for the office is "Kriegs Herrn," a regular military title which caused the Kaiser to be known to the world as the War Lord, for Kriegs Herrn literally translates into that. Holding this supreme command, the Kaiser uses it. Our President is Commander in Chief of the American Army and Navy, but as a rule our Presidents rarely direct the campaign of our army and navy in time of war. Unlike our Presidents, the Kaiser has studied military and naval science his whole life, and he believes he knows something concerning it—a point, by the way, upon which writers on military science differ.

Now the Kaiser's method with his army is direct. He appoints the man whom he believes to be best fitted for the work to the office of Chief of the General Staff. This man is surrounded by hundreds of the most efficient and highly specialized officers in the German Army. This General Staff, quartered in the field at Charleville, France, works out department by department every phase of the big military campaigns. These campaigns, decided upon by the Chiefs of Staff, are then put up to the Kaiser.

After the success of the operations in Serbia in the Autumn of 1915, Falkenhayn formed a plan of campaign that called for a spending of Germany's offensive resources at that time against France. Hindenburg, then in supreme command of the German armies of the East, (Falkenhayn not having jurisdiction over him in any way,) violently opposed this plan against France. Hindenburg and his great strategist, Ludendorff, told the Emperor that no of-

fensive movement should be made against France, but that a decision should be first reached in the East. The Kaiser had the two propositions in front of him. Falkenhayn flatly promised the Kaiser Verdun. He had it all figured out convincingly. Hindenburg came out against Falkenhayn's plan. The Kaiser told Hindenburg he was wrong; but half a year later Falkenhayn's head went into the basket, next to Moltke's. He had joined the lists of the Kaiser's Chiefs of Staff who failed.

Now that is the Kaiser's position in relation to the army. He is the supreme arbiter. His Chief of Staff and his Generals conceive the military moves. He studies their plans, suggests changes here, and likes his Generals when they openly disagree with him—that is, if it turns out that they are right. If their opposition is shown to be wrong, they get on the imperial black list. The Kaiser decides. That sums up his position with the army.

His Control of Submarines

Similar is his relation to the navy. That, too, has its General Staff. They sit in a most modern building in Berlin, a palace compared with the headquarters of the army; and conceive their problems of naval strategy. In that white stone building on the shores of one of Berlin's canals was born the idea of submarine frightfulness. For two years they worked on the campaign which was announced to the world on Jan. 31, 1917. For two years they increased the building facilities of the German shipyards, biding their time, as week by week the number of "sea snakes" grew. Then, when they had a certain number ready—one does not pretend to know how many; credible information says that Germany can now build six submarines a week—when they had raised the number of submarines so it would satisfy their plans, the German Admiralty Staff laid them again before the Kaiser, and he made his momentous decision. Will it make him or break him?

Likewise with his Foreign Office does the Kaiser decide. In that musty old building, Wilhelmstrasse 76, there are

departments for every nation in the world. One official, with his subordinates, is in charge of the United States department, another of the English, and so on. It is the duty of these department chiefs to be ready at the Kaiser's call to lay before him any diplomatic information which he desires in relation to that particular country. As executive head of the Foreign Office—Secretary for Foreign Affairs—von Jagow, with a mild, suave, tolerant, cosmopolitan type of mind, was quite all right for the rubber stamp work that a German Foreign Minister under Wilhelm II. has to do. Quite all right, until the brew of submarine frightfulness began boiling, and out went the mild Jagow for the vigorous Zimmermann. He is responsible to the Chancellor for the efficiency of the Foreign Office, and the Chancellor is responsible to the Kaiser.

As the army and navy chiefs bring up their plans for a decision, so does Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg. If the Kaiser likes the Chancellor's plan, he adopts it. If he doesn't, the imperial frown is put upon it. One colossal blunder, and, like Moltke, Falkenhayn, and Tirpitz, off will go Bethmann Hollweg's head into the imperial basket; for the Kaiser's chieftains publicly assume the responsibility for the moves of Imperial Germany. If the moves fail, they and they alone are to blame, for, despite the fact that none of these moves can be made without the Kaiser's indorsement of them, Wilhelm II., being the Kaiser, "can do no wrong."

We find today the German Emperor at the pinnacle of his power, lusty in health, save for the shadow of that disease which has cursed his family, and which at any time may insidiously creep over him.

The Kaiser has the vitality to keep continually active during this war. Grave, bearing his responsibilities heavily, rarely brightening except at the news of a victory, he sternly and grimly goes through the daily routine, knowing exactly what is going on in every department of the German war machine. Intensely religious, calling upon God in his hour of trial more even than he called upon Him in peace, the Kaiser is relig-

ious today almost to the point of fanaticism. One might almost say that his whole life is held together by his belief that God is on the side of Germany in this war. Without that deep and sincere religious conviction—it is almost insanity, what Bergson called a “mental complex”—it seems incredible that the Kaiser could have stood up against the strain, so deeply has he plunged himself into the war, as long as he has.

In considering the Kaiser today too much stress cannot be laid upon this religious side of his character. If he were acting, if his ranting about God were mummery, the task of the world would be easier. For a hypocrite analyzes and compromises quickly. Not a fanatic. And the Kaiser's belief that he is a being put on this earth by God and anointed by God to rule the German Nation, and to lead it to its destiny—which destiny the writers of Germany have often assured us has no small limits—this belief of the Kaiser's that God is the protector of German Kultur, this makes him in this war the strongest ruler in the world.

For he will not compromise. Believing as he does that God is with him, he will go on fighting on and on, putting all the life and treasure of Germany into what he believes to be the arm of the Almighty. He will fight on, and he will be able to, because his people love him, despite the appalling sacrifices he has

called upon them to make. Impelled by this religious hysteria, he will continue the war until he meets an end like that of the old German gods, and the whole fabric of his empire is rent asunder. Either that or the world fighting him will be as Christ and try to end humanity's anguish by overcoming the thought of “punishment” with one of charity. But if the world should be merciful the Kaiser would believe that “our old German God”—privately tagging the Almighty as he so often does—had brought him victory. And on the Linden the imperial fanfares would sound, and from the gray stone balcony of the schloss one of those “with God” speeches would stir the Berlin soul. * * * Yet—yet there would be peace.

A Colossus today is the Kaiser. A conqueror, lusty and hale. But tomorrow, what of that?

Before the war a German, Franz von Beyerlin, wrote a novel speculating on the fate of the German Army, asking the question as to what the future held, and taking that question as his novel's title, “Jena or Sedan?” * * * defeat or victory?

One can imagine a novel now, around the Kaiser—“Tilsit or Versailles?” * * * humbled or glorified, what will he be? * * *

Perhaps the graves of Europe's dead know, but cannot tell.

The Women of the War

By ETHELWYN DITHRIDGE

Afar amid war's darkness, they suffer and grow strong,
For courage is their garment, and hope their evensong;
They hide the pain of parting with “till we meet again,”
Or greet with tender welcome their bruised and broken men.
They give their *all* ungrudging, nor think it much to give;
They see their lives in ruin, then face the years, and *live*.

O heart of selfish sorrows and unavailing fears!
One day of their devotion were worth my idle years.
With uncomplaining patience their sacrifice is made—
So, tho' in lesser service, my debt of love were paid.
Take *thou*, beloved country, the little all I give,
Who am not born to greatness, and yet would greatly live.

Hunger Stalks Through Europe

Food Shortage and Stern Measures to Meet It

ALL information during late February and March indicated definitely that all the nations of Europe were suffering severely from food shortage. The crisis began to be acute in February, and until the crops of 1917 begin to mature, a period of about three and a half months, all Europe will continue to confront the most serious lack of food that has yet arisen. No portion of the entire Continent is free from privation, though the shortage seems more acute in Germany and Austria than elsewhere.

Oscar King Davis, who spent several weeks in Germany before the severance of relations, and who accompanied Ambassador Gerard on his journey home, cabled to THE NEW YORK TIMES from Havana on March 11 a comprehensive review of the food situation in Germany.

Mr. Davis wrote that Mr. Gerard regarded the condition of Germany as desperate, especially where the supply of food and general economic conditions, including finance, are concerned, and that he knew the frame of mind of responsible German officials to be quite in keeping with their recognition of the desperate situation of their country.

He wrote that one who has lived even for a brief period in the restaurants and hotels of Germany stands aghast in France, as he does in Switzerland, at the prodigal and extraordinary waste of food. If you have had a meal in a public eating place in Berlin, with the lively and significant clink of forks and spoons on plates and dishes, scraping up the last drop of sauce or gravy, and then come into a public eating place in Berne or Paris, to find not only sauce and gravy abandoned in unthinkable quantities, but bread, meat, potatoes, and every kind of thing good to eat sent away from the table untouched or hardly more than nibbled at, you are simply overwhelmed by the contrast.

"It is under such circumstances," continues Mr. Davis, "that you come to a

keener realization of how the organization and control of her food supplies in their production, collection, and distribution is evidence, not that Germany is starving today, but that she is likely by these very means to win through to the bitter end without starvation. Hardship, privation, underfeeding, and for some of her people insufficient nourishment, Germany unquestionably endures today, with three or four severe months yet to sustain before she finds relief from new crops. But if those new crops respond in fair measure to the efforts Germany is making on them, her food problem will be postponed, in great measure, for yet another year.

"The German officials have not been eager to place exact scientific data in the hands of foreign observers and investigators, but there have been a few American scientific men who have made noteworthy studies, especially on food and sanitary conditions. Mr. Gerard has had the advantage of their work and knows their information. The results of their observations and their scientific conclusions will undoubtedly be included in what Mr. Gerard has to tell the President in the next few days. It will be a report tinged with malnutrition, undernourishment, anemia, low blood count, and similar scientific terms meaning that those to whom they are applied have not had food in sufficient quantities or of proper quality. It will be applied especially to certain classes of Germans, such as seamstresses, servants, persons working for small wages, children, the aged and infirm, and that sort."

A trusted observer of food conditions in Germany reported to the State Department at Washington on March 14 that 20,000,000 people directly connected with the German Army or Government, 20,000,000 in the rural population, and about 8,000,000 wealthy people were well fed, but that the rest, about 20,000,000, were in a serious plight.

Charles H. Grasty, an executive of

The New York Times Company, who joined Ambassador Gerard's party in Spain and sailed from Corunna to America with him, after eleven days in intimate intercourse with the party of diplomats, Military Attachés, doctors, merchants, and travelers, who had had unsurpassed opportunities for knowing the real state of affairs in Germany, wrote on March 11:

"After discussing the German situation for eleven days, my conclusion is that the food shortage in the Fatherland is more serious than has been believed outside. The present condition is not one of actual starvation, but there is much suffering in spots, and Germany faces a crisis between now and harvest. Unless the submarine war prospers Germany can hardly escape an upheaval.

"One doctor aboard the ship tells me that, even with his unusual facilities, he was much reduced by the lack of fats, and when he reached Zurich he was so ravenous that he made himself ill, devouring everything greasy. Lack of fats caused an incessant gnawing and nothing would 'stick to his ribs.' His stomach had no food reserve and intestinal digestion was suspended.

"The misery resulting from the food conditions is observable in every face. The Government took all possible precautions, but while 60 per cent. turnips could make bulk, it couldn't make nutriment. A thick soup of cabbage and turnips, a bit of meat, and a trace of grease could be bought at the community kitchens in the cities for 6 cents, (30 pfennigs,) and bread at 1 cent a slice, but thirty minutes after eating, one was hungry again.

"The diet gave no power of resistance to the cold. The Americans who serve as prison inspectors say that even with huge furs they almost froze this Winter.

"Mothers and babies are without milk, and the suffering is great. While the effect of the food conditions on the public morale is temporarily offset by hysterical loyalty, physical causes must prevail over psychological in the end.

Unhealthy Social Conditions

"Throughout the trying times the Ger-

man women have been showing a splendid nerve. They are taking men's places at manual labor. Many assure me if the women are called they will respond in tremendous numbers, game to perform many trench tasks, if not actually do full military duty.

"The moral and social conditions are entirely unlike old Germany. In high society spying and intrigue prevail. Nobody trusts anybody, and the conversation is all insincerity and deception. While the unwritten law still holds among the nobility, the laws regulating divorce are a dead letter.

"Soldiers at the front and wives at home are freed from marital restraints. Illegitimate births now reach 25 per cent. in Berlin, and even more in Bavaria, and the percentage is increasing.

"Popular taste on the stage calls for a murder in every act, and the big theatrical successes reek with morbid details.

"The tendencies in Germany to rule womankind with a rod of iron have been emphasized by the war. Men use women roughly and punish them physically for trifling faults. Women are treated as recognized inferiors, and they don't resent it.

"Such are some of the effects of baffled militarism upon the Germans. They went into this war expecting a three months' picnic. The resistance, followed by threatened defeat, has produced a perversity that breaks out as described.

"This is not to say that Germany is all bad. I have heard stories of splendid self-sacrifice in all circles. Some of the aristocracy voluntarily adopt short commons, and potato rations are passed to the guests by liveried servants."

Greater Berlin is now issuing weekly 3,600,000 bread cards, and 66,500,000 coupons representing daily rations find their way back to the Bread Commission, where they are checked off. Soldiers returning from the front are met at the railway station and receive bread tickets good for their furlough.

One recent achievement of the German chemists has been the utilizing of tar oil, extracted from burned coal, for making soap. The new process includes the treatment of crude coal oil with potash,

the finished product yielding excellent soft, hard, and powdered soaps.

Life in Hamburg

The German newspaper press reveals in advertisements some facts regarding the situation. The following is given as an example of a war dinner which may be obtained in Hamburg (Hackepeter Restaurant, Reeperbahn 103):

Herring with French beans, 1.40 marks.

Haddock (boiled) with mustard sauce and sauerkraut, 1.50 marks.

Haddock (fried) with green cabbage, 2 marks.

Hare ragout, with cabbage stewed in wine, (free from meat card,) 2.20 marks.

Roast venison with red cabbage, (one-half meat card section,) 2.80 marks.

Rum grog, 60 pfennigs; red wine grog, 40 pfennigs.

Sea mussel meal prepared from living fresh mussels mixed with meat is apparently a popular dish in the sense that it is freely advertised, and there are many advertisements of salted fish and even fresh fish. This, however, is very dear; five tons of plaice, for instance, is offered at 260 marks a ton, and eighteen tons of whiting and haddock at 280 marks a ton. The price of geese is so high that it cannot be reckoned as a food for the nation at large. Thus goose breast costs 11.50 marks per pound, and goose legs 9 marks per pound. Goose fat must be a great luxury, for it is sold at 17 marks a pound. Large crammed fowls can, however, be had for 4.50 marks a pound, and ducks at 4.95 marks per pound. Hens for roasting are advertised at about \$1.25 apiece. Foods of a kind that are not as a rule eaten are freely advertised, such as salt seal meat and whale meat.

Soap is very scarce, and toilet soap costs 63 cents a piece, and cannot easily be got. Soap substitutes made of calcium carbonate are common. Fatless grease wash extracts for soap are freely advertised. Many firms find a difficulty in feeding their workers, and advertise for supplies. Very common is the advertisement, "We buy food of all kinds for workers in large quantities." One firm announces that it will buy any quantity of preserves, jams, and meat wares.

The strangest materials are being

used to produce covering for the poorer classes of Germany. Nettle wastage and raw nettles are advertised as well as woven paper for making men's clothes. Cheap costumes are made from artificial silk, and moiré material and lining are used for dresses. There are many offers in the clothing trade journals to buy waste paper, from which paper yarn is made. A textile firm advertises for horse hair of all kinds, ox-tail hair, goat hair, pigs' bristles and hair, which are to be used in its factory. The lack of raw material has caused many textile mills to close down. Waste of every kind is eagerly bought, such as metal, rags, bones, rubber, iron, paper, newspapers and books, and empty sacks, packing cases, and bottles. There are numerous advertisements due to the war which point to the use of all available resources.

Organ Pipes for Munitions

Prussian churches are being stripped of their organ pipes. Thus we find the following proclamation from the Police President in Berlin:

The proclamation of the Ober-Kommando in Brandenburg respecting the sequestration, census, and expropriation of organ "prospekt" pipes made of tin, and voluntary delivery of other tin pipes, sound-conductors, &c., belonging to organs and other musical instruments, comes into force on Jan. 10. * * *

The Police President, Berlin.

An advertisement in the Berliner Tageblatt gives instructions as to how these orders are to be carried out. In it the "prospekt" pipes are described as all those visible on the outside of an organ. The price fixed for these tin organ pipes is 6.30 marks per kilo, in addition to a payment of 35 marks by way of compensation for every organ damaged.

There is a great search after gold and jewelry, a committee having been formed for this purpose with the Crown Princess of Prussia as its patroness, and backed by the signatories of Bethmann Hollweg, Wermuth, Oberbürgermeister of Berlin, and Dr. Haverstein, President of the directorate of the Reichsbank.

It is stated that the offices of the committee are open every weekday from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. in various parts of Berlin. The price of the objects bought

is fixed by valuers. Deliverers of gold trinkets receive a written certificate, and those who offer gold chains get an iron chain at the cost of 2.50 marks, to celebrate their patriotism, or a medal. All those who offer gold objects worth at least 5 marks receive a similar medal.

In analyzing any list of advertisements it is necessary to remember that most of the necessaries of life cannot be bought without the production of official vouchers. Thus edible fat, eggs, and sugar can only be bought on production of a food book which entitles the buyers to certain quantities as per ration. This applies, of course, to all articles of food on the food ticket. Poultry, however, and game are freely sold without cards, which means that the well-to-do can still get plenty to eat. A new order forbids under heavy fine the bringing of dogs into rooms where food is kept for sale.

Cultivating Town Lots

Many advertisements appear in the agricultural papers urging the farmers to cultivate vegetables in large quantities, for a shortage of vegetables, on which the poor in the absence of meat so much depend, is feared. Building grounds in towns are being parceled out for cultivation. Thus we get the following announcement in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*:

In order to hold out more easily we are making available for the cultivation of fruit and vegetables the Maxhof estate within the town boundary of Munich, situated between Forstenried, Neuried, &c. Thirty-five minutes distant from Waldfriedhof and Solin. Since work must soon be begun it lies in the interests of the buyer to choose quickly. Owing to the bad weather during the recent holidays we retain the old price of 7½ pfennigs per square foot for Saturday and Sunday, when the ground can be viewed, &c. One-quarter plot (tagwerk) equals 850 square meters, cost 750 marks, &c.

Forstenried Garden City Co., Ltd.

Shortage of labor is a great difficulty in getting the land cultivated, and even men with artificial limbs are being used in farm work. Belgian labor is offered as if it were slave labor, if one may judge from the following advertisement in the *Magdeburgische Zeitung*:

"Thirty Belgian civilian workers are

to be disposed of during the frosty weather."

The high prices in Germany naturally encourage smuggling from Holland. The Dutch paper, *Vaderland*, declares that the smuggling trade has grown such a lucrative one in the Coevorden district that many workmen are leaving their employment to take this trade in hand. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* is informed from Zevenaar that at Didam, Bergh, Wehl, and Zevenaar more than 5,000 kilos of fat and soap have been seized from smugglers. A number of the smugglers have been caught and warrants have been issued against 200, including some Amsterdam people. The Dutch require these articles for themselves, since prices are very high in Holland.

Picture of Berlin Life

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* publishes an account of the extraordinary change in the appearance and life of Berlin. It is only lately that Berlin has really altered its character—since the shops shut at 7, the houses at 9, the theatres at 10, and the restaurants and cafés at 11:30, while practically all the street cars stop at midnight, and the population, adapting itself to circumstances, really goes to bed early. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* gives the following picture:

"Without any exaggeration, Berlin has become a different city. For every town the new restrictions mean much, but for Berlin they mean everything. In other places people were active, but in Berlin they were creative. Here was the new Germany, the new Europe. The manifold activities, the vitality have gone, and all that remains is war, victory, and peace. Although the individual artist, merchant, or professor may still have his ideas and pursue them in secret, Berlin as a whole is waiting, breathless, silent, tame, but burning for the moment when she can again pursue her innumerable purposes with the old eagerness and a new impulse. That is the characteristic of intellectual and scientific Berlin—waiting for the new moment, the new time. * * * The streets are now quieter by day and empty in the evening. Life is a provisorium. One sees few

taxicabs, and notices more and more the scarcity of vehicles generally and in many cases of personnel. The women are beginning to dominate the sphere of work, doing everything on their own responsibility. * * * We have our own army of occupation, since whole rows of houses are taken up by the new War Bureaus and the countless subordinate departments which are carrying out the national organization. What was called 'shopping' has stopped. Since everything is rationed, shopping due to fancy, luxury, or boredom—in other words, women's shopping—has ceased."

The article goes on to say that the theatres are full, but that, except in the lowest class of revues, the plays have little to do with the war. People have become quiet and introspective, and hostesses are acquiring the habit of reciting poetry to their guests.

The Berliner Tageblatt on March 7 announced that the suspension of all beer brewing in Northern Germany was imminent. This action was due to the desire to save Indian corn for bread and malt to take the place of coffee.

At a conference in Vienna March 3, attended by Cabinet Ministers, Governors of Provinces, Burgomasters, and several Parliamentary Deputies, Premier Count Clam-Martinic announced that the Minister of Finance was about to put into operation measures to provide food-stuffs for the poorer classes at considerably reduced prices.

Bread Cards in France

Announcement that bread cards would be instituted in France to prevent waste was made March 1, 1917, in an official communication issued by Edouard Herriot, Minister of Provisions. The announcement says:

"To avoid wastage, the Minister of Provisions has decided to regulate the consumption of bread by instituting cards. Instructions will be given to the Prefects of the different departments to put the new regulation into effect."

It developed in a debate in Paris that the wheat acreage of France was reduced about 800,000 by the invasion, out of a total of 16,250,000, while the deficiency for 1917 is estimated at 5,500,-

000 acres, of which 500,000, at least, is expected to be made up by Spring seeding of Manitoba wheat, which, it is now conceded, will grow successfully in French soil.

To increase the wheat acreage it is necessary to raise the maximum selling price from an equivalent of \$1.85 to \$2.25 per bushel, and also to intensify the use of modern motor implements and a greater number of prisoners of war, of whom only 35,000 have been employed on farms.

Russia also is suffering serious privation, aggravated by a serious breakdown in its transportation and distributing systems. News dispatches before the recent revolution told of food riots in Moscow and Petrograd, but the censorship was so strict that no details were allowed to filter through. Food riots in Petrograd, indeed, were a direct cause of the downfall of the Czar's Government. Those who know most concerning the internal situation in Russia declare that starvation still faces large numbers of the poor throughout that country.

Scarcity in Great Britain

There is a great scarcity of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is stated that the available stock will be entirely exhausted by May 1, unless there is a material reduction in consumption. The measures taken to increase the British food supply by restricting the importation of non-essentials are given in detail elsewhere. Among the new regulations in London is the establishing of one meatless day at all clubs. The prices of bacon, butter, cheese, and lard are regulated. A reliable observer says under date of March 8:

"All over the United Kingdom men and women are, in advance of mandatory legislation, limiting their food consumption, reducing the use of meat, of sugar, of all the things that are supplied by seaborne freights. Britain is getting ready to stand siege; millions of British subjects recognize that the cost of victory in the great struggle may be scarcity at home such as has not been known in modern times in England.

"In the restaurants and hotels only

two courses are served for luncheon and three for dinner. And nothing is more impressive than the fashion in which people are submitting to that sort of regulation.

"The time has not come when there is an actual and visible shortage of food-stuffs in England. There is no starvation and there is no evidence of that very general underfeeding which all witnesses agree is so unmistakable in Germany. Britain is not yet hungry, but Britons are taking every step to avoid possible famine hereafter by making meagre now."

Deprivations of Neutrals

The war years have doubled prices of many necessities in all lands, and the suffering in the neutral countries of Europe is almost as acute as that in the belligerent nations. Reports from the Scandinavian countries and Holland tell of serious want owing to the submarine blockade. Sweden has not enough grain to last until the next harvest, and Norway has still less than Sweden.

Holland suffered a severe blow in the torpedoing of six Government grain ships by German submarines, followed by a virtual paralysis of all overseas traffic. There has been some modification of the sea lanes open to Holland, but the food

shortage continues acute. The Dutch Government found itself compelled, owing to this situation, to prohibit the exportation of bread to Belgium after March 10, 1917.

Switzerland has two meatless days a week, and must limit its egg consumption, according to a measure promulgated by the Bundesrat at Berne on Feb. 23. In order to conserve the milk supply the sale of whipped cream is forbidden in all public places. The same provision forbids the giving of more than 15 grams of sugar with a tea or coffee order and limits the quantity of sugar which may be used for frostings. Butter may be served only at breakfast or at meals at which no meat or egg dishes are supplied and may no longer be used with cheese. The use of eggs in making pastry is prohibited.

The United States has not escaped its share of the war's effects. In New York City late in February there were riots in the congested districts over the high prices of food and considerable excitement prevailed for some days. Many tons of food were purchased at distant points by municipal committees and sold in New York at cost. After a week of excitement the food supply increased, prices dropped and the flurry subsided.



WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[AMERICAN VIEW]

Germans and Turks in Retreat

Period from February 15 to March 17, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

DURING the past month only two theatres of war have been at all active—the front in France and the Near East. The others have remained in the grip of an unusually long Winter, which, while it has permitted sporadic outbursts of short duration, has effectually prevented any sustained movements. But in these two theatres the Allies have achieved the greatest successes of the last two years.

On the French front the ground has not hardened after the melting of the Winter snows, but the British have maintained a consistent pressure which the Germans have not seemed able to hold back. Continuing their success at Grandcourt, which they took last month, the British were pushing slowly up along the railroad that runs from Albert to Achiet le Grand and thence to Arras. The Germans gave ground stubbornly for a while, and then an unexpected thing happened. The entire southern side of the German salient began to retreat, slowly and in good order, with apparently small loss. The German official reports failed to mention this retreat for days, and the British reports were none too definite in regard to it. For sometime the whole affair remained clouded in mystery.

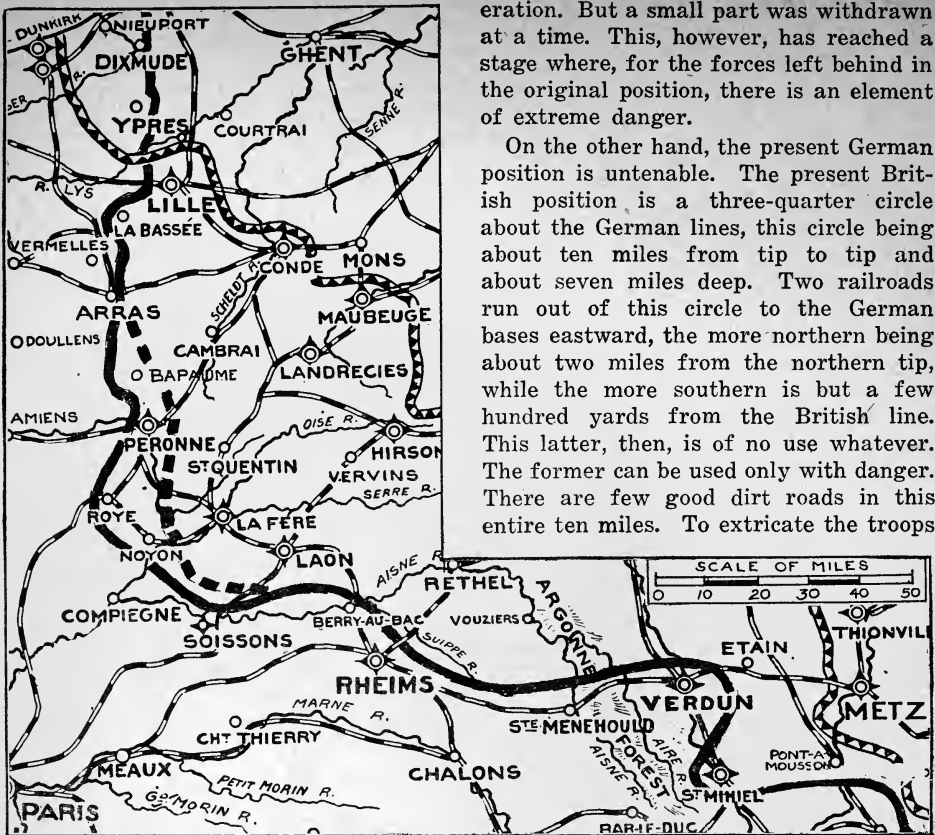
Apparently the British were taken by surprise, and were afraid of some sort of trap. Their advance, therefore, was slow, as if they were feeling their way forward. The Germans were equally wary in their retreat. They left behind them, as the main forces retired, strong posts armed with machine guns lest the retreat be turned into a rout. A number of strong positions were given up. Even the railroad junction at Achiet le Grand

was permitted to come directly under fire of the British artillery through the occupation by the British of Achiet le Petit. As many of the roads over which the retreat had to be made were covered by the British artillery the German loss must have been considerable; but, notwithstanding some press reports of a rout, there was not the slightest indication that the withdrawal was otherwise than orderly and in complete control.

The retreat carried the British lines up to the outskirts of Bapaume, the first of the objectives for which the battle of the Somme was begun. Here the Germans made a stand. But the British immediately shifted the point of pressure and attacked along the Bapaume-Péronne road against the Woods of St. Pierre Vaast near Saille-Saillisel. They captured these woods, and, pushing their lines well forward both to the north and south, went well to the east of the Bapaume position, outflanking it and accentuating the danger of an attack from the south. On the morning of March 17 Bapaume was captured by the British, while the French took Roye and Lassigny.

Abandoning the Whole Salient

This German retreat is evidently the beginning of a retirement from the whole of what might be termed the Ancre salient. That it has not progressed more rapidly is evidence of the extreme care which must be exercised in a retrograde movement when enemy pressure is constant and where contact is never for a moment lost. The Germans have, of course, vast stores of ammunition in their endless series of dugouts, and this must be moved. Not a little of it has fallen into British hands. This was un-



THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE OLD FRONT. THE DOTTED LINE FROM ARRAS TO SOISSONS THE NEW POSITION GAINED BY THE ALLIES UP TO MARCH 20, 1917

avoidable, and will be the case whenever such a movement takes place, but, relatively, the amount is small. This necessity of removing ammunition is going to be a source of much trouble to the Germans as they retire, as it must and will subject them to much greater punishment than would otherwise be the case. The fewer the roads, too, over which this can be moved, the greater is going to be the danger of disaster, at least as far as ammunition is concerned. And this difficulty is present now even to a greater degree than before.

The Germans did not and could not retire from the entire salient position at one operation. The line here, with its sinuosities, was about fifteen miles long. Had a retirement on any such front been attempted British pressure would have ruined the movement as a tactical op-

eration. But a small part was withdrawn at a time. This, however, has reached a stage where, for the forces left behind in the original position, there is an element of extreme danger.

On the other hand, the present German position is untenable. The present British position is a three-quarter circle about the German lines, this circle being about ten miles from tip to tip and about seven miles deep. Two railroads run out of this circle to the German bases eastward, the more northern being about two miles from the northern tip, while the more southern is but a few hundred yards from the British line. This latter, then, is of no use whatever. The former can be used only with danger. There are few good dirt roads in this entire ten miles. To extricate the troops

which still hold the northwestern corner of the old salient position can only be accomplished at a considerable sacrifice of material and great loss of men. And yet this must be given up. There is scarcely a foot of all this territory which is not under fire of the British guns from practically all directions. As trenches cannot at the same time face more than one way, it is impossible that they can furnish adequate protection. The Germans are therefore in trouble, no matter what their choice may be.

Causes of Retirement

The movements of the past month are in themselves a sufficient answer to the assertion that to get the Germans out of France it will be necessary to drive them out foot by foot for the whole distance. Clever strategy can frequently,

even in trench warfare, put an enemy in a position where a retirement is his only salvation, even though infantry may never have to go into action to effect it. This is what the British have done on the Somme.

As to the reasons for the German retirement, the Germans have been very silent except to state that it was a strategic retreat. This is, of course, meaningless, as every retreat is properly so characterized. The British have in like manner had but little to say of it. One thing we may be certain of: It was dictated by necessity, not through choice. This necessity may have been either of two things. As I have said, the British pressure was becoming more and more severe, and the trap was slowly being drawn tighter and tighter about the German lines. If these forces did not retire soon there was a possibility that they would not be able to retire at all, but must surrender. Another question was the shortage of men. There can be no doubt that this question is causing not a little embarrassment. The Central Powers are outnumbered on all fronts two to one, and are outgunned and outgeneraled on the western front. As it is possible to increase the number of men per mile of line only by shortening the line, this must be done. The eastern line cannot, from its very nature, be shortened without grave sacrifice of territory. Therefore this operation must take place in the west. In either case it bespeaks a German emergency.

Just how far the German retirement will extend no one, of course, can say. Since the rain broke up the battle of the Somme last Fall the Germans have had plenty of time to prepare in rear of their present lines a strong line of defense, just as strong, in fact, as was their original line when the storm on the Somme broke. It is equally certain that they have taken advantage of the opportunity. It is to this line that they are retiring, and they will halt when it is reached, not before.

The remainder of the western front has shown an uneasiness, reflecting possibly the action north of the Somme. This has shown itself on both sides of the

Oise north of the Aisne and in the Champagne district. Both of these sections of the line are of importance in the possibilities they present. The former threatens the Noyons salient as well as the entire Aisne line by flanking it, the latter the same line from the other end by threatening the railroad communications. A successful operation against the road between Challerange and Bazancourt would place the German line in an unenviable position as far as supplies are concerned.

The Turkish Reverses

In the Near East events have been much more determinative, and at this time it is not too much to say that Turkey is in grave danger of being forced into a separate peace. The British, operating along the Tigris River from the head of the Persian Gulf, have conducted one of the most brilliant individual moves of the war. Here the fighting has been wide open, trench warfare has not appeared, and, because of the mobility of the forces engaged, strategy has borne a much more prominent part than in the western fighting. It is not a question in this territory only or even principally of the mechanics of war. It is a question of the brilliancy of the individual commander.

The British here have made the most expert use of their cavalry through a series of well-planned and skillfully executed movements against the Turkish line of communications along the river. As fast as the Turks would halt and endeavor to make a stand, the British cavalry, operating on the western bank of the Tigris, where the ground is high and excellently adapted to cavalry work, would strike behind them and force a retreat. As the Tigris is the only line of communications the Turks possessed in this country of few roads, a retreat was in every case inevitable.

Position after position was turned in this way, until, after a most rapid advance, Bagdad fell into British hands. At this writing the British have pushed fifty miles beyond the City of the Caliphs, and the Turks are still in retreat. In addition the British are striking out

along the road from Bagdad to Teheran, along which the Russians are advancing rapidly. The Turks are therefore in a trap, which, if they do not move quickly, they will not be able to escape. The Turkish Army before the British is in a state of almost complete demoralization. It has lost the greater part of its artillery and ammunition, has suffered heavily in prisoners, and many of the men have thrown their arms into the Tigris as they fled. Indeed, the rate of the British advance, which was unbelievably rapid, tells its own story of the condition of the Turkish Army.

Further east, in Persia, the Russians are having a similar experience. The Turkish Army in Persia, alarmed at the possibility of having its line of retreat cut off by the advancing British, has offered but feeble resistance to the Russians, who have definitely broken the enemy's line and are hurrying westward toward the Turko-Persian frontier. Their rate of advance is as great as that of the British. The Turkish force is in vital danger. The British are squarely across their main line of retreat, and to get away at all they will have to break over the mountains and pass through the gap between the Russian and the British Army—which gap is steadily narrowing.

Less than 150 miles now separates these two forces, so that the danger to the Turks of capture or destruction is ap-

parent. There seems no possibility of the Turks offering any organized resistance to either force until Mosul is reached. At Bagdad they had in their rear the Bagdad railway, and also naturally had stored up in Bagdad a large quantity of materials of war of all kinds. It was indeed the main base from which they were working. If with all these advantages they were unable to halt the British advance for more than two days, it is evident that their power of resistance has been broken.

Aside from the military situation created by these successes, the political situation will be even more prolific of danger to the Turk. Syria and Arabia are waiting only for the opportunity to break loose from the Sultan's dominion and set up independent States. The initial steps have already been taken by Arabia, so that it may be truly said that the disruption of the empire has begun.

Further to the west we have also seen during the month an incident of no little importance. That is the British advance along the coast of the Holy Land to the Dead Sea. This is the beginning of a threat against Adana and Aleppo. There are along this line considerable German forces which will probably make the going harder than it is further east. But the significance of the general pressure against the Turks on every front is not to be lost.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Politico-Military Events of the Month

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Maps on Pages 28 and 45]

THE development of the war situation during the month ending about the middle of March has been confined chiefly to politico-military events. While upon the main theatres of war on the European Continent subdued thunder continues to herald the approach of a new storm, and while the purely military interest centres upon the new mobility

of warfare in the Near East, the entire political situation of the world has become mobile. The subjoined discussion is to deal with the two principal political events of the period just past: the American declaration of a state of armed neutrality and the Russian revolution.

As regards the declaration of "armed neutrality" on the part of the United

DR. PAUL RITTER



Swiss Ambassador to the United States, Who Now Looks
After German Interests at Washington

(Photo Central News Service)

COUNT TARNOWSKI VON TARNOW



New Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Whose Recognition
Has Been Delayed by the Submarine Issue

States, directed against Germany, it must be made clear from the outset that neutrality, as far as its correct definition is concerned, knows no limitation. Neutrality constitutes the relationship between two States "qui neutrarum sunt," that is, which participate on no side. Strictly speaking, it is, therefore, paradoxical for any neutral to incline benevolently toward one party while toward the other party it takes up an expectantly aggressive position, as, for instance, by arming. In either case neutrality, strictly speaking, has ceased.

The development of the law of nations has, however, modified the conception of neutrality. Thus we hear today of "absolute" or "strict" neutrality, and of "partial" neutrality. The latter includes, in the first place, the inclination toward one of two belligerent parties by any sort of assistance. That is "benevolent" (*bienveillante*) neutrality. Second, there is the conception of "armed neutrality," which takes effect as soon as a neutral State announces that, in order to safeguard its position as a neutral, or to protect its interests from the acts of a belligerent, it will itself resort to the force of arms.

A Historic Instance

The conception of "armed neutrality" found its most pregnant and practical demonstration during the American war of independence. On Jan. 1, 1780, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal concluded a treaty of armed neutrality for the protection and defense of peaceful commercial intercourse.

The fact that this neutrality treaty was directed primarily against England's arbitrary acts at sea shows that England even then disregarded the rights of neutrals and violated their interests. This treaty led to Spain's declaration of war against England and to England's declaration of war on Holland.

Prussia at that time maintained a policy of benevolent neutrality toward the Colonies in their war of independence. Frederick the Great forbade the march through Prussian territory of Hessian auxiliary troops hired by the English, thus delaying the arrival of

these troops in America and resulting in great benefit to the fighters for liberty.

Neither benevolent neutrality nor armed neutrality is regarded nowadays as a discontinuance of peace. Both constitute an attitude, not an act of participation in the war.

The next step after a declaration of such a neutrality, if circumstances bring the two nations toward actual hostilities, is the declaration of a "state of war." Even that does not necessarily lead to war itself. At any rate, however, armed neutrality is a ticklish proposition, for the declaration of such a state shows a high degree of tension between the neutral and the belligerent in question.

The crisis between the United States and Germany has been caused by the declaration and enforcement of the German unrestricted U-boat warfare in the barred zones.

The German submarine blockade has a dual purpose. England is to be forced into a mood receptive for peace by the interception of her supplies, and the great offensive movements of the Allies predicted for Spring are to be deprived, by the blockade of the sea routes, of the means for their execution, that is, men and munitions.

Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the British Admiralty, on Feb. 21, and Premier Lloyd George two days later, admitted that the U-boat menace had assumed ominous proportions and created a serious situation. For the first time the gravity of the U-boat's economic menace to England was thus admitted by English statesmen.

From the military point of view, the second purpose of the German submarine war, that of cutting the Allies off from further overseas supply of death-dealing weapons and war material, is the more important one. In the second phase of the U-boat war, which is to be devoted to the materialization of this aim, it will be seen whether the submarine is to prove an effective means of war.

Through the declaration of armed neutrality on the part of the United States, which presupposes the eventuality of a state of war, the entire U-boat question has been taken out of its coherence with

the European war and placed under the wider perspective of world politics. For a war between the United States and Germany would be bound to develop into a struggle between Anglo-Saxons and Teutons.

Events in Mesopotamia

To the world-political considerations belong also the events on the Mesopotamian theatre of war, where on Sunday, March 11, the Anglo-Indian army under General Maude occupied the ancient city of Bagdad.

The name of Bagdad constitutes a political conception. This conception was shattered a year ago by the British catastrophe at Kut-el-Amara. The political conception of Bagdad forms one of the principal aims of the Central Powers, for the City of the Caliphs is to be the bulwark and the centre of economic expansion in the Near East.

In December of last year the British under General Maude reopened the Mesopotamian campaign. Stubborn battles for the possession of Kut-el-Amara followed. On Feb. 28, 1917, Kut was occupied by the British. The Turks retreated to the north. On March 5 Lajij fell, and the next day the victors passed the town of Ctesiphon, evacuated by the Turks. On March 7 the battles on the Diala River began, eight miles from Bagdad. On March 11 the Anglo-Indian troops entered Bagdad. They have since reached a point eighteen miles north of the city.

After the capitulation of Kut-el-Amara by General Townshend, the then British Commander, it was said in allied quarters that now the Russians would enter Mesopotamia and cut off the Turkish retreat. The Russians had taken Erzerum and Trebizond and had advanced in Persia. Isfahan, Persia's second capital, had been conquered by them and the Turks had been driven from Kasri-Shirin to Chanykin, on the Mesopotamian frontier, 150 kilometers from Bagdad.

But after the victorious conclusion of the Turkish campaign against the British, strong Turkish forces were released. These turned on the Russians and drove them as far as Hamadan.

Now the Russians have reopened the

Persian campaign. On March 13 Kermanshah was occupied by the Muscovites, and on the following day the Turks were driven from fortified positions on the summit of Narlehtian, west of Kermanshah.

The Turkish War Minister, Enver Pasha, returning from the theatre of operations in Mesopotamia, informed the Turkish Parliament that the retreats on the Mesopotamian and Persian fronts were dictated by "military considerations." This can only mean that the retreating movements are made in accordance with a previously arranged fixed plan and for the realization of certain strategic aims.

Nevertheless, it would be playing the part of the ostrich were one to shut his eyes to the actual significance of the fall of Bagdad. From the military standpoint the conception "prestige" is a completely illusory thing. The fact that the British through the surrender of General Townshend's army and Kut-el-Amara in April of last year lost prestige in Egypt and India did not prevent their occupation in March of this year of the city of Harun-al-Rashid. That the Turks have lost prestige by the fall of Bagdad by no means precludes the possibility of a recapture of the city.

At Bagdad, so say pro-ally sympathizers, a dream to which Germany has devoted twenty years, has been shattered. The fact that the "terminus of the Bagdad Railway" has fallen into British hands, it is added, bars the German road to the East. And in the ears of the Orient sounds the deathknell of German ambitions. Because an open and completely undefended city has fallen, therefore this gigantic work of civilization is to collapse! Can a handful of Indian divisions stem the logical tide of world history?

Whether the Turks recapture Bagdad or no, Mesopotamia remains an incidental theatre of war. The final fate of the Bagdad Railway, and with it that of the two-river-land, is to be decided upon the main theatres of war on the European Continent.

Preparations for that decision are still

in full swing. The calm before the storm begins to become uncanny. It is as if again and again the new armor is tested before the swords are once more drawn, this time for the final decision.

Retirement in France

The retirement of the German troops in the Ancre and Somme regions on the west front had begun in the beginning of February with the evacuation of Grandcourt, south of the Ancre. Through the events of March 16, 17, and 18 not only the Gommecourt-Transloy front but also the lines north and south of the Somme were pushed ahead by the British for a considerable distance.

In a British advance on a width of sixty-seven kilometers from north to south, Bapaume and Péronne were taken and north and south of the Ancre more than sixty villages were occupied. During the twenty-four hours preceding this writing the British pushed their extreme southern front forward an additional fifteen kilometers by occupying the triangle Péronne-Chaulnes-Nesle.

Simultaneously, a German retirement has set in on the line Roye-Noyon, which adjoins the Somme front. The French advanced on a front of thirty kilometers between the Avre and the Oise, and have occupied both Roye and Noyon as well as the roads connecting these two points. North of the Ancre front the Germans are withdrawing as far north as Arras.

Along the whole front of retirement only German rearguards were in fighting contact with the Franco-British forces. Berlin reports that these troops inflicted heavy losses upon the advancing foe.

Even the English military experts describe the German withdrawal as a long-prepared strategic chess move. It is to be expected that the Germans will fall back upon the line Soissons-Lille. The entire systematically executed movement points to the strong probability that the Germans will remain on the defensive in the west.

The Mystery at Petrograd

The military outlook on the east front, where the great decision also is expected

to be fought for, is veiled by the historic event of the Russian revolution.

Who was it that in the night of March 11 to 12 gave orders to the garrison of Petrograd to fraternize with the revolutionists? What happened in the great Russian Army Headquarters during the absence of Czar Nicholas immediately after the outbreak of the revolution?

These two questions comprise the military considerations. They cast significant light upon the question as to what influence the upheaval in Russia will have upon the development of the war situation. Efforts are made today to make the world believe that the soldiery, out of softness of heart, sympathized with the starving populace. The streets of Petrograd have seen many curious things, but such sympathy—from that quarter—never.

Who led the garrison on the side of the rebels? In addition to the political revolution against Czardom there must have been a military conspiracy against the person of the Czar, and this conspiracy must have decisive influence upon the outcome of the war.

The Czar was at the front, about to consult with his Generals at army headquarters. There, at headquarters, and not in the streets of Petrograd, was the die cast, and the only question is whether the military conspiracy included the army in the field. If this is the case, then the future outlook as viewed in connection with the garrisons at home offers the following main points:

1. The war party takes over full control of the conduct of military operations.
2. It is forced to appeal once more to the fortunes of arms.
3. In this event a new great offensive on the east front is to be expected in the near future.

The military revolution must bring victory, and the political revolution must still the hunger of the masses. The development of the situation at home and at the front will depend upon the question whether the new power will be able to sharpen the weapons and satisfy the stomachs.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From February 18, Up to and Including March 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Germany released the Yarrowdale prisoners and five American Consuls that were detained after Ambassador Gerard left the country.

A note from the German Foreign Secretary, Dr. Zimmermann, to the German Minister in Mexico, dated Jan. 19, contained a proposal for an alliance between Germany, Mexico, and Japan to make war on the United States if the United States should not remain neutral. The Governments of Japan and Mexico formally denied ever having received the note. Its authenticity was admitted by Dr. Zimmermann.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Feb. 26, and asked for authority to supply armament to American merchant ships and to employ any other instrumentality that might be needed to protect American ships and people in their legitimate pursuit on the sea. He also asked for a sufficient credit to enable him to provide adequate means of protection. The armed neutrality bill was introduced at once. It was passed by the House, but the Senate, through the filibustering of eleven Senators, failed to reach a vote before the Congress expired March 4. President Wilson on March 9 announced his decision to arm American ships, and called Congress in extra session for April 16.

Several American lives were lost during the month as a result of Germany's submarine campaign. Robert Allen Haden, a Presbyterian missionary, was drowned when the French steamer Athos, used as a troopship, was sunk. Two Americans were reported lost on the British bark Galgorm Castle. The Cunard liner Laconia was sunk Feb. 25, and two American women, Mrs. Mary Hoy and her daughter, perished in an open boat. On March 14 the American steamship Algonquin with Americans in her crew was attacked and sunk without warning. All on board escaped in lifeboats. The sinking of three American ships, the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia, was reported on March 18. Fifteen men perished.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The British Government announced that summaries of shipping losses from submarines would be published weekly instead of daily. The report of the Board of Trade issued March 14 announced that from Feb. 1 to March 11 three American ships, fifty-one vessels belonging to other neutral nations, and 156 British ships had been sunk. The losses of other belligerent

nations were reported as "indefinite." This list included the French troopship Athos, Belgian relief ships Storstad and Lars Fostenes, and the Cunard liner Laconia. The American ship Algonquin was sunk March 14 and three other American ships were reported sunk March 18.

Holland's indignation at the sinking of seven Dutch food ships that had sailed under partial guarantee of safety led Germany to offer to replace them with German freighters on condition that Holland purchase the German vessels at the close of the war. Later Germany withdrew this offer, fearing that England would seize the ships.

The Allies presented a memorandum to the Chinese Government expressing sympathy with the attitude that China had taken in regard to Germany's blockade and promising favorable consideration of the question of suspension during the war of Boxer indemnity payments and the revision of the tariff in the event of China's effectively severing relations with Germany and Austria. On March 4 the Chinese Cabinet voted to break relations, but President Li Yuan-Hung refused to approve the action, saying that the sole power rested with him, and Premier Chi-Jui and several members of the Cabinet resigned. On March 7 the President asked the Premier to return and offered to ratify the Cabinet's proposal. The Senate, on March 12, approved the severance of relations, and on March 14 the break was announced, the German Ambassador and Consuls were handed their passports, and German-owned ships in the Harbor of Shanghai were seized.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Feb. 20—Russians check German raid in the region of Slaventine, northwest of Podgast.

Feb. 27—Germans make gas attacks on the Russians in the Smorgon region.

March 3—Germans penetrate Russian lines west of Lutsk on a wide front.

March 12—Russians repel gas attacks southwest of Lakparotch in the Zanarotch-Stahootsy sector and in the region of Velitzk, southeast of Kovel.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 22—Allies establish contact between French and Italian troops and clear the enemy forces from the road between Goritza in Southern Albania and Leskovie; postal communication between Athens and the Central Powers cut; Teutons on the

Rumanian front repulsed near Dorna Watra.

March 2—Germans recapture hill near Rekoza north of the River Zaval.

March 13—Vienna War Office reports skirmishes northeast of Berat in Albania, revealing the presence there of Italian troops.

March 17—British occupy the railroad station at Poroy east of Doiran Lake.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Feb. 19—Artillery active on both banks of the Meuse; patrol encounters in Alsace.

Feb. 20—British fail in attack on German lines near Messines, Belgium; Germans capture British point of support near Le Transloy.

Feb. 21—British penetrate German front near Ypres and Armentières and do great damage.

Feb. 23—British capture German trench north of Guedecourt and advance near Petit Miraumont.

Feb. 24—British enter Petit Miraumont and gain on a mile and a half front north of the river.

Feb. 25—British occupy Serre, Miraumont, Petit Miraumont, and Pys.

Feb. 26—British continue advance along the Ancre on a front of eleven miles; Germans abandon Warlencourt-Eaucourt and the Butte de Warlencourt.

Feb. 27—British occupy Ligny and capture the village of Le Barque.

Feb. 28—British occupy Gommecourt and capture Thillooy and Pulsieux-au-Mont.

March 1—British advance 600 yards north of Miraumont on a front of a mile and a half.

March 2—Germans make a stand on a new line from Essarts through Achiet-le-Petit to about 1,000 yards southeast of Bapaume; British report further progress north of Warlencourt-Eaucourt and northwest of Puisieux.

March 3—British advance on five-mile front northwest of Bapaume; General Haig takes over French line as far south as the Avre River.

March 4—British again advance west of Bapaume and capture German front and support lines east of Bouchavesnes.

March 5—Germans launch big attack at Verdun, gaining at some points.

March 6—French hold recaptured trenches north of Caurières Wood and Douaumont in the face of strong German attacks.

March 7—French in Champagne capture salient between Butte de Mesnil and Maison de Champagne.

March 10—British advance more than three miles in the Ancre region and capture Irlès; French repulse violent German assaults in the Champagne.

March 12—French in Champagne recapture all trenches of Hill 185 west of Maison de Champagne Farm; British gain slightly north of Bouchavesnes.

March 13—Germans abandon their main defensive system west of Bapaume on a front of three and a half miles; British occupy Grevillers and Loupart Wood.

March 14—British advance on the Ancre and reach the defenses before Bapaume; French capture Romainville Farm, close to St. Mihiel.

March 15—British capture two and a half miles of German trenches between Bapaume and Péronne; French gain near Roye; Germans capture a position south of Cumières.

March 16—British occupy almost all of St. Pierre Vaast Wood; French advance on both sides of the Avre from Andechy to south of Lassigny.

March 17—British take Bapaume; French capture Roye and Lassigny and advance five miles, occupying fortified line between the Avre and the Oise Rivers.

March 18—Germans retire on 85-mile line in France, abandoning Péronne, Chaulnes, Nesle, and Noyon; line of Allies' advance extends from Arras to Soissons, to a depth of twelve miles; sixty villages recaptured; Germans on the Meuse fail in attack on Chambrettes Farm.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 27—Italians enter Austrian trenches on the northern slopes of San Marco.

March 5—Italians successfully storm Austrian positions in the upper part of the Spellegrino Valley in the Avisio district.

March 12—Italians repulse Austrian attacks northeast of Lenzumo in the Trentino and against the southern slopes of Cima di Bocche in the Travignolo Valley.

ASIA MINOR

Feb. 23—British in the Tigris region capture two lines of trenches near Sannaiyat.

Feb. 25—British cross the Tigris at the Shumran bend in the rear of Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 26—British take Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 28—British engage Turks on three sides at a point on the left bank of the Tigris over thirty miles northwest of Kut.

March 3—Russians recapture Hamadan in Persia and advance toward Bagdad as British approach the city from the south.

March 4—Russians advance in the Bijar region in Persia and occupy Khanikal.

March 7—Advance guards of the British Army approach Jerusalem; Russians in Persia seize Asadabad summit.

March 8—British advance to within eight miles of Bagdad, find Ctesiphon evacuated; Russians in Persia occupy Kangaver.

March 9—Two Bedouin tribes join the British, who reach the outskirts of Bagdad; Russians reach Sakkiz, twenty-five miles from the Mesopotamian border.

March 10—British troops engage the Turks on the Diala River line, six miles below Bagdad; Russians capture the town of Senne in Western Persia.

March 11—British occupy Bagdad; Russians

take Sahna in Northwestern Persia and pursue Turks toward Bisitun.

March 13—British occupy Kazimain, five miles above Bagdad.

March 14—British advance thirty miles beyond Bagdad; Russians capture Kernanshah.

March 16—British occupy part of the town of Bakubah; Russians dislodge Turks from fortified positions on the summit of Narleshkian.

March 18—Russians capture Van, and sweep on in Persia over a wide front, occupying Baneh.

AERIAL RECORD

German aviators bombarded a Serbian hospital at Vertekop, causing heavy loss of life. Two English nurses were among those killed.

Air duels have been frequent on the western front, as many as eleven and thirteen machines being brought down on some days.

Broadstairs was bombarded by a German airplane and one woman killed.

Zeppelins raided the southeastern counties of England on the night of March 16. One machine was brought down by the French near Compiègne on its return flight, and the crew of thirty were killed.

NAVAL RECORD

German destroyers bombarded Broadstairs and Margate on the British coast Feb. 26.

The Russian cruiser Rurik was damaged by a mine in the Gulf of Finland.

On Feb. 28 the French torpedo boat destroyer Cassini was destroyed by a submarine in the Mediterranean.

RUSSIA

As a result of a popular revolution the Romanoff dynasty was overthrown. On March 8 strikes were declared in several

munitions factories and riots occurred in the streets of Petrograd because of a shortage of food. These disturbances were quelled, but only temporarily. On March 12 the Czar issued imperial ukases suspending the sittings of the Duma and the Council of the Empire. The Duma opposed the order and continued its sittings. A three days' revolt followed, which resulted in the abdication of the Czar on March 15 and the establishment of a Liberal Ministry headed by Prince Lvoff. The Czar's younger brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, was named as regent. He also abdicated, and plans have been made for the convocation of a constituent assembly and full political amnesty. The new Foreign Minister, Paul Milukoff, in a message to Russian diplomats abroad, announced that Russia would fight with the Allies until the end of the war.

MISCELLANEOUS

The United States Government received from Austria-Hungary a reply to a note inquiring concerning Austria's attitude toward the renewal of ruthless submarine warfare. Austria defended the barred zone and said that safety could not be guaranteed to neutrals in enemy vessels. Austria also sent a message to the United States denying that the schooner Lyman M. Law was torpedoed by an Austrian submarine.

The entire Briand Ministry resigned in France, following the resignation of General Lyautey as Minister of War after a stormy debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the desirability of discussing the aviation service. President Poincaré asked M. Ribot to form a new Cabinet, after M. Deschanel had refused to undertake the task.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURATION

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON took the oath of office for his second term at the National Capitol at noon March 5, 1917, in the presence of 50,000 people. He had previously gone through the formality of taking the oath at noon on Sunday, March 4. The parade was not as long as usual, consisting of about 20,000 soldiers and sailors. There was no inauguration ball, and a general air of solemnity marked the whole occasion on account of the critical international situation. The President was very care-

fully guarded, but no untoward incident marred the occasion. The inaugural address was short and referred chiefly to international affairs. Striking portions of the address follow:

We stand firm in armed neutrality, since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. * * *

We are provincials no longer. The tragic events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed

have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance.

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege.

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power.

That Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations.

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms.

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety.

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other States should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

* * *

CHINA BREAKS WITH GERMANY

ON March 14 Paul Reinsch, American Minister at Peking, reported to the State Department at Washington that China had severed diplomatic relations with Germany and that the German envoy had been handed his passports. Chinese feeling against Germany dates from 1897, when, because of the murder of two German missionaries, Germany seized the east coast of the province of Shan-tung, an area of about 200 square miles; this animosity was greatly increased by the conduct of German troops during the Boxer expedition of 1900. Immediately on breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, China seized six

German ships in Chinese ports, following the precedent of Portugal.

The history of the break is as follows: On March 4 the Chinese Cabinet definitely voted to sever relations, but President Li Yuan-Hung refused to act, on the ground that the power to break relations was his alone. The Cabinet resigned and withdrew to Tien-tsin, returning only when the President yielded. On March 10 the President and his Cabinet appeared before the House of Parliament and asked approval of a severance of relations, which was granted by a vote of 431 to 87. The Chinese Senate later concurred. Definite invitations to China to join the Entente have been made but have not yet been acted on.

The immediate effect of China's severance of relations will probably be a greatly increased output of munitions for Russia. China is Japan's source of iron and has provided most of the raw material for Russian munitions made in Japan. China has further sent over 100,000 workmen to Russia and France, to work in munition factories, and the torpedoing of liners carrying these is the immediate cause of the break.

* * *

BETHMANN'S LIBERAL SPEECH

AN episode full of profound significance occurred in the Prussian Diet on March 14, when the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, announced in the course of debate his firm adherence to a progressive political faith and his firm faith in a broader democracy after the war. His words were as follows:

After the war we shall be confronted with the most gigantic tasks that ever confronted a nation. They will be so gigantic that the entire people will have to work to solve them. A strong foreign policy will be necessary, for we shall be surrounded by enemies whom we shall not meet with loud words, but with the internal strength of the nation. We can only pursue such a policy if the patriotism which during the war has developed to such a marvelous reality is maintained and strengthened.

Woe to the statesman who does not recognize the signs of the times and who, after this catastrophe, the like of which the world has never seen, believes that he can take up

his work at the same point at which it was interrupted.

He used the phrase "Equal rights and participation for all in the work of the State." This is construed to foreshadow a complete reformation in the German electoral system, and equal suffrage. It has been hinted that the speech was a result of the great events that were occurring in Russia and in anticipation of a possible Social Democratic uprising in Germany. The German Socialist organ commented on the speech with some skepticism and warned the Chancellor that he must keep faith.

* * *

NEW CABINET IN FRANCE

THE Briand Cabinet resigned March 17 on account of criticisms in the Chamber, Minister of War Lyautey having previously resigned because he was heckled while addressing the Chamber. Alexandre Ribot, the former Finance Minister, formed the new Cabinet, of which he becomes Premier and Foreign Minister; Rene Viviani, former Premier, Minister of Justice; Paul Painlevé, former Minister of Public Instruction, is the new Minister of War; Albert Thomas remains Minister of Munitions; Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine; Joseph Thierry is Minister of Finance; Etienne Clementhal, former Minister of Agriculture, is Minister of Commerce. This is the fourth Cabinet since the outbreak of the war.

* * *

THE BRITISH IN BAGDAD

BAGDAD the great is fallen," captured by the advance guard of General Maude on March 11; the British power is now dominant up the whole of the hot Mesopotamian Valley from the Persian Gulf, and General Townshend's disastrous surrender at Kut-el-Amara on April 13, 1916, after a siege lasting from Dec. 5, 1915, is wiped out by victory.

Bagdad dates back far beyond the days of Nebuchadnezzar and the captivity of the Jews; as the capital of the Caliphs, it was the most splendid city in the world, giving to universal literature one of the greatest books that ever came

out of the purple East—"The Arabian Nights: The Stories of a Thousand Nights and a Night." This great period of Bagdad's history began in the year 762, before Charlemagne was crowned, and about the time of Alfred the Great of England, when the Western world was just emerging from barbarism. General Maude's campaign has been extraordinarily rapid, evidencing admirable preparation. On Feb. 26, 1917, he captured Kut-el-Amara, with many thousand Turkish prisoners, and within two weeks his patrols pushed forward a hundred miles, to within a few miles of Bagdad. The great city, which lies in an open, sun-burnt plain, was apparently almost undefended, and on March 11 the British and Indian forces were within the walls.

This striking victory gives to Great Britain a practically continuous territory, beginning on the east at the frontier of Siam, including Burma and India, Baluchistan and Southern Persia, which has been recognized as under British influence since the Anglo-Russian pact of 1907, and now the whole of the southern section of Asiatic Turkey, with a protectorate over the new kingdom of Arabia, behind Aden, thus bringing the effective influence of England to Egypt and as far as the border of Italian Tripoli. All Southern Asia is thus dominated by Britain.

* * *

PRACTICAL FAILURE OF THE SUBMARINE

BY the first week in March it was evident that there was a marked falling off in the amount of tonnage sunk by submarines operating in the "forbidden" zones about the British Isles and in the Mediterranean, and a probable explanation of this was furnished by reports from England that large numbers of German submarines had been captured or sunk. It was said that of 100 U-boats which began the campaign of ruthlessness on Feb. 1 no less than 48 had been sunk or taken by Feb. 25; and while this is probably in excess of the real figures, nevertheless all evidence tends in the same direction: that, as a means of bringing famine to England, and thus "forcing England to her knees," the submarine has small chance of success.

It is now said in Germany that the real object of the submarine warfare was not to reduce England to submission by famine, but to compel her to withdraw tonnage she had lent to Russia and Italy, thus isolating these two countries, as a step toward compelling them to make a separate peace. But this explanation is really an admission of failure, so far as England is concerned. It was so widely announced in Germany that unrestricted submarining was Germany's last weapon, which was to bring her rapid victory, that it is difficult to see how the new aspect of the situation can long be withheld from the German people.

* * *

APPAM CASE DECIDED

THE United States Supreme Court on March 6 in a unanimous decision decreed restoration to her English owners of the liner Appam and cargo, brought into Hampton Roads more than a year ago by a prize crew from the German raider Möwe. The ship and cargo, valued at between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000, must be delivered by April 6, 1917.

The decision upholds the original ruling by Secretary Lansing that prizes coming into American ports unaccompanied by captor warships have the right

to remain only long enough to make themselves seaworthy.

American neutrality was violated in bringing the Appam into Hampton Roads, the court said, and neither the ancient treaties relied upon by Lieutenant Berg, the German prize commander, The Hague Conventions, nor the Declaration of London entitled any belligerents to make American ports a place for deposit of prizes as spoils of war under such circumstances.

"The principles of international law," the opinion adds, "leaving the treaty aside, will not permit the ports of the United States to be thus used by the belligerents. If such use were permitted it would constitute the ports of a neutral nation harbors of safety into which prizes might be safely brought and indefinitely kept.

"From the beginning of its history this country has been careful to maintain a neutral position between warring Governments, and not to allow use of its ports in violation of the obligations of neutrality, nor to permit such use beyond the necessities arising from perils of the seas or the necessities of such vessels as to seaworthiness, provisions, and supplies."

FIFTEEN BILLIONS OF FOREIGN TRADE

THE foreign trade of the United States, imports and exports combined, since the outbreak of the war in Europe at the end of July, 1914, to Feb. 11, 1917, amounted to the sum of \$15,622,785,853. Exports during this period were a little more than double the imports, and the balance of trade in favor of this country resulting from these thirty months of trade was \$5,501,568,835. This table shows how this trade has accumulated and the huge movement of gold which resulted from it:

MERCHANDISE

| | Exports. | Imports. | Credit Trade Balance (Excess of Exports.) |
|----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| January, 1917..... | \$613,441,020 | \$241,674,851 | \$371,766,169 |
| Year, 1916..... | 5,481,423,589 | 2,391,654,335 | 3,089,769,254 |
| Year, 1915..... | 3,554,670,847 | 1,778,596,695 | 1,776,074,152 |
| Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914..... | 912,641,888 | 648,682,628 | 263,959,260 |
| Total since outbreak of war..... | \$10,562,177,344 | \$5,060,608,509 | \$5,501,568,835 |

GOLD

| | Exports. | Imports. | Excess of Imports. |
|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| January, 1917..... | \$20,719,898 | \$58,926,258 | \$38,206,360 |
| Year, 1916..... | 153,792,927 | 685,990,234 | 530,197,307 |
| Year, 1915..... | 31,425,918 | 451,954,590 | 420,528,672 |
| Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914..... | 104,972,197 | 23,252,604 | *81,719,593 |
| Total since outbreak of war..... | \$312,910,940 | \$1,220,123,686 | \$907,212,746 |

*Excess of exports.

COLOMBIAN TREATY DEFEATED

THE treaty with Colombia was debated in the United States Senate on March 13 and 14, having been reported for passage by the Foreign Relations Committee; but it was withdrawn on the 16th, it being clear that it would fail to receive the necessary two-thirds vote. The objections to the treaty are: (1) That \$25,000,000 is an excessive amount to pay Colombia for the Panama strip, being \$15,000,000 more than Panama received; (2) that there is a clause in the treaty giving Colombia preference in the canal, which is deemed perilous; (3) that the urgency for its passage at this time savors of a threat by Colombia that it is her price for refusing an alliance with Germany; (4) that the treaty implies that President Roosevelt committed a wrong with respect to the Panama revolution, which resulted in the loss of the canal strip by Colombia. It is reported that the treaty when reintroduced will be reconstructed. Senator Knox, Republican from Pennsylvania, who was Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Administration, surprised his Republican colleagues by strongly advocating the treaty as presented.

* * *

THE GALLIPOLI REPORT

EARLY in March the Commission on the British Failure at Gallipoli reported that the question of attacking the Dardanelles was, on the initiative of Winston Churchill, brought under the consideration of the War Council on Nov. 25, 1914, as the ideal method of defending Egypt. The Commissioners hold that the possibility of making a surprise land and water attack offered such great military and political advantages that it was mistaken and ill-advised to sacrifice this possibility by deciding to undertake a purely naval attack, which, from its nature, could not obtain completely the objects set out in the terms of the decision. A part of the blame is laid upon Lord Kitchener, who, says the report, was the sole mouthpiece of War Office opinion in the War Council. He was never overruled by the Cabinet in any matter, great or small. Lord Fisher is criticised be-

cause he did not voice his known dislike of the proposed operation. When, because of this dislike, he threatened to resign, a minority report says, Lord Kitchener took Lord Fisher aside and prevailed upon him to return to his seat in the Council. The report makes it clear that the Dardanelles attack was made in part in response to an appeal from Russia on Jan. 2, 1915, Russia being then hard pressed by the threatened Turkish invasion of the Caucasus. It is evident, from this report, that Britain's naval advisers were convinced at the outset that the purely naval attack must fail, but failed to press their view. As a defense of Egypt and of the Russian Caucasus, however, the Gallipoli attack was completely successful.

* * *

IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA

IN the last four or five months very decided progress has been made by the British in German East Africa, the last of Germany's colonial possessions. In September last the struggle there entered a new phase; the Germans, driven from the northern part of their protectorate, and divided into three isolated bodies, were fighting only to detain in Africa troops which the Allies might otherwise employ in the European war theatres or in Mesopotamia.

On Sept. 11 the Belgian field force drove out of Tabora the contingent of the Prussian General, Wahle, of at least 4,000 seasoned native troops and over 500 Europeans. The Belgians found in Tabora over a hundred British subjects, men and women, who had been subjected to many indignities, with the deliberate intention of degrading them in the eyes of the natives. General Wahle at first retreated along the railroad in the direction of Kilima-tinde, with the Belgians in pursuit and an English force under General Crewe on his flank. On Oct. 22 there began a series of encounters between General Wahle and General Northey, which lasted until the end of November. On Nov. 26 one division of Wahle's force, numbering 500, and including fifty-four Europeans, was compelled to surrender. By Jan. 6 Wahle's

force, reduced by one-half, had retreated to Mahange, on which, at the end of January, General Northey was converging three columns.

On Jan. 1 General Smuts began a new offensive against Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck's German force in the Rufiji Valley; hard pressed, these troops endeavored to reach Mahange, to form a junction with the remnants of General Wahle's force. British and Belgian forces, from all sides, are now converging on Mahange, where the struggle is likely to come to an end.

* * *

GERMAN INFLUENCE IN MEXICO

IT was announced on March 14 that confidential diplomatic reports from Mexico indicated that the German Bank in Mexico City and the German Legation there are guiding virtually the entire financial and diplomatic activities of Mexico. According to these reports the recent Mexican peace note was inspired by the German Legation, while the German Bank is said to have come into full control of the Mexican financial situation, having accepted quantities of the paper money issued by the Mexican Government. A very large influx of German money from the United States is also recorded.

Two further facts point in the same direction—the exodus of German reservists, who have crossed the Rio Grande in large numbers since the diplomatic break with Germany, bearing passes issued by the Mexican Consulate here, and who are reported to be drilling Mexican soldiers and initiating them into the methods of modern warfare; and the announcement that there are several large German-owned radio stations on Mexican soil, one being in Southern California, capable of communicating directly with Germany. These stations can easily make connections with the internal telegraph systems of the United States, and could thus with practical impunity gather all details of military preparations and movements throughout the United States and send them the same day to Berlin.

There are similar reports of the existence of strong radio stations in Colombia,

a few miles from the Panama Canal Zone, likewise owned and operated by Germans, and in communication with the stations in Mexico and, through these, with Berlin. This wireless network over Central and South America rivals the great system of radio stations in Africa, by means of which German Southwest Africa could communicate with Berlin through a single link in the Cameroons. There were equally powerful radio stations in Germany's Pacific possessions.

* * *

COUNT ZEPPELIN IS DEAD

COUNT ZEPPELIN shares with the late General Shrapnel the distinction of having given his name to a new instrument of war; but, while the English officer died long before the shells called after him had reached the height of their fame, Count Zeppelin lived long enough to see his very vulnerable airships tested in a great war—and pretty well discredited as weapons of offense. Born nearly eighty years ago, he came to the United States as a military observer during the civil war, serving on the staff of General Carl Schurz and narrowly escaping capture at Fredericksburg. He was decorated in the Franco-Prussian war and later represented the Kingdom of Württemberg at Berlin in the Federal Council of the Empire.

In 1891 he devoted all his time and a great part of his large fortune to the construction of lighter-than-air flying machines. Seven years later, after much ridicule and many hairbreadth escapes, he gained his first great triumph by ascending from Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance, and remaining aloft for thirty-seven hours, in the fifth of his airships, and sailing in a straight course for more than eight hundred miles. The Kaiser and all Germany hailed him as the conqueror of the air. But this ship also was soon wrecked, representing a loss of \$500,000. It is interesting to remember that it was in the United States that Count Zeppelin made his first ascent, going up in a captive balloon belonging to the Union Army.

While his great airships have proved a failure as a means of "bringing England

to her knees" by terrorism from the clouds, and while admittedly the Zeppelins proved to be England's best recruiting sergeant, it is only fair to say that Count Zeppelin did in fact completely succeed in his main purpose—to make a dirigible balloon with great speed and carrying power and with an immense flying radius, a really fine achievement. Count Zeppelin died on March 8.

* * *

GERMANS IN AMERICA

THE number of native-born Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the United States at the time of the census of 1910 was 4,181,615, divided as follows:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Native Austrians..... | 1,174,973 |
| Native Germans..... | 2,501,333 |
| Native Hungarians..... | 495,609 |

Of native-born Americans with one or both parents born in Germany or Austro-Hungary there were 6,811,699 in the United States in 1910, divided as follows:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Native born, with one or two parents born in | |
| Austria | 826,635 |
| Germany | 5,781,437 |
| Hungary | 204,627 |

Total native-born Germans and Austro-Hungarians and Americans of first generation in the United States in 1910, 10,993,314.

* * *

THE YARROWDALE PRISONERS

FIFTY-NINE Americans taken from vessels sunk by the German raider in the South Atlantic and borne to Swinemünde, Germany, on Jan. 1, on board the captured British steamer Yarrowdale, were released from quarantine March 9, and left at 4 P. M. for the Swiss frontier. The route over which they departed was the one chosen for their return by the United States Government.

Much irritation was felt over the delay in the release of the men, and the explanation of the German authorities that they were held on account of quarantine was questioned, but later it was officially confirmed by the Spanish Embassy doctor that typhus fever had appeared at the camp on Feb. 20, and the quarantine was not lifted until March 7. The men

were relieved at the German frontier; they were practically in rags and complain that they had insufficient food. They were cared for by Americans in Switzerland and will be sent home via Spain.

* * *

ACCORDING to English official lists, German casualties in January were 77,534, and for February 60,471; of the latter 21,105 were killed or missing, 12,451 severely wounded. It is computed from unofficial reports that the total German casualties up to March 1, 1917, are 4,148,163, exclusive of those in the navy and colonies.

* * *

GERMAN Zeppelins after a long period of inactivity, made an attack on London, March 16 and 17, which the British authorities assert was fruitless. A Zeppelin, evidently bound for Paris, was brought down by the French near Campiègne when at an altitude of 10,000 feet, and the entire crew was killed. The airship was completely consumed.

* * *

UNDER the new British pension plan totally disabled privates will receive a minimum of \$6.87 weekly; the allowance for children is \$1.25 and a sum slightly less for each subsequent child.

* * *

THE United States Congress passed and the President signed on March 2 the bill granting full citizenship to the inhabitants of Porto Rico. The law provides that any resident of Porto Rico may renounce his American citizenship within a year. Prohibition is imposed in the bill, but is accompanied by a referendum provision. The first election under the new law will take place in July.

* * *

IT is estimated that the German U-boat blockade reduced the foreign trade of the United States in the month of February \$190,000,000. At one time 300,000 tons of cargoes on ships of neutral registry were tied up in New York Harbor alone, fifty-three steamships being of American, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Dutch registry.

The British Advance on Bagdad and Jerusalem

TURKEY in Asia is again fighting for life against three allied armies that are converging upon it from three directions.

Bagdad, the immediate goal of the new Mesopotamian campaign, has been captured, while Jerusalem lies in the path along which another British army, coming out of Egypt, is advancing, after driving off the Turks who were threatening the Suez Canal. From a third direction the Russians are aiming another blow at the Turkish Empire in Asia, namely, from Persia and Armenia, where they have again assumed the offensive.

The most important fighting has been in Mesopotamia. Here the British have completely regained the prestige which they lost when General Townshend, with 9,000 men of the British and Anglo-Indian armies, surrendered at Kut-el-Amara on April 28, 1916. When the British began the first Mesopotamian campaign from the head of the Persian Gulf in 1915, it was understood that the object was to destroy German aims in Asiatic Turkey, and particularly the scheme of expansion connected with the Bagdad Railway. The British marching on Bagdad were to have effected a junction with the Russians advancing from Persia in the east and from Turkish Armenia in the north. But when the British, after being defeated at Ctesiphon, had to fall back, and were later caught in a trap at Kut-el-Amara, and forced to surrender after a long siege, the Russo-British plan collapsed. The Turkish forces released by Townshend's failure were sent to reinforce the army holding back the Russians, and the Russians also had to retreat. The disastrous end to the first British expedition was due entirely to inadequate preparation and insufficient supports when they were wanted.

After a considerable interval plans for the resumption of the campaign were

completed early in December, 1916, and on the 13th of that month, with General Maude in command, a new advance on Kut-el-Amara was begun along the right bank of the Tigris. The British force consisted of three divisions of 120,000 men and was assisted by a large flotilla of war craft specially adapted for river work. The British marched through the evacuated Es Sinn lines and established themselves on the Shatt-al-Hai, a canal which enters the Tigris above and below Kut from the south. About Christmas time operations were impeded by heavy rains, but early in January, 1917, the advance was again pressed, and on Jan. 9 and 10 the enemies' trenches northeast of Kut were captured after a stubborn conflict. Rain caused another delay of more than a week, but by Jan. 21 the whole of the right bank of the river east of the Shatt-al-Hai was clear of Turks, and on Jan. 25 further movements to the west began. The Turks made a vigorous resistance and lost heavily. On Jan. 27 and 28 there were hot encounters, and after a further engagement on Feb. 3 General Maude was able to report that the enemy had been driven from the whole of the right bank.

Recapture of Kut-el-Amara

The British had now to clear the Turks from the left bank of the Tigris, where at Sanna-i-Yat, fifteen miles below Kut, they were strongly entrenched. Kut itself lies in a sharp bend on the left bank of the Tigris. The licorice factory opposite the town was shelled, and on Feb. 13 it was officially announced in London that the British had established a line across the Tigris bend west of Kut, and were thus hemming in the Turks. On Feb. 23 the British launched a fierce frontal attack against Sanna-i-Yat.

While the Turks were concentrating their forces on the defensive at this point the British made a successful at-

tempt to cross the Tigris at the Shumran bend, about six miles above Kut. As soon as the landing was effected a bridge was built as the result of nine hours' strenuous work by the engineers. The way was thus open for an attack on the Turks in the rear. Discovering their danger, the Turks began on Feb. 24 to retreat in the direction of Baghela, twenty-four miles west of Kut, burning their stores as they went, but maintaining a strong rearguard defensive. In the meantime the British pressed the advance on Sanna-i-Yat, carrying one line of trenches after the other. With the taking of all the Turkish positions from Sanna-i-Yat to Kut-el Amara the town passed automatically into the hands of the British, whose prestige was thereby re-established.

The scene of operations rapidly changed from Kut to points much further up the river. On Feb. 25 the British gunboats on the Tigris and the cavalry and infantry on the land moved westward in an endeavor to cut off the enemy's retreat. The Turkish rearguards made a stubborn stand about fifteen miles northwest of Kut, but were driven from their trenches. On Feb. 26 the pursuit was maintained, and there were engagements over thirty miles west-northwest of Kut. On Feb. 27 General Maude's report described the Turkish force retreating to Bagdad as degenerating into a disorderly mob. After passing through Aziziyah, fifty-two miles north of Kut, the Turks tried to fight another rearguard action at Lajij, nine miles southeast of Ctesiphon.

The Fall of Bagdad

The British were now within a few miles of their furthest advance during the first Mesopotamian campaign. It was expected that the Turks would make a stand at Ctesiphon, but when the British arrived there they found the place evacuated. On March 7 British cavalry found the Turks in position on the Diala River, eight miles from the outskirts of Bagdad. The river was unfordable and constituted a formidable obstacle. General Maude therefore withdrew his cavalry and brought his infantry into action.

Meanwhile the Turks had received reinforcements from Bagdad. They offered stubborn resistance along the Diala and in a position covering Bagdad from the southwest. General Maude threw a bridge across the Tigris at its confluence with the Diala. Notwithstanding the heat and dust, the British made a brilliant march of eighteen miles toward Bagdad and found the Turks strongly posted six miles southwest of the town. The Turks were attacked at once and driven back to their second position, two miles in the rear.

On the night of March 8 the British established a footing on the north bank of the Diala. On the 9th and 10th troops on the right bank of the Tigris, in spite of dust storms, pressed their advantage and drove back the Turks to within three miles of Bagdad. At the same time the troops on the Diala thrust the Turks back on the city, which was entered on Sunday morning, March 11.

In announcing this success in the House of Commons the next day, Bonar Law said there was every reason to believe that two-thirds of the Turks' artillery had fallen into the hands of the British or had been thrown into the Tigris. He added this comment:

General Maude, in these operations, has completed his victory by a pursuit of 110 miles in fifteen days, during which the Tigris was crossed three times. This pursuit was conducted in a country destitute of supplies, despite the commencement of the Summer heat. Such operations could be carried out in such a country only after the most careful arrangements made for the supply of the troops thoroughly and systematically had been effected. The fact that General Maude not only has been able to feed the army, provide it with munitions, and assure proper attention for the sick and wounded, but has been able to report that he is satisfied he can provide for the necessities of his army in Bagdad, reflects the greatest credit on all concerned.

By March 15 the British forces were thirty miles above Bagdad on their way toward Mosul.

In the two months' fighting since December, 1916, it is estimated that the Turks lost over 20,000 men in killed and wounded. The British reported having taken over 7,000 prisoners, and also large quantities of guns, war material, and



SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF THE THREE ALLIED EXPEDITIONS THAT ARE CONVERGING TO CUT THE BAGDAD RAILWAY AND ISOLATE A LARGE PORTION OF ASIATIC TURKEY

stores of all kinds which the Turks were unable to destroy in their retreat. The British river craft had the satisfaction of recapturing the gunboat *Firefly*, which the Turks had taken a year before, as well as securing a considerable number of prizes in the way of river steamers, tugboats, barges, and pontoons.

The Advance From Egypt

No less interesting was the news on March 7 that the advance guards of the British forces marching through Palestine from Egypt were within fifteen miles of Jerusalem. The dispatch stated that the Turks had abandoned a strong position in the neighborhood of Sheik Nuran, west of Shellal. Shellal, which is also known as El Chalil or El Khulil, is the ancient Hebron, which lies half way between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, twenty miles from each and only fifteen miles from Jerusalem. The Turks prepared for an offensive to keep the enemy out of Syria and Asia Minor, to save the Bagdad Railway, and to prevent the Russians, now at Bitlis, from effecting a junction with the British.

These preparations account for the comparatively slight resistance with which General Maude met after he captured Kut-el-Amara. Between Feb. 26, when Kut fell, and March 8 the British had advanced nearly a hundred miles. For some time past the Germans have been extremely busy completing railroad communication, transporting war material, and establishing military camps and depots, with a view to making good their occupation in the territories of which the Bagdad Railway is the main artery.

The Advance Through Persia

Simultaneously with the British strokes in Mesopotamia and Palestine the Russians reopened their drive in Western Persia toward Bagdad. On March 2 they occupied Hamadan, an important city 240 miles east of Bagdad, and on the 6th captured Asadabad Summit, ten miles west of Hamadan. On the 13th they had captured Kermanshah, seventy miles further in the direction of Bagdad.

Without waiting for the completion of the various moves in Asiatic Turkey, the British Government has taken decisive

measures to bring Persia under control. How this was achieved by a British expedition was described in the House of Lords in February, 1917, when Lord Curzon made the first statement on the situation in Persia since the speech delivered by Lord Crewe in the same house on Dec. 7, 1915, (see CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1916, Pages 877 to 879.) The position at that time was one of considerable convulsion. The British Consul at Shiraz had been recently arrested under circumstances of some ignominy. Coming down to the operations of the Turks and Germans in Persia last year the report of Lord Curzon's speech continues:

The movement reached its maximum force in August last. The Turkish military advance was exercising so disastrous an influence on the situation in Teheran at that time that the Persian Government was on the eve of evacuating the capital. Since then there had been not merely a sensible alleviation, but a steady improvement in the conditions. The Russian Army had recovered its position and effectively barred the way of the Turkish forces to Teheran. In that manner the Russian force had rendered great service to the allied cause, and we found ourselves in the somewhat strange and anomalous position of having the Russian Army acting as a successful screen of defense to our Indian Empire. The British Consul at Shiraz and the few male members of the community there who were imprisoned with him had been released after eight months of harsh captivity. Most of the German agents in the country had been captured, and he hoped that before long the few who were still at large would be taken.

British Forces in Persia

The march of the force under Sir Percy Sykes from Bunder Abbas to Ispahan and finally to Teheran, for 1,000 miles, in circumstances of the most arduous and, in some places, of a perilous character, had not, he thought, been mentioned hitherto in this country. It resulted in establishing order over a wide area. In Teheran itself we had

secured the existence of a Government friendly to the allied powers; and Russia and Great Britain had been constant, although not imprudent, in giving steady financial assistance to the Persian Government in the difficult times through which it had passed.

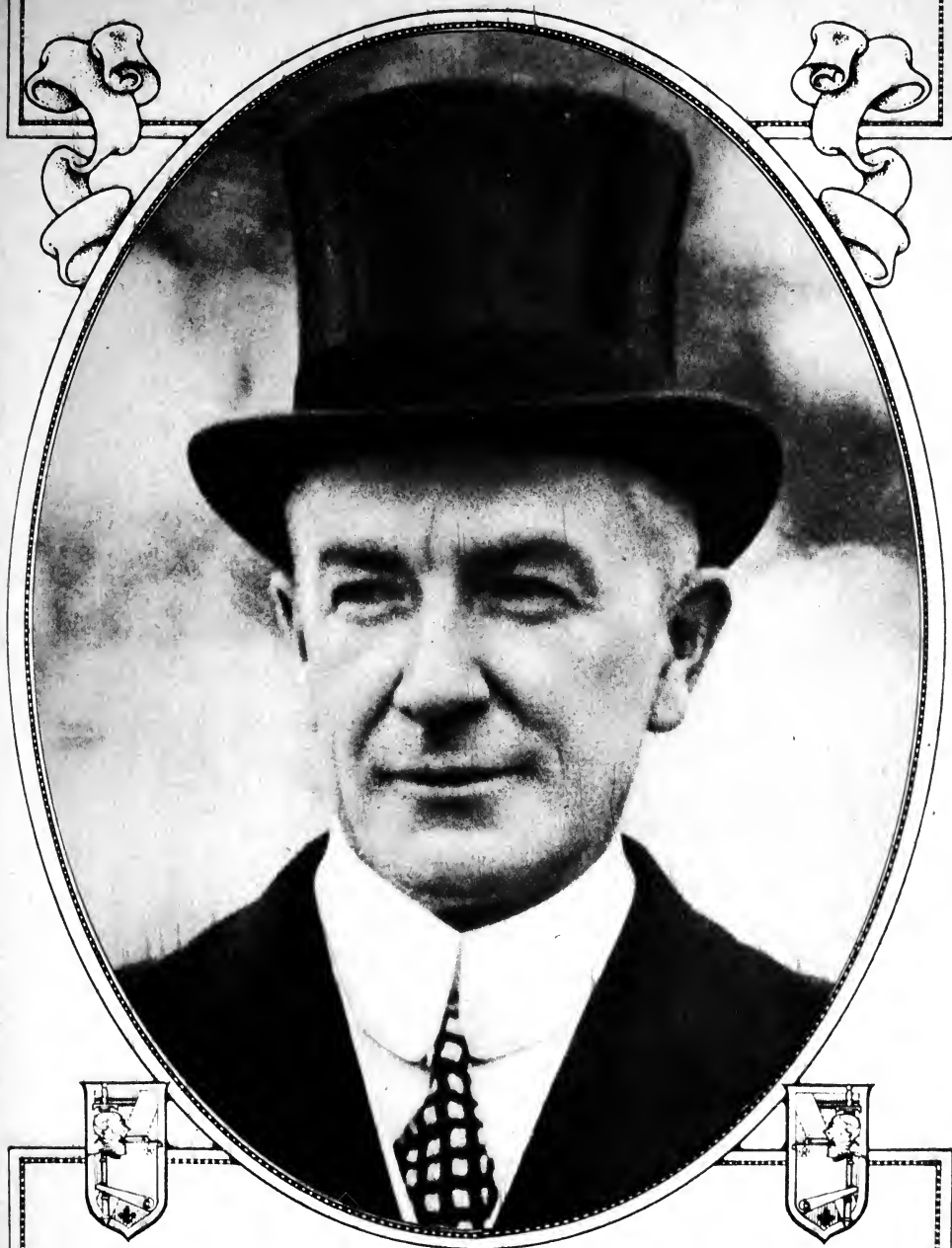
The object of Sir Percy Sykes was to organize in Southern Persia a force of military gendarmerie, or police, under the Persian Government, but officered by British officers with Indian training and experience. That force was ultimately to attain to a strength of 11,000 men. Sir Percy Sykes had at present a force of 5,000 men in addition to a military escort of about 800 troops from India, and his military position was being strengthened by reinforcements now being dispatched from India under a military officer experienced in tribal warfare. A similar force of gendarmerie was being raised from Bakhthiari tribesmen, who had always been very friendly to us. He hoped that before long Sir Percy would be able to march from Shiraz, where he was now, and to clear up the brigand camps and robber nests with which that part of Persia was infested. On the eastern side of Persia a similar success had been obtained by another force under a British officer, Major Keith, who had succeeded in pacifying the whole of that considerable quarter.

In Afghanistan the Ameer, in spite of solicitations and the offer of bribes, had, as far as was known, remained entirely loyal to his obligations to Great Britain, and had declined to be seduced from that loyalty by the tempting offer of the spoil of the Punjab.

The attempt to improve the general situation in Persia had been considerably assisted by two independent movements of a military character outside the borders of that country. The first was the success of General Maude in Mesopotamia. The second outside group of events tending to improve the situation arose from the movement of the Shereef of Mecca. He could not say that the situation was altogether free from anxiety. Turkish troops had still to be turned out of parts of Persia, and in the hinterland of the Persian Gulf there was still disorder. The position of the oil fields was practically secure, and he had not heard for many months past of any interruption of communications in that region.



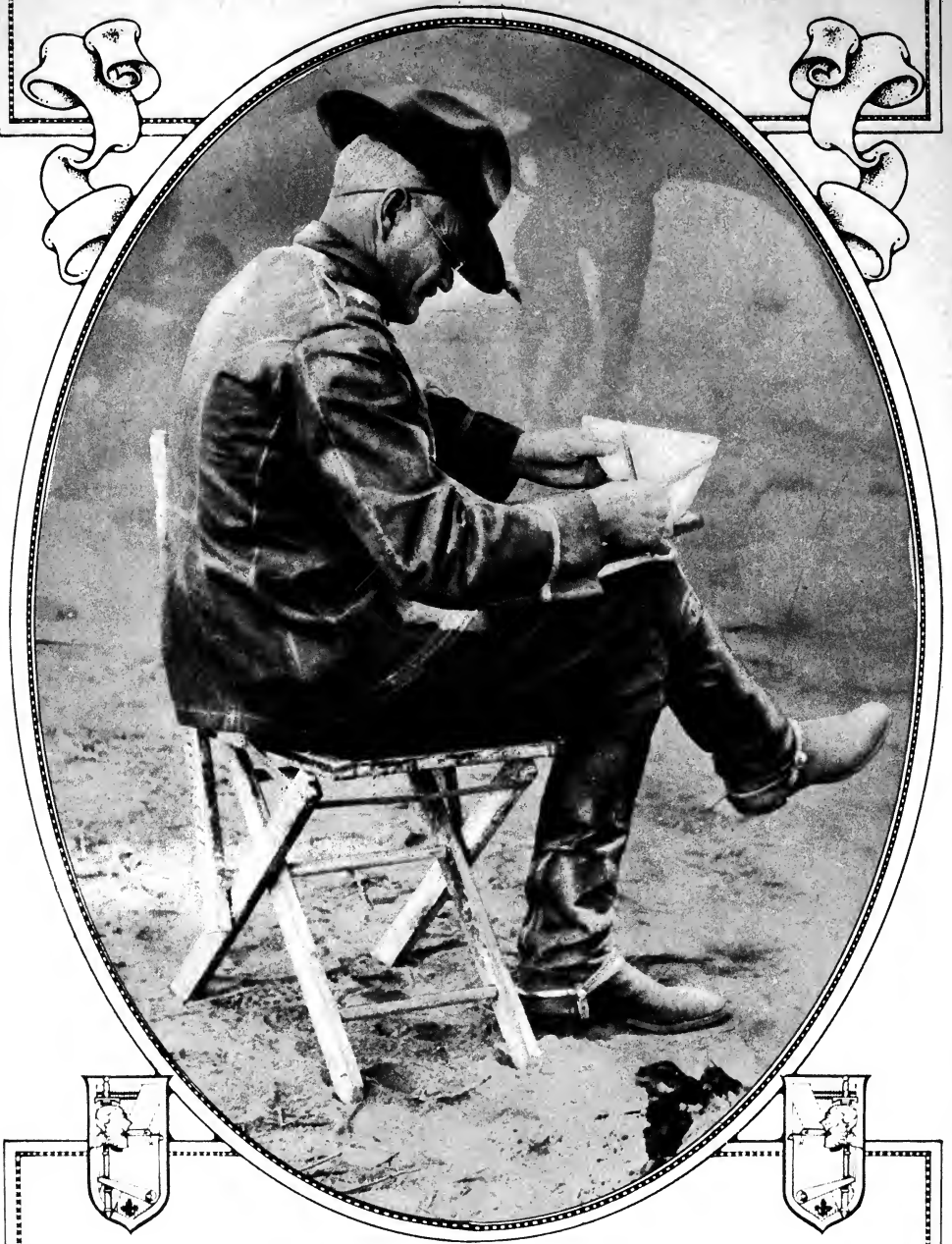
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO



Henry P. Fletcher, Who, After Long Delay, Now Represents the United States at the Mexican Capital

(Photo Central News Service)

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



Head of the Expeditionary Force in Mexico, Who Succeeds
General Funston as Commander of the Southern Department

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

GERMAN SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Arming American Merchant Ships and the Events Attending It

THE severance of diplomatic relations with Germany was followed three weeks later by the second step in the determination of the United States to preserve the freedom of the seas for its citizens, notwithstanding the establishment of a so-called "barred zone" by German submarines, intended to cut off ingress to European ports.

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, was dismissed on Feb. 3, 1917; on Feb. 26 President Wilson appeared in person before the houses of Congress in joint session and read an address, the substance of which was that he should be authorized to supply armament and ammunition to American mer-

chant vessels and "to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate pursuits on the seas." The President's address embodied the conclusions reached by himself and his Cabinet after it had become apparent that the German submarine blockade was operating practically as an embargo on American trade with Europe.

While the President was proceeding to the Capitol to deliver his address news reached him of the torpedoing of the Cunard liner *Laconia* without warning, by which American lives were lost. This fact gave additional weight to his words.

Text of the President's "Armed Neutrality" Address to Congress

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address before Congress on Feb. 26 asked for a formal concession of power enabling him to arm merchant ships and to take other measures needed for the protection of American citizens and property on the high seas when attacked by submarines. The full text of the address follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross-purposes between us.

On the 3d of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the

Eastern Mediterranean and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object.

That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active exhibition for nearly four weeks. Its practical results are not fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the 1st of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation.

We have asked the co-operation of the other neutral Governments to prevent these depredations, but I fear none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. The case of the *Housatonic*, which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Frye*, in which, it will be recalled, the German Gov-

ernment admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the Frye, were safeguarded with reasonable care.

The case of the Law, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our ship owners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted—a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day.

This, in itself, might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

But while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint, rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting.

It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time if we are, in fact and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand by constitutional limitation and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it.

I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer

in the present circumstances not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise.

Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do.

I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people, who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuit of peace in quietness and good-will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world.

No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen.

I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ

any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought—the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking. Is is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself.

I am thinking not only of the right of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of some-

thing much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of noncombatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights, but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of State, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty.

I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things.

The Armed Ship Debate in Congress

FOLLOWING President Wilson's appearance at the Capitol, Congressman Flood, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced a bill to carry out the President's recommendations, the bill having been drafted at the White House. It was passed by the House on March 1 by a vote of 403 to 13; of those voting "No" nine were Republicans, three Democrats, and one a Socialist. As passed by the House the bill empowered the President to arm merchant ships, but did not extend to him authority "to use other instrumentalities," and it prohibited insurance of munition-carrying ships in the Government War Risk Fund. The passage of the bill in the House was marked by many patriotic addresses and a complete absence of partisanship; the leaders of the Republican minority advocated the measure as enthusiastically as the Democratic leaders. It was debated for more than seven hours, and more than fifty speeches were made in its favor; there was no serious opposition.

Flood Proclaims Our Policy

Chairman Flood of the Foreign Affairs Committee vigorously announced the policy of the Administration to submit no longer to the virtual blockading of American ports by the German submarine decree.

Germany, he said, had violated the promises made in the interchange of notes between the United States and that nation, "and she is now undertaking to destroy every merchant vessel, whether belligerent or neutral, that is undertaking to land at any port of Great Britain or Ireland, on the Atlantic Coast, or the eastern ports of the Mediterranean. The American merchant marine is tied up in our harbors and American commerce is blockaded in our ports as effectually as if an enemy had blockaded those ports. This condition is intolerable to a free and a brave people, and it has continued as long as the American Government and the American people are willing to submit to it. The pending bill gives the President means to remedy this intolerable condition and free our commerce and protect the lives of American citizens in their lawful pursuits on the high seas."

Mr. Flood said the bill might not avert war, but it would do little directly to bring about war.

"We may have to go further," he continued, "but if we do the fault will not be ours. Our warships have the right to sail the seas, our citizens have the right to go there, and we propose to protect them in that right. I hope we can do it peacefully. If we cannot we will do it

with force and with arms. It is clear that Germany does not intend to lessen the ruthlessness of her submarine warfare in order to avoid a conflict with this country. Our duty is clear—to protect our citizens and our ships in their lawful pursuits.”

Mr. Flood said if Germany were conducting her submarine warfare in accordance with international law and the instincts of humanity, if she were merely exercising the right of search and seizure, this country would take its chances in the prize courts, and there would be no need for the legislation of today.

“But Germany is not doing that. She proposes to sink merchant vessels without warning and without the slightest opportunity for noncombatants on board to save their lives. America is not willing to fail to defend her citizens, and I cannot understand how any man with American blood in his veins and American sentiment in his heart can hesitate to give to the President the authority to protect lives of American citizens.”

Fails in the Senate

On Feb. 27 the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate reported the measure to that body, with the fullest indorsement of the Administration. The text of the bill, as reported, was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

That the commanders and crews of all merchant vessels of the United States and bearing the registry of the United States are hereby authorized to arm and defend such vessels against unlawful attacks, and the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to supply such vessels with defensive arms, fore and aft, and also with the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them; and that he be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as may in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels and the citizens of the United States in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas.

The sum of \$100,000,000 is hereby appropriated, to be expended by the President of the United States for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions, the said sum to be available until the first day of January, 1918.

For the purpose of meeting the expenditures herein authorized, the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President, is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States and to issue therefor bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate \$100,000,000, said bonds to be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe and to bear interest at a rate not exceeding 3 per centum per annum: Provided that such bonds shall be sold at not less than par, shall not carry the circulation privilege, and that all citizens of the United States shall be given an equal opportunity to subscribe therefor, but no commission shall be allowed or paid thereon; that both principal and interest shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and be exempt from all taxation and duties of the United States as well as from taxation in any form of all State, municipal, or local authorities; that any bonds issued hereunder may, under such conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than 3 per centum per annum, if any bonds shall be issued by the United States at a higher rate than 3 per centum per annum by virtue of any act passed on or before Dec. 31, 1918.

In order to pay the necessary expenses connected with the said issue of bonds, or any conversions thereof, a sum not exceeding one-fifth of 1 per centum of the amount of bonds herein authorized to be issued, or which may be converted, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

The President is authorized to transfer so much of the amount herein appropriated as he may deem necessary, not exceeding \$25,000,000, to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, created by act of Congress, approved Sept. 2, 1914, for the purpose of insuring vessels, their freight, passage moneys, and cargoes against loss or damage by the present risks of war.

The Senate Filibuster

The discussion of this measure in the Senate and its failure of passage through a filibuster by a small group marked one of the most sensational episodes in the history of the upper house of the National Legislature, and resulted in a change in the rules which had been advocated fruitlessly for over 100 years.

The session of Congress was to end automatically on March 4, hence there were but four days remaining when the measure was introduced. A certain group of Senators, in view of the critical foreign situation, had previously insisted

that the President should call an extra session of the new Congress, to convene immediately on the expiration of the old Congress, and to force this action they had been filibustering for several days over important revenue and appropriation bills. Under the then existing rules of the Senate, there was no limit to debate, and a very small opposition group could block all legislation and indefinitely postpone final action on any measure by dilatory motions and long speeches.

When the armed neutrality measure came up for debate a small but determined opposition developed, which undertook to prevent a vote until the session ended, at noon March 4. Senator La Follette of Wisconsin was at the head of this group, and he was assisted by Senators Norris of Nebraska, Cummins of Iowa, Gronna of North Dakota, Clapp of Minnesota, and Works of California, Republicans, and Senators Stone of Missouri, O'Gorman of New York, Kirby of Arkansas, Lane of Oregon, and Vardaman of Mississippi, Democrats.

Senator Stone was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. In consequence of his opposition to the bill, he relinquished parliamentary control of it to Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, the next ranking member of the committee. The debate over the measure proceeded with more or less bitterness for three days, but it was not until the final day of the session, when it was clear that this small group had determined to defeat the measure by dilatory tactics, that the acrimony

reached its acute stage. The leaders of the Senate, both Democratic and Republican, as well as all the influence of the Administration, exerted all possible pressure on the filibusters to allow the measure to reach a vote, but in vain. Senators La Follette and Clapp were deaf to all appeals, and throughout the long session, lasting all night of the 3d of March and until the stroke of 12 on the 4th, they blocked every effort to have a vote. At noon the bill died by the automatic end of the session.

The Famous Manifesto

During the early hours of March 4, when it was apparent that the filibuster would succeed, the Senate majority performed the unprecedented act of signing a manifesto declaring that the will of the overwhelming majority of the Senate was being defeated by a small group of recalcitrants. Seventy-five of the ninety-six members of the body signed the document, and eight more would have signed it could they have been reached. This historic manifesto was as follows:

The undersigned, United States Senators, favor the passage of Senate Bill 8322, to authorize the President of the United States to arm American merchant vessels.

A similar bill already has passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 403 to 13.

Under the rules of the Senate, allowing unlimited debate, it now appears to be impossible to obtain a vote prior to noon March 4, 1917, when the session of Congress expires.

We desire the statement entered in the record to establish the fact that the Senate favors the legislation and would pass it if a vote could be obtained.

President Wilson's Appeal to the Country

PRESIDENT WILSON was deeply indignant over the success of the Senate filibusters in defeating the armed neutrality measure, and issued the following address to the country a few hours after Congress adjourned, following closely on the heels of his second inauguration:

The termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern Government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught

with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be

prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action, if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government.

This inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible at a time when the need of it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole country approved and demanded—has failed. The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency. The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives. The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point and the General Deficiency bill. It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board to meet the special needs of the new situations into which our commerce has been forced or to increase the gold reserve of our national banking system to meet the unusual circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now. The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any men now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

Although, as a matter of fact, the nation and the representatives of the nation stand back of the Executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the impression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so and that other Governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We cannot explain. The

explanation is incredible. The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

Supplementary Statement

At the same time the President authorized the further statement that what rendered the situation even more grave than had been supposed, was the discovery that, while the President under his general constitutional powers could do much of what he had asked Congress to empower him to do, it had been found that there were certain old statutes as yet unrepealed which might raise insuperable practical obstacles and nullify his power.

Popular Indignation

A wave of indignant protest swept the country. Legislatures of many States passed resolutions denouncing the filibustering Senators and pledging support to the President; mass meetings were held in many cities, and at some places the opposing Senators were hanged in effigy. Telegrams of protest poured in from all parts of America and resolutions of protest were passed by important bodies and associations throughout the country.

The Senate had been convened in extra session, as is the custom after the inauguration of the President, to act upon nominations. As soon as the body convened steps were taken to amend the rules so that there could never be a repetition of such a filibuster. An amendment was agreed upon by the Democratic and Republican caucuses, and on March 8 it was adopted by a vote of 76 to 3, the three negative votes being cast by Senators La Follette, Gronna, and Sherman of Illinois. This rule provides that a two-thirds vote of the Senators present may bring a measure to a vote, and thereafter each Senator may debate the measure

only one hour, when it is to be put upon its passage without any dilatory motions or further debate being in order.

This rule is regarded as the most far-reaching change in the procedure of the Senate since the organization of our

Government. The adoption of the rule, as was anticipated, removed all obstacles to the effectiveness of an extra session of Congress, and President Wilson therefore called such a session by proclamation on March 9, summoning the body to meet on April 16, 1917.

Sinking of the *Laconia* and *Algonquin*

PRESIDENT WILSON declared in his address of Feb. 3, in which he severed diplomatic relations with Germany, that "only actual overt acts" of German submarines against American citizens and ships on the high seas could change the situation into one of war. The succeeding weeks brought a growing list of acts of that nature. On Feb. 3 the German submarine U-53 sank the American freight steamer *Housatonic*, bound from Galveston to Liverpool with grain. On Feb. 12 the American sailing schooner *Lyman M. Law*, en route with lumber from Maine to Italy, was destroyed by a submarine off the coast of Sardinia. Five Norwegian steamers with Americans on board were sunk without adequate warning in the next ten days.

The first American to perish by submarine attack after the break with Germany was Robert A. Haden, a missionary, traveling from China on the French steamer *Athos*, which was carrying Senegalese troops and colonial laborers. The *Athos* was torpedoed 210 miles east of Malta on Feb. 17. Mr. Haden perished while trying to aid the Chinese on board. Two American members of the crew of the British bark *Calgorm Castle* were reported lost after the torpedoing of that vessel in British waters on Feb. 27.

The Laconia Disaster

A far graver case, however, occurred at 10:30 o'clock Sunday night, Feb. 27, when the Cunard liner *Laconia*, 18,000 tons burden, carrying seventy-three passengers—men, women, and children—of whom six were American citizens—manned by a mixed crew of 216, bound from New York to Liverpool and loaded with foodstuffs, cotton, and war material, was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine 150 miles off the

Irish coast. The vessel sank in about forty minutes. Twelve persons perished in the bitter weather before the survivors in open boats were rescued by British patrol vessels.

Two of the dead were American citizens—Mrs. Mary E. Hoy and her daughter, Miss Elizabeth Hoy, of Chicago. Both were in a lifeboat that was swamped, and, though taken into another open boat, they died of exposure and were buried at sea. The Rev. Dunstan Sargent of Grenada, British West Indies, a passenger on the *Laconia*, who administered the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church to seven persons who perished, gave the following account of tragic events in his boat:

"Mrs. Hoy died in the arms of her daughter. Her body slipped off into the sea out of her daughter's weakened arms. The heartbroken daughter succumbed a few minutes afterward, and her body fell over the side of the boat as we were tossed by the huge waves.

"In icy water up to her knees for two hours, the daughter all the time bravely supported her aged mother, uttering words of encouragement to her. From the start both were violently seasick, which, coupled with the cold and exposure, gradually wore down their courage. They were brave women.

"The first to die in our boat was W. Irvine Robinson of Toronto. After his body had been consigned to the sea we tossed about for an hour, getting more and more water until the gunwales were almost level with the sea. Then Cedric P. Ivatt of London, who was not physically strong, succumbed in the arms of his fiancée, who was close beside him, trying in vain to keep him warm by throwing her wealth of hair about his neck. Even after he died she refused to give him up,

and, although the additional weight made the situation more dangerous for us all, we yielded to her pitiful pleading and allowed her to keep the body. It was taken aboard the rescuing patrol, from which it was buried.

"The Hoys were the next to pass away after Mr. Ivatt. Then a fireman died, and later two others of the crew who were too thinly clad to resist exposure. Altogether, we were in the boat ten hours. We were rescued in the middle of the morning."

Word Picture of Scene

One of the survivors, Floyd P. Gibbons, has placed on record this picture of the last moments of the *Laconia*:

The torpedo had struck at 10:30 P. M., according to our ship's time. It was thirty minutes afterward that another dull thud, which was accompanied by a noticeable drop in the hulk, told its story of the second torpedo that the submarine had dispatched through the engine room and the boat's vitals from a distance of 200 yards.

We watched silently during the next minute, as the tiers of lights dimmed slowly from white to yellow, then to red, and nothing was left but the murky mourning of the night, which hung over all like a pall.

A mean, cheese-colored crescent of a moon revealed one horn above a rag bundle of clouds low in the distance. A rim of blackness settled around our little world, relieved only by general leering stars in the zenith, and where the *Laconia's* lights had shown there remained only the dim outlines of a blacker hulk standing out above the water like a jagged headland, silhouetted against the overcast sky.

The ship sank rapidly at the stern until at last its nose stood straight in the air. Then it slid silently down and out of sight like a piece of disappearing scenery in a panorama spectacle.

As the vessel was sinking, the submarine that had done the deed suddenly rose out of the sea within a few feet of a boatload of passengers, and a German voice demanded the name of the ship, its tonnage and cargo, and the whereabouts of the Captain. When he had received civil answers the German commander remarked: "Well, you'll be all right. A British patrol will soon pick you up. Good night!" Then he and his ship vanished, and the lifeboats full of shivering victims were left weltering on the empty sea until picked up the next morning by patrol boats.

The sinking of the *Laconia* furnished

the overt act which the President had indicated would call for a more vigorous policy, but it rested with Congress to determine the extent of the warlike step to be taken. On Feb. 28 President Wilson made public the following cablegram which he had received from Austin Y. Hoy, whose mother and sister had perished through the act of a German submarine:

I am an American citizen, representing the Sullivan Machinery Company of Chicago, living abroad, not as an expatriate, but for the promotion of American trade. I love the flag, believing in its significance. My beloved mother and sister, passengers on the *Laconia*, have been foully murdered on the high seas.

As an American citizen outraged and as such fully within my rights and as an American son and brother bereaved, I call upon my Government to preserve its citizens' self-respect and save others of my countrymen from such deep grief as I now feel. I am of military age, able to fight. If my country can use me against these brutal assassins, I am at its call.

If it stultifies my manhood and my nation's by remaining passive under outrage, I shall seek a man's chance under another flag.

German Government officials regarded the *Laconia* case as the climax of the situation, and expected the United States to act, but added that there "could be no going back" in their submarine policy.

Sinking of the Algonquin

The next act seriously affecting the relations of the two countries was the sinking of the American steamship *Algonquin*, bound from New York to London with foodstuffs. The *Algonquin* was attacked without warning at 6 o'clock on Monday morning, March 12, by a German submarine, which sank her with shellfire and bombs. After twenty-seven hours in open boats the crew of twenty-six men reached Scilly. Captain A. Nordberg gave the following account of the event:

Just after daylight I was on the bridge. It was the mate's watch. I saw two steamers, apparently colliers, steaming west, one on the starboard and the other on the port side. Two minutes later the mate called my attention to another object and at once I said, "I think that is a submarine."

The submarine was about three miles distant, as were also the steamers. Immediately I saw a flash of a gun and a shell fell short. At once I stopped the engines and then went full speed astern, indicating this by three

blasts on the whistle. The submarine kept on firing, the fourth shot throwing up a column of water which drenched me and the man at the wheel. It was a close thing.

The fifth shot struck the ship's side and the next went aft. The submarine was using two guns. Twenty shots were fired at us. I ordered the crew to the boats, and we pulled away two ship's lengths. All this time the submarine was firing at us. Some of the shots came very close.

Once we were in the boats the Germans ceased firing and the submarine dived. Later we saw the periscope, which circled the Algonquin half a dozen times. Then, finding her abandoned, the submarine came to the surface and a boat's crew boarded the steamer.

The first thing done was to lower the American flag. Then I concluded they were going to sink my ship. Ten minutes after I heard the crackle of an explosion and saw

smoke. They had blown the ship up with bombs. In fifteen minutes the Algonquin had sunk.

The submarine was flying the German ensign. Her commander asked me the name, nationality, destination, and cargo of the ship, which had the American colors painted on her side and flew the American flag day and night. I asked him to tow us toward land, but he refused, saying: "I'm too busy. I expect a couple of other steamers."

The Algonquin, as it happened, changed owners after its departure from New York, but the fact was unknown alike to the Captain and crew and to the German submarine commander. Fourteen members of the crew were Americans, and Captain Nordberg was a Norwegian who had become a naturalized American citizen.

Ships Armed by Presidential Proclamation

PRESIDENT WILSON issued on March 9 the proclamation calling Congress in extra session April 16, 1917, without specifying any particular purpose, but the following statement announcing the President's determination to arm merchant vessels was given out at the White House:

Secretary Tumulty stated in connection with the President's call for an extra session of Congress that the President is convinced that he has the power to arm American merchant ships and is free to exercise it at once. But so much necessary legislation is pressing for consideration that he is convinced that it is for the best interests of the country to have an early session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, whose support he will also need in all matters collateral to the defense of our merchant marine.

The President decided to act at once, and on March 12 formal notice was given to the world of this decision. The following statement, prepared by Secretary of State Lansing, after a conference with President Wilson, was sent out by the State Department on the 12th to all members of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington:

In view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government of Jan. 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas would be sunk without any precautions being taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has de-

termined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.

Legal Basis of Action

In arriving at the decision that he had legal authority to furnish armament to merchantmen President Wilson was guided by the advice of both Secretary Lansing and Attorney General Gregory. Mr. Lansing had had no doubt from the first of the President's power to take means for the defense of American ships and American lives on the seas. Others thought, however, that a law enacted in 1819 prohibited the President from permitting any merchant vessel of American register to use force against the ships of a nation with which the United States was not actually and officially at war. This law specified that armed merchant vessels should not use their guns against national vessels of a Government with which the United States was in amity.

Secretary Lansing held that this statute had been enacted with particular reference to protection against pirates, and that it had no application whatever to the present situation. It could not properly be construed, he contended, to apply to the use of arms by an American merchant vessel to protect itself against

the unlawful attack of a German submarine.

To make assurance doubly sure President Wilson referred the question of the interpretation of the law to Attorney General Gregory, who sustained the Secretary of State, holding that the law of 1819 had reference to conditions when the seas were infested with piratical craft, and was not a bar to a ship protecting herself from the effort of a German submarine to sink her without warning. The President, therefore, felt that no occasion existed for postponing the issuance of an order to furnish Government armament to merchant vessels.

Although the Armed Ship bill, which failed of passage in the Senate, provided for a bond issue of \$100,000,000 to pay the expenses of armed neutrality, the Government has sufficient money available for its immediate purposes. Congress will be asked to provide more when the extra session convenes.

Crux of the Situation

Under a bill passed during the last days of the last Congress, the funds at the disposal of the Federal War Risk Bureau to insure American ships was increased to \$15,000,000. Armed neutrality is expected to remove the practical blockade of American ports and place the issue of eventual war squarely upon Germany. An attack upon an armed American vessel would precipitate a fight if the ship got sight of the submarine, and an unwarned attack would be regarded by the United States as an act of war.

Germany and Austria both have declared armed merchantmen war vessels. These declarations were based largely, however, upon the charge that British merchant ships used their armament offensively, and it remains to be seen whether Germany will so class and treat American craft with defensive arms. The whole German press comment and unofficial utterances since the question was raised in this country have indicated the conviction that any armed vessel should be considered hostile and sunk in the same way as a belligerent war vessel. There has been no official expression on the subject.

The guns defending American merchantmen will be in charge of gunners belonging to the United States Navy. The official instructions to these men have not been made public, but reliable correspondents have asserted with an air of authority that in view of the warnings by the German Government, the discovering of a submarine in the war zone by an armed ship would presuppose that it had hostile intent, and that it would be fired upon on sight. German official opinion as quoted by the German press asserts that the firing upon a German submarine by an armed American merchantman would be regarded by that country as an act of war.

The Secretary of the Navy issued a formal request to American newspapers and news agencies to refrain from publishing the departure of any American ships from American or foreign ports, and to exclude any information regarding the arming of ships. It is known that six-inch guns were placed upon a large number of American ships in the week ended March 17, 1917, and it was understood that several large freighters and at least one American passenger liner, fully equipped fore and aft with six-inch guns, left American ports for the barred zone during the week named. No official announcement of the sailings was permitted.

Armed neutrality became the status of the United States the moment the first merchant ship under the American flag put to sea with a gun mounted for defense. President Wilson clearly forecast this fact in his address to Congress on Feb. 26.

Writers on international law have held that armed neutrality consisted in placing the country in a position to defend itself and its neutrality against threatened attacks or inroads by belligerents. This state of preparedness may last an indefinite length of time, through good fortune in avoiding contact with belligerent forces afloat or ashore, or through the design of the belligerent to confine its declaration of purpose to infringe the neutrality of a country to mere threats unsupported by action. On the other hand, the status of armed neutrality

may change into one of actual hostility through a collision, such as a submarine attack on an armed merchantman.

Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800

Oppenheim thus describes the origin of the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800:

In 1780, during war with Great Britain, her American colonies, France, and Spain, Russia sent a circular to England, France, and Spain in which she proclaimed the following five principles:

(1) That neutral vessels should be allowed to navigate from port to port of belligerents and along the coast;

(2) That enemy goods on neutral vessels, contraband excepted, should not be seized by belligerents;

(3) That, with regard to contraband, Articles 10 and 11 of the treaty of 1768 between Russia and Great Britain should be applied in all cases;

(4) That a port should only be considered blockaded if the blockading belligerent had stationed vessels there, so as to create an obvious danger for neutral vessels entering the port;

(5) That these principles should be applied in the proceedings and judgments on the legality of the prizes.

George B. Davis, former Judge Advocate General and one of the best-known American authorities on international law, defines an armed neutrality as "an alliance of several powers, usually of a defensive character, though this is by no means essential."

"The purpose of such an alliance," he says, "is to secure the maintenance of certain views of neutral right, which are believed to be in danger or whose justice is likely to be questioned. If the commercial interests of several nations are threatened by unjust and unlawful measures on the part of a belligerent which they deem unjust or dangerous, there can be no question of their right to secure their menaced interests by such combinations as seem best calculated to accomplish this purpose."

Effects of Intensified Submarine Activity

GERMANY relentlessly made good her threat to institute unrestricted submarine warfare in the zone surrounding the United Kingdom and France. On March 19 the following official announcement was made at Berlin:

"In February 368 merchant ships of an aggregate gross tonnage of 781,500 were lost by the war measures of the Central Powers. Among them were 292 hostile ships, with an aggregate gross tonnage of 644,000, and 76 neutral ships of an aggregate gross tonnage of 137,500. Among the neutral ships 61 were sunk by submarines, which is 16.5 per cent. of the total in February, as compared with 29 per cent., the average of neutral losses in the last four months."

These figures differ widely from those given out by the French and English Admiralties. London reported that the total shipping sunk by submarines in February was 490,000 tons.

In the first three weeks of March Germany asserted that the February average was maintained, but again there was a disparity of figures; the English Admi-

rality reported on March 15 that the total tonnage sunk from Feb. 1 to March 11 was 156 British, 51 other neutrals, and 3 Americans; between March 4 and 11, 1 American, 20 British, and 2 French. Forty-six British ships were sunk between March 1 and 15; of these 16 were less than 1,600 tons each, and 6 were small fishing craft. The Admiralty reported that at the beginning of 1917 Great Britain possessed 3,731 vessels of 1,600 tons and over. Of this number 78 were sunk up to March 15, leaving 3,653 ships of 1,600 tons or more after six weeks of the submarine war.

In the prosecution of their intensified warfare the U-boats spared nothing that came in sight. Hospital ships, Belgian relief ships, and any vessels of neutrals, whether coming or going, were attacked and sunk with the same disregard of the law of visit and search as that exercised toward the craft of Germany's enemies.

The most sensational episodes of the month were the sinking of six grain-laden Dutch ships and the news of the sinking of three American vessels, the

latter reported March 19. These ships were the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia.

The City of Memphis had sailed on March 16 from Cardiff for New York in ballast. When she left port the steamship had the Stars and Stripes painted on both sides. She encountered a submarine about 5 o'clock Saturday evening. The German commander ordered the Captain of the steamer to leave his ship within fifteen minutes.

The entire crew entered five boats, and the submarine then fired a torpedo, which struck the vessel on the starboard side, tearing a great hole, through which the sea poured. The steamer settled down quickly and foundered within a few minutes.

The Memphis was of 5,252 tonnage, 377 feet long, and was valued at \$600,000. The Vigilancia was torpedoed without warning; she was of 4,115 tonnage and was proceeding to Havre, via the Azores, from New York on Feb. 28, with a cargo of provisions. She was marked on her sides with the American flag and her name in letters that could be read three miles away. The hailing port, "New York," was painted on the port and starboard bows in letters five feet high.

The Illinois was a tank ship, and sailed from Port Arthur, Texas, Feb. 17, 1917, for London. She was of 5,220 gross tonnage. She carried a cargo of oil.

On March 19 it was ascertained that fifteen members of the Vigilancia crew were lost. Captain Borum and eight members of the crew of the City of Memphis were not heard from until three days later when it was learned they had reached Glasgow.

The news aroused fresh indignation in this country and convinced the public that Germany had included in her plan of submarine ruthlessness American ships as well as those of belligerents. The feeling in Government circles was that the sinking of the vessels produced an actual state of war with Germany. President Wilson took measures to speed up the naval program; on the 20th 260 submarine chasers were ordered for immediate construction, the \$115,000,000 emergency fund was employed for purchase of naval equipment, and the immediate graduation of the first and second classes in the Annapolis Naval Academy was ordered, with the rushing of naval recruits to the full emergency limit of 87,000. The general conviction prevailed by March 20 that a formal declaration of war would soon follow. It was known that American merchantmen, armed fore and aft, had left American ports with naval gunners aboard, who were instructed to fire at sight on any submarine that made a hostile approach.

United States Prepares for Defense

SINCE the diplomatic break with Germany the War and Navy Departments of the United States Government have been working night and day to organize for adequate defense in case of war. The navy has made important progress in that direction. Congress, in its closing hours, passed a naval appropriation bill aggregating \$535,000,000, the largest in a single year of the nation's history. This total included the authorization of \$150,000,000 in twenty-year 3 per cent. bonds, the proceeds of which were to be made immediately available for the President's use, \$115,000,000 of the amount to be applied to

speeding up the construction of warships already authorized, and \$35,000,000 to be devoted to the building of submarines. For aviation in connection with naval operations \$5,133,000 was appropriated.

On March 6 Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, called a conference of the leading shipbuilders of the nation in Washington and asked what they could do in the emergency. He made it plain to them that the Government was counting on them for their fullest co-operation and would not hesitate to commandeer the shipyards if necessary. He told them that the Government was now de-

sirous of having some of the new submarines built in nine months. The best building time that had been offered previously was eighteen months. Mr. Daniels also indicated that the Government was desirous of having destroyers built within a year instead of two years, the best time previously offered. Many of the shipbuilding concerns declared their willingness and ability to meet the needs of the hour.

Large Contracts Placed

On March 15 Secretary Daniels placed contracts for what was probably the largest single order for fighting craft ever given by any nation. Under these contracts private builders undertook to turn out four great battle cruisers and six scout cruisers, costing nearly \$112,000,000 for hulls and machinery alone, and pledged themselves to keep 70 per cent. of their working forces on navy construction. Though the major ship builders were besieged with commercial orders, some of which would bring 50 per cent. profit, they agreed to accept 10 per cent. profit on the battle cruisers, whose cost will represent about \$76,000,000 of the total sums involved in the contracts. This action made it unnecessary for the President to use his authority to commandeer plants. A fifth battle cruiser will be built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, so as to avoid overstraining the facilities of the private establishments.

Both classes of cruisers are of new types and are designed for a speed of 25 knots an hour. The scouts range in cost from \$5,950,000 to \$5,996,000 and the stipulated time of delivery is from thirty to thirty-two months. These figures can be no guide to the actual cost or time, however, as under the emergency clause of the Naval Appropriation bill construction will be hastened to the limit, the Government footing the bill for additional cost.

The battle cruisers, the fixed limit of cost of which is \$19,000,000 per ship, exclusive of speeding-up expense, were placed as follows: Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, two ships; Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation, one ship; New York Shipbuilding Company, one ship.

With the exception of the New York company, each private builder will have to install new ways and machinery for the huge craft. The Government will bear its fair share of this expense. Already an appropriation of \$6,000,000 has been ordered expended to equip the Philadelphia yard for capital ship building.

Four of the scout cruisers will be built on the Pacific Coast—two by the Seattle Construction Company and two by the Union Iron Works at San Francisco. The other two will be built by William Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia.

The Three-Year Program

In a statement to newspaper men, Secretary Daniels said:

The Navy bill provides the initial appropriations for the following vessels of the three-year program adopted by the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which authorized the construction of 156 vessels of different types: 3 battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, 18 submarines, 1 destroyer tender, and 1 submarine tender.

Of the three-year program, therefore, the money has been provided in this bill and in the former bill to commence the construction of the following vessels: 7 battleships, 5 battle cruisers, 7 scout cruisers, 35 destroyers, 48 submarines, 1 destroyer tender, 1 submarine tender, 1 hospital ship, 1 fuel ship, 1 ammunition ship, 1 gunboat, leaving to be first appropriated for next year the balance of the three-year program, consisting of 3 battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, 19 submarines, 2 fuel ships, 1 repair ship, 1 transport, 1 destroyer tender, 1 ammunition ship, and 1 gunboat.

The outstanding features of the bill are, first, the \$115,000,000 appropriation for speeding up the construction of ships already authorized and authorized in the bill just approved, and the purchase or construction of aircraft, additional destroyers, submarine chasers, motor boats, and other small craft, which will be essential in an emergency, and which can be constructed in a comparatively short time. A further emergency appropriation of \$18,000,000 is provided specifically for the construction of twenty coast submarines in addition to the eighteen submarines for which money is provided in the bill of the three-year program, making thirty-eight submarines specifically appropriated for in this bill.

Contracts for sixteen non-rigid dirigible airships to be used for coast and harbor patrol were let by Secretary Daniels on March 12. The contracts are for \$649,250, and the specifications call

for the delivery of these airships in the remarkably brief period of 120 days, which means by the middle of June.

Under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a volunteer reserve auxiliary fleet of 750 ships and motor craft, with 10,000 civilians to man them, is in process of organization for the protection of waters adjoining New York City.

Military Defense Measures

Military defense has made less progress. The Army Appropriation bill for \$279,000,000 was among the important measures that died in the Senate during the filibuster at the close of the session. The chief work of the Secretary of War has consisted in organizing the industries and executive talent of the nation for the emergency. The newly formed Council of National Defense has become an active force during the month. It is the central agency for the industrial mobilization of the country, and under the direction of Daniel Willard, a prominent railroad President, its advisory commission is organizing for the rapid transportation of large bodies of troops, for the conservation of great quantities of food and supplies of all kinds, and for the effective employment of all the country's resources at short notice.

All the remaining National Guard units on the Mexican border, embracing about 75,000 men, were ordered on Feb. 17 to return to their home States for immediate muster out of Federal service. A few days later Judge Advocate General Crowder delivered an opinion to the effect that there was no essential difference in the status of the militiamen

who had taken the Federal oath under the terms of the Hay National Defense act and those who had not; in other words, both classes of National Guardsmen would be subject to call by the President in case of war with Germany.

Meanwhile orders had been issued on March 7 by the War Department directing the Colonels of all regular army regiments along the border to designate sixty enlisted men from each regiment who could be commissioned as company officers in the army in case of an emergency call. This would furnish a total of 5,000 new officers, who would be eligible for offices up to the rank of Captain, and who could be promoted in case of need. In the event of real war the Government would be compelled to call to the colors not less than 500,000 men, and for such an army 25,000 officers would be necessary. These officers would be obtained from the regular commissioned personnel of the army, from the rapid graduation of West Point cadets, and from the new officers' reserve corps now in process of creation.

Late in February the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, sent to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs the draft of a bill framed by the War College Division of the General Staff calling for eleven months of compulsory military training for every American boy of 18 years who did not come within certain exemption clauses. Under this bill it was estimated that within three years the country would have a first-line reserve of 1,500,000 young men ready to respond instantly to a call to the colors until their thirtieth year. The bill failed of passage, but will be brought up in Congress again.



German Chancellor's Address on the Break With United States

CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG delivered an important address in the Reichstag on Feb. 27, reviewing Germany's position as affected by the intensified submarine warfare and the action of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government. Discussing the attitude of neutrals the Chancellor said:

One step further than that taken by European neutrals has been taken (as is known) by the United States of America. President Wilson, after receiving our note of Jan. 31, brusquely broke off relations with us. No authentic communication about the reasons which were given for his step reached me. The former United States Ambassador here in Berlin communicated only in spoken words to the State Secretary of the Foreign Office of breaking off relations, and asked for his passports. This form of breaking off relations between great nations living in peace is probably without precedent in history.

All official documents being lacking, I am forced to rely upon doubtful sources—that is, upon the Reuter office's version of the contents of the message sent by President Wilson on Feb. 3 to Congress. In this version the President is reported to have said that our note of Jan. 31 suddenly and without previous indication intentionally withdrew the solemn promises made in the note of May, 1916. To the United States Government, therefore, no choice compatible with dignity and honor was left other than the way which had been announced in its note of April 20, 1916, covering the case if Germany should not wish to give up her submarine method.

If these arguments are correctly reported by Reuter, then I must decidedly protest against them. For more than a century friendly relations between us and America have been carefully promoted. We honored them—as Bismarck once put it—as an heirloom from Frederick the Great. Both countries benefited by it, both giving and taking.

Since the beginning of the war, things have changed on the other side of the waters. Old principles were overthrown.

On Aug. 27, 1913, during the Mexican troubles, President Wilson in a solemn message to Congress declared that he intended to follow the best usage of international law by a prohibition of the supplying of arms to both Mexican parties at war against each other. One year later, in 1914, these usages apparently were no longer considered

good. Countless materials of war have been supplied by America to the Entente, and while the right of the American citizen to travel without hindrance to Entente countries and the right to trade without hindrance with France and England, even through the midst of the battlefield, even the right of such trade as we had to pay for with German blood—while all these rights were jealously guarded, the same right of American citizens toward the Central Powers did not seem to be as worthy of protection and as valuable.

They protested against some measures of England which were contrary to international law, but they submitted to them. Under conditions of this kind objection as to lack of respect makes a strange impression.

With equal decisiveness I must protest against the objection that we, by the manner in which we withdrew the assurances given in the note of May 4, offended the honor and dignity of the United States. From the very beginning we had openly and expressly declared that these assurances would be invalid under certain conditions.

The Chancellor then recalled the last paragraph of the note of May 4, 1916, which he read verbatim, the last clause being: "Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, namely, to have the law of humanity followed by all the belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

The Chancellor then continued:

As to the American answer given to the German note, it was so absolutely contrary to what we in our note had said clearly and without any possibility of misunderstanding, that a reply on our part would have changed nothing as to the standpoints maintained by both sides. But nobody, even in America, could doubt that already long ago the conditions were fulfilled upon which, according to our declaration, depended our regaining full liberty of decision.

England did not abandon the isolation of Germany, but, on the contrary, intensified it in the most reckless fashion. Our adversaries were not made to respect the principles of international law, universally recognized before the war, nor made to follow the laws of humanity. The freedom of the seas, which America wanted to restore, in co-operation with us, during the war, has been still more completely destroyed by our adversary, and

America has not hindered this. All this is common knowledge.

Even at the end of January England issued a new isolation declaration for the North Sea, and in this period, since May 4, nine months had passed. Could it then be surprising that on Jan. 31 we considered that the freedom of the seas had not been re-established and that we drew our conclusions from this? But the case extends beyond that of formal importance. We, who were ready for peace, now by mutual understanding fight for life against an enemy who from the beginning put his heel upon the recognized laws of nations. The English starvation blockade, our peace offer, its rebuke by the Entente, the war aims of our enemies purporting our destruction, and the speeches of Lloyd George are known also in America.

I could fully understand it if the United States, as a protector of international law, should have bartered for its re-establishment in equal fashion with all the belligerents, and, if desiring to restore peace to the world, had taken measures to enforce the end of the bloodshed. But I cannot possibly consider it a vital question for the American Nation to protect international law in a one-sided fashion, only against us.

Our enemies, and American circles which are unfriendly toward us, thought that they could point out an important difference between our course of action and that of the British. England, they have satisfied themselves, destroys only material values, which can be replaced, while Germany destroys human lives, which are impossible to replace.

Well, gentlemen, why did the British not endanger American lives? Only because neu-

tral countries, and especially America, voluntarily submitted to the British orders, and because the British, therefore, could attain their object without employing force.

What would have happened if Americans had valued unhampered passenger and freight traffic with Bremen and Hamburg as much as that with Liverpool and London? If they had done so, then we should have been freed from the painful impression that, according to America, a submission to British power and control is compatible with the essential character of neutrality, but that it is incompatible with this neutral policy to recognize German measures of defense.

Gentlemen, let us consider the whole question. The breaking off of relations with us and the attempted mobilization of all neutrals against us do not serve for the protection of the freedom of the seas proclaimed by the United States. These actions will not promote the peace desired by President Wilson. They must, consequently, have encouraged the attempt to starve Germany and to multiply the bloodshed.

We regret the rupture with a nation which by her history seemed to be predestined surely to work with us, not against us. But since our honest will for peace has encountered only jeering on the part of our enemies, there is no more "going backward." There is only "going ahead" possible for us.

Adverting to peace discussions, the Chancellor pointed out that the German Nation, in the Reichstag's last vote granting new war credits, demonstrated to the whole world its readiness to continue the struggle until its enemies were ready for peace.

Ambassador Gerard's Difficulties in Leaving Berlin

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR GERARD received official notice of the break with Germany at 8 o'clock Sunday evening, Feb. 4. On Monday he made formal application for his passports, going in person to Foreign Secretary Zimmermann. The Ambassador's orders from Washington included certain instructions regarding the action of American Consuls in Germany. Telegrams were prepared in the usual code transmitting these instructions to these Americans. These messages were sent to the telegraph office in the customary way by an embassy messen-

ger. Each message bore across its face a stamp showing that it was an official message sent by the duly accredited representative of the American Government. But the telegraph office refused to receive those messages. Some one in the German Government recognized by the officials of the Government telegraph office had notified that office not to accept for transmission any further messages from officials of the American Embassy.

Later the telephone connection of the embassy was broken, his telegrams were not delivered, and the embassy

mail failed to be delivered. When this state of affairs dawned upon the Ambassador he proceeded to take precautions. He personally burned or destroyed all code books and ciphers or other means of confidential communication. Every confidential letter, telegram, or other form of communication in the embassy files went into the fire under Mr. Gerard's direction.

The situation following is thus described by a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"Officials of the Foreign Office and the War Office made more or less open efforts to cajole or induce American newspaper correspondents to remain in Berlin after Mr. Gerard had gone. There was an extraordinarily interesting session with Herr Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, at the Foreign Office on the Sunday evening when news of the rupture in relations was first received. Emphasis was then laid by him upon the German interpretation of the old treaty of 1799 between Prussia and the United States, and the vigor of his expression of hope that Germany would be able to negotiate with Mr. Gerard for reaffirmation of that treaty and its specific application to existing conditions gives a clear line on the motive for what was to occur so promptly to Mr. Gerard. Again on Tuesday evening, when the correspondents met Colonel Hafeton of the Military Staff, at military press headquarters, they received a renewed and emphasized impression of the importance with which Germans regarded their efforts to procure extended application of that old treaty to pending relations with the United States.

Interview with Montgelas

"It was while the correspondents were receiving their lecture from the military staff that evening that Mr. Gerard received a call from Count Montgelas, Chief of the American Affairs Division of the Foreign Office. It was at that interview that Count Montgelas submitted to Mr. Gerard a draft of the protocol proposed by Germany by way of reaffirmation and emendation of the old Prussian treaty.

"It was at that meeting that Mr. Gerard denounced the way in which he had been treated by the German Government, and received in explanation a statement of Count Montgelas that the German Government was as yet in ignorance of what had happened to Count von Bernstorff in America. But it was only the censorship of the German Government which was preventing the receipt of full authentic news from the United States, and it was inconceivable that Washington was preventing von Bernstorff from communicating with his Government if he desired to do so.

"It was in response to Count Montgelas's presentation of the proposed protocol that Mr. Gerard stated that he could not be 'sandbagged' into signing such a document. It was in reply to a further suggestion by Count Montgelas that favorable action by Mr. Gerard upon the German proposal would facilitate the withdrawal of newspaper correspondents and other Americans from Germany that Mr. Gerard vigorously declared he would sit right where he was until Christmas if his compatriots were not permitted to withdraw along with him.

"Moreover, the American Ambassador pointed out that it was in practical fact an act of war for Germany to refuse to permit Americans to withdraw from the country under the circumstances. There had been no declaration of war by the United States, only a rupture of diplomatic relations. Under every consideration and any interpretation of legal or moral right, Germany had no ground whatever for interference in such withdrawal. It was at this interview also that Mr. Gerard referred to efforts of the German Government to get his consent to the proposed protocol as an attempt to blackmail him.

Garbled News from America

"Berlin was without authoritative news from the United States. Nothing was coming through but criminally false stuff, carried by a news association which seemed bent on doing everything in its power to accentuate the trouble between the United States and Germany.

These dispatches purported to describe the confiscation of the German ships in American waters by the American Government.

"I had filed several dispatches for THE NEW YORK TIMES reporting these events and describing the mischievous character of these dispatches. Whether any of them got through or not I do not yet know, but I do know that on Thursday morning, when the tension in Berlin had become acute, I received a message from the managing editor of THE TIMES giving explicitly the situation in the United States and setting forth exactly the status of the German ships in American waters and their crews. I showed this message immediately to Ambassador Gerard, who said it was most important and urged that the widest possible publicity be given it. Thereupon I went at once to the Foreign Office and showed the message to one of the Under Secretaries.

"The effect was instantaneous. The message was taken at once to Secretary Zimmermann and sent by the Foreign Office to a German news agency, with the result that it was published that afternoon in all newspapers, and again the next morning.

"There was noticeable immediately a decided rise in the German official temperature. The attitude toward Americans and their departure from Germany was markedly friendly.

"It was not until Friday afternoon that the first passports were delivered, and those did not include Gerard's. His came Saturday morning. Some of the party who left Berlin on the train with him that evening did not receive their passports until 5 o'clock that afternoon. Despite the modification of the attitude following the receipt of THE NEW YORK TIMES dispatch, the decision to permit Americans to leave was not made until some time Friday afternoon. On Thursday evening, however, Gerard received a call from another member of the Foreign Office staff, the apparent purpose being to endeavor to smooth out the unpleasant impressions, also to see if something could not be done, even at that late date, on the important matter of that old

Prussian treaty, with its astounding joker, about the safe conduct for German ships to be furnished by the American Government in case of war between the two countries."

Ambassador Gerard and his party, numbering about 100, first proceeded to Switzerland. At the Swiss frontier representatives of the Government received them, and they were hospitably entertained at Berne. Again at the French frontier they were officially received, and at Paris a formal reception was tendered by the Government. From Paris the party proceeded to Madrid, where the King held a long interview with the Ambassador, and thence to Corunna, at which port they embarked on the steamship Alfonso XIII., arriving at Havana, Cuba, without incident on March 5. The Ambassador left on the 10th for Key West, and reached Washington Wednesday, March 14. He was cordially greeted en route by committees representing the cities and States, and was officially received at Washington. The President was confined to his room by illness, but the Ambassador was closeted on Wednesday for several hours with Secretary of State Lansing.

Mr. Gerard reached New York Friday, March 16, and was enthusiastically welcomed by Reception Committees representing the State and the municipality. He studiously declined to make any public statement, holding that any references to his report should be made by the Government.

It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Gerard reached Washington on the same day and practically at the same hour that Count von Bernstorff arrived at Berlin.

Thanks of British Government

Mr. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, announced in the House of Commons after the diplomatic break between the United States and Germany on Feb. 3 that he had communicated to the United States Government, through Ambassador Walter H. Page, the following letter of thanks for the services of Ambassador James W. Gerard and his staff in caring for British interests at Berlin since the beginning of the war:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 4th inst., (No. 2,766,) in which your Excellency informed me that diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the German Empire had ceased as from 2 P. M. on the 3d inst. I request that your Excellency will be good enough to convey to your Government an expression of the thanks of his Majesty's Government for the action taken by them in transferring the charge of British interests in Germany to the Netherland Minister at Berlin.

I desire to take this opportunity of expressing to your Excellency his Majesty's Government's deep appreciation of the care and devotion with which the United States Government has taken charge of British interests in Germany since the outbreak of war. His Majesty's Government are fully conscious of the immense amount of work which the care of British interests has necessarily entailed upon the staffs of the United States Embassies in London and Berlin, and they feel that they cannot value too highly the promptitude and efficiency with which that work has invariably been performed, and the unflinching tact and courtesy shown by the members of your Excellency's staff in dealing with the care of German interests in this country.

His Majesty's Government are especially

grateful for all that has been done by the United States diplomatic and Consular officers in Germany for the British prisoners of war. There can be no doubt that their efforts have been the direct cause of a considerable improvement in the treatment of British prisoners, while the machinery devised for relief has, as far as possible, ameliorated the lot of those British subjects who, though not interned, have for various reasons been unable to leave Germany. His Majesty's Government fully realize that these results have not been achieved without much labor on the part of the American officials concerned, and, in some cases, in face of strenuous opposition on the part of the German authorities, and I can assure your Excellency that the work done by the representatives of the United States of America on behalf of British subjects in hostile hands will not readily be forgotten either by his Majesty's Government or by the British people.

I beg that your Excellency will accept personally, and convey to the members of your staff, this expression of the most cordial thanks of his Majesty's Government, and that you will also be so good as to ask your Government to express to Mr. Gerard his Majesty's Government's profound gratitude and recognition of their deep indebtedness to him and to his Excellency's staff.

The Alliance With Mexico and Japan Proposed by Germany

AN important phase growing out of our rupture with Germany and the subsequent drift toward war, (the main issues being treated fully in preceding pages,) was the uncovering of an anti-American alliance proposed by Germany with Mexico and Japan in the event the threatened war ensued.

The plot was revealed by the publication on March 1, 1917, of a letter dated Jan. 19, 1917, signed by the German Foreign Secretary and addressed to the German Minister, von Eckhardt, in Mexico City. The text of the letter is as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On Feb. 1 we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general

financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

ZIMMERMANN.

The revelation created a profound impression throughout the country. The immediate effect on Congress was the elimination of practically all opposition to the proposal then pending to authorize the President to proceed at once to arm American merchantmen against German submarines; it also crystallized the con-

viction throughout the country that the German submarine blockade must be sternly resisted, even though it resulted in a declaration of war by Germany. A question having been raised in the United States Senate as to the authenticity of the letter, a resolution was passed requesting the President to inform the Senate as to the genuineness of the German note; thereupon the following reply was communicated by the Executive on the same day:

Washington, D. C., March 1, 1917.

To the Senate:

In response to the resolution adopted by the Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting the President to furnish the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information he has concerning the note published in the press of this date purporting to have been sent Jan. 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State, which has my approval.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Inclosure.]

To the President:

The resolution adopted by the United States Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting that that body be furnished, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information you have concerning the note published in the press of this date, purporting to have been sent Jan. 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I have the honor to state that the Government is in possession of evidence which establishes the fact that the note referred to is authentic, and that it is in possession of the Government of the United States, and that the evidence was procured by this Government during the present week, but that it is, in my opinion, incompatible with the public interest to send to the Senate at the present time any further information in possession of the Government of the United States relative to the note mentioned in the resolution of the Senate. Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT LANSING.

How the Note Was Obtained

The authorities have given no intimation as to how the Zimmermann note was procured, but an unconfirmed explanation was given that four men of the First Indiana Infantry, a noncommissioned officer and three privates, doing patrol duty along the Rio Grande near Llano Grande, Texas, had overhauled a messenger sent by the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, and found the note on his person. The details as related in a

dispatch from Houston, Texas, are as follows:

"Just opposite where the messenger attempted to sneak across the river was stationed a squad of thirty-five Carranza 'rurales,' fashioned after the organization of 'Texas Rangers.' However, the messenger did not meet the 'rurales,' but four men of Company G, First Indiana Infantry, and they got the Zimmermann note and other papers from his person. They caught him near the town of Progreso, where he was arrested on Feb. 21, when he attempted to cross the Rio Grande, twelve miles below San Juan Ferry and twenty-five miles west of the International Bridge at Brownsville, Texas, the two regulation crossings. Since the patrol of the border was begun no person is allowed to cross without being questioned, searched, and minutely examined by the patrol bodies, made up of four men and covering every foot of territory from Sam Fordyce, Texas, to Brownsville, Texas, along the Rio Grande—a distance of 106 miles. The messenger doubtless was following explicit instructions as to where to cross, and in so doing he aroused the suspicions of the militiamen."

It is stated, and not officially denied, that the document was in the hands of the President when he broke off relations with Germany by dismissing the Ambassador, but its absolute authenticity was not established until a day or two before it was made public.

Confirmed by Germany

When the Zimmermann proposal was first made public it evoked indignant protests from pro-Germans throughout the country, on the ground that it was spurious, and that its publication was a political trick. The German press in America denounced it as a palpable forgery, a clumsy artifice to influence American sentiment. However, on March 3 Secretary Zimmermann himself acknowledged that the letter was genuine, and the following statement was telegraphed from Berlin that day by the German Official News Bureau, the Overseas News Agency:

Foreign Secretary Zimmermann was asked

by a staff member of the Overseas News Agency about the English report that "a German plot had been revealed to get Mexico to declare war against the United States and to secure Japan's aid against the United States." Secretary Zimmermann answered:

"You understand that it is impossible for me to discuss the facts of this 'revealed plot' just at this moment and under these circumstances. I therefore may be allowed to limit my answer to what is said in the English reports, which certainly are not inspired by sympathy with Germany. The English report expressly states that Germany expected and wished to remain on terms of friendship with the United States, but that we had prepared measures of defense in case the United States declared war against Germany. I fail to see how such a 'plot' is inspired by un-friendliness on our part. It would mean nothing but that we would use means universally admitted in war, in case the United States declared war.

"The most important part of the alleged plot is its condition and form. The whole 'plot' falls flat to the ground in case the United States does not declare war against us. And if we really, as the report alleges, considered the possibility of hostile acts of the United States against us, then we really had reasons to do so.

"An Argentine newspaper a short while ago really 'revealed a plot' when it told that the United States last year suggested to other American republics common action against Germany and her allies. This 'plot' apparently was not conditional in the least. The news as published by La Prensa (Buenos Aires) agrees well with the interpretation given, for instance, by an American newspaper man, Edward Price, in Berlin and London, who said that the United States was waiting only for the proper moment in order opportunely to assist the Entente. The same American stated that Americans from the beginning of the war really participated in it by putting the immense resources of the United States at the Entente's disposal, and that Americans had not declared war only because they felt sure that assistance by friendly neutrality would be during that time much more efficient for the Entente than direct participation in the war. Whether this American newspaper man reported the facts exactly we were at a loss to judge in satisfactory fashion, since we were more or less completely cut off from communication with the United States.

"But there were other facts which seemed to confirm this and similar assurances. Everybody knows these facts, and I need not repeat them. The Entente propaganda services have sufficiently heralded all these pro-Entente demonstrations in the United States. And if you link these demonstrations with the actual attitude of the United States, then it is obvious that it was not frivolous on our part to consider what defensive measures we

should take in case we were attacked by the United States."

German Comment

The German newspaper press was cautious in its comments on the disclosure, though some influential organs criticised the manoeuvre as unwise. It was at first reported that the Reichstag would repudiate the Minister and demand his dismissal, but this story proved to be wholly unfounded. The Reichstag Budget Committee at an executive session on March 5, lasting six hours, unequivocally indorsed the action of the Foreign Office by unanimous vote. The Government's efforts to negotiate an alliance in the eventuality of war with the United States was approved as being within the legitimate scope of military precautions. The committee expressed regrets at the misfortune which resulted in the interception of Foreign Secretary Zimmermann's note.

After Dr. Zimmermann had given his report in regard to the instructions to the German Minister in Mexico the subject was debated by members of the Reichstag. Reporting the debate, the Overseas News Agency said that a National Liberal member reminded the committee that President Wilson had attempted to instigate neutrals against Germany. He said he was unable to object to Dr. Zimmermann's action.

Members of the Socialist minority criticised unfavorably the Foreign Secretary's move. Their remarks evoked energetic protests from a member of the Catholic Party. A Conservative member declared Dr. Zimmermann's action was unobjectionable and should be indorsed. The objections raised by the members of the Socialist minority were criticised by other Socialists.

The most caustic criticism of the matter came from Theodor Wolff, editor of the influential Berliner Tageblatt, who wrote:

The invitation to Mexico would have been a mistake even if it had not strayed from the right road. The fresh spirit of enterprise it shows too impatiently eliminated sober judgment.

The Minister to Mexico was instructed to hold out the conquest of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Carranza, and it would cer-

tainly be interesting to see the face of the wily Mexican when this offer was made. The idea, too, that through Carranza's mediation one could win over rather self-conscious Japan is somewhat strange. With Russia, England, and America, all leading powers in Eastern Asia, standing on the other side, Japan will certainly not be very amenable to Mexico's influence. It is not probable one can help along the world's history in this way.

Naturally no man says a word about morality in this connection; in the first place, morality has for a long time been that thing whose nonobservance is self-understood; secondly, it hasn't the least to do with the Mexican matter. It is not immoral to offer Mexico an alliance for the eventuality of war, and it would not be immoral even to ask Japan, "My yellow beauty, will you go with me?" One who does so is far from being a Machiavelli.

Likewise, nothing justifies the charge that the authors of the plan have touched the fuse to the American powder barrel. The development of things would have been approximately the same, even without the Mexican correspondence. Neither should one condemn an action because it fails. The greatest diplomatic geniuses have occasionally gone wrong.

After we have thus blown ourselves up with righteousness, we can quietly say that the jewel of statesmanship went lost between Berlin and Mexico.

Georg Bernhard in the *Vossische Zeitung* expressed disapproval in these terms:

To begin with we cannot see what interest we might have in offering the Mexicans bits of American territory. Mexico is carrying on a war of defense against the Union. The Mexicans know full well for what reasons, not only financial, but political, the United States is forced to seek an extension of its territory beyond the Mexican boundary. The American need to defend the Panama Canal is a perpetual menace to every State lying between the Canal and the United States boundary. Therefore these States are bound to look upon the German proffer to assist them in their defense as highly valuable.

Wholly incomprehensible, however, is the inspiration of our diplomacy to negotiate with Japan by way of Mexico. It betrays a wholly false estimate of latent possibilities. We are fully acquainted with Japan's attitude toward America. All the beautiful speeches of the statesmen in Washington and Tokio cannot deceive us, for beneath the mask of friendship the two grimmest foes of the future are facing one another. Long before the war we were aware that Japanese diplomacy was not only astute, but very purposeful, and we know further that among no people has the art of keeping one's face been so keenly developed. Whoever assumed that Japan, in this war, would probably forsake her alle-

giance to her friends betrays anything but a diplomatic line of reasoning.

Mexico and Japan Speak

The State Department announced that it had no reason to believe that the Zimmermann proposal had ever been presented to the Mexican Government, and the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, Ramon de Negri, issued a formal statement denying that the Carranza Government had been in any way implicated in the matter. The Japanese Embassy at Washington also issued a formal statement denouncing the letter as a "monstrous plot," and adding:

"If such a proposal were made, it is one that could not be entertained by the Japanese Government, as it is an absolutely impossible proposal. Japan is not only in honor bound to her allies in the Entente, but could not entertain the idea of entering into any such alliance at the expense of the United States."

The Japanese Foreign Minister, Viscount Motono, considered the suggestion ridiculous, and added: "If Mexico received the proposal, that country showed intelligence in not transmitting it to Japan." The Prime Minister of Japan, Count Terauchi, made the following statement regarding the matter on March 5:

The revelation of Germany's latest plot, looking to a combination between Japan and Mexico against the United States, is interesting in many ways. We are surprised not so much by the persistent efforts of the Germans to cause an estrangement between Japan and the United States as by their complete failure of appreciating the aims and ideals of other nations.

Nothing is more repugnant to our sense of honor and to the lasting welfare of this country than to betray our allies and friends in time of trial and to become a party to a combination directed against the United States, to whom we are bound not only by the sentiments of true friendship, but also by the material interests of vast and far-reaching importance.

The proposal which is now reported to have been planned by the German Foreign Office has not been communicated to the Japanese Government up to this moment, either directly or indirectly, officially or unofficially, but should it ever come to hand I can conceive no other form of reply than that of indignant and categorical refusal.

The Mikado of Japan sent President Wilson the following greeting on his second inauguration on March 5:

On the occasion of your inauguration as the President of the United States of America we desire to offer to you our sincere congratulations and to express our ardent wishes that your Administration may be attended by brilliant successes in the future, as it has been in the past, and that the United States may grow more and more in its prosperity.

Attitude of Carranza

The exposure of the proposed German-Mexican-Japanese alliance was followed by disclosures of intrigues by alleged German agents in nearly all the Central and South American States. On March 9 it was reported that Washington had discovered that a wireless station has been installed in Mexico, whereby direct communication could be had with Germany. Numerous reports came from points in Central and South America of plottings to involve various States in quarrels, and one circumstantial story was related to the effect that efforts had been made to embroil Mexico with all the Central American States, with the promise that Mexico should be permitted to acquire nearly all of Guatemala and British Honduras.

Carranza, the de facto President of Mexico, made no announcement regarding the exposure of the plot, and it was remarked that no official repudiation of the proposal had been made by any important official of the Carranza Government. It is recalled that on Feb. 12, 1917, Secretary Lansing received from R. P. de Negri, Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, the copy of an identical note which the de facto Government of Mexico had also dispatched to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Spain, Sweden, Norway, and other nations, asking that they and the United States join with Mexico in an international agreement to prohibit the exportation of munitions and foodstuffs to the belligerents in Europe.

This proposal, contrary to international law and to the principles of neutrality as laid down by the United States in its notes to the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, caused critics of in-

ternational affairs to say that, as the Central Powers were the only ones to be benefited by the proposal, it was probably due to German influence on General Carranza or to Carranza's own desire to have a hand in the European quarrel.

Carranza's Intervention Note

The text of the Carranza note reads, in part:

Over two years ago there began on the old Continent the most gigantic armed conflict which history records, spreading death, desolation, and misery among the belligerent nations. This tragic struggle has deeply wounded the sentiments of humanity of all the countries not taking any part in the struggle, and it would not be just or humane that these nations should remain indifferent before such great disaster. A deep sentiment of human brotherhood therefore obliges the Mexican Government to offer its modest co-operation in order to bring about the cessation of the struggle. * * *

The present European war seems to the whole world as a great conflagration, as a great plague that ought to have been isolated and limited long ago, in order to shorten its duration and avoid its extension. Far from that, the commerce of the neutral countries of the world, and particularly that of America, has a great responsibility before history, because all the neutral nations, more or less, have lent their assistance in money, in provisions, in munitions, or in fuel, and in this way have fed and prolonged this great conflagration.

By reason of high human morals and for their own national preservation, the neutral nations are obligated to abandon this procedure, and also to refuse to continue lending this assistance that has made possible the continuation of the war for over two years. To this end the Mexican Government, acting within the most strict respect for the sovereignty of the countries at war, inspired by the highest humanitarian sentiments, and guided at the same time by the sentiment of self-conservation and defense, permits itself to propose to the Government of your Excellency, as it is also doing to the other neutral Governments, that, working in mutual accord and proceeding upon the basis of the most absolute equality for both groups of combatant powers, to [we?] invite them to put an end to the present war, either by themselves or taking advantage of the good offices or of the friendly mediation of all the nations that jointly may accept this invitation.

If within a reasonable length of time peace cannot be established by this means, the neutral countries will then take the necessary measures in order to confine the conflagration to its strict limits, refusing to the belligerents all kinds of supplies and

stopping merchant traffic with the nations of the world until the end of the war is achieved.

The Mexican Government recognizes that in its proposition it steps aside a little from the principles of international law which until now have been in force in the relations of the neutrals with the belligerents. But we ought to recognize that the present European war is a conflict without any precedent in the history of humanity, which demands supreme effort and new remedies that cannot be found within the narrow and somewhat egotistical limits of international law as known up to date.

The Government of Mexico understands that no neutral nation, powerful as it may be, could by itself take a step of this nature, and that the result of this measure only can be reached with the co-operation of the neutral Governments possessing the greatest international influence before the belligerent nations.

It pertains especially to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in America, and to Spain, Sweden, and Norway in Europe, which are more influential and more at liberty to take a determined stand before the belligerents concerned, to foster this initiative, which, not because it proceeds from a nation which is supposed to be weak at the present time, and therefore incapable of an effective international effort, is nevertheless worthy of serious study and minute consideration.

The proposal at the time brought sharp protests from the newspapers and prominent spokesmen of all the countries, and was denounced as a movement in the interest of Germany. General Carranza expressed surprise that his suggestion should be so construed, and disclaimed that it was made in the interest of any of the belligerents.

Earlier Intrigues in Mexico

German plottings with reference to Mexico were first divulged on Dec. 8, 1915, when it was reported that Franz Rintelen, an intimate friend of the German Crown Prince, and one of the financial advisers of the German Admiralty, had been sent to the United States in the Spring of that year for the double purpose of stirring up strikes in American factories engaged in the manufacture of munitions for the Allies, and also of bringing about a war between the United States and Mexico, the purpose of the last-named plot being to create a situation in this country which would make impossible the sale of war materials

to the Allies so long as the Mexican trouble lasted.

Rintelen arrived in the United States in April, 1915, under an assumed name, which he changed to another assumed name shortly after his arrival. He had offices in a New York bank building, and was known to the other tenants as Hansen. As Hansen he went to an uptown hotel with a letter of introduction to a man who was at that time a power in Mexican affairs.

The letter introducing him was written by an official of a bank in which Austro-Hungarian officials in this country have kept large accounts. Rintelen also had an account in this bank, which at one time amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. This money, according to American Secret Service agents, was part of a large fund given to Rintelen by the German Government to carry out the anti-American conspiracies which caused the Berlin authorities to send him to the United States. The total amount of the fund said to have been at the disposal of Rintelen has been placed by responsible officials as high as \$30,000,000.

Huerta and Rintelen

A few weeks after Rintelen arrived in New York, Victoriano Huerta, former dictator of Mexico, arrived here from Spain. He had fled to the latter country a few weeks following the American occupation of Vera Cruz, in the Spring of 1914. There is every reason to believe that Rintelen also came to this country from Spain, and that while in that country he had conferred with Huerta and other prominent Mexicans who were then in exile there.

Shortly after his arrival in New York Huerta met Rintelen. Several times later he met and conferred with Captain von Papen, then the German Military Attaché in Washington. Von Papen subsequently was recalled by the German Government at the request of President Wilson. The reason of the recall has never been made public, but those who are in close touch with the situation have never seen fit to deny that the Mexican activities of German agents had something to do with the disgracing of the Attaché.

The German proposition to Huerta was submitted to him at a conference held in a Fifth Avenue hotel, at which there were present, besides Huerta and Rintelen, at least one former Foreign Minister of the Mexican Government and several other Mexicans whose names were household words south of the Rio Grande five years ago.

Von Papen was not at this conference, but he conferred subsequently with Huerta. Von Papen is said to have gone to the border in the Summer of 1915, and, with trusted German agents, made a close study of the situation from a military point of view.

Huerta took kindly to the German proposition, and a few weeks later he announced that he had decided to make New York his home, and rented a house on Long Island. This statement regarding a change of residence proved to be a ruse to throw the United States Secret Service agents off Huerta's track, for a few days after he moved to his Long Island home he disappeared. The Secret Service agents found him in Missouri, speeding on a limited train for El Paso, Texas, where it was learned he was to be joined by confederates and was to slip across the line near Juarez and start the new revolution, the purpose of which was to bring on a war with the United States. The Germans, it is said, had promised Huerta 10,000 rifles, a huge amount of ammunition, and a first credit of about \$10,000,000 to finance the enterprise.

Huerta never arrived at El Paso. Instead, the Government agents intercepted him in New Mexico, near the Texas line,

and made him a prisoner. Pascual Orozco, a former Madero chieftain, who was also in the plot, was killed a few weeks later in trying to escape into Mexico. Whether or not Huerta ever confessed to the Federal authorities his part in the German plot has never been stated, but the impression is that he died in the jail at San Antonio without telling what he knew of the affair.

The arrest of Huerta and the subsequent investigation by the Secret Service agents resulted in the flight from this country of Rintelen. He sailed on a Holland-America liner on a fraudulent Swiss passport, and was arrested by the British when his ship called at Falmouth for examination by the British military authorities. He is still a prisoner of war in Great Britain, the place of confinement being, it is said, a prison near London.

A significant indication of the attitude of the Carranza Government toward Japan lies in the fact that about the time the Zimmermann note was due to be delivered at Mexico City the Mexican Government canceled orders for 20,000,000 rifle cartridges that had been let in this country and transferred them to Japanese munitions works. The ostensible reason given was the irksome regulation imposed by our Government in regard to deliveries.

It is stated that by March 10 there were 6,000 Germans in various parts of Mexico, all trained soldiers, and that the number is increasing rapidly by the departure from American cities of hundreds each week for Mexico.



Microbes as War Weapons

A German Plot to Infect Rumanian Horses and Cattle Is Charged

Robert de Lazeu, a writer for the Paris Figaro, has collected the evidence tending to prove that the Germans, under protection of diplomatic immunity in time of peace, had introduced into Rumania certain explosives and microbe cultures intended to be used to blow up Rumanian railways and infect Rumanian cattle and horses.

[This article is published without verification by the editor, and is presented as an ex parte contribution.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN the course of the Dobrudja campaign I had occasion to witness and verify many Bulgarian horrors and German atrocities; but none of these seems to me to have equaled in infamy the discovery that was made on Oct. 5, 1916, at 11 o'clock in the morning, in the garden of the German Legation at Bucharest, of a case of powerful explosives and a whole set of tubes and little boxes of bacillus cultures, intended to spread in Rumania two dreaded epidemics—anthrax and glanders.

The fact is so unheard of, so monstrous, so unprecedented in the annals of civilization and even of barbarism, that I confess I did not give it entire credence at first. The newspapers presented it in an incomplete and cursory fashion. The Austro-German press denied it, and denies it still, sometimes with violence, sometimes with an air of rather strained levity. The newspapers of neutral countries, especially those of America, remained skeptical and concluded that such machinations passed the limits of probability. How could one blame them?

This is why it seems to me to be important to ascertain all the circumstances of an act which the mind and even the imagination refuse to admit, and to devote all the more care to the proofs because the facts involved seem incredible.

I have seen all the apparatus, all the poison bottles, discovered in the legation garden. I have had in my hands all the official reports and all the records in this unprecedented case. I am going to try to present them in such a way that the German press shall be obliged to implore its "good old God" for inspiration to invent new lies, and that no one can longer doubt that in 1916—in a coun-

try not at war—in a European capital, diplomats and Military Attachés who were in social intercourse every evening with Ministers or high officials were spending their days, with sleeves rolled up, in preparing explosives to blow up their hosts, and deadly microbes to destroy the horses attached to the vehicles in which they rode.

Bucharest has a Prefect of Police whom all the capitals might envy if they knew him—M. Corbesco. Several weeks before Rumania's entry into the war M. Corbesco had ascertained that explosives were being introduced into the country—coming surreptitiously from the Central Empires—and that the diplomatic channel was being used for this purpose. One day a policeman came and reported to the Prefect that he had found where the explosives were. They were at the German Consulate. M. Corbesco was stupefied, but he kept his counsel and bided his time.

After the mobilization M. Corbesco was anxious to search the legation. It required long parleying. The American Legation, which is intrusted with the protection of the German Legation, interposed purely formal difficulties. Finally, on Sept. 22, at the request of the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the American Legation delegated its First Secretary, Mr. Andrews, to be present at the search.

Poor Mr. Andrews! Whoever knows Mr. Andrews, so obliging and correct, thin as certain scruples and long as an English novel, can guess with what melancholy that diplomat presented himself at that ceremony, for which the peaceful and distinguished manners of the Chancelleries had not exactly fitted him. He took his overcoat, his hat, his

gloves, his diplomatic phlegm plus his American phlegm, and, covered with all these phlegms, betook himself to the German Legation—very phlegmatically. There he found M. Corbesco, Chief of Police, and M. Rafaël, Chief Inspector. All three entered the premises, then the garden. They found there one Michel Markus, guardian, and one Andrei Maftei, domestic, both authorized to occupy the legation after the departure of the German Minister, their employer, in the capacity of guards.

"I know," said M. Corbesco, addressing Michel Markus, "that certain boxes have been buried in this garden, and that you have helped to place them here."

Michel Markus admitted that this was true.

"Do you know what these cases contain?"

"No, Sir."

"You are going," said the Prefect, "to show me immediately where these things are buried, and you are going to help me dig them up."

Markus and Maftei went to seek spades and picks, and set themselves to dig in the garden border along the wall of the house on the side next to Cosma Street. At a depth of about twenty inches, between the eighth and ninth tree from the corner of the house, they soon brought to light, first, fifty Bickford fuses, then fifty metal boxes of a long, rectangular shape.

"That is not all," insisted M. Corbesco.

"No, Monsieur le Préfet."

And the docile Markus led M. Corbesco to the fence that separates the legation garden from the adjoining premises on Cosma Street. He paused before a heap of fagots and firewood. Markus removed this and began a new excavation, which shortly brought to light a rectangular box wrapped in white paper and bearing the seal of the Imperial German Consulate at Kronstadt (Brachow) in red wax—also the following labels:

Durch Feldjäger! Ganz geheim! Nicht werfen!!! Bucarest.
Für Herrn Kostoff, S. Hochwohlgeb. Dem Oberst u. Militärattache an der Kaiserlich-Bulgarischen Gesandtschaft zu Bucarest, Herrn Samargieff.

[Translation: "By orderly. Absolutely secret. Not to be thrown! For Mr. Kostoff. To his Honor, Mr. Samargieff, Colonel and Military Attache at the Imperial Bulgarian Legation in Bucharest."]

Within this first envelope was found another envelope of white paper bearing in red pencil the words:

Ganz geheim! Durch Feld.
An den königlichen Oberst und Militärattache, Herrn von —.

[Translation: "Absolutely secret. By orderly. To Mr. von —, royal Colonel and Military Attache."]

The half-effaced name was easily deciphered. It was that of Colonel von Hammerstein, Military Attaché at the German Legation, just as Samargieff was that of the Military Attaché at the Bulgarian Legation. In all this business Kostoff was merely a sort of tool and go-between, ordered to carry the ignominious package from one legation to the other.

The box was opened and within it was found, on a bed of wadding, a typewritten note in German, as follows:

Anbei 1 Fläschchen für Pferde und 4 für Hornvieh. Verwendung wie besprochen. Jedes Röhrchen genügt für 200 Stück. Wenn möglich den Tieren direct in das Maul, sonst in Futter. Bitten um kleinen Bericht über dortige Erfolge und falls Resultate zu verzeichnen, wäre Anwesenheit von Hr. K. für einen Tag hier Erwünscht.

[Translation: "One vial for horses, four for cattle. Use as agreed. Each tube is enough for 200 animals. If possible, to be placed directly in the mouth, otherwise in the fodder. Please inform us of the results in a brief note. The presence of Mr. K. is desired here for one day.]

The text of this outrageous document was immediately countersinged by the Chief of Police and by Mr. Andrews, representative of the Central Empires in the circumstances.

In the box, under the wadding, were found six little boxes of white wood, of oblong form. In each little box was a glass tube containing a yellowish liquid, whose nature remained to be ascertained.

How had these objects been buried here—by whom—under whose orders? This was to be learned by questioning Markus and Maftei, and it was done on that same day of Oct. 5 in the presence of Mr. Andrews, who became more and more depressed, in the hotel of the

United States Legation. I have been able to procure the exact text of the declarations of these two men. That of Michel Markus is as follows:

My name is Michel Markus. I am a German subject living at Bucharest in the premises of the German Legation, where I have been employed for twenty-two years. Regarding the facts on which you interrogate me, namely, what I know concerning the discovery of the fifty fuses and of the fifty boxes containing explosives, and concerning the box sealed with the seal of the German Consulate at Kronstadt, all found buried in the garden of the German Legation at Bucharest, I make the following declaration:

On the day before, or the very day of the departure of the German Diplomatic Corps from Bucharest, Mr. von Rheinbaden, counselor of the legation, gave me the order to burn the flags and everything that remained not locked up. The cases containing the objects above mentioned were in a room of the cellar, where they had been brought from the German Consulate before the day on which the decree mobilizing the Rumanian Army was published. When I called the attention of Mr. Rheinbaden to these cases he told me it would be necessary to bury them.

After the departure of the diplomats I asked Mr. Krüger, Chancellor of the legation, what I should do with the cases, and he replied that they must be buried. Then Mr. Krüger, Andrei Maftei, and I took them and buried them in a ditch dug by us at the place where you found them. I did not know what these cases contained; I only know that Mr. Krüger advised me to handle them carefully. Regarding the box wrapped in paper and bearing the seal of the Imperial Consulate, I recall that on the day before the mobilization, or on the day itself, Mr. Adolf (I don't remember his family name, but I know that he was Assistant Military Attaché, serving with Colonel Hammerstein, the Military Attaché) brought me this box and told me to bury it in the garden. I helped for a moment to dig a hole, but, as I was very busy with my own work, it was finally Mr. Adolf himself who buried the box. He did not tell me what was in the box, which he held in his hand. I do not know whence or by whom this box was brought to the legation; I saw it for the first time on the day when Mr. Adolf ordered me to bury it in the garden.

After having read over this declaration and pronounced it correct, the undersigned has hereto placed his signature.

(Signed) MICHEL MARKUS.

When Andrei Maftei was questioned regarding the same facts he made the following declaration:

My name is Andrei Maftei, and I am a na-

tive of Transylvania; I was employed at the German Legation until the day when Dr. Bernhardt left it to go and live at 8 Temisana Street.

Concerning the explosives, I know that after the departure of the diplomats—I don't remember the day—Mr. Markus told me to take the case and carry it into the garden, where it was buried by Mr. Markus and Mr. Krüger; then I went on to attend to my work. I know nothing more, either about this case or about the white box with a red seal which has been found by you at the back of the garden near the fence, under a pile of wood.

After having read over this declaration and pronounced it correct, the undersigned has hereto placed his signature.

(Signed) ANDREI MAFTEI.

What was the nature of the explosives and tubes of poison discovered in the garden of the German Legation? The Bureau of Pyrotechnics of the Rumanian Army and the Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology at Bucharest were asked to ascertain this. The results of their analyses proved beyond doubt that the affair was no "simple joke," as one German paper ventured to state—without joking.

Here is the report on the explosives written by Lieut. Col. Philipesco, Director of Pyrotechnics, and Lieutenant A. Pecuraru, chief of the Laboratory Service:

The explosives discovered at the German Legation and sent to us for examination consist of:

Fifty cartouches made of rectangular zinc-plate boxes of the dimensions of 20 by 7 by 5 centimeters; three of the larger surfaces each present points for priming, in order to permit of the discharge of the cartouche regardless of its position.

These cartouche mines, each weighing one kilogram, (two and one-half pounds,) bear the label, "Donarit I. Kavalerie Sprengpatronen. Sprengstoff A. G. Carbonit Hamburg 'Schlebusch.'"

The explosive contained in these boxes belongs to the class of shattering explosives, which have as their base nitrate of ammonia and trinitrotoluene (trotyl) with its less nitrous derivatives.

In destructive force this explosive is in the category of dynamite and "Kieselguhr," one kilogram developing 700 grand calories. Regarding this destructive effect it is sufficient to mention that 200 grams of the said explosive, that is to say, one-fifth of the contents of any one of these boxes, is sufficient to blow up one meter of a railway. The fifty kilograms could destroy a bridge pier or a large building, could be used to mine a railway, &c.

And here is the report of Dr. Babès, Director of the Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology, under date of Oct. 5 (18):

Having completed the testing of the vials of cultures received with your letter No. 143,003, dated Sept. 24, I have ascertained as follows:

1. The vial covered with red paper contained a culture of the bacillus of anthrax, which has been identified by derivative cultures and by inoculations of animals.

2. The vial covered with white paper contained a culture of the bacillus of glanders, which has been identified by derivative cultures and by injections applied to animals.

Comment of Professor Roux

In an article in the *Bulletin des Armées* the eminent director of the Pasteur Institute at Paris, Dr. Roux, accepts the foregoing charge as proved, and makes the following comment:

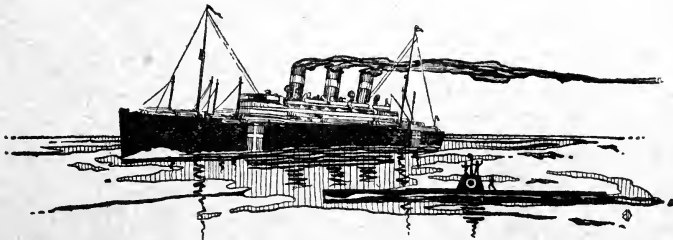
"These microbes have been identified by Professor Babès, director of the Bacteriological Institute at Bucharest. Besides, a label in German indicated the method of using these cultures; they were intended for cattle and horses. One vial of glanders was sufficient to infect 200 horses.

"It is very certain that if the contents of one of these tubes had been turned into the trough from which the horses of a cavalry squadron drink, most of the animals would have been infected, and, with the help of the fatigue of the campaign, an epidemic of glanders would

have followed. The Germans hoped that it would spread to other cavalry units. Cavalrymen whose horses are glandered are soon dismounted.

"In like manner the anthrax cultures, if thrown into the food of cattle or horses, would have given some of these the anthrax fever, which kills more surely and rapidly than glanders. The bacilli of glanders and anthrax are not only fatal for horses and cattle, they are also fatal for human beings, who can contract these diseases in caring for the animals or handling infected meat. The Germans, by infecting the animals, hoped also to communicate the disease indirectly to men.

"Our enemies, who pervert everything, even science, have thus attempted to make of the most beneficent of all sciences—that of bacteriology—a clandestine weapon. This incontestable and criminal ability, however, is not as formidable as one might imagine. It is not as easy to create an extensive epidemic among men or animals as the wickedness of our adversaries desired. To sow the disease is not enough; circumstances must lend themselves to the propagation of the microbes. It is probable that the number of human and animal victims in this case would not have been very great, for we now possess singularly effective means for checking the extension of these maladies."



A Historian's Answer

By Joseph Reinach

French Historian and Publicist

Shortly after President Wilson sent his peace note of Dec. 20, 1916, to the belligerent powers, Joseph Reinach wrote for the Paris Figaro the reply here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

POINTS OF FACT

I. PREMEDITATION OF THE WAR

CONSIDERING that on April 13, 1905, the Reichstag passed a new military law extending over six years, and providing for an initial, non-renewable credit of 87,000,000 francs and a supplementary credit of 39,000,000 annually for expenses in case of war;

That on March 7, 1911, the Reichstag voted a five-year non-renewable expenditure for military purposes of 103,000,000, with a supplementary annual expenditure of 55,000,000;

That on June 14, 1912, the Reichstag voted another non-renewable credit of 180,000,000 and a new annual supplementary credit of 55,000,000;

That on July 3, 1913, the Reichstag voted a non-renewable credit of 1,105,000,000 francs, with a new annual supplementary credit of 228,000,000;

CONSIDERING that during the same period the French Chamber voted: On March 21, 1905, a supplementary annual credit of 21,000,000, and, on March 26, 1914, through the necessity of parrying in part the menace of the enormous sums appropriated by the Reichstag since 1905, and especially in 1913, a permanent supplement of 257,000,000 francs for the war budget, and a non-renewable credit of 720,000,000;

That these facts and dates establish the respective tendencies of the two countries at the beginning of 1914;

II. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

CONSIDERING that on July 25, 1914, in response to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum of the 23d, the Serbian Government accepted in practical totality the conditions imposed by the Government at Vienna, and declared itself ready to submit any points of difference either to The Hague or the great powers;

That on the same day, without paying any attention to this reply, which had been made at the request of Russia and France, the Austro-Hungarian Minister broke off relations with Serbia and left Belgrade;

That on July 27, 1914, the British Government, in concert with France and Russia and with the support of Italy, proposed to Germany a conference in London with a view to preserving the peace of Europe;

That the German Government refused to consider this suggestion;

That on July 29, 1914, relying upon the declaration of Herr von Jagow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, "that Austria must have special guarantees before Serbia's reply could offer a basis for negotiations," the French Government immediately suggested that an international commission should take charge of the execution of Serbia's promises:

That no response was made to that suggestion;

That on the same day a personal telegram from the Czar of Russia to the German Emperor offered to submit the Austro-Serbian difference to The Hague tribunal;

That again there was no reply to this telegram; and that, furthermore, this important matter of record was omitted intentionally from the German White Book of August, 1914;

That on July 31 the British Government asked France and Germany whether, in case war could not be averted, they would respect the neutrality of Belgium;

That France, one of the parties to the Treaty of 1839, at once replied that the treaty would be scrupulously respected;

That Germany, also a party to that treaty, refused to give any guarantee,

and on Aug. 2, upon a pretext—since proved absolutely false—that France was preparing to send troops through Belgium along the Meuse, destroyed the treaty, qualifying it in the words of the German Chancellor as a “scrap of paper,” addressed an ultimatum to Belgium, invaded Luxemburg, whose neutrality she had no less solemnly guaranteed, and crossed the Belgian frontier with her armies;

That on July 31, 1914, Germany began mobilization under the pretext that she was “in danger of war”;

That on the next day France, while finding herself compelled to take a similar step, announced that in order to avoid any clash at the frontier she was withdrawing her border troops ten kilometers back of the line;

That on Aug. 2, early in the morning, the first German patrols set foot on French soil, while it was only in the evening of the following day, Aug. 3, 1914, that the German Government sent its declaration of war to the French Government;

That this declaration of war was accompanied by a statement that Belgian and German territory had been violated by French aviators, a statement since recognized by the German Government itself as without foundation of fact or truth;

POINTS OF RIGHT

III.—CONDUCT OF THE WAR

CONSIDERING that the whole world knows how the Central Powers and their allies have conducted the war, notably in violating the articles of the Geneva Convention relating to the Red Cross, those of The Hague Conference on the use of asphyxiating gas, the laws of maritime warfare, and Article 22 of the Convention of Nov. 29, 1909, forbidding a belligerent to force citizens of another belligerent to take part in war operations against their own country;

IV.—THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

CONSIDERING that the Imperial German Government has sought in vain to throw upon the Entente the responsibility for a catastrophe without precedent

and for the death of several millions of men;

That the statesmen, educators, and military officials of Germany, in their writings, teachings, and public addresses have long proclaimed the necessity of making right bow before might;

That whole German generations have been mentally formed upon a doctrine of contempt for the plighted word and the triumph of brute force;

That in connection with her increasing and unjustified military preparations, Germany, through an unscrupulous and immoral diplomacy, sought to impose upon free nations a habit of humiliation and fear;

That these nations, in the illusion of an imprudent confidence, had come to neglect—for the works of civilization and peace—the most legitimate precautions and preparations for self-defense;

That the men responsible for the disregard of plighted honor and the brutal aggression which the war has brought forth, could not, a few months before hostilities, longer keep their own evil counsel, as evidenced by the Emperor's conversation with the King of Belgium on Nov. 6, 1913, and the speech of the German Chancellor from the tribune of the Reichstag on Aug. 4, 1914;

That the rulers of Germany, therefore, by virtue of the very power they hold, have been the sole responsible and guilty parties, having for a long time previous to hostilities premeditated and prepared war, loosing it at the moment which they judged favorable and giving it its character of increasing ferocity, as manifested in the untold destruction of property and cruelty to humanity;

That in logical consequence these men, who have shown contempt for their sacred engagements, are disqualified to engage in peace negotiations, which they themselves, either through cynicism or through lack of conscience, characterize as “offensive diplomacy”;

That the Governments and peoples of the Entente cannot consider the question of peace as long as they have to treat with men who can no longer be trusted;

CONSIDERING that no chance exists for a just, honorable, and lasting peace,

a peace restoring the principles of right and honor, in the presence of men who have deliberately violated engagements and treaties signed by themselves;

CONSIDERING that these men thus remain the sole yet insurmountable obstacle to the re-establishment of that peace of which they pretend to be sincere champions, and which is longed for by their own people, who are suffering cruel deprivations, and even hunger;

CONSIDERING that if the German Nation has been deceived by official falsehood and systematically kept in ignorance of the true facts, the German rulers have followed out exactly a coldly premeditated plan;

CONSIDERING that, having failed to crush France, as they had hoped, in a

few weeks, and to turn then upon Russia and terrorize or corrupt Belgium, England, Japan, Italy, Portugal, and Rumania, they do not conceal the fact that peace for them now would be only a truce to prepare for a new aggression;

CONSIDERING that there could be neither security nor justice in a world over which is suspended the sword of Prussian militarism:

THE ENTENTE POWERS, resolved not to lay down their arms before the liberation of the oppressed peoples, declare, in the name of the nations that are the victims of German aggression and in the face of the world, that they will not treat with William II., the man responsible before humanity and history for this war, its mourning and its ruins.

America Through English Eyes

By William Archer

English Dramatist, Essayist, and Critic

[The severance of relations by the United States with Germany aroused widespread discussion of the attitude of Great Britain toward the United States. Among the many contributions on this subject, Mr. Archer's essay in *The Westminster Gazette* (London) is especially noteworthy for its truth, clarity, and keen analysis.—ED. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

MANY people do not realize that hitherto all the active political relations between Great Britain and America have been hostile relations. Twice the two nations have been at war, and there are not a few Americans who are fond of boasting that in both of these conflicts they "whipped" us. Our normal level relations have no doubt been amicable enough; but whenever the level has been broken it has been by incidents which left a certain legacy of ill-feeling. The general attitude of Britain during the great civil war was anything but sympathetic. Once we were on the verge of a rupture over the case of Mason and Slidell. The affair of the Alabama was exceedingly disagreeable. The Venezuelan squabble led us, not perhaps to the brink of hostilities, but some way in that direction. The incident of Manila Bay is perhaps the only international episode of any note that has definitely tended to draw the two nations together.

Of course this does not mean that there has not been real friendship between them. There has never been a moment when thousands of Englishmen and thousands of Americans have not felt the warmest regard for each other. Perhaps it may even be said that the reciprocal feeling of the majority of both peoples has been a sort of vaguely critical and suspicious kindness. But there have always been certain classes in America that cherished old and new rancors against England, and these were not a little encouraged by the general tone of common school education. No one can read the American newspapers of today without realizing that, except among a cultured minority in the Eastern States, pro-ally sympathies are centred rather upon France and Belgium than upon England, and that in the Middle West and West the feeling of the masses toward the Allies in general, and England in particular, is at best one of indifference.

HERBERT C. HOOVER



Mr. Hoover's Work as Head of the Belgian Relief Commission Has Been Called the Most Splendid American Achievement of the Last Two Years

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

GENERAL F. S. MAUDE



The British Victor of Kut-el-Amara, Who Has Defeated
the Turks and Fought His Way to Bagdad

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

Whatever may happen, this is not going to change all at once. We are not going to fall on each other's neck and swear eternal friendship. Nevertheless, a great new fact has come into existence. In the most momentous crisis in the history of the world the whole English-speaking race is at last standing shoulder to shoulder. Nothing but criminal unwisdom or malignant ill-fortune can cancel or turn to evil the beneficent results that ought to flow from this wonderful and almost unhopèd-for achievement of German political genius. Never again can it be said that "all active political relations between Great Britain and America have been hostile relations." That remark is expunged from the page of history.

And now it is up to us—why should we not talk American?—to make the best of this new situation. Hitherto—take us all around—we have been culpably and stupidly inappreciative of America. The time has been, no doubt, when there was a great deal of rawness in American life, which lent itself to caricature, and when, on the other hand, many Americans displayed at once great self-assertiveness and morbid resentfulness of criticism. But the civil war may fairly be said to have made an end to all that—or at least the beginning of an end. Since then half a century has passed, and now we have not the smallest rational excuse for carelessness or capriciousness in our judgments of America.

To any one with a spark of imagination the United States is the most fascinating country in the world. Its past is romantic, its present marvelous, its future inconceivable.

Let me give one instance of the romance of the past that clings to so many places in America. I will not speak of Lexington or Concord; I will not speak of Mount Vernon or Charleston; I will speak of the place in all America which most people in England, perhaps, think of as the very antithesis of romance—I mean Pittsburgh. It is called "hell with the lid off," and I don't say it does not merit that term of endearment; but to stand on the big bluff over against the city, and look down upon the confluence

of the Allegheny and the Monongahela (most beautiful of words!) is to experience a strange and complex emotion. For the two rivers (each as great as the Rhine or the Rhone) unite to form the magnificent Ohio. And the Ohio rolls on into the still mightier Mississippi; and down these gigantic waterways the first French adventurers paddled thousands of leagues through the boundless, sinister wilderness; and Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley sought the city of Eden; and Huckleberry Finn and Jim went drifting through an Odyssey which I, for one, believe to be as surely immortal as any story in this world. A few miles up the Monongahela is the spot where General Braddock, with George Washington and George Warrington in his train, fell into the fatal ambush. And there, at the very tip of the tongue of land between the two rivers, nestling in the shadow of the skyscrapers like a beehive under St. Peter's, is the little octagonal block-house, pierced for musketry, which was once Fort Duquesne, and after that Fort Pitt, and from which the city takes its name. Of the titanic, lurid picturesqueness of the scene I shall not attempt to speak. I have merely tried to suggest a few of the historic and literary associations which cluster around the spot itself, and the vast river system to which it is, as it were, the northeastern gateway. How any one can find America prosaic or uninteresting passes my comprehension.

As for its present, as summed up and typified in New York, what is there in the world to compare with it? The view of the mountainous city, towering between its noble estuaries, is by far the most impressive testimony that can anywhere be found to the genius and daring of man. Beautiful? I don't know. There is an immense amount of beautiful architecture to be seen in New York and all through the Eastern States; but the whole impression of New York is more than beautiful—it is exciting, thrilling, inspiring. To land in New York on a cloudless day (and they are many) of Spring or Autumn is to realize why America is bound to lead the world. It is because there is some as yet un-

identified element in the pure, keen air, which, passing into the blood, tingles through the whole system in the form of energy and capacity.

Yet there is no greater error than to think that New York is a city of unresting rush, clatter, and whirl. It is a city where not only women but men have plenty of leisure and know how to enjoy it. Above all, it is a city where they have always time to be helpful and hospitable to the stranger within their gates. Nowhere are the amenities of life carried to higher perfection. I never return to England without feeling that I have come back some five-and-twenty years in the art of living, at any rate on the material side. Indeed, one might say fifty years, were it not that we have of late had the sense to learn a good deal from America.

And think, now, of the future! America has been, and still is, largely occupied in the development of her material resources; yet think what strides she has also made on the intellectual side! The splendid universities which stud the land may not rival those of Europe in pure scholarship; but they are humming hives of all sorts of eager intellectual activity. It will not, perhaps, be to their disadvantage if intimate relations with Germany are severed for a time. Their leading scholars confess that the German influence has not been wholly beneficial. But everywhere they have magnificent apparatus for research, and everywhere they make full use of it. Who does not know that the cultivated American is one of the finest products of civilization? And civilization of the best sort is spreading with enormous rapidity.

I am aware that in some ways my vision of America is unduly roseate, for the simple reason that it has been my good fortune, wherever I went, to move almost exclusively in the circles that were most congenial to me. Of course there are many less desirable sides of American life with which I have scarcely come in contact, or not at all. There are, for instance, the vulgarities and crudities inseparable from every great half-educated democracy—that is a matter in which we certainly have no right to

throw the first stone. Of course America, like all the rest of the world, has great social struggles, and possibly convulsions, to go through, before she can attain something like a just and stable social order. New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis—there is much that is terrible as well as much that is admirable in the life of these swarming, seething cities. But nowhere is there a more alert social idealism at work, or a more ardent spirit of social service.

My point, then, is this: Let us realize what an enormous advantage we possess in our community of language, of historical and intellectual traditions, and of political and moral ideals, with this nation of marvelous achievements and still more marvelous potentialities. If these ideals are to survive and flourish, it is of the utmost importance that America and Great Britain should grow together, instead of growing apart. The community of speech, while it is a priceless bond, is also a source of danger. Careless, carping, supercilious talk, narrow-minded comment, uncivil jesting, whether with pen or pencil, rankles doubly when it is brought home to us in our own language. This is an admonition to both sides, but mainly to England. We are the older people, and ought to show the finer consideration. In this respect our sins are many—sins, mainly, of ignorance and thoughtlessness. But, in spite of everything, we are, and have been any time this century, drawing together in a remarkable way. Note how half the most successful pieces on the London stage are of American origin, and are often most acceptable when played by American actors. Note how the bookstalls are piled with the writings of an author so redolent of the soil as O. Henry. Think how the cinema is familiarizing even the street arab and the factory girl with the surface aspects of American life. We have now a unique opportunity to draw closer all the countless ties which unite us with our "gigantic daughter of the West." Let us have done with carelessness, ignorance, supercilious patronage, flippant criticism, and make the best of this great boon which the Germans have so kindly forced upon us.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

*Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York;
Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club*

Major Dayton has personally studied the military methods of the European armies in six of the countries now at war, and has been officially recognized by the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He is one of the experts who have chronicled the present war for *The Army and Navy Journal*. The subjoined article is the second in a series which Major Dayton is writing for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

II.—Battles of the Marne, the Aisne, and Tannenberg

SEDAN DAY—Sept. 5—in 1914 was only superficially an echo of Sedan Day in 1870. The armies of France had suffered defeat, but nowhere had allowed themselves to be cut off. The defenses of Paris were in poor shape and would not have withstood a German attack much better than had those of Antwerp or Namur. The necessity of the situation was for a counterattack in the open.

Von Kluck, flushed with continuous victories, thought the French and British in his front entirely demoralized, and he continued his headlong drive. He made a tactical blunder by marching his right flank across the enemies' front in an effort to separate the British from the supporting French Fifth Army. The British air scouts discovered von Kluck's manoeuvre and reported large detachments south of the Marne with one column on the Grand Morin. The French airmen, too, reported all the German dispositions from the lower Marne to Verdun. General Joffre decided that the time had come to strike back, and formed a plan which would have been impossible if the reports of the air scouts had been lacking.

On the night of Sept. 5 von Kluck's cavalry patrols got as far south as the

banks of the Seine. Conscious of a possible menace to his right rear from the west, he left a rear guard of considerable strength in the valley of the Ourcq facing the suspected menace. The crucial battle of the Marne, recognized by all the commanders as the supreme crisis of the war, began at dawn on Sunday, Sept. 6.

The new French Army, the Sixth, engaged in hand-to-hand fighting among the villages above Meaux, and turned von Kluck's flank. The British, covered by the Forest of Crecy, moved northeast toward a line between Dagny and Coullommiers.

The Fifth French Army on the British right struck north on

a route which, as they progressed, led them on the 7th across the Grand Morin, on the 8th over the Petit Morin, and by the 9th close to the south bank of the Marne below Mezy.

The British, making a half wheel to the left, made an alignment with the French Fifth Army, and on the 9th arrived on the Marne with their centre at La Ferté. The French Sixth Army, attacking at right angles, closed in above the Marne and on the west of the Ourcq, gradually as the victory progressed changing front toward the north, so that by Sept. 10 they were aligned on the left



GENERAL FOCH

abreast of the British and astride the Ourcq.

The battle was continuous and on a scale hitherto unknown. Military students will study its details for generations. Here I can only attempt the merest outline of the great struggle.

Von Kluck was outfought by a superior force, which caught him in a false position into which he had been betrayed by the belief that his opponents, soundly beaten, needed only one more hard blow to complete their collapse. Instead of that they were in excellent morale, and had received powerful fresh reinforcements. I believe that eventually it will be proved that the speed of von Kluck's pursuit had caused his great army to outrun much of its supplies. His change of direction toward the east was not only an attempt to drive a wedge through the allied front, but also was intended to close up his overextended lines of communication.

On Sept. 9, following a whole series of glorious battles, the British crossed the Marne at Château-Thierry, and by evening were some miles north of the river. The French, under d'Esperey, ended a day of terrific fighting by joining the British right at Château-Thierry. Further east one of France's greatest Generals, Foch, found von Bülow's right flank exposed and attacked the Prussian Guard at La Fère Champenoise. In the marshes drained by the Petit Morin, Foch took forty guns and many prisoners, and about Sept. 9 he had driven a wedge between the armies of von Bülow and von Hausen. As the battle progressed the French General Staff used Langle to help Foch, and the Germans were driven back toward Epernay and Châlons.

By Sept. 10 the Allies had virtually completed the great victory called the battle of the Marne. The German right (von Kluck) had received heavy reinforcements of perhaps 40,000 men, but von Bülow's crushing defeat to the east made it impossible for the German line to re-form for a counterattack.

The German retreat is admitted to have been a military masterpiece, and on Sept. 12 they had reached the line of positions on the Aisne and the Suippes

which they had previously prepared for emergency use. On the east the Crown Prince fell back to preserve the alignment, and this saved Fort Troyon, which, under bombardment, was ready to fall. The Crown Prince held the Argonne and St. Menehould. In the Vosges, after a prolonged struggle, the French, under General de Castlenau, withstood an attempt of the Crown Prince of Bavaria to force a passage through the Gap of Nancy. By Sept. 12 de Castelnau had taken Lunéville, St. Dié, and the line of the Meurthe.

Battle of the Aisne

The battlefield of the Aisne is the birthplace of modern trench warfare.

When the Germans were pursuing the French and British toward Paris in the first week of September it might have seemed as though the prospect of quick victory would obscure all other vision. Nothing in the long history of the war proves the value of trained professional staff officers more clearly than the fact that just then, as they crossed the Aisne flushed with victory, parties of sappers were left behind. Their mission was to prepare a defensive position on the plateau north of the river valley and extending to the east across Champagne into the Argonne. Beyond the Argonne the Crown Prince was already closing in to the investment of Verdun with a great circle from the Argonne to the Woivre.

It was nearly the middle of September when the victorious Allies, fresh from the victory of the Marne, began to be puzzled by the stern resistance they met along this line. It was no longer merely the hard fighting of rear guards determined to cover retreating armies, but seemed like the determined stand of an enemy unwilling to retreat further. On Sept. 12 Maunoury's Sixth Army, which had clung to the heels of von Kluck's army all the way from Paris, began to shell the hostile positions beyond the river with a view to covering a crossing by pontoon, as the bridges had been systematically destroyed. The British Army to the east, near Soissons, was similarly engaged. Beyond them the other French armies were delayed under d'Esperey

and Langle along the Vesle and the upper Suipe.

On the 13th Maunoury got several divisions across the Aisne under heavy fire, and a good part of the British Army crossed, but with great difficulty. The following day these French and British troops fought their way forward until they came in touch with the real German lines of intrenchment on the high ground of the plateau, where they proceeded to dig themselves in and try to hold on to the ground gained. Sir John French was the British commander, and in command of the First Corps was Sir Douglas Haig, who was destined to win much glory in the heavy fighting of the next week. England lost many officers in this hard-fought battle, including three Colonels in one brigade, all killed on the first day.

On the 15th the Germans began a series of violent counterattacks and forced both French and British to retire short distances, which, however, were largely regained on the 17th after the arrival of strong reinforcements. On the 18th the Allies failed, after furious efforts, to break the German fortified lines, and so the acute stage of the battle ended.

On the right, meanwhile, the German Crown Prince was delivering a fierce attack upon the fortress of Verdun, held by the French under General Sarrail.

First Battle of Verdun

Before the German defeat at the Marne the Crown Prince's right flank had held St. Menehould, twenty miles west of the fortress, but in maintaining his alignment with the German armies to the west he had fallen back two days' march to the north. General Sarrail realized from the experience of the Belgian forts that no fortification could withstand a close bombardment by the heavy German howitzers. Consequently he threw up earthworks and intrenchments on every hill and across every valley for twenty miles or more around. On Sept. 20 the German heavy shells practically demolished Fort Troyon, south of Verdun, and on the 23d the Crown Prince's forces crossed the Meuse and captured St. Mihiel, with the bridgehead, thus establishing a marked salient in the

line of invasion which was destined to remain for years.

On Oct. 3 the Crown Prince attempted to turn Sarrail's flank and get through again to St. Menehould, where he would have cut the railway communications between Verdun and Paris. In the Forest of Argonne the French won the battle and established touch with the right flank of General Langle's Fourth Army in Champagne, thus establishing a line which, with slight fluctuations, remains to this day.

Joffre's Extension to the Sea

General Joffre had formed two new armies meanwhile, and about the time the lines along the Aisne began to congeal into what we have since learned to call the stalemate, he brought these new units up on the left. General de Castelnau was brought from Lorraine to command the Seventh Army, and Joffre brought out of a professorship in the military college General Maud'huy to command the Tenth Army. The Seventh Army took its place on a line through Péronne and Roye about Sept. 20, and at the end of the month Maud'huy occupied Arras and Lens after a hard battle in which the French used every available reserve, including even marines.

This great extension was intended to outflank the Germans in their intrenchments on the Aisne, and by cutting their lines of supply compel another retirement. The plan failed because simultaneously the Germans were extending their right flank in an effort to gain the coast at Calais.

Early in October large forces of German cavalry were active about Lille, and General French asked for authority to transfer the British Army from almost the centre to the extreme left. General Joffre agreed and filled the gap with a new army of reserves under General d'Urbal. By Oct. 19 the British First Corps reached St. Omer just in time to prevent huge German armies from driving a wedge between the Allies and the Channel ports.

Alsace and Lorraine

As soon as it became evident that war could no longer be avoided, France de-

terminated to secure the advantage of the initiative by striking through the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and invading Germany across the Rhine. There was no doubt that the Germans would violate Belgium, but it was hoped that the resistance at the fortified triangle—Liège, Namur, and Antwerp—would greatly delay the invasion of Northern France, and meanwhile it was hoped that a strong diversion could be created by the invasion of Germany below Metz. It would be worth much to make German soil, instead of French, the scene of war's devastations, and then, too, French patriotism cried out for the redemption of the provinces torn from France forty-four years ago.

France struck an eager blow, but with forces not really sufficiently mobilized to give the effort the weight it required for so great a mission.

On Aug. 7 a brigade from the fortress at Belfort crossed the frontier and routed small German detachments which endeavored to defend Altkirch, an Alsatian town in the plain between the southern end of the Vosges Mountains and the Swiss frontier. An invasion of Germany made through this gap between the mountains would, after crossing Alsace, strike Southern Württemberg, with Bavaria beyond and the Austrian Tyrol below. Certainly it would have been a brilliant stroke of genius if France could have transferred to those South German kingdoms the war which has since wrecked Flanders, Artois, Picardy, and Champagne. But not only would that have required a great force for the attack, but another army would have been needful to guard the flank against the German strongholds at Strassburg and Neu Breisach. To be successful, the effort launched here should have had something like the weight in men and material with which Germany struck down from the north.

On Aug. 8 the French occupied without opposition the important town of Mulhouse and attacked with success a German force stationed in the woods beyond. By the 10th strong German reinforcements arrived, and the French fell back to Altkirch. Here faulty reports from

French air scouts produced the impression that a comparatively weak German force was defending the Rhine country below Metz. Consequently a general offensive was undertaken by the French Army in Alsace, under General Pau, and the army of Lorraine, commanded by General de Castelnau.

The plan was to attack along the whole line from Nancy to Belfort, and by Aug. 15 the French had captured most of the passes through the Vosges and were looking down on the plains of Alsace beyond. Attempted diversions by German columns from Metz were defeated by de Castelnau, and Pau pressed forward, capturing Dannemarie, Thann, Mulhouse, and Saarburg.

By Aug. 17 not only the entire range of the Vosges had been captured, but at Saarburg the French were astride the railway communications between Strassburg and Metz. This point and date marked the high tide of the French invasion, for by Aug. 20 an overpowering German Army fell upon their left from the direction of Metz. The French attempted to retreat, but a division on the left was overwhelmed and practically destroyed in the battle of Metz. By the 22d the French armies of Alsace and Lorraine had lost all the ground gained, and the pursuing Germans were threatening the whole French sector between Toul and Nancy. Their victorious advance was halted by de Castelnau's splendid defense of the field works which he erected on the wooded hills about Nancy.

From the 6th to the 9th of September the Bavarians were encouraged in desperate attacks by the presence of the Kaiser, but they were unable to gain ground in face of the deadly fire of the French 75-millimeter guns, which made great practice at shore ranges. On Sept. 9 the Germans lost their positions in the Forest of Champenoux, and the French took Amance. Two days later they had St. Dié and the line of the Meurthe River. The fighting in this sector ended on Sept. 12, when de Castelnau's men reoccupied Lunéville, and since then the fortified eastern frontier of France has remained an impassable barrier to the German legions.

Eastern Theatre of War—Rise of Hindenburg

One of the earliest surprises of the war was the prompt mobilization of the Russian Army, which all professional critics looked upon as a brave, slow army good for defense, but lacking in initiative. The notion was proved wrong by a very speedy mobilization and a quick and effective attack upon East Prussia designed to relieve the pressure upon Russia's allies in the west.

Within the first week of August General Rennenkampf, a hero of the Manchurian war, crossed the Prussian frontier, cut the railway which skirts the Masurian Lakes, and drove back the whole line of Prussian outposts. General von François, the Prussian commander, made a stand at Gumbinnen, but after three or four days' fighting against greatly superior artillery and infantry he was compelled to retreat on Königsberg.

Meanwhile General Samsonov, another soldier who learned modern war by fighting Japanese, marched up from Mława through the region west of the Masurian Lakes. This army drove a strong German force headlong out of an intrenched position between Orłau and Frankenu and took many prisoners as the panic-stricken Germans retreated on Königsberg. By the last week in August what was left of the German armies in East Prussia was shut up in Königsberg.

Then Germany called out of his retirement at Hanover a veteran of 1870, General von Hindenburg, who knew thoroughly the terrain of East Prussia. In the period of his active service he had commanded army corps at Königsberg and Allenstein, and had frequently commanded at manoeuvres in the Masurian Lake region. He loved the ground, and knew it as no one else in the world did.

He had used every ounce of his influence at Berlin to block the project of a land improvement company, who had proposed to drain the lakes and marshes.

An army of something like 150,000 men was given to von Hindenburg, and he brought this force together east of Thorn and Graudenz. Rennenkampf, after his series of early successes, swept on confidently to the investment of Königsberg, a first-class fortress, with a garrison of 50,000 and 1,200 guns. Samsonov pushed on toward the north of the lake region, but was quite out of touch with Rennenkampf. He turned to pierce the lake region to his west via Allenstein, probably with the intention of striking in between Thorn and Danzig. He had about five army corps, of probably 200,000 men, and certainly outnumbered von Hindenburg's force.



GENERAL VON HINDENBURG

On Wednesday, Aug. 26, von Hindenburg struck on a wide front, and Samsonov's march was abruptly halted. He discovered that a strong army was posted behind the lakes and marshes, which were commanded by the German batteries. The strength of von Hindenburg's position consisted not only in a well-defended front, but in exceptionally good opportunities to develop quickly flank attacks both right and left.

The battle, one of the classics of strategy, lasted until the end of August, and gave the Germans one of the most complete victories of the entire war. Von Hindenburg, feinting first toward one flank, then toward the other, succeeded in rolling the Russian Army up in a confused and helpless mass, entangled in the marsh lands.

Von Hindenburg's complete mastery of the strategy of this great battle was evidenced as much by what he refrained

from doing as by what he did. Midway of the battle he had a great victory surely within his grasp, and could have driven a defeated enemy headlong back into Russia. He withstood the temptation, and carried the battle on for several days while he continued to entangle Samsonov in a position whence there might be no escape. By Aug. 31 von Hindenburg had scored the only complete victory of the war. Samsonov and most of his corps and division commanders were killed. Perhaps 20 per cent. of the Russian force escaped via Ortelsberg. The Germans took nearly 90,000 prisoners and so much artillery and booty that they had hard work to handle it.

This tactical victory made von Hindenburg a national hero, for, with a smaller force, he had surrounded and destroyed the larger army. Von Hindenburg turned north against *Rennenkampf*, who instantly abandoned the attack on *Königsberg*, and retreated precipitately into Russia via *Gumbinnen*, where he fought a rear-guard action.

Poland and Galicia

To the south early in August the Germans crossed the frontier and occupied without opposition several towns in Western Poland, and from the mining region began to ship coal back to Germany via *Posen*.

In Galicia Austria concentrated for an important campaign against Russian Poland. One army, whose base was at *Przemysl*, was for the attack toward the north, while the second army, with a base at *Lemberg*, faced east. These armies numbered over 300,000 men each.

The first army pushed north with no very serious opposition. A Russian army under General *Ruzsky* crossed the frontier, took *Sokal*, and advanced upon *Lemberg*. General *Brusiloff*, with another army, joined in the attack upon *Lemberg*. The fighting was general along a line between the *Vistula* and the *Dniester*. Austria's plan was to take advantage of the expected slowness of Russian

mobilization and strike without waiting to be struck. To their astonishment they soon met the armies of *Ruzsky* and *Brusiloff*, each with over a quarter of a million men. A third and smaller Russian army under General *Ewerts* was to engage the Austrians while the larger armies should envelop them.

By Aug. 27 *Brusiloff* took *Tarnopol* after a hard battle, and a few days later he captured *Halicz* and proceeded to invest *Lemberg*, which was in the hands of the Russians by Sept. 3. In the week's series of battles the Russians took 100,000 prisoners and great quantities of ordnance abandoned by the Austrian armies, whose retreat was a rout. From *Lemberg* the Russians pursued the demoralized Austrians into the Carpathian passes, taking many towns en route. To the north, *Ivanov*, who had succeeded *Ewerts*, attacked a mixed Austro-German army under General *Dankl* and the *Archduke Joseph*, and on Sept. 10 won a splendid victory. At *Rava Russka*, von *Auffenberg*, in command of *Dankl's* right, was crushed and his army dispersed. The utterly defeated remnants of the Austrian armies retreated to *Cracow*, *Przemysl*, and *Jaroslav*. The Austrians were expelled from Poland, and the Russians were going deep into Austria.

On the Serbian Front

When Austria declared war on July 28 a bombardment of the Serbian capital at *Belgrade* began, but the Dual Monarchy met unexpectedly stiff resistance when attempts were made to cross the *Danube*. A combined Serbian and Montenegrin force invaded *Bosnia*, and advanced toward *Serajevo*. On Aug. 17 a larger Austrian army was soundly beaten at *Shabatz* by a Serb force, and a few days later they suffered another reverse on the banks of the *Jadar*. Both defeats were costly, and the Serbs took many prisoners and much artillery. They showed a surprising ability to withstand whatever forces Austria dared divert from the Russian front.

[Continuation in May Issue]

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

This article, describing the concluding phases of the Battle of Jutland, is the fourth of a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—for the purpose of deducing the naval lessons furnished by the sea engagements of the European war.

IV.—The Battle of Jutland—Continued

The Third Phase

The British Grand Fleet Joins in the Battle

DURING the first and second phases of the battle the Grand Fleet was closing at utmost fleet speed on a southeast by south course. Three battle cruisers, led by Rear Admiral Hood in the *Invincible*, together with screening light cruisers and destroyers, were in advance operating as a fast wing. At 5:45 an outpost light cruiser was engaged with a division of German light cruisers. At 6:10 Admiral Beatty's engaged squadron was sighted by the *Invincible*. At 6:21 Admiral Hood led his squadron into action, taking station in the van just ahead of the *Lion* and closing at 6:25 to a range of 8,000 yards. A few minutes later the *Invincible* was sunk by gun fire.

In the meanwhile the British battle fleet was coming into action, filling the previously mentioned gap opening up between Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral Evan Thomas. At 5:55 advanced British armored cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers were engaged with German cruisers and destroyers. At 6:16 the armored cruisers *Warrior*, *Black Prince*, and *Defence* under Sir Robert Arbuthnot were drawn between the lines and disabled by close-range fire from the German battleships. At 6:14 Admiral Jellicoe formed the Grand Fleet in battle line, and during deployment at 6:17 the first battle squadron opened fire on a German battleship of the *Kaiser* class. At 6:30 the other battle squadrons engaged ships of the *König* class. The four battleships of the *Elizabeth* class, previously engaged during the second phase, formed astern of the main battle

fleet. At this time the *Warspite* of this fifth battle squadron had her helm jam with right rudder, causing her to turn toward the German line, where she was subjected to severe fire, but the trouble being soon corrected she was extricated from this predicament. Admiral Jellicoe reports:

Owing principally to the mist, but partly to the smoke, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time in the enemy's battle line. Toward the van only some four or five ships were ever visible at once. More could be seen from the rear squadron, but never more than eight to twelve. * * * The action between the battle fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 P. M. to 8:20 P. M., at ranges between 9,000 yards and 12,000 yards. During this time the British fleet made alterations of course from southeast by east to west (168¾ degrees) in the endeavor to close, but the enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. The alterations of course had the effect of bringing the British fleet (which commenced the action in a position of advantage on the bow of the enemy) to a quarterly bearing from the enemy's battle line, but at the same time placed us between the enemy and his bases. During the somewhat brief periods that the ships of the High Seas Fleet were visible through the mist the heavy and effective fire kept up by the battleships and battle cruisers of the Grand Fleet caused me much satisfaction, and the enemy vessels were seen to be constantly hit, some being observed to haul out of the line and at least one to sink. The enemy's return fire at this time was not effective and the damage caused to our ships was insignificant.

Series of Local Actions

From the reports it appears that the area of the battle was covered by mist and smoke of varying density, interspersed with sections wherein opposing ships could see each other at the battle range. This gave rise to a series of local actions during which all ships of the

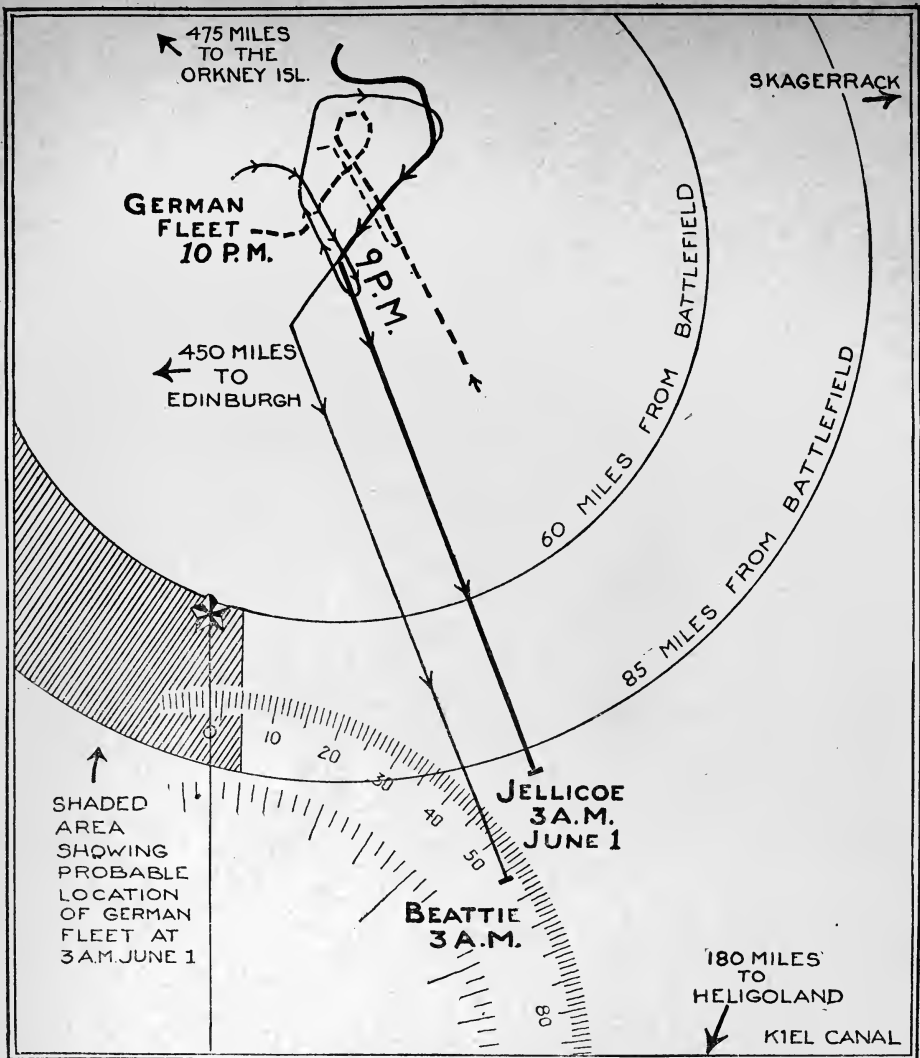


DIAGRAM OF LATER PHASES OF BATTLE OF JUTLAND

battle fleet became engaged, but at no time simultaneously. These detached actions were for the most part between few ships for brief periods. The aggregate fighting, however, seems to have been considerable, as may be gathered from the following synopsis of the principal incidents reported by Admiral Jellicoe and Vice Admiral Beatty:

At 6:17 the third battle squadron engaged German battleships, battle cruisers, and light cruisers at a range of 11,000 yards. The fourth battle squadron, in which was placed the Commander in Chief's flagship Iron Duke, engaged the battle squadron, consist-

ing of the König and Kaiser classes, as well as some of the German battle cruisers and light cruisers. The mist rendered range taking difficult, but the fire of the squadron was effective. The Iron Duke opened at 6:30 on a battleship of the König class at 12,000 yards range, hitting on the second salvo, and continuing to hit until the target ship turned away. The fire of other ships of the fourth squadron was principally directed at enemy battle cruisers and cruisers as they appeared out of the mist. The ships of the second battle squadron were in action with vessels of the Kaiser and König classes between 6:30 and 7:20, and fired also at a battle cruiser which had dropped back, apparently severely damaged. The first battle

squadron received more of the return fire than the remainder of the main fleet. The Colossus was hit, but not seriously damaged, and other ships were straddled with fair frequency by the German salvos.

Admiral Jellicoe makes special mention of the Marlborough of the third battle squadron, stating that at 6:17 she fired seven salvos at a German battleship of the Kaiser class, then engaged a cruiser and again a battleship. At 6:54 she was hit by a torpedo and took up a considerable list to starboard, but at 7:03 reopened on a cruiser, and at 7:12 fired fourteen rapid salvos at a battleship of the König class, hitting her frequently until she turned out of line. These details in the case of the Marlborough permit some rather interesting speculations. It seems that this ship alone fired approximately between 200 and 250 13.5-inch shells, each one weighing about 1,240 pounds, aggregating in the neighborhood of 140 tons of high explosive steel shell, at the effective battle range of 12,000 yards in the beginning and closing to 9,000 yards during the course of the action. If this is at all indicative of the fighting done by the other battleships of the main body it is apparent that a considerable weight of metal was let loose. In the first and second phases it is estimated that each of the ships under Vice Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral Thomas fired four or five times this amount (about 600 tons each) and the Germans quite as much, if not more.

After the injury to the Marlborough Vice Admiral Burney transferred his flag to the Revenge.

It appears that the British battle cruisers after the loss of the Invincible were out of action for about half an hour. At about 6:50 the two remaining ships of Admiral Hood's squadron were ordered to prolong Admiral Beatty's line astern, and, having lost sight of the enemy, the battle cruiser squadrons reduced speed to 18 knots. Course was gradually changed to south and then to southwest in an effort to regain touch with the enemy. At 7:14 two German battle cruisers and two battleships were sighted at about 15,000 yards range, bearing north-westerly. At 7:17 Admiral Beatty's ships re-engaged and increased speed to 22

knots. At 7:32 the British battle cruisers had again reduced speed to 18 knots. German destroyers advanced, emitting clouds of dark gray smoke, under which screen the German capital ships turned away and were lost sight of at 7:45. British light cruisers were ordered to sweep westward to regain touch, and at 8:20 Admiral Beatty ordered a westerly course in support.

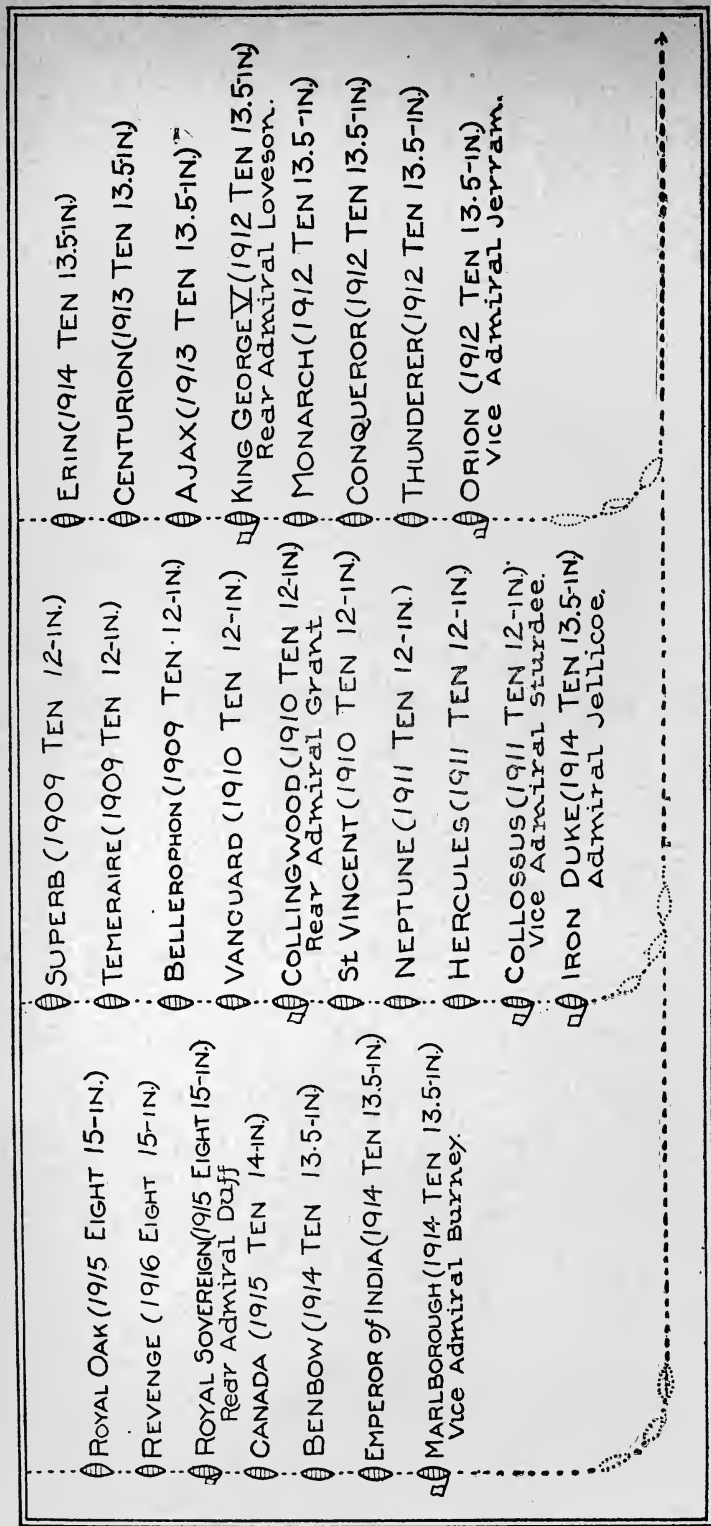
Climax of the Fighting

Soon afterward German battle cruisers and battleships were heavily engaged at 10,000 yards range. Admiral Beatty reports that the leading ship was hit repeatedly by the Lion and turned out of line eight points, emitting high flames; that the Princess Royal set fire to a three-funnel battleship, and that the New Zealand and Indomitable both engaged the third ship, forcing her to haul out of line on fire and heeling over. The mist at this time shut them from view, but the Falmouth reported the German ships as last seen at 8:38 steam to the westward. The British battle cruisers did not regain touch, and at 9:24 changed to the southerly course set by Admiral Jellicoe for the battle fleet.

During the third phase the conditions of mist and failing light favored torpedo attack, but few details have as yet been reported. The fourth light cruiser squadron occupied a position in the van until 7:20 P. M., when they carried out orders to attack German destroyers. Again at 8:18 P. M. this squadron moved out to support the eleventh destroyer flotilla in a torpedo attack. They came under a heavy fire from the enemy battle fleet at ranges between 6,500 and 8,000 yards, but succeeded in firing torpedoes at German battleships.

At 6:25 the third light cruiser squadron attacked the German battle cruisers with torpedoes, and the Indomitable reported that a few minutes later a German battle cruiser of the Derfflinger class fell out of line. This may have been the Lützwow, as at about this time Vice Admiral Hipper, while under a heavy fire, transshipped his flag in a torpedo boat from the disabled Lützwow to the Derfflinger.

Battle Line—The Formation for Approach



Above is shown the probable formation of the Grand Fleet for the approach and how the three squadrons may be swung into the battle column of "line ahead." If during the approach it is desired to gain distance to either the right or left, all ships may simultaneously turn to the right or left through any angle designated, turning back again before forming column for battle. The battle line may be formed by one 90° turn as shown above or by a succession of oblique movements. This chart also shows dates of completion and principal armament of dreadnoughts in Admiral Jellicoe's fleet. In addition there were four Queen Elizabeths, (1914-15, eight 15-inch guns,) five battle cruisers, (1908-12, eight 12-inch guns,) four battle cruisers, (1911-14, eight 13.5-inch guns.)

Losses on Both Sides

It is thus seen that during the third phase, lasting from 6:15 to about 8:30 P. M., practically the entire British Grand Fleet was engaged with practically the entire German High Seas Fleet. Early in the phase the British armored cruiser *Defense* (tonnage 14,600, carrying four 9.2-inch guns and 755 men) was sunk. At the same time the armored cruiser *Warrior* (tonnage 13,500, carrying six 9.2-inch guns and 704 men) and her sister ship, the *Black Prince*, were disabled. The *Warrior* was taken in tow by the *Engadine*, but broke away during rough weather in the night, and sank after the crew had been taken off. The *Black Prince* came in close contact with a German battleship during the night and was sunk by gunfire.

Between 6 and 6:30 the Germans lost the light cruiser *Wiesbaden*. Rear Admiral Hood's flagship, the *Invincible*, (tonnage 17,250, carrying eight 12-inch guns and 750 men,) was sunk soon after engaging. The German battle cruiser *Lützow* (tonnage 28,000, carrying ten 12-inch guns and 750 men) was disabled, and sank while returning to port. The German battleship *Pommern* (tonnage 13,040, carrying four 11-inch guns and 750 men) was probably disabled during the day battle and sunk in the night by a torpedo. The German light cruisers *Frauenlob* and *Rostock* were destroyed in the evening fighting, while the light cruiser *Elbing* was abandoned because of damage due to collision with another German ship. According to official admission, each side seems to have lost about four destroyers, either during this phase or during the night fighting.

The details of how Admiral Jellicoe manoeuvred his ships into action have not been disclosed, but the British battle fleet probably approached with squadrons or divisions in line or line of bearing. That is, the ships were in several parallel columns on a southerly course, with the leading ships in a line approximately east and west, at such a distance apart as to permit all ships to swing into one column, heading either east or west. The deployment into a battle line heading easterly seems to have been skill-

fully effected under trying conditions. Just what the relative positions of the two fleets were during this phase is not known, but the British seem to have had a tactical advantage in turning the German van. The conditions of poor visibility, however, did not permit them to get full benefit of it, although they had the German ships backed by the twilight sky, an important advantage, which must have increased as darkness approached.

Some criticism has been made of Admiral Jellicoe for not pressing the retiring enemy ships more closely, but it is to be remembered that retiring ships are in a favorable position for using mines and torpedoes. Moreover, the mist and the direction of the wind were helpful to the destroyers in making a good smoke screen for the Germans.

The Fourth Phase

Torpedo Attacks and Fighting During the Night of May 31 to June 1

Admiral Jellicoe reports that after the arrival of the Grand Fleet the tactics of the Germans were generally to avoid further action, in which they were favored by conditions of visibility.

At this stage of the action, shortly after 8:40, Admiral Jellicoe quotes Vice Admiral Beatty as follows:

In view of the gathering darkness, and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy battle fleet during the dark hours.

Admiral Jellicoe then reports:

At 9 P. M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose of the fleet for the night, with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manoeuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships.

The British fleet, after making dispositions to guard against night torpedo attacks, steamed at moderate

speed on southerly courses. During the night the British heavy ships were not engaged, but Admiral Jellicoe reports that the British Fourth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Flotillas delivered a series of successful torpedo attacks.

Apart from the proceedings of the flotillas, the second light-cruiser squadron, stationed in the rear of the battle fleet, was in close action for about fifteen minutes at 10:20 P. M. with a German squadron, comprising one cruiser and four light cruisers. In this action the Southampton and the Dublin suffered rather heavy casualties, although their steaming and fighting qualities were not seriously impaired.

This night fighting comprises an interesting and perhaps an important phase of the battle, but too little is known about it at this time to permit profitable discussion. During both the day and night conditions were favorable for the use of torpedoes. Destroyer attacks seem to have been numerous, persistent, and daring. It may be assumed that a great many torpedoes were fired, but the resulting damage does not appear to have been very extensive.

The German fleet after nightfall probably steered a southwesterly course at somewhat reduced speed because of damaged ships. It should be kept in mind that the fleet speed of the British was 20 knots. The fleet speed of the Germans was 17 knots, as their dreadnoughts had been eked out with predreadnought battleships of less speed.

Of course, to deceive the enemy, Admiral Scheer may have set a different course, such as toward the nearest land to the eastward; but it seems more reasonable that he tried to ease around the British fleet in the general direction of his Heligoland base.

Early on the morning of June 1 (3 A. M.) Admiral Jellicoe's battle fleet was to the westward of Horn Reef, some ninety miles from the battlefield, as shown on the chart. The British fleet then turned to the northward and retraced its course.

Visibility was three to four miles. Admiral Jellicoe reports that the British fleet remained in the proximity of the

battlefield and near the line of approach to German ports until 11 A. M., June 1; that the position of the British fleet must have been known to the enemy, because at 4 A. M. the fleet engaged for about five minutes a Zeppelin which had ample opportunity to note and subsequently to report the position and course of the British fleet; that the waters from the latitude of Horn Reef to the scene of the action were thoroughly searched, but no enemy ships sighted; and that at 1:15 P. M., it being evident that the German fleet had succeeded in returning to port, course was shaped for British bases, which were reached without further incident. By 9:30 P. M. of the next day, June 2, the fleet having fueled and replenished with ammunition, was reported ready for further action.

Results of the Battle

The conduct of the British fleet on the morning of June 1, retracing its tracks to the northward over the battle area—apparently searching the least likely places to find enemy ships—raises a lot of perplexing questions. On the chart, Page 88, it is evident that, if the German fleet was trying to ease around the British fleet from the westward toward its bases, it must have been in the shaded area, whether using fleet speed of 17 knots for five hours, or more likely, say, 12 knots for that time. If, as suggested above, Admiral Scheer had taken an easterly course, with perhaps the Skagerrack in mind in case of emergency, the German fleet must have been to the eastward of the course taken by the British fleet in the night—which would seem the one lane where the German fleet could not be located.

With the Grand Fleet in position to put itself between the German High Seas Fleet and its bases, why was there no decisive engagement? The fleets could not have been very far apart. Considering that the June nights between evening and morning twilight are only five hours long in these latitudes, and also considering the numerous scouts, both German and British, it looks as though they should have been pretty well informed of each other's whereabouts. But before

criticising Admiral Jellicoe for not seeking an engagement in the vicinity of Heligoland it might be well to reflect upon the conditions confronting him on that morning: Visibility only three to four miles; close to enemy bases and comparatively far from home bases; a fleet somewhat knocked about after the previous day's fighting, and no doubt a number of the ships short of both fuel and ammunition; destroyers and light cruisers scattered, many more or less damaged, and perhaps the majority with torpedoes expended; an enemy skilled in the use of submarines and mines.

Because of these conditions, and since the success of the allied cause and the safety of the British Empire depend upon the Grand Fleet, there appear to be few grounds for questioning Admiral Jellicoe's wisdom in safeguarding his ships against the submarine and mine traps laid for them in the vicinity of Heligoland Bight. It is significant that the British Admiralty Staff, which comprises those who know most and care most about the conduct of the fleet, appears to be well satisfied with the way the ships were handled.

It is hard for persons unused to the sea to visualize the conditions and circumstances attending this engagement. Even seagoing men of excellent balance are liable, when transplanted temporarily to the tranquillity of a war college, to be somewhat influenced by environment, and, while in enthusiastic search of illustration for pet theories, they may overlook or fail to give due weight to modifying factors which cannot be simulated on the game board. Students of tactics on shore make their decisions after study and discussion in the comfortable quiet of a well-lighted room, and then use T square and ruler to move their miniature ships on a motionless wooden ocean. The fighters of the Jutland battle faced quite a different proposition. Decisions had to be made quickly, accurately transmitted by signal, and promptly carried out on a sea darkened by mist, smoke, and approaching night. All this had to be done, moreover, in the midst of battle, under the strain of apprehension, in the

uncertainties of meagre and conflicting information.

Which side won and which side suffered the more damage—these are and for some time probably will continue to be debatable questions. Great Britain and Germany both claim a victory, and one's point of view seems to determine which of these two opinions is accepted. Very likely history will judge the battle indecisive. As to the damage inflicted, present official British and German admissions show that Great Britain lost a greater tonnage in ships actually sunk, but this is by no means conclusive evidence that the British fleet suffered greater punishment than did the German fleet. A careful study of the reports of the battle as well as sidelights, such as the official veil of secrecy enshrouding the German fleet and the fact that an honorary degree has been conferred upon the Chief Constructor of the German Navy because of the structural merits of German warships, especially with regard to their non-sinkability after injury, all indicate that many British shells and torpedoes found their mark. The chief losses, moreover, occurred in the battle cruiser squadrons. The battleship line, the backbone of British sea power, was not shorn of a single unit.

As regards general results, the military situation does not seem to have been much changed. British sea power is still supreme and exerting its inexorable pressure; the German High Seas Fleet is still a fleet in being and a menace to its enemies.

The following is the British statement of losses:

| BATTLE CRUISERS | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-------------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Tonnage. | Armor Belt. | Main Battery. | Sp'd. | Men. | C'p'd |
| Queen Mary | 27,000 | 9 in. | 8 13.5-in. | 28 | 1,000 | '13 |
| Indefatigable | 18,750 | 8 in. | 8 12-in. | 26 | 899 | '11 |
| Invincible | 17,250 | 7 in. | 8 12-in. | 26 | 750 | '08 |
| ARMORED CRUISERS | | | | | | |
| Defense | 14,600 | 6 in. | 4 9.2-in. | 23 | 755 | '08 |
| Bl'k Prince | 13,550 | 6 in. | 6 9.2-in. | 20.5 | 704 | '06 |
| Warrior | 13,550 | 6 in. | 6 9.2-in. | 22.9 | 704 | '08 |
| DESTROYERS | | | | | | |
| Tipperary | 1,900 | ..... | ..... | 31 | 160 | '14 |
| Turbulent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | '12 |
| Fortune | 920 | ..... | ..... | 29.50 | 100 | '12 |
| Sp'w Hawk | 950 | ..... | 3 4-in. | 31.32 | 100 | '12 |
| Ardent | 950 | ..... | 3 4-in. | 31.32 | 100 | '12 |
| Nomad | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | '.. |
| Nestor | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | '.. |
| Shark | 950 | ..... | 3 4-in. | 31.32 | 100 | '12 |

The German losses reported by the German Admiralty are:

| BATTLESHIP | | | | |
|----------------|----------|------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| | Tonnage. | Armament. | Sp'd. | Date of Completion. |
| Pommern | 13,040 | 4 11-in. 14 6.7-in. | 19 | 1907 |
| BATTLE CRUISER | | | | |
| Lutzow | 28,000 | 8 12-in. 12 6-in. | 27 | 1915 |
| LIGHT CRUISERS | | | | |
| Rostock | 4,820 | 12 4.1-in. | 27.3 | 1914 |
| Frauenlob | 2,656 | 10 4.1-in. | 21.5 | 1903 |

| NEW LIGHT CRUISERS | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|-------|----|-------|
| Elbing | ..... | ..... | .. | ..... |
| Wiesbaden | .. | ..... | .. | ..... |
| DESTROYERS | | | | |
| Five | ..... | ..... | .. | ..... |
| TOTAL TONNAGE LOST | | | | |
| British |117,150 | | | |
| German | 60,720 | | | |
| TOTAL PERSONNEL LOST | | | | |
| British | 6,105 | | | |
| German | 2,414 | | | |

[The fifth article of this series will appear in May.]

A German Story of the Sinking of the Lützow

THE Telegraaf of Amsterdam has published a statement made by a deserter from the German Navy, a seaman of the first class who had been six years in the navy and received the Iron Cross after the Jutland battle. He stated that in the Jutland battle he was aboard the Lützow, which was sunk. Over 1,000 were saved of her crew, which totaled 1,600. He was taken aboard a destroyer, which was sunk five minutes later. The following remarkable details of the sinking of the Lützow formed part of his narrative:

It was 8 o'clock in the evening. We were first hit by a torpedo behind the foremast below the water line. The torpedo penetrated the walls and exploded within the ship, killing and wounding a great number of men and destroying the food store. The watertight compartment before the engine room held good, and everything was done to support the bulkhead, with the object of preserving the ship. Gradually, however, her condition became hopeless. The staff left the vessel about 10 P. M., the crew remaining on duty. After the staff had been transferred to a torpedo boat the Lützow received another hit, which destroyed the wireless room beneath the bridge. Every one within was killed. Afterward the ship received four severe hits from fifteen-inch shells. She was now proceeding at only three miles an hour.

At 3 o'clock in the morning the vessel appeared to be lost, and we were ordered to leave the ship. Four torpedo boats received 1,003 men surviving out of 1,600. Three hundred wounded remained on board, whom it was impossible to remove. Our torpedo boat was not 100 yards from the Lützow when it

was attacked by five English destroyers and two small cruisers. Our vessel was torpedoed and quickly sank. Three other German torpedo boats thereupon took us over. Some time afterward the torpedo boat I was on was hit near the engine room. An order then arrived to retire from further operations by developing smoke. A heavy screen of smoke hid us and the Lützow from the English. That was our salvation.

To save her from falling into English hands we were ordered to sink the Lützow with 300 of her own wounded on board. This order was executed. One of our torpedo boats torpedoed this great German ship, which quickly sank, carrying with it our 300 wounded into the depths. The English then left us in peace, and proceeded in the direction where the Lützow had sunk. Apparently they had not seen through the screen of smoke that the Lützow had sunk. While they were vainly seeking the ship we escaped and steamed at full power southward for thirteen hours. We were then taken over by the small cruiser Regensburg, in which we steamed for five hours more before our return at midnight to Wilhelmshaven.

It is remarkable that all our ships hit in the Jutland battle were hit in the forepart. Many ships were severely damaged while proceeding homeward. All the badly damaged vessels have been repaired, and new ships are serving, or are shortly to serve, in the fleet. Among the new ships are the Baden, Bayern, and Hindenburg. Shortly also there will be a new Emden, while a new Karlsruhe is already in active service. An Ersatz Blücher is on the stocks in Danzig Dockyard. The Derfflinger, which was seriously damaged in the Jutland battle, is again in service. The dockyards are now exclusively constructing submarines and large cruisers, because the greatest losses have been suffered in these types.

RHEIMS, THE DESERTED CITY



This Lonely Woman, Still Faithful to the Martyr City, Only
Emphasizes the Emptiness of the Once Busy Streets

(Photo Central News Service)

AN ITALIAN MINE LAYER



A Mine Laying Vessel Sowing Its Deadly Freight Under Full Headway. The Mines Are Dropped at Carefully Charted Points

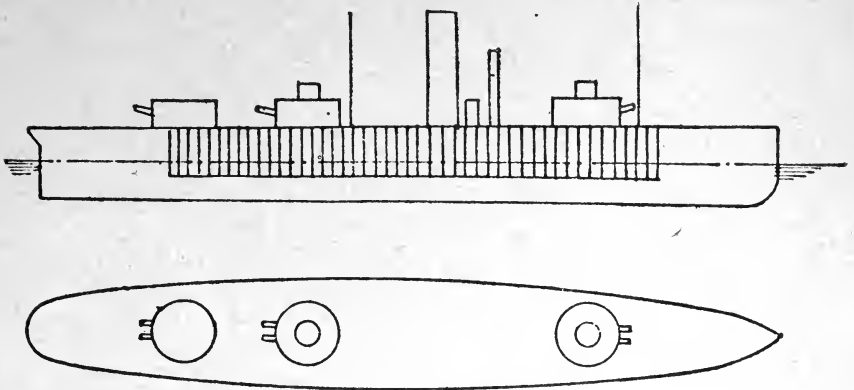
(Photo Central News Service)

Comparative Strength of Navies Today

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

II.—The United States Navy and Others



U. S. S. ROANOKE, 1863
Seagoing Turret Vessel

Armament: two 15-inch, two 11-inch, two 150-pdr. rifled guns. Armor: 1½-in. wrought-iron deck in two layers of ¾ in. each, and side armor, 4½ in. at top, 3½ in. at bottom; wrought-iron plates 4 ft. below and 6 ft. above waterline.

AS was explained in Part I. of this article, the United States Navy fell back in tonnage from second to third place in the period of foreign naval increase, from 1906 to 1911. Through all these years our navy was restricted to the two-battleships-a-year program.

Fortunately, as has been shown when making comparisons with the British and German navies, tonnage does not tell the whole story. The United States Navy has been the leader in the development of the "all-big-gun" battleship of today, called the "dreadnought." From the first single-turret ship, the Monitor, to the two-turret monitors, then to the U. S. S. Roanoke—these were the three great strides in such ships designed by the United States Navy in the epoch-making times of the civil war, which led to the plan of big guns in turrets aligned over the keel.

With the present article are shown plans of the U. S. S. Roanoke and U. S.

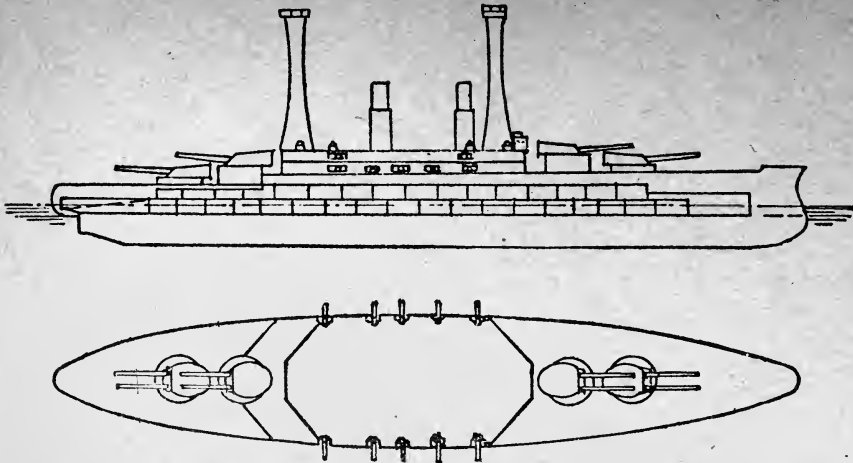
S. Michigan. The design of this last ship has been imitated by all the navies in their dreadnoughts. The design of her parent ship, the Roanoke, will be of interest because some of the foreign navies have reverted to the plan of the Roanoke, as will be seen later.

In the recognized first essentials of sea power the strength of the United States Navy is given as follows:

| UNITED STATES NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Dreadnoughts | 17 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 21 |

The United States Navy has no battle cruisers.

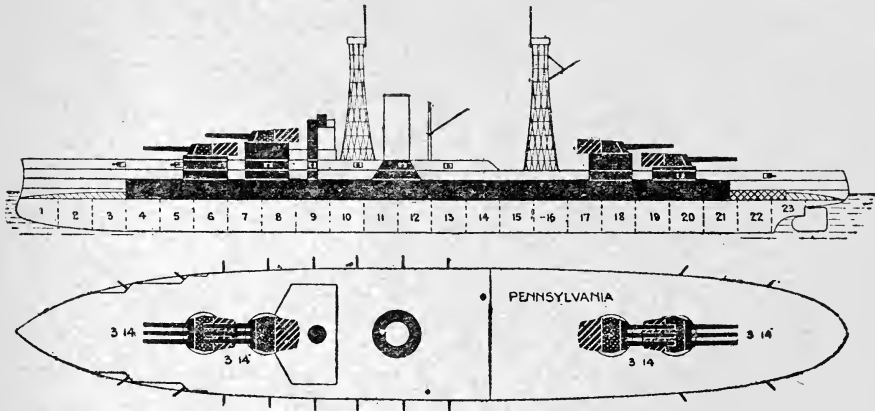
As the object of this article is to give the strength of the navies at corresponding stages of their building programs, two of the dreadnoughts should be omitted from this list, the Tennessee and California, as their percentage completed is small. The three ships of the class of the Mississippi, recently launched, should be included on this basis, as these three ships might be hurried to completion, in



U. S. S. MICHIGAN, 1906.

Armament: eight 12-in. 45 cal. B. L. R., twenty-two 3-in. 50 cal. R. F., four 3-pdr. saluting. Armor belt: 10 in., 11 in., 12 in., at top; 8 in., 9 in., 10 in., at bottom. Casemate: 8 in. at top; 10 in. at bottom. Side plating forward and aft, 1½-in. nickel steel. Protective deck forward, 1½-in., after, 3-in. nickel steel.*

*By courtesy of U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings.



U. S. S. PENNSYLVANIA

Length, 600 feet. Beam, 97 feet. Mean draught, 28 5-6 feet.
Ahead: 6—14 in. Broadside: 12—14 in. Astern: 6—14 in.

view of the indicated non-completion of the building programs of the British and German Navies. A look at the chart on Page 90 showing battle formation in Lieutenant Gill's article, will confirm what was said about this in Part I. of this article. The dates of the ships are conclusive.

Consequently, the dreadnoughts in the corresponding program of the United States Navy should be fifteen.

The Battle Fleet

Above is given the plan of U. S. S. Pennsylvania. As will be seen, this ship

is the developed design of the Michigan, with three guns in each turret instead of two. It is probably safe to say that this ship and her sister ship, the Arizona, are the most powerful battleships in the world. The nearest approach would be the Japanese battleships of the Fu-So class. The Japanese ships, while closely imitating ours in armament, followed our earlier design of the Arkansas, also shown, in which the twelve guns are carried in six turrets instead of four.

This arrangement of turrets in the Japanese battleships has made necessary

a longer hull and armor spread over more turrets—a less powerful fort with less available guns.

The recent building program of our first-line dreadnought battleships is given below:

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displace-ment. | Armament. | Speed Knots. |
|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1912.. | Arkansas ... | 26,000 | 12 12-in.... | { 21.05 |
| 1912.. | Wyoming ... | 26,000 | | |
| 1913.. | Texas | 27,000 | 10 14-in.... | 21.0 |
| 1914.. | New York.... | 27,000 | 10 14-in.... | 21.0 |
| 1915.. | Nevada | 27,500 | 10 14-in.... | { 20.5 |
| 1915.. | Oklahoma ... | 27,500 | 12 14-in.... | { 20.05 |
| 1916.. | Pennsylvania. | 31,400 | | |
| 1916.. | Arizona | 31,400 | 12 14-in.... | 21.05 |
| | Idaho | 32,000 | 12 14-in.... | 21.0 |
| | Mississippi .. | 32,000 | | |
| | New Mexico.. | 32,000 | | |

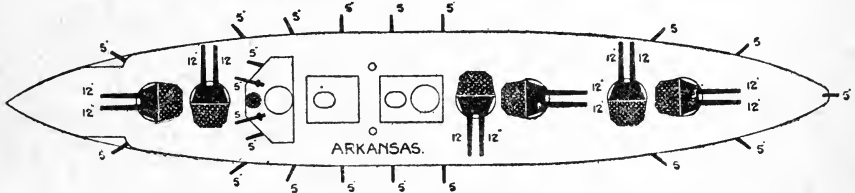
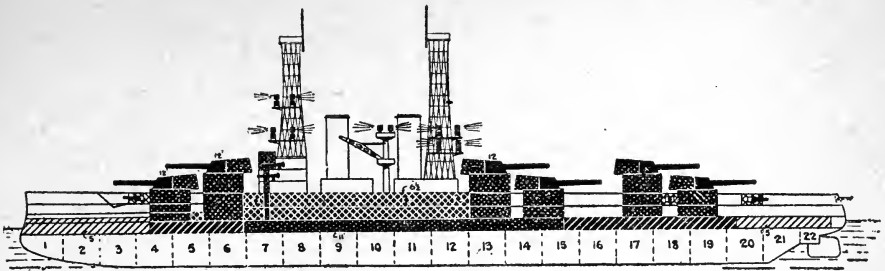
Battle Cruisers.

| | |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| No. 1 | } ... 35,000 35 10 14-in. |
| 2 | |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | ... Characteristics not determined |
| 6 | ... Characteristics not determined |

Scout Cruisers.

| | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|
| No. 4 |Seattle |
| 5 | } ... 7,100 35 |
| 6 | |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | } ... Characteristics not determined |
| 10 | |
| 11 | |
| 12 | |
| 13 | |

From the foregoing table it will be seen that a great increase of the United



U. S. S. ARKANSAS

Length, 554 feet. Beam, 93¼ feet. Mean draught, 28½ feet.
 Ahead: 4—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 4—12 in.

In addition to the dreadnought battleships of the first line, it should be understood that our predreadnought battleships are better than those of other navies. Our consistent policy of making the gun the main thing has given many of these second-line battleships a clear title to be factors in a battle of modern fleets.

UNITED STATES VESSELS BUILDING AND AUTHORIZED

| Name. | Displace-ment. | Sp'd. | Main battery. | Where building. |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------|---------------|-----------------|
| Tennessee . | 32,300 | 21 | 12 14-in. | New York |
| California . | 32,300 | 21 | 12 14-in. | Mare Island |
| Colorado... | 32,600 | 21 | 8 16-in. | Camden |
| Maryland... | | | | N'port News |
| Washington | | | | Camden |
| W. Virginia } | | | | N'port News |
| No. 49 | } ... Characteristics not determined | | | |
| 50 | | | | |
| 51 | | | | |
| 52 | | | | |
| 53 | | | | |
| 54 | | | | |

States Navy has been authorized. As this is for future years it has nothing to do with this article. But the program is here given because some of its features point out the real weakness of our navy—our weakness in auxiliaries of the battle fleet.

Auxiliaries of Battle Fleet

Our lack of battle cruisers does not now seem the fatal defect so often proclaimed in the first months of the war. Battle cruisers are not now considered equal to the task of standing up against battleships. The development of the submarine has lessened the raiding value of the battle cruiser, which was thought destined to be the knight errant of the seas. In consequence, the tactical use of battle cruisers, by such a navy as the

German or Japanese, against a navy without battle cruisers, seems restricted to the use of these ships as scout cruisers and screen.

Undoubtedly they would give great trouble to such a fleet as ours, but their limitations are now realized. As will be seen from the above table, unless there is some change, we are to build six battle cruisers in our three-year program. It is possible that we may be the last to build them.

The authorization of ten scout cruisers draws attention to the real weakness and greatest need of our navy. We have absolutely no scouts in the modern sense of the word—and from the great sums given by Congress to the navy a large number of these ships should be built as soon as possible.

In destroyers also we are below the needs of our fleet. We have sixty-three built and building. The tactics of the battle of Jutland and the development of the torpedo and submarine indicate an increased value for these craft. A great number should be built as soon as possible. Many are authorized in the future program—and these should be rushed to completion.

Fortunately, without any guiding wisdom of our own, the war has given our country great elements of preparedness. Where there were practically no high explosives available, we now have a great stock on hand. Many kinds of munitions of war are available for seizure in our emergency.

The same conditions have developed an efficient type of submarine that has been built—and can be built—in great numbers in an unprecedentedly short time. This is fortunate for our nation, as in our problem of defense submarines will be of great value. Our coasts are long, and the danger of raids by battle cruisers was very real before the war developed the submarine. Now only specially built monitors dare to stay near a coast long enough to attempt a serious bombardment.

Aircraft are now given a vogue, in spite of the fact that in the war very small tactical results have resulted from

the great sums expended on them. Outside of the limitations imposed on their use by the weather, the development of anti-aircraft guns compels them to fly at such great heights that their usefulness is diminished. It is obvious that we should have some of these craft of a reliable type—but there should not be a great deal of money and energy diverted to aircraft. Their usefulness at sea is greatly diminished, because they are unable to navigate. Out of sight of land, or out of sight of the mother ship, they are lost.

Armament

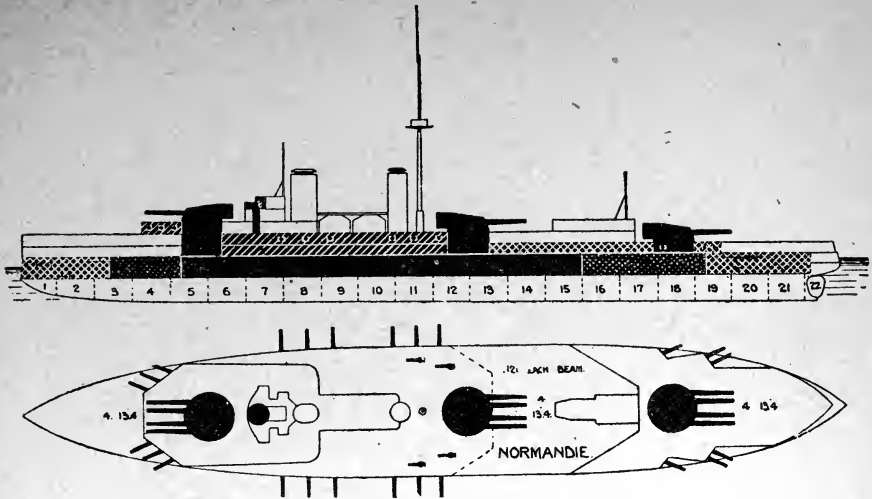
The details of the principal guns of the United States Navy were given in Part I. of this article. The twelve dreadnoughts completed of the battle fleet carry sixty-four 12-inch guns and sixty-four 14-inch guns. The three ships of the Mississippi class will add thirty-six 14-inch guns to this total.

In addition to these, the two ships of the Michigan class, which are more powerful than many foreign dreadnoughts, carry sixteen 12-inch guns. Of the other predreadnought battleships six carry twenty-four 45-calibre 12-inch guns, and eight carry thirty-two 40-calibre 12-inch guns, which would make these ships factors in any battle of modern fleets. This cannot be said to the same extent of the predreadnought battleships of the other navies. Every gun in this list is available for a broadside because all our big guns are carried in turrets aligned over the keel.

The shortage of men is too much emphasized in current comment on our navy. It should be realized that we have a highly trained personnel, that even the second-line ships in reserve are in being with skeleton crews—and that we have unusually intelligent classes to draw upon for our war strength.

Great Britain's lesson in unpreparedness should be studied by our country. On land and sea it was not the lack of men that was the trouble. It was the lack of weapons for the men.

On land our energies should be concentrated on providing munitions and equipment—on the sea to provide ma-



FRENCH DREADNOUGHT NORMANDIE

Length, 574 feet. Beam, 92 feet. Maximum draught, 28 3/4 feet.
 Ahead: 4—13.4 in. Broadside: 12—13.4 in. Astern: 4—13.4 in.

terial is still more urgent. Great as is the need of more trained men for our navy, our need of scouts is outstanding; and with every resource of American ingenuity we should hasten the building of a fleet of scout cruisers.

The French Navy

The French Navy was for many years second only to the British Navy, but in the abnormal increase from 1906 to 1911 there was no effort made to keep pace with Great Britain and Germany—and this was probably wise from the peculiar situation of France. The strength of the French Navy in the main accepted essentials is as follows:

FRENCH NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

| | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| Dreadnoughts | 12 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 17 |

The French Navy has no battle cruisers.

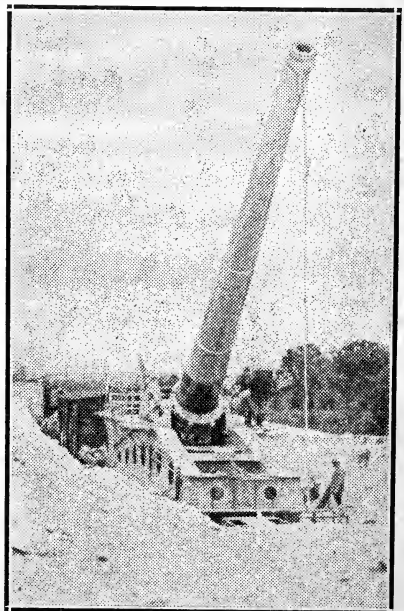
The known recent building program is as follows:

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displace-ment. | Armament. | Speed Knots. |
|------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1915.. | Bretagne | 23,172 | 10 13.4-inch.. | 20.0 |
| 1915.. | Lorraine | 23,172 | | |
| 1915.. | Provence | 23,172 | | |
| 1916.. | Normandie | 24,828 | 12 13.4-inch.. | 21.5 |
| 1916.. | Languedoc | 24,828 | | |
| 1916.. | Flandre | 24,828 | | |
| 1916.. | Gascogne | 24,828 | | |
| 1917.. | Bearn | 24,828 | | |

As will be seen from the plans of the Normandie given above, the French have

reverted to the plan of U. S. S. Roanoke, with three turrets aligned over the keel—but with four guns in each turret. No other navy has adopted this arrangement of guns.

The French have always designed and



FRENCH NAVAL GUN IN USE ON THE WESTERN FRONT
 (© Underwood & Underwood.)

built good battleships—and French ships have been of great use in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. But with the fearful drain of all the resources of France necessary to maintain her battle front, it is safe to say that not only has there been no completion of her naval building program, but that many of her ships are not now in active commission.

It is now known that equality in heavy artillery on the western front was only established by use of the French naval guns—many of them actually taken from French warships. Probably the French Navy was also drawn upon for men in this great emergency. Consequently the French Navy should be considered as a power in abeyance—not in proportion to its building program.

In auxiliaries of the battle fleet France is well equipped. Her submarines in particular are known to be very good, although, as has been the case with the British Navy, there has not been much chance to use them.

The Japanese Navy

The strength of the Japanese Navy in the first essentials in the known building program is as follows:

JAPANESE NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

| | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| Dreadnoughts | 6 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 13 |
| Battle cruisers..... | 4 |

The recent building program, so far as known, is as follows:

DREADNOUGHTS

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displacement. | Armament. | Speed. Knots. |
|------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1912.. | Kawachi. | 20,800 | } 12 12-inch.... | 20.5 |
| 1912.. | Settsu | 20,800 | | |
| 1915.. | Fu-So | 30,600 | } 12 14-inch.... | 22.0 |
| 1916.. | Yamashiro ... | 30,600 | | |
| 1916.. | Ise | 30,600 | | |
| 1917.. | Hinga | 30,600 | | |

BATTLE CRUISERS

| | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| 1913.. | Kongo | 27,500 | } 8 14-inch.... | { 28.0 |
| 1914.. | Hiyei | 27,500 | | |
| 1914.. | Kirishima ... | 27,500 | } 8 14-inch.... | { 28.0 |
| 1915.. | Haruna | 27,500 | | |

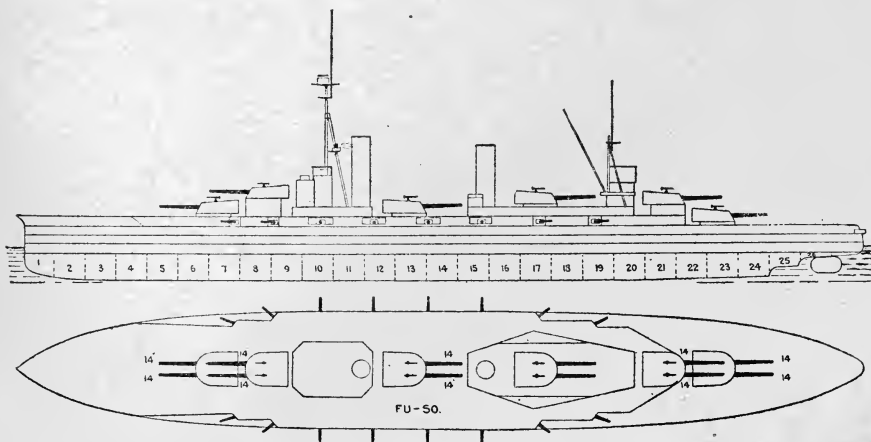
The first two dreadnoughts have the ineffective arrangement of the turrets of the German Helgoland class, (Part I., Figure 2.) The four dreadnoughts of the Fu-So class are formidable battleships, but, as explained above, they have followed the design of the Arkansas, and are probably not as powerful as the battleships of the Pennsylvania design.

The Japanese predreadnought battleships are not as good as those of the United States Navy.

As a matter of course Japan, like the other nations at war, has given out no naval information since she entered the war. Undoubtedly there has been a great increase of the Japanese building program, but it is not probable that any new capital ships are ready for service.

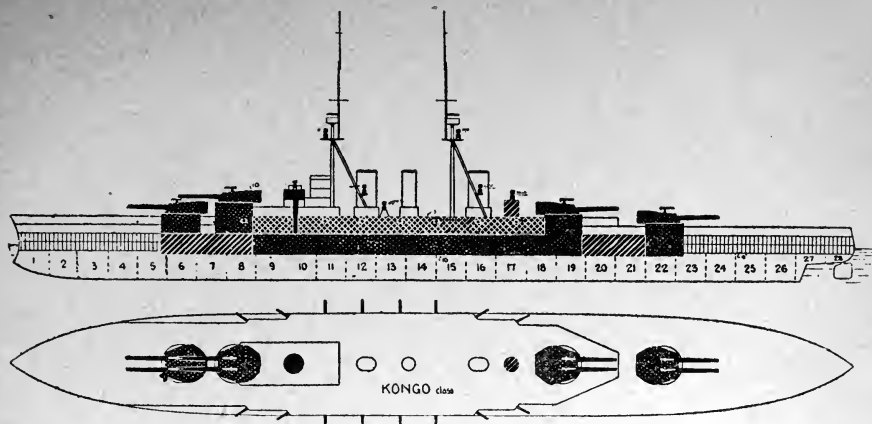
The Battle Cruisers

As in the case of the British Navy, it will be noted that the Japanese naval program did not include battle cruisers for completion later than 1915. Whether



JAPANESE DREADNOUGHT FU-SO

Ahead: 4—14 in. Length, 673 feet. Astern: 4—14 in.
 Broadside: 12—14 in.



JAPANESE BATTLE CRUISER KONGO

Length, 704 feet. Beam, 92 feet. Maximum draught, 29½ feet.
 Ahead: 4—14 in. Broadside: 8—14 in. Astern: 4—14 in.

or not other ships of this class have been recently laid down is not known.

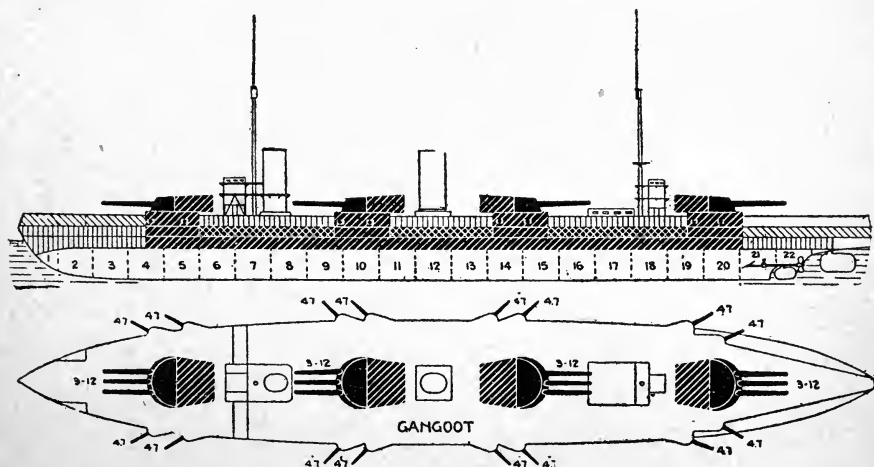
The four battle cruisers in the Japanese building program probably make up the most powerful squadron of their class afloat today, but it is also possible that the Japanese regret building these ships instead of battleships. Their fine armament is carried on hulls that cannot be trusted to resist a serious combat with battleships. Their tactical use would greatly embarrass such a battle fleet as our own, but they cannot any longer be considered a menace.

In all the auxiliaries of the battle fleet

it may be assumed that the progressive Japanese are well equipped. In guns they have closely followed us—and it is probable that they are going to larger calibres, as is the United States Navy.

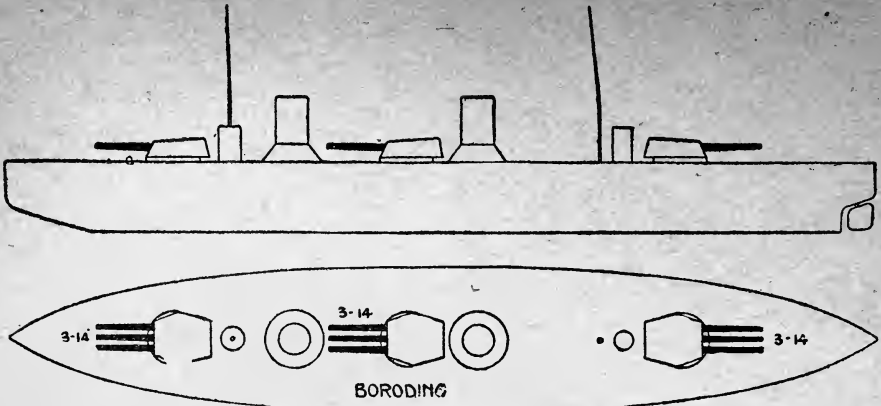
The Russian Navy

In the matter of sea power Russia has been at a disadvantage through being obliged to maintain two separate navies—the Baltic fleet and the Black Sea fleet. This unusual condition has come from closing the Dardanelles to Russian warships. Their strength in first essentials is as follows:



RUSSIAN DREADNOUGHT GANGOOT

Length, 590½ feet. Beam, 85½ feet. Mean draught, 27½ feet.
 Ahead: 3—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 3—12 in.



RUSSIAN BATTLE CRUISER BORODINO

Guns: 9—14 in., 20—5.1 in. Torpedo tubes
 Ahead: 3—14 in. Broadside: 9—14 in. Astern: 3—14 in.

RUSSIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Dreadnoughts | 7 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 7 |
| Battle cruisers..... | 4 |

The known building program of dreadnoughts is as follows:

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displacement. | Armament. | Speed Knots. |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1914. | Sevastopol .. | 23,026 | } 12 12-inch.... | } 23.0 |
| 1914. | Petropavlovsk .. | 23,026 | | |
| 1914. | Poltava | 23,026 | | |
| 1914. | Gangoot | 23,026 | | |
| 1914. | Imp'sa Maria .. | 22,435 | } 12 12-inch.... | } 21.0 |
| 1915. | Imp. Alex. III .. | 22,435 | | |
| 1915. | Ekaterina II.. | 22,435 | | |

Of these the last three are for the Black Sea fleet. It will be observed that the Russian dreadnoughts are turret ships of the Roanoke design, with four turrets instead of three—and three guns in each turret.

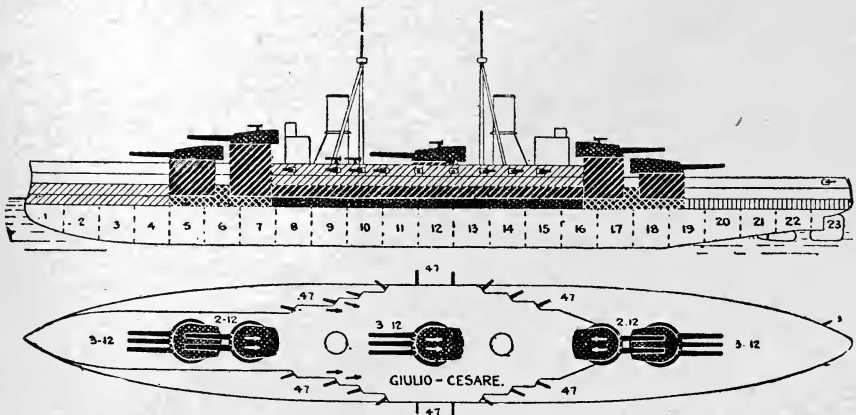
The program is as follows:

RUSSIAN BATTLE CRUISERS

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displacement. | Armament. | Speed Knots. |
|------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1916. | Navarin | 32,000 | } 12 14-inch.... | } 25.0 |
| 1916. | Borodino | 32,000 | | |
| 1916. | Ismail | 32,000 | | |
| 1916. | Kinburn..... | 32,000 | | |

In these Russian battle cruisers we find again the design of the Roanoke, with three guns in each turret instead of two.

Knowing the pressure that the war has brought upon Russia, it seems impossible that this building program of dreadnoughts and battle cruisers has been completed in any degree that would make the Russian Navy a factor in the balance of sea power at this time.



ITALIAN DREADNOUGHT GIULIO CESARE

Length, 575 1/2 feet. Beam, 91 3/4 feet. Mean draught, 27 3/4 feet.
 Ahead: 5—12 in. Broadside: 13—12 in. Astern: 5—12 in.

Russia, however, is well provided with destroyers, having an unusual number of these craft for a navy of its size.

The Italian Navy

The corresponding strength of the Italian Navy is as follows:

| ITALIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Dreadnoughts | 9 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 7 |

The Italian Navy has no battle cruisers. The latest construction in the known building program is as follows:

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displacement. | Armament. | Speed. Knots. |
|------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1913.. | Giulio Cesare | 22,022 | 13 12-inch.... | 22.5 |
| 1914.. | C'ti di Cavour | 22,022 | 13 12-inch.... | 22.5 |
| 1915.. | Andrea Doria. | 22,564 | 13 12-inch.... | 22.5 |
| 1915.. | Dullio | 22,564 | | |
| 1917.. | Carraciolo .. | 30,000 | 8 15-inch..... | 25.0 |
| 1917.. | Mar'co-Collona | 30,000 | | |
| 1917.. | C'ro-Colombo. | 30,000 | | |
| 1917.. | F'co-Morosini. | 30,000 | | |

The Italian naval constructors have been very skillful—and the above is an advanced program calculated to make Italy, if not a great naval power, a valuable ally to any naval power. The turret plan shown above should be noted, as it provides an ingenious way of mounting thirteen heavy guns—and it is unique among the navies of the world.

But, again in the case of Italy, it must

be realized that the country has probably been too much occupied in other fields to carry out this ambitious naval program.

The Hungarian Navy

Austria-Hungary's known strength in first essentials of sea power is given as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Dreadnoughts | 8 |
| Predreadnought battleships..... | 6 |

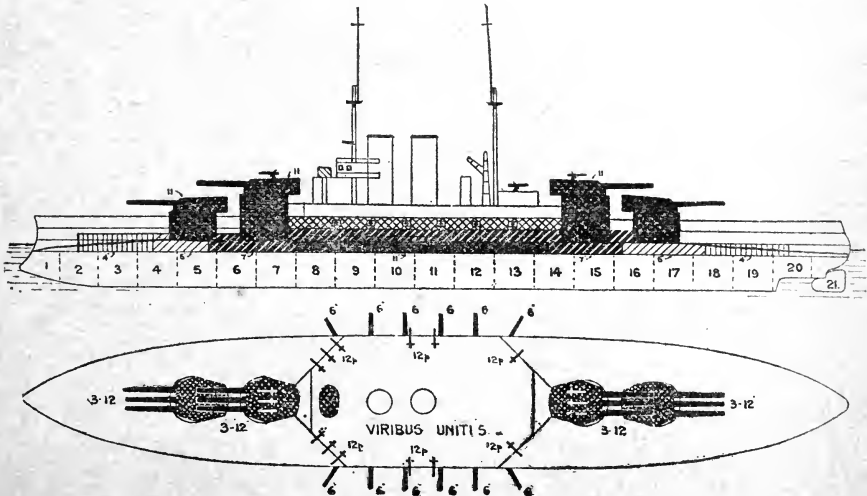
The Austro-Hungarian Navy has no battle cruisers. The recent known building program is as follows:

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

| Comp'd in— | Name. | Displacement. | Armament. | Speed. Knots. |
|------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1912.. | Viribus Unitis | 20,010 | 12 12-inch.... | 21.0 |
| 1913.. | Tegetthoff.... | 20,010 | | |
| 1914.. | Prinz Eugen. | 20,010 | | |
| 1914.. | Szent Istvan. | 20,010 | | |
| (1) ... | One ship.... | 24,500 | 10 13.5-inch... 21.0 | |
| (1) ... | One ship.... | 24,500 | | |
| (1) ... | One ship.... | 24,500 | | |

It is improbable that this program has been carried through to any degree. It is much more likely that with German assistance Austria-Hungary has been devoting her energies to submarines—and has thus become a factor in the war of destruction now being waged in the Mediterranean.

(1) Time due to be completed unknown.



AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DREADNOUGHT VIRIBUS UNITIS

Length, 496 feet. Beam, 89½ feet. Mean draught, 27 feet.
 Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 6—12 in.

Austria-Hungary's Submarine Note

Reply to the United States

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S new Ambassador to the United States, Count Tarnowski von Tarnow, successor to Dr. Dumba, arrived in Washington almost simultaneously with the announcement of Germany's new policy of sinking all merchant ships without warning. Before accepting the credentials of Count Tarnowski, the United States Government decided that it must know the attitude of his Government on this vital subject. Accordingly on Feb. 18 a note was dispatched to Vienna asking for a definite and full statement as to the stand which the Dual Monarchy had assumed regarding submarine warfare, and inquiring whether the assurances given to the United States at the time of the sinking of the Ancona and Persia were to be regarded as changed or withdrawn. Frederic C. Penfield, American Ambassador at Vienna, handed this memorandum to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and the status of the new Ambassador remained one of suspense pending a reply.

Text of American Note

The text of the United States Government's inquiry of Feb. 18, as reported through the European press, is as follows:

In Note 4,107 of Dec. 9, 1915, the American Government laid down the points of view whereby it was guided regarding the activity of submarines in naval warfare. These points of view were on an earlier occasion clearly expressed to the German Government, and the United States Government was of the opinion that the Austro-Hungarian Government was acquainted therewith. The Austro-Hungarian Government replied with Note 5,735 of Dec. 14, 1915, wherein it declared it had neither adequate knowledge of the exchange of ideas which had taken place between the United States and Germany nor was of the opinion that even complete knowledge would suffice for judgment in regard to the Ancona incident, as the questions arising from this incident bore a different character.

Nevertheless, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry declared, in Note 5,949 of Dec. 21, 1915: "As regards the principle set up in the United States Government's very es-

teemed note, that enemy private ships, provided they do not flee or offer resistance, should not be destroyed before the passengers are placed in safety, the Austro-Hungarian Government is in a position to assent in the main to this view of the Washington Cabinet."

Further, the Austro-Hungarian Government on the occasion of the sinking of the steamer Persia in January, 1916, declared that, although not informed regarding this incident, it would be guided by the principles whereto it agreed in the Ancona affair, should events prove that responsibility falls on Austria-Hungary in this matter.

Simultaneously with the communication from the German Government on the 10th of January, 1916, the Austro-Hungarian Government declared that every merchant ship which for whatever purpose was armed with a gun forfeits by this circumstance alone the character of a peaceful vessel, and that in consideration of these circumstances the Austro-Hungarian naval forces had received orders to treat such vessels as warships. In conformity with this declaration, ships whereon were American citizens were sunk in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austro-Hungarian submarines. Some of these ships, for example the English steamer Welsh Prince, were torpedoed without warning by a submarine under the Austro-Hungarian flag. The American Ambassador at Vienna requested information regarding these cases, but thus far has received no reply.

At the same time as the German declaration of Jan. 31, 1917, which described certain portions of the sea off the coasts of Entente countries as exposed to danger from submarines, the Austro-Hungarian Government made known that Austria-Hungary and her allies, as from Feb. 1, would prevent with all available means shipping within the defined barred area.

From the foregoing it can be concluded that the assurance, given on the occasion of the Ancona case and renewed on the occasion of the discussion of the Persia case, is in all material respects the same assurance contained in the note of the German Government of May 4, which reads: "In conformity with the general principles of international law concerning the holding up, search, and destruction of merchant ships, such ships will not be sunk either inside or outside that portion of the sea which has been declared a naval war zone without previous warning and without taking such means as are available for saving human lives, unless such ships flee or endeavor to offer resistance," and that this assurance is more or less

altered by the declaration of the Austro-Hungarian Government of Feb. 16 and Jan. 31.

Since the United States Government is in doubt regarding the meaning to be attached to these declarations, especially the last, it desires to be finally and clearly informed of the standpoint which the Austro-Hungarian Government adopts in these circumstances and also whether the assurance given in the Ancona and Persia cases is to be regarded as changed or withdrawn.

Text of Austrian Note

The reply of Emperor Charles's Government to the foregoing memorandum was handed to Ambassador Penfield on March 6. It took the unsatisfactory position that neutrals at sea would enter the barred zone at their own risk, and that only neutrals on neutral ships had any right to freedom of the seas. At the same time the Austro-Hungarian Government asserted that it adhered strictly to the assurances given at the time of the Ancona incident, though it had declared in the second Ancona note: "The Imperial and Royal Government can substantially concur in the principle that private ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed before the persons on board have been brought into safety."

The full text of the Austro-Hungarian reply to the United States is as follows:

From the memorandum of Feb. 18 of the American Ambassador, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister has concluded that the Washington Cabinet, in view of statements made on Feb. 10 of last year and on Jan. 31, 1917, by the Austro-Hungarian Government, is now in doubt regarding the attitude which Austria-Hungary will henceforth observe regarding the submarine war and as to whether the assurances given by the Austro-Hungarian Government to the Washington Cabinet, in the course of negotiations about the Ancona and Persia papers, have not been nullified by the aforementioned statement. The Austro-Hungarian Government is ready to make a clear and definite statement so that these doubts may be solved.

The Austro-Hungarian Government may be allowed first of all to discuss briefly the methods employed by the Entente Powers in waging submarine war, because they are the starting point for the intensified submarine war begun by Austria-Hungary and her allies and also throw a bright light upon the attitude which the Austro-Hungarian Government has taken hitherto in regard to the questions which have arisen.

When Great Britain joined the war against the Central Powers only a few years had

elapsed since that memorable time when she, in union with other States, began to lay the foundation at The Hague for modern naval war law. Soon afterward the British Government had assembled in Holland representatives of the great powers in order to consolidate the further work of The Hague Conference, especially in the sense of a just arrangement between interested belligerents and neutrals. These efforts aimed at nothing less than the mutual establishment of principles of right which even in war times should embody the principles of freedom of the seas and the safeguarding of the interests of neutrals.

Neutrals were not to enjoy these benefits for long. Hardly had the United Kingdom decided to participate in the war when, almost at once, it began to break down the barriers which the principles of international law had erected. While the Central Powers, in the very beginning of the war, had declared that they would observe the Declaration of London, which also bore the signature of the British representative, Great Britain threw overboard some of its important provisions. In an endeavor to cut off the Central Powers from supplies from overseas she enlarged, step by step, the list of contraband until nothing was missing in the list of things which today men want for their subsistence.

Then Great Britain proclaimed what she called a blockade of the coasts of the North Sea, which form also an important commerce route for Austro-Hungarians, in order to prevent goods which were still missing in the list of contraband from entering Germany and in order to prevent all sea traffic by neutrals to those coasts as well as all exports through neutrals. That this blockade was in flagrant contradiction to the customary principles of the right of blockade, as established by international agreements, was explicitly declared by the President of the United States of America in words which will continue to live in the history of international law.

By the illegal prevention of reports from the Central Powers Great Britain aimed at paralyzing the countless factories and works which the industrial and highly developed peoples of Central Europe had created and, by forcing workmen to be idle, to incite them to rebellion.

When Austria-Hungary's southern neighbor joined the enemies of the Central Powers his first act was to declare as blockaded all coasts of the enemy, following, of course, the example of his allies in ignoring all the legal rights in the creation of which Italy had taken an active part a short time before. Austria-Hungary did not neglect to inform neutral powers at once that the blockade was not legal.

Long-Suffering Central Powers

For more than two years the Central Powers hesitated. Only then, and after long and careful consideration of pros and cons, did

they begin to return like for like and attacked the enemy on the sea. As the only ones of the belligerents who had done everything to secure the existing treaties which were to guarantee to neutrals the freedom of the seas, they felt with pained hearts the law of the hour which commanded them to violate this freedom. But they took this step to fulfill the paramount duty toward their peoples and from the conviction that it would help the principle of the freedom of the seas to be victorious. The proclamations which they issued last January are apparently directed only against the rights of neutrals. In reality they serve toward the restoration of these rights, which their enemies have incessantly violated and which, if they were victors, they would destroy forever. Thus the submarines which are cruising around the English coast announce to peoples who need the sea—and what people does not want coasts?—that the day is not far off when the flags of all States, in the glory of their newly won freedom, can freely fly over the seas.

We cherish the hope that this announcement will find an echo everywhere where neutral peoples live, and that it will especially be understood by the great people of the United States, whose most illustrious representative has during the war defended with flaming words the freedom of the seas as the highway of all nations.

Working for "Freedom of the Seas"

If the people and Government of the United States keep in mind that the blockade proclaimed by Great Britain is not only meant to wear down the Central Powers by starvation, but aims at subjecting the seas to her rule in order to establish in this manner her tyranny over all nations, while, on the other hand, the blockade of England and her allies only serves to make these powers incline toward peace with honor and a guarantee to all nations of the freedom of the sea traffic and sea commerce, and thereby a secured existence, then the question which of the two parties has the right on its side is already decided. Though the Central Powers have no desire in this war to beg for allies, they yet believe that they will be entitled to look to neutrals to appreciate their efforts to revise in the interest of all the principles of international law and equal rights of nations.

In replying now to the question put in the American note of Feb. 18, the Austro-Hungarian Government firstly remarks that in the exchange of notes referring to the cases of the Ancona and the Persia it restricted itself to defining its attitude to concrete questions which individually arose, without laying down its fundamental legal conception. But in its note of Oct. 19, 1915, referring to the Ancona case, it reserved to itself the right to bring up for discussion at a later date difficult international questions which arise in connection with submarine warfare. It now refers to this reservation, and now

briefly discusses the question of sinking enemy vessels, to which that note refers, it is guided by the desire to show the American Government that it now, as heretofore, strictly adheres to the assurance already given, and endeavors by clearing up that important question arising from submarine warfare, because it touches the laws of humanity, to avoid misunderstandings between the monarchy and the American Union.

Above all, the Austro-Hungarian Government desires to emphasize that it is also its opinion that the thesis set up by the American Government, which also is represented in various learned records, that enemy merchantmen, apart from cases of attempted flight and resistance, must not be destroyed without precautions being taken for the safety of the persons aboard, forms, so to say, the kernel of the whole subject. Regarded from a higher standpoint, this thesis can, of course, be ranked in a further suggestive connection, and from that view its domain of application can be marked out more exactly.

"General Warning" Sufficient

From the laws of humanity, which the Austro-Hungarian Government and the Washington Cabinet take in the same manner as judging the lines, the more general principle can be derived that when executing the right of destroying enemy merchantmen the loss of human life should as far as possible be avoided. To this principle the belligerent can only do justice by issuing warning before exercising the right. Therein he can choose the way which the aforementioned thesis of the American Government indicates, according to which the commander of the war vessel himself gives warning so that the crew and passengers may bring themselves into safety in the last moment, or the Government of a belligerent State can, if this is recognized as an inevitable necessity of war, issue warning of full effect also before the departure of the vessel which is to be sunk; or, finally, it can, if it establishes extensive measures against enemy sea trade, employ a general warning for all enemy vessels in question.

That the principle according to which care must be taken for the safety of the persons aboard undergoes exceptions the American Government itself recognized. But the Austro-Hungarian Government believes that destruction without warning is admissible not only when a vessel flees or offers resistance. It appears—to mention only one example—that the character of the vessel itself also must be taken into consideration. Merchantmen or other private vessels which carry a military garrison or arms aboard in order to commit hostile acts of any kind may, according to valid right, be destroyed without hesitation.

Austrian Ships Sunk Without Notice

The Austro-Hungarian Government need not call attention to the fact that the belligerent is released of all consideration for human life if his opponent sinks enemy mer-

chantmen without previous warning, as happened with the vessels *Electra*, (German;) *Bubrovnik*, (Austrian;) *Zagreb*, (Austrian,) &c., which already has been repeatedly censured; and in this respect the Austro-Hungarian Government never returned like for like, notwithstanding its uncontested right. In the course of the entire war Austro-Hungarian war vessels have not sunk one enemy merchantman without previous, if only general, warning.

The repeatedly mentioned thesis of the United States Government also allows various interpretations, in so far, namely, as it is doubtful whether, as is asserted from various sides, only on resistance justifies the destruction of a vessel with persons aboard, or resistance of another kind; as is shown if the crew intentionally neglects to take the passengers into boats—the *Ancona* case—or if the passengers themselves refuse to enter boats. According to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, the destruction of a warned vessel without rescuing the persons aboard is admissible in cases of the latter kind, because otherwise it would be left to the individual passenger to nullify the right of belligerents to sink vessels.

Moreover, it may be pointed out also that there is no unanimity as regards in what cases the sinking of neutral merchantmen at all is admissible. The obligation to issue a warning immediately before sinking vessels leads, according to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, on the one hand, to harshness which could be avoided; on the other hand, it is under circumstances calculated to injure the justified interests of belligerents. In the first place, it must not be overlooked that the rescue of persons is almost always left to mere chance, as the only choice remaining is to take them aboard war vessels which are exposed to any enemy influence, or to expose them in small boats to the dangers of the elements; so that it therefore corresponds much better to the principles of humanity to prevent persons, by timely warning, from using endangered vessels.

Neutrals Must Not Use Enemy Ships

Furthermore, notwithstanding careful examination of all legal questions referring thereto, the Austro-Hungarian Government could not come to the conviction that subjects of neutral States are entitled to travel unmolested on enemy vessels.

The principle that neutrals in war time also should enjoy the advantages of freedom of the seas refers only to neutral vessels, not to neutral persons on board enemy vessels, because belligerents, as is well known, are entitled to prevent the enemy's sea traffic as far as they are able. Being in possession of the necessary war means and considering it necessary for the attainment of their war aims, they can prohibit sea traffic of enemy merchantmen on pain of their destruction, provided they have pre-

viously announced this to be their intention, so that every one, whether enemy or neutral, may be enabled to avoid endangering life. Even if doubts should arise regarding the justifiableness of such procedure, and if the enemy should threaten reprisals, then this would be an affair for settlement between the belligerents only, who, as generally recognized, are entitled to make the high seas the scene of military operations and to oppose any interference with their enterprises and to decide for themselves what measures shall be taken against enemy sea traffic.

In such cases neutrals have no other legitimate interest, and therefore no other legal claim, than that the belligerent inform them in time of prohibitions directed to the enemy, that they can avoid intrusting their lives and their goods to enemy vessels.

The Austro-Hungarian Government can suppose that the Washington Cabinet will agree with these explanations, which, according to the Austro-Hungarian Government's firm conviction, are unassailable, as otherwise disputing their correctness would doubtless be tantamount to saying—which certainly does not correspond to the opinion of the United States—that neutrals must be free to interfere with military operations of belligerents or even directly assume the office of judging as to the war means which are to be employed against enemies.

Analogy of Land Warfare

It appears that it also would be a flagrant misunderstanding if a neutral Government, only to enable its subjects to travel on enemy vessels, while they as readily, and even with far greater security, could use neutral vessels, should fall to arms with a belligerent power which, perhaps, was fighting for its existence, not to speak of the most serious abuses for which the road would be left clear if the belligerent were to be forced to lower arms before every neutral who desired to use enemy vessels for his business or pleasure trips. Never was there the slightest doubt that neutral subjects themselves have to bear all the loss which they suffer by entering on land territory where warlike operations are taking place. There obviously is no reason to allow different principles for war on sea, the more so as at the Second Peace Conference the wish was expressed that, until the time when war on sea should have found a settlement by agreements, the law in force for war on land should be employed, as far as this was possible, also for war on sea.

In the spirit of what was previously said, the regulation that warning must be given to a ship which is to be sunk undergoes exceptions of various kinds, under certain circumstances, as, for instance, as mentioned by the American Government, in cases of flight and resistance, when vessels may be de-

stroyed without warning, while in other cases warning before the departure of a vessel is necessary. The Austro-Hungarian Government can therefore state, whatever attitude the Washington Cabinet may take in regard to individual questions raised here, that it, as especially regards protection of neutrals against endangering their lives, is essentially in accord with the American Government. But it was not only satisfied to put into effect in the course of this war the conception represented by her, but beyond that it also accommodated its attitude with painful care to the thesis set up by the Washington Cabinet, and would feel inclined to support it in its endeavor to secure American citizens against dangers at sea, which endeavor it supports by the warmest philanthropy, and by instructing and warning those intrusted with it.

As regards Circular Note 10,602 of last year, regarding the treatment of armed enemy merchantmen, the Austro-Hungarian Government, it is true, has to state that, as already mentioned previously, it is of the opinion that the arming of merchantmen, even solely for defense against the exercise of the right of capture, is not established by modern international law. A war vessel is obliged to come into contact with enemy merchantmen in a peaceful manner. It has to waylay the vessel by certain signals, to enter into communication with the Captain, to examine the ship's papers, draw up a protocol, and, if necessary, take an inventory, &c. Fulfillment of these duties presupposes naturally that the war vessel has full certainty that the merchantman, on its part, also will act peacefully. Without doubt such certainty does not exist if the merchantman possesses armament which is sufficient to fight the war vessel. It can hardly be expected to discharge its duties under the muzzles of guns, whatever their purpose may be, without mentioning the fact that merchantmen of the Entente Powers, despite all assurances to the contrary, are—as this has been proved—provided with arms for an aggressive purpose and also use them for this purpose.

It would also be a misinterpretation of the duties of humanity to demand the crews of war vessels expose themselves without defense to arms of the enemy. No State could value its duties of humanity toward the legal defenders of the Fatherland less than its duties toward subjects of foreign powers. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore could have stated from conviction that its promise made to the Washington Cabinet did not extend, from the very beginning, to armed merchantmen, because they, according to the valid principle and right which restrict hostilities to organized forces, are to be regarded as private vessels, which may be destroyed.

As history shows, it was never permitted under general international law that merchantmen oppose the exercise of the right of capture by war vessels. Even if a regulation of such kind could be found, this would not

prove that vessels should be allowed to arm themselves. It must also be taken into consideration that the arming of merchantmen would completely transform warfare on the sea, and that such a transformation cannot correspond with the intentions of those who endeavor to bring to bear the principles of humanity in warfare on sea. In fact, since the abolition of privateering no Government, until a few years ago, has thought in the least of arming merchantmen. At the Second Peace Conference, which was occupied with all questions of naval war law, the arming of merchantmen was mentioned only once. This utterance, however, is significant because it was made by high naval officers, who freely declared: "When a warship proposes to stop and visit a merchant ship, the commander, before launching a small boat, will cause a cannon shot to be fired. A cannon shot is the best guarantee that can be given. Merchant ships have no cannon on board."

Notwithstanding that, Austria-Hungary adhered to her promise also as regards this question. In the mentioned circular note neutrals were warned in time against intrusting their persons and property to armed vessels. The issued measure was not put in force at once, but a period of grace was given in order to enable neutrals to leave armed vessels which they had already boarded. Finally, Austro-Hungarian war vessels themselves have been instructed, even in the case of encountering armed enemy merchantmen, if, in view of the circumstances, it is possible, to issue a warning and take care of the rescue of passengers.

The statement of the American Embassy that the armed British steamers *Secundo*, *Uno*, and *Welsh Prince* were torpedoed by Austro-Hungarian submarines without warning is erroneous. [The *Secundo* and *Uno* are listed in marine registers as Norwegian vessels.] The Austro-Hungarian Government meanwhile received information that no Austro-Hungarian war vessel took part in the sinking of these steamers.

In the same manner as in the repeatedly mentioned circular note, the Austro-Hungarian Government—and therewith it comes back to the question of intensified submarine warfare—as mentioned at the beginning of this aide-mémoire and also in its declaration of Jan. 31 of the current year, issued a warning to all neutrals by fixing a certain period. Moreover, the whole declaration represents in essence nothing else but a warning, namely, that no merchantmen will be allowed to enter the sea areas exactly described in the declaration.

Moreover, Austro-Hungarian war vessels are instructed if possible to warn merchantmen encountered in these areas and to bring into safety the crews and passengers. The Austro-Hungarian Government also possessed numerous reports that crews and passengers of vessels which have been destroyed in these areas have been brought into safety. For the eventual losses of human life which never-

theless may occur in the destruction of armed vessels or such encountered in the barred zone the Austro-Hungarian Government can take no responsibility.

Little Risk From Austrian U-Boats

Moreover, it may be pointed out that Austro-Hungarian submarines solely are operating in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, and that, therefore, an encroachment of American interests is hardly to be feared from Austro-Hungarian war vessels.

In view of everything mentioned in the beginning of this aide-mémoire, there need hardly be an assurance that the barricading of sea areas described in the declaration does not aim at destruction of human life or even its endangering. But apart from the higher aim of sparing further suffering to mankind by shortening the war, and solely to place Great Britain and her allies, who, without an effective blockade over the coasts of the Central Powers, prevent the sea traffic of neutrals with these powers in the same isolation, the step is taken to render them by this pressure more pliable toward a peace which bears in itself a guarantee and is durable.

That Austria-Hungary uses different means is especially caused by circumstances over which mankind has no power. The Austro-Hungarian Government is convinced that it has done everything in its power to avoid human losses. It would attain this aim, which is intended by the Central Powers, most quickly and most certainly if in those sea areas no single human life were lost and no single life were endangered.

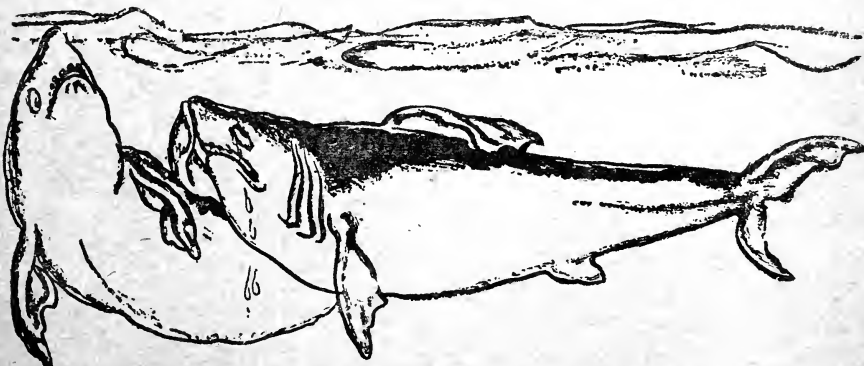
Says Ancona Pledge Stands

Summarizing, the Austro-Hungarian Government can state that the assurance given to the Washington Cabinet in the Ancona case and renewed in the Persia case has neither been abolished nor restricted by its declaration of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917. Within this assurance it will also in the future, united with its allies, do everything so that the peoples on earth will soon again participate in the blessings of peace. If in the prosecution of this aim, which, as is well known, finds full sympathy in the Washington Cabinet, it sees itself obliged to prevent neutral sea traffic in certain sea areas, in justification of this measure it will point not so much at the attitude of the enemy, which it considers not at all worthy of imitation, but it will point out that Austria-Hungary, by reason of the obstinacy and malignity of her enemies, who intend her destruction, has been placed in a state of self-defense than which history knows no more typical example.

As the Austro-Hungarian Government finds inspiration in the consciousness that the fight which Austria-Hungary is waging serves not only for maintenance of its vital interests but also for realization of the equal rights of all States, it lays the greatest stress in this last and most severe period of the war, which, as it deeply deplores, demands sacrifices also from friends, on the confirmation by word and deed that the principle of humanity guides it, in the same manner as the law of respect of the interests of neutral peoples.

[Russian Cartoon]

An Unspeakable Libel



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

SHARK: "Ah, neighbor, I have been grossly insulted!"

"How?"

"I was mistaken for a German submarine."

"The Blacks Attack!"

A Vivid Battle Scene by Rheinhold Eichacker, a German Officer
on the Western Front

"After a lengthy artillery preparation, white and colored Frenchmen attacked our positions in heavy force. They succeeded in getting a foothold in some of our most advanced trenches. A furious counterattack drove them back again in a hand-to-hand encounter. Nothing else of importance."—*German Army Report.*

AT 7:15 in the morning the French attacked. The black Senegal negroes, France's cattle for the shambles. After a seven-hour suffocating drumfire that, according to all human reckoning, should not have left a mortal man alive. But we still lived—and waited. Six meters under the sod lay our "waiting rooms." Burrowed into the ground on a slant. "Courage bracers," they call them out there.

At 7:15 the enemy shifted his fire backward upon our reserves. Our pickets sounded the alarm. We sprang to arms, with our gas masks in place. For a few seconds the trenches resembled an antheap. There was feverish hurrying, running, shouting, and shoving. Just for seconds. Then everybody was at his post. Everybody who was alive. Every one a rock in the seething waves. Every one determined to hold his position against hell itself.

A gas attack! Several hundred pairs of wide-open warriors' eyes fixed their glances upon the ugly, smoking cloud that, lazy and impenetrable, rolled toward us. Hundreds of fighting eyes, fixed, threatening, deadly. Let them come, the blacks! And they came. First singly, at wide intervals. Feeling their way, like the arms of a horrible cuttlefish. Eager, grasping, like the claws of a mighty monster. Thus they rushed closer, flickering and sometimes disappearing in their cloud. Entire bodies and single limbs, now showing in the harsh glare, now sinking in the shadows, came nearer and nearer. Strong, wild fellows, their log-like, fat, black skulls wrapped in pieces of dirty rags. Showing their grinning

teeth like panthers, with their bellies drawn in and their necks stretched forward. Some with bayonets on their rifles. Many only armed with knives. Monsters all, in their confused hatred. Frightful their distorted, dark grimaces. Horrible their unnaturally wide-opened, burning, bloodshot eyes. Eyes that seem like terrible beings themselves. Like unearthly, hell-born beings. Eyes that seemed to run ahead of their owners, lashed, unchained, no longer to be restrained. On they came like dogs gone mad and cats spitting and yowling, with a burning lust for human blood, with a cruel dissemblance of their beastly malice. Behind them came the first wave of the attackers, in close order, a solid, rolling black wall, rising and falling, swaying and heaving, impenetrable, endless.

"Close range! Individual firing! Take careful aim!" My orders rang out sharp and clear and were correctly understood by all the men. They stood as if carved out of stone, their lips tightly pressed, the muscles of their cheeks swollen, and took aim. Just like rifle range work. The first blacks fell headlong in full course in our wire entanglements, turning somersaults like the clowns in a circus. Some of them half rose, remained hanging, jerked themselves further, crawling, gliding like snakes—cut wires—sprang over—tumbled—fell.

Nearer and nearer rolled the wall. Gaps opened and closed again. Lines halted and—rolled on again. Whrrr ratt—tenggg—sssstt—crack! Our artillery sent them its greeting! Whole groups melted away. Dismembered bodies, sticky earth, shattered rocks, were mixed in wild disorder. The black cloud halted, wavered, closed its ranks—and rolled nearer and nearer, irresistible, crushing, devastating! And the rifles were flashing all the time. A dissonant, voiceless rattle. The men still stood there and took aim. Calmly, surely, not wasting a

single shot. The stamping and snorting of thousands of panting beasts ate up the ground between us.

Now the wave was only 300 paces from our defenses—from their remnants—now only 200—100—irresistible, seething and roaring—50 paces!—"Rapid fire!" I roared, I shrieked, through the swelling cracking of the rifles. A hurricane swallowed my voice! Hell seemed let loose at a single blow, raging, storming, obliterating all understanding! Shoving and stamping, shrieking and shouting, cracking and rattling, hissing and screeching. A heavy veil hung over the wall. In this cloud pieces of earth, smoke spirals, black, red, white, yellow flashes, quivered and flared. Rattling, rapping, pounding, hammering, crackling. And the shots fell unceasingly. Clear and shrill the rifles, heavy and roaring the shells.

And now came the gruesome, inconceivable horror! A wall of lead and iron suddenly hurled itself upon the attackers and the entanglements just in front of our trenches. A deafening hammering and clattering, cracking and pounding, rattling and crackling, beat everything to earth in ear-splitting, nerve-racking clamor. Our machine guns had flanked the blacks!

Like an invisible hand they swept over the men and hurled them to earth, mangling and tearing them to pieces! As an Autumn storm roars over the fields they swept in full flood over the ranks and snuffed out life! Like hail among the ears of grain, their missiles flew and rattled and broke down the enemy's will! Singly, in files, in rows and heaps, the blacks fell. Next to each other, behind each other, on top of each other. Hurling in heaps, in mounds, in hillocks. Fresh masses charged and fell back, charged and stumbled, charged and fell. And there were always fresh forces! They seemed to spring from the very earth!

We had losses; heavy losses. Here a man suddenly put his hand to his forehead and swayed. There another sprang gurgling to one side and fell, as flat and heavy as a block of stone. S-s-s-t—it went above our heads. The French were throwing shrapnel against our trenches, hissing, cracking, and in volleys.

Hell still rages. The blacks get reinforcements. Finally the whites themselves charge, a jerky, rolling, bluish-green mass! In a powerful drive they get over the first rise in the ground. Now they have disappeared. Now they bob up, as out of a trap door. Here and there the ranks shoot forward in great leaps, the officers ahead of all, with their swords swinging high in the air, just as in the pictures! A splendid sight. Now they reach the bodies of the blacks. They halt for a few seconds, as if in horror, then on they roll over the dead, jumping, wallowing, dozens falling.

We still stand firmly in the breach. Our nerves are strained to the snapping point, gasping, bleeding, feverish! We dare not waver. "Steady, men! Steady!" We must calmly let them come as far as the wire entanglements, as the blacks did. The blacks? Where are they? Disappeared! Only they left their dead behind. The same thing will happen to the whites. We are waiting for them. The death-spewing machine guns are lying over there. They lie there and wait until their time comes. Steady, steady! They lie there and wait impatiently—but yet they are silent—Now!—No—I am raving! "Rapid fire!"—I hiss—My neighbor staggers—I only listen and wait, wait and listen, for only one thing. Something that has to come, must finally come, has to come! Great God, otherwise we are lost! Be calm, be calm! Now they will begin reaping! Now they must begin to rattle, our machine guns, our faithful rescuers—now—at once! What can they be waiting for? Why, they are there in the wires already. Hell and Satan! No man can endure that! They are hesitating too long—the enemy is almost in the trenches! Ah! At last! A rattling—a hoarse crackling—Heaven help us, what is that?

A devilish howling rises hoarsely from over there, lacerating, bestial, shrieking! The blacks, the devils! How did they reach our flank over there? That's where our machine guns are. It cannot be. There! Hell! They are carrying hand grenades, are in their rear! Heaven help us! And the whites! They are at our breastworks. Already they are in the

trenches, fighting like wild beasts. Horror makes them crazy. Help is coming to us from the left. The second company has fallen upon their flank. The French run like hunted animals. A shell bursts in their midst, catches twenty or thirty of them and throws them in the air like toys. They run still further, through the air, bowling along on their heads, gruesomely—and fall in heaps to the ground. Heads, legs, twitching bodies! The French run until back of the bodies. The rest of them are cut to pieces, or made prisoners. But now our men must come back.

We struggle for breath. Wounded men writhe around and moan and groan heavily. The trench is bathed in blood. Far more than half of the company has been slain. We are only a handful. I assemble the valiant men and distribute them among the trenches. They stand resolutely, breathing hard and gasping.

A furious rattling and buzzing and hissing calls us again to our posts. They are charging anew. Now the whites again, in front, on the side. They are on our flank! Back of them the blacks in frightful clusters. "Bring the sand-

bags!" The sandbags fly from hand to hand. A wall rises in the midst of the trench. The other half was overrun long ago and is a knot of struggling men. A piece of wood hits me on the shoulder—crack—I cry out! A shot lands in the midst of our ammunition—it was our last. This way with the hand grenades! We have got to smoke them out!

A roaring hurrah! Heaven help us, aid is at hand! The Fourth, and the Fifth—I know the men—and some of the First, too—all mixed up—dispersed troops rallied again. Now, up and at them! The French defend themselves furiously. They hold the trench. The dead are heaped up before their ramparts—but keep it up! A wild passion takes possession of me. My revolver and my dagger have been lost in the fighting. I seize a bottle. Hell sends it to me at the right moment! Like an animal mad with hate I rush forward. My bottle lands, crashing and splintering, on a woolly skull, with a distorted grimace. A hot shock rushes through my shoulder—a shock—a wrench—I grasp at the air—grasp something convulsively—throw myself in the air—and fall in a heap. A confused mist dances before my eyes.

Colossal War Expenses of Great Britain, Germany, and France

THE request of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law, for a supplementary credit of \$250,000,000 on March 14 disclosed the fact that the total amount voted for the war by Great Britain for the year ending March 31, 1917, reached \$10,000,000,000. A total of \$3,000,000,000 was voted between Feb. 12, 1917, and the end of March.

Great Britain's "victory" popular loan exceeded all estimates; the total subscribed was \$5,001,564,750; the total number of applicants was 5,289,000.

Germany's New War Credit

The German Reichstag voted a new credit of \$3,750,000,000 early in March. In submitting the new budget the Minister of Finance, Count von Roedern, uttered some significant phrases. He said:

Germany's sincere proposal of peace has met with a refusal. Mediation from the side of the neutrals failed in consequence of the decision of our enemies. The British blockade of the German and neutral coasts, which neither as regards the means by which it is put into effect nor its extension to different classes of goods and neutral countries corresponds to the hitherto existing usages of international law, has been answered by an actual blockade by means of a weapon created by this war. For this reason there could not yet be any written regulations in international law governing this weapon. This weapon is the submarine.

He affirmed that Germany was forced into the war. In discussing the new budget he said:

New taxation proposals are submitted to you which amount for the next year to 1,250,000,000 marks and hold out the prospect of additional taxation on war profits later on. Moreover, a further war credit of an un-

precedented amount—namely, 15,000,000,000 marks—is asked for. The payment of interest on previous credits is fully provided for. The safety law which became necessary last year provides for an increase of the legal reserve from 50 to 60 per cent., but the budget brings in during the financial year no new money; therefore, an additional tax of 20 per cent. on the existing war taxation is necessary.

Count von Roedern then pointed out the great value of the coal produced in Germany and imported into Germany, which he had estimated before the war at 2,500,000,000 marks. The idea of taking over the coal mines by the State had been rejected as impossible. Germany could safely rely on her own production of coal and even on having coal for export during normal times. Coal could be taxed the more readily, since the prices at home during the war, as compared with those in foreign countries, were comparatively low. The average price in Germany, he said, was 15 to 18 marks, while Great Britain paid 20s. to 30s. per ton; Italy over 300 lire; France, in November, 125 francs to 150 francs for house coal; and North America \$6 to \$7; so that "an average tax of 2½ marks on coal and 80 pfennigs on lignite was not too high." Count von Roedern then dwelt on the proposed taxation of railway tickets and bills of lading. He pointed out that similar measures had already been taken in other belligerent countries. A tax of 7 per cent. would be placed on all freights and a tax of from 10 to 16 per cent. on railway tickets. He proceeded:

World's Total \$75,000,000,000

The war credit voted last October is nearly exhausted. As in all belligerent countries, our war expenditure during the last few months has experienced a certain tension. Our average extraordinary expenditure during October to January amounted in all to 2,775,000,000 marks. I have reason to suppose that, as between both groups of belligerents, the proportion today is still two to one; the war expenditure of the whole world exceeds 300,000,000,000 marks, (\$75,000,000,000.) and therefore not more than 100,000,000,000 marks (\$25,000,000,000) fall on us and our allies, while over 200,000,000,000 marks (\$50,000,000,000) fall on the Entente. The tension will not relax in the war expenditure during the next few months. The war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks is therefore asked for. Next month we must issue another loan. This exact picture, as shown by the budget,

is certainly serious, but our economic life gives no reason to look into the future with less confidence than hitherto. If the German people firmly believe in a happy issue of the final struggle which, in consequence of the plan of our enemies, has become inevitable, the German people may also expect that for this reason financial consequences are also to be deduced. Against the demand of our enemies for reparation we shall be able to put the word "indemnity." I have confidence in our economic future, in the unbroken financial strength of our people, and am convinced that, in view of our rapid technical development during the war and the firm determination of all circles of productive industry, everything which the war has destroyed will be rebuilt by our common labor.

Our strength is not founded on paper, as our enemies suppose, but on the unexhausted income of the people and on the fact that we did not fall into the slavery of debt to foreign countries, as our European enemies had to do in so high a degree. Our financial strength has been proved by the increase of the deposits in the savings banks, which in 1916 again exceeded 3,000,000,000 marks, by the extraordinary increase in the deposits of the banking institutes, and by reports of 400 limited companies, which show not only increasing profits but also wise reserves. The war has proved that we are united in the will to hold out to victory. I know that after the war we shall not be united on all economic questions, but there is one thing we shall carry over into peace time—the conviction that the development and increase of our production are of equal importance to all classes of the population, and that we must work together toward reconstruction. The Federal Governments count on co-operation on these lines, especially from the Reichstag, which will prove its determination to do its share by maintaining a sound financial policy, by the impartial examination of the proposed taxes, by providing the means for the continuance of the war, and by ready support of the coming loan.

War Expenditures of France

At the end of June France will have spent during the war in round figures 83,000,000,000 francs, or more than \$16,000,000,000. The amount of the short-term national bonds in circulation at the end of February was 14,500,000,000 francs.

In addition to her expenditures, France has advanced to her allies 3,875,000,000, making a total outlay since Aug. 1, 1914, of 87,000,000,000 francs. Loans made in the United States amount to 2,188,860,000 francs. The bonds placed in England will yield 5,927,128,000.

Great Britain Restricts Imports to Food and Munitions

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE announced to the House of Commons Feb. 23, 1917, that orders would be issued at once for a drastic restriction of non-essential imports, so that the full cargo space of shipping would be employed for food and munitions. He announced that minimum prices for farm products would be guaranteed over a term of years to encourage the farmer to plant every available foot of land, and that this would be supplemented later by an announcement that land owners would be forced to cultivate their land.

The Premier announced that a million tons of food luxuries and several million tons of paper, ore, and lumber would be lopped off the nation's imports. He said that the stocks of food were lower than ever before, not because of the enemy's submarine activities so much as because of the bad harvests. In the course of his address he stated that shipbuilding was increasing by special efforts, at some yards as much as 40 per cent.

The following is the royal proclamation, dated Feb. 23, 1917, relating to this announcement:

(1) As from and after the date hereof, subject as hereinafter provided, the importation into the United Kingdom of the following goods is hereby prohibited, viz.: Aerated, mineral, and table waters; agricultural machinery; antimony ware; apparel, not water-proofed; (except boots and shoes;) art, works of; baskets and basketware of bamboo; books, printed, and other printed matter, including printed posters and daily, weekly, and other periodical publications, imported otherwise than in single copies through the post; boots and shoes of leather, and material used for the manufacture thereof, not already prohibited; brandy; clocks and parts thereof; cloisonné wares; cocoa, preparations of; cocoa, raw; coffee; cotton hosiery, cotton lace and articles thereof; curios; diatomite and infusorial earth; embroidery and needlework; fancy goods, known as Paris goods; feathers, ornamental, and down; fire extinguishers; flowers, artificial; flowers, fresh; fruit, raw, of all descriptions, (except lemons and bitter oranges,) and almonds and nuts used as fruit; glass manufactures not already prohibited; gloves; hats and bonnets; hides, wet and dry; incandescent gas mantles; jute, raw; leather, dressed and undressed; linen,

yarns, and manufactures of; lobsters, canned; mats and matting; mops; painters' colors and pigments; perfumery; photographic apparatus; pictures, prints, engravings, photographs, and maps; plated and gilt wares; quails, live; quebracho, hemlock, oak, and mangrove extracts; rum; salmon, canned; silk, manufactures of, not including silk yarns; skins and furs, manufactures of; Soya beans; stereoscopes; straw envelopes for bottles; straw plaiting; sugar, articles and preparations containing, used for food; (except condensed milk;) tea; tomatoes; typewriters; wine; wood and timber of all kinds, hewn, sawn, or split, planed or dressed.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared, that this prohibition shall not apply to any such goods which are imported under license given by or on behalf of the Board of Trade, and subject to the provisions and conditions of such license.

(2) As from and after the date hereof the prohibition imposed by the Prohibition of Import (paper, tobacco, furniture, woods, and stones) Proclamation, 1916, on the importation of the following goods shall be removed, and the said proclamation amended accordingly, viz.: All periodical publications exceeding 16 pages in length, imported otherwise than in single copies through the post.

Of the above articles now barred to Great Britain the exports from the United States in 1915 were \$9,220,809, and \$67,613,814 in 1916.

The Prime Minister's announcement also contained the following proposals:

MINIMUM PRICES TO BE GUARANTEED TO FARMERS

Wheat—60s. per qr. this year, 55s. per qr. in 1918-19, 45s. per qr. in 1919-20, 1920-21, and 1921-22.

Oats—38s. 6d. per 336 lbs. this year, 32s. per 336 lbs. in 1918-19, and 24s. per 336 lbs. in the next three years.

Potatoes—£6 per ton this year.

In case the State commandeers cereals or potatoes, the maximum prices to be fixed in consultation with the Board of Agriculture.

FARM LABORERS' WAGES

As a corollary of the guarantee of prices, a minimum wage of 25s. per week to be paid by farmers to every able-bodied man during the period of the guarantee.

The National Service machinery to be used for deciding whether a man is able-bodied.

RENTS

Farmers to be guaranteed against the raising of rents except with the consent of the Board of Agriculture.

IMPORTS TO BE PROHIBITED

Apples, tomatoes, and certain raw foods; aerated, mineral, and table waters; coffee and cocoa.

Printed posters, paperhangings, and certain kinds of foreign printed matter and periodicals.

Foreign teas.

Certain manufactured articles of luxury.

IMPORTS TO BE REDUCED

Imports of paper material to be reduced to 640,000 tons, the reduction to be distributed equally between the printing and packing trades, and the use of paper for posters, catalogues, and for Government publications to be restricted.

Imports of oranges, bananas, grapes, almonds, and nuts to be restricted to 25 per cent. of the supply of 1915.

Canned salmon imports to be cut down by 50 per cent.

Indian tea, (amount of reduction not stated.)

(A total saving of 900,000 tons to be effected on food and feeding stuffs.)

ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS, &c.

Output of beer to be reduced from the 18,000,000 barrels now allowed to 10,000,000 barrels, (to effect a saving of 600,000 tons of foodstuffs per annum.)

Imports of spirits and wines to be further reduced by 75 per cent. on the 1913 basis.

Rum to be excluded.

Imports of leather goods, boots, raw hides, and bottles to be restricted.

Timber for British Army in France to be obtained in France.

Timber for home use to be obtained at home.

Home production of iron ore to be increased.

A Deserter's Wife and Her Dilemma

IS a woman to blame if she receives her husband when she knows him to be a deserter and does not denounce him? This was the question discussed in the Paris Appeal Court in a recent case. Mme. Marcelle Veryken, a corsetmaker, aged 27 years, was surprised last July by a visit from her husband, who had deserted from the Seventy-fifth Regiment of infantry. She gave him an asylum, remained with him at the conjugal domicile, and did not denounce him. Arrested in September, the soldier's wife wrote to the examining magistrate requesting to be set at liberty. She had, she said, always lived an honorable life; her only fault was that she had kept her husband at home, and no one expected a wife to do less.

Mme. Veryken was released, but was brought up before the Correctional Chamber for complicity in desertion by concealing her husband, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. When her appeal came on for hearing the prosecution urged that in such circumstances a wife ought to abandon her home instead of remaining with a deserter, whose crime constituted a grave insult to her.

The court, however, took another view.

There was no proof, it maintained, that the wife had provoked or approved of the desertion of her husband, or concealed him. The court could not reproach her with having remained at home after her husband's return, for she was only fulfilling a legal obligation. It would be excessive, continued the judgment, to blame Mme. Veryken because she did not denounce her husband. To do so would be to demand of a woman having affection for her husband a sacrifice above her power. The court, therefore, annulled the previous judgment, and acquitted Mme. Veryken.

A like indulgence was, however, denied to Mme. Desmares for a similar act. She, unfortunately, was unable to produce her marriage lines, and the case of the deserter, named Goujy, was aggravated by the fact that in 1913, when he saw the war approaching, he hid himself, changed his name and address, and remained in concealment until discovered in 1916. His companion and accomplice was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with the benefit of the First Offenders' act, and the deserter Goujy was sent to prison for five years.

A German Peace League That Failed

By John T. Wheelwright

“Territorial aggression and national abasement will pave the way for fresh war.”—Address of British Labor Independents, September, 1914.

BOURRIENNE* reports Napoleon as saying in 1805: “There is not sufficient unanimity among the nations of Europe. European society must be regenerated. A superior power must control the other powers and compel them to live at peace with each other, and France is well situated for this purpose”—and thus of Germany would the German Emperor speak today. The great Corsican battled for ten years after 1805 to establish that supreme power of France in Europe, which was to insure peace on earth, but the nations to be controlled were too human to enjoy peace on such terms.

At Napoleon’s downfall tired Europe rested on its arms for nearly forty years.

It is now proposed to substitute for the one “superior power” a league of States to enforce peace by mutual agreements, and President Wilson, in an address to our Senate, recently proclaimed his belief that the United States should be a party to this agreement, and that the present war should be terminated by a peace that shall stop short of conquest by either side.

At a dinner given in New York on Nov. 24 last by the League to Enforce Peace communications were received approving the principle of forming such a permanent league of nations from Aristide Briand, Premier of France; Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg of Germany, and Viscount Grey, Great Britain’s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The German Chancellor in his message said: “The first condition for evolution of international relations by way of arbitration and peaceful compromise of conflicting interests should be that no more aggressive coalitions are formed in the future. Germany will at all times be ready to enter a league for

the purpose of restraining the disturbers of peace, and will honestly co-operate in the extension of every endeavor to find a practical solution, and will collaborate to make its realization possible. This all the more, if the war, as we expect and trust, shall create political conditions which do full justice to the free development of all nations, the small as well as the great nations. Then it will be possible to realize the principles of justice and free development on land, and of the freedom of the seas.”

The Chancellor’s message is couched in language none too clear. Can it be believed that the German Empire will co-operate in this league? As Prussia, Austria, and the other German States were once members of a “league to enforce peace” called the German Confederation, it is conceivable that the Teuton allies might, after this war, under certain circumstances, join such a league and abide by the compact.

The “Bundes act” of the German Confederation provided that in case of a difference between two States the questions at issue should be submitted to a committee of the Diet for solution. When the Diet decided a question, and made a decree, it was the duty of the Diet to appoint a corps to carry out an execution against a Federal State. The Federal army was not intended to be brought into requisition except to repel a foreign foe. By the Federal act members of the Confederation were strictly forbidden to make war on each other. In case of a State proving refractory, a summons was to be addressed to it to conform with the resolution of the Diet. Then, in case of refusal, an execution was ordered, and a State or States charged with carrying it out; but before the last forcible means were taken another summons was to be made, so as to give the State at fault another chance to avoid punishment.

*Scribner’s edition. Vol. II., Page 385.

War between the States was considered

to be impossible, but this was a false assumption, as the events of 1864 proved.

Decree and Execution

The Schleswig-Holstein question became acute in 1860, when Denmark endeavored to get control of Holstein, a member of the German Confederation.

In 1864 Federal execution was ordered by the Confederate Diet against the Grand Duke Charles of Holstein to compel him to carry out Confederate decrees of 1860 and 1863, and an army was formed of the lesser States, composed of 6,000 Saxons and 6,000 Hanoverians; a further army of 5,000 Prussians and 5,000 Austrians was held in reserve, but the latter two great powers of the Confederation undertook the task.

Great Britain had encouraged Denmark to resist, but in the end she stood aside and allowed the Danes to be crushed in the war, so that Denmark, instead of gaining control of the Duchy of Holstein, lost both it and Schleswig.

Austria and Prussia came to an agreement in regard to the Duchies to the effect that Prussia was to have the administration of Schleswig and Austria that of Holstein, although the countries to be thus governed by these two powers wished to be united. Then Austria refused to consent to the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia, and appealed to the Diet and to the Middle German States to aid her in case of attack by Prussia. At the same time Prussia addressed a circular note to the German States, in which she begged them to inform her what course they would pursue supposing she were to be attacked by Austria. The majority of these States referred her to the Diet of the Confederation.

Prussia then made overtures to Austria, but the latter power refused to entertain them. The powers stepped in to try to prevent war. Austria placed the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein situation in the hands of the Diet of the Confederation, promising to abide by its decision. In this case the Diet voted a decree to accede to the demands of Austria, although her call for execution by a Federal army was contrary to the spirit and letter of the act. The vote of the

States for this decree stood 9 to 6 on June 14, 1866. Prussia thereupon issued a circular note calling for a new confederation, from which Austria and Luxemburg were to be excluded, and the "six weeks' war" between Prussia and Austria ensued.

We see, then, that the elaborate machinery to avoid war failed to work successfully when the two strong members of the confederation came to a disagreement. Each was struggling for the leadership of the confederation—Austria to retain her old hegemony, and Prussia, under the subtle Bismarck, to displace her. These two powerful nations with totally irreconcilable views had to settle their differences by the sword, notwithstanding their being members of a "league to enforce peace."

In this war the "needle-gun" brought swift victory to King William and his allies, and four years later the aggrandizement of Prussia brought about its war with France. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, considered necessary for the protection of Prussia and the subjection of France, has led to the alliance of that country with Russia. Thus we find that the present catastrophe in Europe goes back lineally to the Pandora's box of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

This review of events shows that the first league to enforce peace was not happy in its results, and yet it may be that, as Prussia once accepted a constitution which provided for the submission of rival claims of Confederate States to the Confederate Diet and the promulgation of decrees and the enforcement of those decrees by Federal execution, it might, in order to bring about a stable peace between the States of Europe and Great Britain, bring itself to an adhesion to some such a league as is now planned.

The present upheaval in Europe was perhaps caused by the disturbance of the equilibrium of the Balkan States as well as by the growing military power of the German Empire and its avowed ambitions, which were curbed by the constriction of Germany within its narrow bounds. The first serious vibrations felt

in Western Europe came from the Balkan States. Now, after two years and a half of war, the control of the bridge between the Teuton allies and the Near East is being bitterly contested. If the Entente Allies should not succeed in barring this eastern extension of Germany over its wished-for vassal States of Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Turkey, the German Empire, like Prussia in the old German Confederation, would be too strong to submit a quarrel to the arbitration of a council of a league of nations. But if the Teutons fail in the Balkans, and the Entente Allies hold the "bridge," Germany might well be a tractable member of such a league, after the experience of this war. This contest on the eastern front seems the vital tug of war, and the western fighting seems now to be a necessary corollary of it.

The practical question, then, before the world is this: If a State, a member of such a league, is strong enough, or thinks it is strong enough, to stand against all the others to gain its end, will it abide by any decree made by the proposed League to Enforce Peace, even after arbitration before the league tribunal, it being understood beforehand that such a refusal would lead to the coalition of the whole world against it?

It is quite clear that before the expe-

riences of the "world war," great nations would not have been bound by any such agreement. When the important interests of a nation are at stake, its course has almost always been selfish, but the terrible war may be teaching a lesson even to that nation whose strict adherence to a league would be the only guarantee of its success.

It seems fairly clear, then, that rather than to attempt what may be impossible, that is, the humiliation of Germany, an effort should be made, after a check to the Teutons in the east, to make a peace which should give all the countries their aspirations—the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, a recognition of Germany's necessity for expansion, and an outlet for Russia to the Mediterranean, and provide for the restoration and indemnification of ruined small countries; Great Britain has all she wishes today, and only desires to be left alone.

The unstable equilibrium of Europe must be cured before a stable foundation for peace—or for a peace league—can be laid. Communities under alien rule, races governed by other races, religions ruled by other religions, countries shut off from their natural development, countries forced into unnatural expansion, are never content. It is only by minds convinced of these premises that a sound peace can be made.

Jerusalem

By O. C. A. CHILD

Again the Briton hears the ancient gates!
The city of the Holy Sepulchre
Sits in its Eastern calm and dumbly waits
The coming of the legions from afar.

They're dust a thousand years, the knightly train
That followed Richard's leopard-blazoned shield
Down the long road that valor pointed plain—
The path of honor to the stricken field.

Now men as bold as they, their sires' sons,
Toil through the sands where centuries ago
Their forebears fought—awake with roaring guns
The dead who heard crusading trumpets blow.

Perchance the ghost of grim old Saladin
A scimitar across their path may fling,
Yet shall one wave them onward till they win—
The wraith of England's Lion-hearted King!

At the Western Fighting Fronts

By Frank H. Simonds

Frank H. Simonds, associate editor of The New York Tribune, visited the battlefields in France and had personal interviews with the British and French Premiers and military chiefs in February, 1917. He presented his conclusions in a series of articles, parts of which, by special agreement, are herewith presented in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Mr. Simonds's judgment on the situation in Europe is highly regarded in well-informed circles.

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BEFORE I went to the British front and talked with the British commanders I shared the view of most uninformed observers from afar that the main purpose of British strategy and tactics alike was to pierce the German lines, to force the Germans out of France by some swift, complete stroke—I believed that this was a possible thing.

But I doubt if any British General of authority really believes or expects this sort of outcome to the war at the present time. Rather the prevailing notion is summed up in Grant's memorable words—and the British Army expects to fight the present campaign out on the existing lines if it takes all Summer or several Summers. Indeed, I was struck with the emphasis Sir William Robertson laid on the parallel of the civil war when I talked with him in London later.

Here is about the point of view of the British Army in France:

"Today we have more guns and more ammunition than the Germans. We are pounding them day and night as they once pounded us. The weakening in their morale is slowly but surely growing, as is demonstrated by the number of desertions that are taking place and the growing readiness of units to surrender.

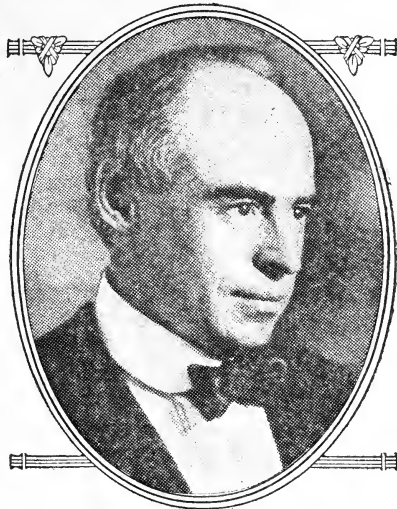
"We are pounding without ceasing, and the results of the pounding prove not

that the German troops in front of us are about to collapse, not that the German lines are about to break up like a frozen river with the Spring thaw, but that some day this process of weakening will have serious consequences. It may be that the Germans will avoid these consequences by gradual retirement, but such gradual retirement shakes the morale of the soldier and of the nation. It may be that the Germans will hold on as Lee did before Richmond until the last, and thus court disaster, such disaster as came to Lee. But these things are in the future.

As to piercing the German lines, given the present style of war, given the magnificent organization of the German lines, given their mechanical resources, notably

machine guns, this is a long task. And the main thing is not to pierce lines, but to kill Germans and to wear out the German armies. It makes relatively little difference whether this is done on the line of the Somme or on the line of Cambrai, or even at the French frontier, from Hirson to Lille, behind which is again the line of the Scheldt and the Meuse—the best line of all. Each time the German shortens his line he reduces the number needed to hold it and the strain upon his resources.

"The parallel is, after all, not the football field, but the prizering. We shall only defeat Germany by exhausting her;



FRANK H. SIMONDS

we shall only win by a knockout; and the knockout may come in one corner of the ring or the other.

"Two years ago we were holding our lines by rifle fire against high explosives. In the second week in May, 1915, Field Marshal French was compelled to attack at Festubert to aid the French and take the pressure off the Canadians in the Ypres salient. He had ammunition for forty minutes of bombardment, and that was all. Then the infantry had to attack, and it cost 8,000 casualties. We had neither machine guns, trench mortars, nor any of the instruments Germany had been accumulating for years. German aircraft were supreme in our sector.

"But today we have more guns and better guns than the Germans. We fire four shells to the Germans' one, and in the battle of the Somme not a German aircraft 'came over' for days on end. Their artillery shot in the dark; ours was informed by our aviators. At the beginning of the battle of the Somme we had terrific losses because it was a new experience and a new army. A brigade attacking at one point lost 1,900 killed, 1,800 wounded, and brought back 300 men. The other day, in one of the last attacks, another brigade lost 1,400 men, and, in addition to burying 900 Germans, brought back 1,800 prisoners.

"Night and day we pound the Germans. Their artillery does not reply much of the time. We raid their trenches, and they seldom react. We take an ever-increasing number of prisoners. We see ever-increasing signs of wearing out. Do not misunderstand—the Germans are still very strong. The new units arrive, each soldier carrying his extra pair of shoes. They are well fed and well led; they will be to the last.

If there is desertion and surrender in some units, others fight as well as ever and there is no 'Kamerad' business with them." * * *

No Victory This Year

I do not believe the British Army in France expects to win the war this year. I do not believe that the Generals are thinking in terms of a day, a month, or a year. What seems to be the feeling is

that after two years and a half of war there has been fashioned a British Army which is still gaining in knowledge and strength, but already has a proved superiority over its foe in morale, in material, and in the things that may be measured by the slow but sure retrogression of the Germans before them. For nearly two years the British Army hung on, now it is advancing; it escaped annihilation, it is experiencing success.

One of the questions I asked all the Generals with whom I talked was as to the possibility of a German offensive at some point on the British front. All agreed that it was possible; some expected it. A push at the Ypres salient, the worst position on the whole front, was frequently suggested. General Malletterre in Paris quite strongly argued that the Germans would make this attack. I think that there is a considerable expectation in London that it will come, and I find this view repeated in later dispatches commenting upon the German retirement about Bapaume.

But such an offensive carries no real peril to the mind of the British Army in France, which is chiefly interested to know if the Germans will bring out some new device, some new weapon like "poison gas," and endeavor by using it to open a gap in the British front such as was opened at Ypres just two years ago next month and offered the Germans one of the golden chances of the whole war.

Troops in Fine Condition

Of the physical condition of the British Army it is impossible to speak too highly. I was in France in the zero weather of January. Every morning I rode out along the roads and camps, and never have I seen so many soldiers, or soldiers looking so young and strong and fit. It seemed as if all the eastward leading valleys of France were swarming with British, Canadian, and Australian troops pushing onward to the front; it seemed an endless and inexhaustible flood, while behind, each little village had new reservoirs of khaki-clad Tommies. * * *

From the British Army in France, with which I stayed a week, I brought away the feeling of confidence and of intelli-

gent optimism. It has the appearance of an army which has undertaken a contract, not with a time-limit clause, not with a fixed hour or place of completion. It has undertaken a contract to dispose of the German military problem, of that part of the German Army assigned to it to deal with. It feels that it is doing the work, it recognizes that the way is still difficult and the time may yet be long. It expects new German attacks and it envisages the possibility of local German successes, but it has only one possible apprehension: it looks not to the front and the Germans for its main peril, but to England and the man behind the lines—if he can hold, the end is assured and the fate of the "Hun" is sealed. And this is the feeling of the French Army quite as well. The soldier sees victory, unless his civilian fellow-citizen weakens—and of this the signs are few in England, as in France.

I can perhaps sum up my impression of the British Army in France by saying it recalls all that I have heard and read of the armies of the North in 1864. It

is a volunteer army in the main; its officers are men proved by the test of two years and a half of war. Its men, volunteers though they are, are no longer raw or green. Haig, Horne, Rawlinson, Gough, Allenby, Plumer—these Generals commanding armies have survived the test of battle elimination.

As an army the British force has been battered, driven, it has been defeated and it has been repulsed. Its experiences recall those of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula to Gettysburg—but, like the Army of the Potomac, it has found itself, it has measured itself against a foe ready and trained and equipped as Lee's army was not. And it is advancing. The Tommy in the trench more clearly than any General or military writer sees and weighs the evidence of German weakening. Hence his supreme confidence. Hence for him the German peace proposal was the plea of the beaten.

The nearer you get to the German line the more serene the spirit of the British seems.

The Battlefield of the Somme

Over an area perhaps of ten miles by twenty, of the battlefield on the Somme, the whole face of the earth has been changed, the heart of hills has been blown out; you look up the slope of a considerable hill, you climb with difficulty up its rounding slope, and suddenly you gaze down into a chasm, a volcano's crater; all the interior of the hill has been blown out by a mine; the hillside is an open shell; an ocean liner could be concealed in the crater.

Coming out of Albert along the road so many thousands of men have followed to death one approaches the field of actual fighting with little real warning. Albert itself is a shelled, half-destroyed town. The tower of its church, with a statue of the Virgin suspended in a prostrate position across the tower, has become a thing familiar to all who have read of the battle. When it falls, so the people of the region believe, peace will come. But Albert is only a shelled

town; many of its houses stand, most of them retain their walls and many their roofs.

But a mile the other side of Albert, traveling toward Péronne, one comes suddenly out upon the most terrible and bewildering scene of desolation it is possible to imagine. From the upper layer of the earth there has been swept away not alone the trees, the sod, the outer covering, but the very depth of the lower strata has been churned up and scattered about. Of a sudden in the midst of the landscape of Picardy, with smiling valleys and pleasant woodlands, there is the image of the Sahara, of something more than the Sahara, of the fields above Pompeii or Messina, down which have flowed the streams of lava which not only engulf but endure.

Only Skeletons of Hills

Turning off the main road one leaves the car and climbs heavily up a hillside.

Along this hillside ran the first line of German trenches, but now there are neither trenches nor semblances of trenches. This hill and all the surrounding hills are worked by shell fire until they resemble nothing so much as the pictures of the surface of the moon, familiar to all who recall the geographies of their youth. The flesh of the hill has been swept away; only the skeleton remains.

Occasionally, where the slope of the hill is undulating, the suggestion of a German dugout remains, perhaps a dugout overwhelmed by the first deluge of fire and still holding in its unexplored depths the scores of Germans who inhabited it when the avalanche arrived. All over the hillside, too, is the litter of war, unexploded shells, the fragments of bombs, the débris of earlier and later camps. Always, too, wherever there is a bit of level ground are graves, endless graves, graves placed without order and without system—the graves dug by men pressed with the need to get forward, compelled to lay aside all regard for the ceremony of inhumation.

From the hill of Mametz one looks westward beyond the battlefield. Across a little ravine the opposite slope rises, still but little scarred. The frontier of desolation is exactly marked; it is as plain to the eye as if it were indicated upon a map. But looking westward over miles and miles, there is nothing but the wild scene of desolation. The surface of hill and valley has been swept away; it is as if the outer and the inner strata of the earth had in some fashion changed places. It is destruction suggesting that of Sodom and Gomorrah—a destruction deliberately designed to make impossible forever the return of men to their old fields.

I do not know any way that one can give any slight hint of the desolation of the battlefield of the Somme. There it lies, ten miles deep, one shore touching the furnace which is still burning up and destroying the surface of the earth and all animate and inanimate things thereon. At the other shore there begins sharply the countryside of France, and between the two shores is an infernal

region in which at least a million and a half of men, British, German, and French, have been killed or wounded. Perhaps half a million men lie buried in the shattered folds and turns of the scarred hillsides or in the flats beside the little brooks.

Mametz Swept Off the Earth

Sometimes in the Sunday supplements scientists or alleged scientists used to write articles describing the time when the earth would begin to dry up, when flames from inside the narrow crust would burst forth. What they sought to describe the artillery of the last great war has illustrated on the slopes of the Picardy hillsides.

Standing still on the slopes of the Mametz hill, on the slopes toward the north and east, one looks out upon the sites of many villages. At your feet was Mametz, but of Mametz there is not a stone, not a fragment. It has not been buried; it has been literally blown from the face of the earth; it has dissolved in dust, and the dust has been swept away. Here was a well-built little French town, with its solid houses of plaster and stone, old houses enduring from other centuries. It had the usual church, the familiar place, the fountain, all the slight but permanent details of a French village, and now there is just nothing.

And what is true of Mametz is true of Montauban; it is true of Fricourt; it is true of I do not know how many more villages. They are gone, and sometimes the hills upon which they stood are gone. On the map you will see marked many little bits of woodland, the usual communal grove or the inevitable clump of trees surrounding the frequent châteaux. But the woods are gone.

Woods Obliterated Near Verdun

I saw the same thing at Verdun, when I visited Fort de Vaux before I went to the Somme. There half a dozen of the woods that have filled the battle reports have vanished—Bois de Laufée, Chenois, Capitre—they are gone, and there are left neither stumps nor stump holes; the ground out of which they grew has been worked into a mass of holes, huge cavities

in which men and animals have disappeared and been drowned.

This new artillery fire does not wreck; it does not even pause with obliteration; it alters the very surface and the sub-surface; it raises new hills and it destroys old elevations.

And when the armies are gone and the war ends, (for even this war must end some time,) it is interesting, if tragic, to think of what will be the emotions of all the little people who inhabited these regions, people who, faithful to the French love for the land, will return to their old homes. And of their old homes they will find not even a fragment; the fields that they cultivated and that their fathers cultivated will have disappeared; the subsurface will still be honeycombed by the corridors of mines or the molelike burrows of the dugouts.

I do not think one can get any conception of the real terror of this war who has not seen the country of the Somme or of Verdun, who has not seen the fashion in which this war, like a malignant war spirit, has not alone destroyed all that there was of homes of human habitation and of the fields of human effort, but has swept the earth with fire and sown it with salt, as if in the determination that there should never again be life, that men should not exist or fruit and foods grow in the fields over which it had passed.

Yet it is not alone the sense of destruction that one feels at the Somme. Indeed, I think the sense of human industry, of enormous effort of innumerable men at their tragic task of war, even passes the impression of desolation. Take one of the large anthills that one sometimes sees in a country field, draw a rake deeply through its curved summit, and watch the myriad of ants come swarming up and begin what seems a mad and frantic outburst of industry, and you will have some faint suggestion of what the battlefield of the Somme is like.

Industry Amid Ruin

For, in spite of the desolation, there is no lack of population, there is no lack of human activity. Indeed, looking down upon any section of the field, it suggests

pictures that one sees of some great engineering operation, the removal of a mountain, the transformation of some square miles of the surface of the earth, a labor like that of Panama. For grid-ironed amid all the waste are railroad tracks, the bottom of every valley is carpeted with rails, and the noise of the distant artillery is deadened by the shrill whistles of engines as they drag cars up toward the front—toward the railhead—the “dump” of the military argot.

And beside the railroads are highways, the white, even, and splendid highways of France. They alone have survived the ruin, as the stones of the Appian Way have outlived the centuries and the onrush of other barbarians. And along these highways flow the most amazing streams of mankind that are conceivable, and not alone men but motors and horses; the voice of the Missouri mule challenges the passage of the “tank” and the donkey of the pack train alike.

Up these roads, following their artillery, surrounding their rolling kitchens, the men of Australia and of Canada move between those of Scotland and of England. And the roads are crowded day and night, like the roads that lead to the Polo Grounds when a ball game is scheduled. And on the shell-swept hillsides every sort of shanty and barrack affords temporary resting place for the mender of highways or police of the rear. It is as if the flower and pick of British imperial manhood had suddenly sought a dwelling place in the desert.

And the impression is bewildering beyond all else I have ever seen. Here are some square miles of the earth's surface which have been swept and torn and wrecked by shell, by the fury of the weapons invented by man, and the men who have done these things with the maddest of all energy, with the most terrible of all machines, have now come forward to restore to human use what they have just destroyed. First they have created a wilderness, and worse than a wilderness, and then they have fared forward into the wilderness, bringing with them all the machinery they could devise, not to repair all the injuries they have wrought, but such of these injuries as

are hampering their purpose—which purpose is to get forward swiftly and turn still more miles of France into the same centre of desolation.

Scene of Lasting Destruction

I do not know how any one can quite describe this battlefield of the Somme so that the man who lives in peace on this side of the Atlantic can understand it or grasp something of the supreme insanity and the supreme intelligence which are both unmistakable there. I am sure that centuries from now men and women will go to this place to see the surviving evidences of the storm that blighted it a year ago. I have never seen anything that approached the terribleness of the sight, save about Verdun.

Yet an engineer, a man interested in the moving of mountains or the transformation of valleys to human ends, would look down also upon these fields today and see an order, an organization, a development of human genius and human system, which would take him completely and command his admiration. The saddest and most completely wasted corner of a valley may conceal a terminal station that would make an operating railroad man jealous. A New York policeman, a traffic man, used to the problems of Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, might shrink from the task of separating and ordering the stream that flows through what was once the main street of Montauban and is now a white road in the midst of powdered ashes.

And like the forest fires of the North, destruction advances, steadily, surely. The road below the hill at Mametz passes Montauban, Guillemont, Ginchy, it reaches Combles, it arrives at Sailly-Sail-lisel, which is now the extreme front, but tomorrow the flames will pass Sailly-Sail-lisel. And when the storm has passed, then the railroad and the highway will push forward, more men will come with tools and with machinery, and they will reclaim to their own purposes this land that has been deluged with steel, torn by mines, watered by the blood of thousands and thousands of men coming from the uttermost parts of the earth and exhaust-

ing their resources, first of destruction and then of reconstruction.

Last Summer we used to wonder why the British advance was so slow. I do not think one wonders when one clammers with difficulty up the steep slopes of one hill and sees beyond this hill after hill, valley after valley; not great hills, but sharp and steep hills, all now like to nothing so much as the deserted nest of hornets, along whose slopes there may still be traced in places the cuttings of the trenches and tangles of barbed wire.

"Tank" a Symbol of Fury

Beyond Mametz, at Trones Wood, my guide showed me a "tank," disabled and lying beside the road. Oddly enough, it seemed to me the only really appropriate thing in the whole accursed region roundabout. It seemed animal rather than mechanical, like a prehistoric animal, and it was not difficult to imagine that all the scene of desolation that extended on every side was the work of this animal, of many animals such as this; that there was still going forward the war of some prehistoric age between man and this scaled creature, and that in its fury, its dying fury—for this "tank" was dead—it had torn up the Trones Wood, lashed about itself and overturned trees and rooted them up.

One more detail. All this field of contrasting waste and reconstruction is well within reach of German shell fire. Now and again the storm begins and the caravans of men and animals slowly extend, draw out into thin groups, and go on. It never stops by day or by night, this steady, even flow of human life toward the extreme front at which annihilation becomes absolute, at an arbitrary frontier of sandbags.

The centre of the storm has passed, but the storm area includes all of the torn and wrecked country, and always there is to be heard, not distant, the steady drumming of heavy artillery; the hills are shaken almost every moment by the tremendous explosions, and the intermittent cannonade rises to the magnitude of an earthquake again and again.

A year ago I visited the field of the Marne. Here there was nothing of de-

struction visible that might not have been the work of the men and the machines that fought Napoleon on the same ground a century before. On the battlefield of Champagne, of 1915, as I have said, the effect of shell fire was patent but temporary; the walls of houses stood and the fields can be plowed and planted when the trenches are filled and the barbed wire removed. But at the

Somme there is nothing more terrifying in all the terrible things that one sees than the mutilation of the surface of the earth itself, the permanent destruction of the hills, and the lasting scarring of the hillsides, sown as they are with the shattered fragments of half a million of human beings and condemned to eternal sterility. Surely the Somme must be the last word in war.

America as Viewed by the Allies

Mr. Simonds, in discussing the effect of the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany and the probable entrance of this country into the war, says:

I found no belief in Britain that it would be possible for America to organize, equip, and transport armies to the European front in time to contribute to the decision, although the British Prime Minister expressed the conviction that thousands of American volunteers would flock to the allied cause and serve either in British or French armies under the American flag, but commanded—as to higher officers—by the British or the French Army chiefs.

What the British felt was possible was that America would be able, by seizing German shipping in American ports, to contribute to mitigating the severity of the German submarine blockade, and, by giving the Allies credit, simplify and accelerate the financing of the war. Some slight help in the shape of convoys for merchant ships sailing under the American flag, but carrying munitions and foodstuffs, was also suggested.

But in the main I think London has few illusions as to the material benefits to flow from American participation in the war, and there is a profound suspicion that in some way or other a method will be found by the President to avoid coming in—that is, effectively.

The simple truth is that the British have put aside almost all the illusions that they had in the earlier period of the war. They do not expect to starve the Germans to death, however much dis-

comfort and privation their blockade may cause. They no longer expect that Germans will rise against their own Government and welcome their enemies as liberators, nor do they longer pin any faith to the old ideas of Anglo-Saxon solidarity, however pleasant to them is the sympathy and support of their American friends.

England—Britain, the empire—expects to win the war by fighting, by killing Germans on the western battle front. She is making her preparations not for one but for several years of war. If Russia or Italy, or even heroic France, whose contribution and devotion find only praise and admiration, are able to contribute much or little, so much the better; if America joins and contributes, still better. But these things will be as they may be—the main thing is for Britain to prepare to do all that Britain can.

The French Viewpoint

I do not believe that any one can go to France, despite all there is of suffering and of sorrow, and not feel that the will of the nation remains unshaken and that, though the loss of blood has been great, the strength of will remains unbroken. Confidence in victory there is, too. France expects to win, but beneath all is the grim realization that to submit now, to accept a German peace, is but to escape destruction for a little and to bind the nation to eternal slavery to the ideas and the ideals which are abhorrent to all Frenchmen and destructive of all that France means in the world or has meant.

Always Frenchmen, talking of America

and American views, speaking of President Wilson and his course, come back to the same point. To them it is incomprehensible that any democratic nation, any civilized nation, can fail to perceive the fact of this war, can fail to perceive the impossibility of making peace, not with Germans as Germans, but with the German race, so long as it clings to those doctrines which have brought so much of horror and shame into France and swept away so much of what was beautiful in man and in art.

The Germans persist in the notion that the French people desire peace and the French politicians compel war. I think the opposite is the truth. I think it is the politicians who are the sole pacifists, those who do profess pacifism, and I think this is due to their failure to understand the will and the determination of those whom they represent. A peace Government, a peace Ministry, could not live; no French politicians dare openly to talk of peace, save those who do not count and cannot gain or lose by their words.

When I was in Paris the city was suffering from the worst Winter since the siege. Coal was practically unobtainable and the suffering was great; there was a sense of suffering about that one does not think of in Paris, and yet through it all there was no outward evidence of any weakening of will, there were no disorders of the sort that one hears as

taking place in German cities; life is not easy in France, it is not pleasant, the sufferings that the war brings mount day by day, and the end of the increase is not in sight.

Yet I do not think that any one who loved the French would talk to them long of peace. I do not think any but an incredibly stupid man, or a German, would find evidence of the breaking of French spirit or the decay of French resolution.

Returning to France after a year, one could not help feeling the extension of sadness, the intensification of the strain. France is suffering and she is bleeding, but there has been no change in French spirit or the French conception of the ultimate issues of the war. It remains a battle between civilization and barbarism, and it remains a battle which must have a decision, and a decision which will insure the safety of France. All else means permanent ruin, the end of France. France, French men and French women are struggling with an unclean but powerful beast; they are struggling with a beast which will destroy them and their children, as it has devoured some and outraged more, unless they are able to destroy it, and no suffering, no agony, can make peace possible save death itself until the victory is won, because any other peace is death. This, I think, is the French view, and this is why for France the war will go on beyond this year, if necessary.



LAYING DEFENSIVE MINES AROUND NEW YORK HARBOR



In Addition to New Fortifications and a Steel Net at the Narrows, a Mine Field Has Been Planned by the Coast Defense Artillery

UNDERGROUND QUARTERS OF A GERMAN OFFICER



This Elaborate and Cozy "Dugout" Is the Military Home of an Ingenious German Officer Back of the Firing Lines
(International Film Service)

The "Liberators" of Poland

Horrors of the Teutonic Invasion, as Attested by Russian Official Records

Eugene Griselle, General Secretary of the French Catholic Committee of Foreign Missions, contributes to *La Revue Hebdomadaire* the subjoined account of events attending the Prussian and Austrian occupation of Poland. His materials are drawn from Colonel A. S. Rezanoff's "German Atrocities on the Russian Front," summarizing the results of an official inquiry by the Russian Government. In each case the source is given in full in the original.

[This matter is published without verification by the editor, and is presented as an *en parte* contribution.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

THE chateau of A. Budny was visited by two Austrian officers, Count Zitchy and Baron Sardas. They began by ordering a copious meal, and, while it was being prepared, they made a tour through the chateau, during which they stole shamelessly. Baron Sardas, without the smallest hesitation picked up from a table a valuable gold watch, with chain and charms, and, when M. Budny protested, drew a revolver and threatened to shoot him. Count Zitchy, carrying a small traveling bag in his hand, gathered up rare bibelots as "keepsakes." From the stable the two officers chose six thoroughbred horses, of a total value of 50,000 rubles, saying that they "requisitioned" them. The visit of these two Austrian "aristocrats" cost M. Budny something over 80,000 rubles.

The Austrians, when retreating, set fire to the villages and savagely shot down the pacific inhabitants. Among prisoners taken by the Russians was a Captain Schmidt, who made himself famous as an incendiary of defenseless villages, a destroyer of churches and shrines. * * *

A Russian officer testified: "I saw with my own eyes the savagery and insane cruelty of the Austrians, running from house to house, to burn a village and destroy, in the midst of so much suffering, whatever had miraculously escaped our artillery fire. The town of Iuzefov, on the Vistula, was burned to the ground. * * * At Iurov the Teutonic fury manifested itself with peculiar violence. After setting fire to the village at four points, the Germans began to fire on all who tried to save anything from the flames.

The hapless inhabitants who escaped from the burning houses were equally greeted with rifle fire. A few families hid in the cellars; others in potato pits. As soon as they discovered this, the Germans threw straw into the pits and set fire to it. The maddened refugees, when they tried to climb out, were met with bullet and bayonet. In the cellars forty-two bodies, slain in this horrible way, were counted. The Germans killed an old man named Bazarnik by firing four salvos at him, the first being aimed at his feet, the second at his loins, the third at his breast, the fourth at his head. These salvos were fired at intervals, intentionally lengthened." * * *

In the villages of Sonta and Veprie-Czero the Austrians assaulted the women. In the village of Sumin, according to the deposition of the parish priest of Ternovatka, a woman who resisted was murdered; her ears and breasts were cut off. * * *

The "woman tax" was reduced to system by the Austrians. The officers coldly ordered so many women to be brought to one or another detachment of their troops. Those who resisted were shot. * * *

The Deputy, Makonietchni, who visited the Lublin district, testified that the violations of women were innumerable; the most monstrous and incredible outrages were inflicted on them, many of them having their breasts cut off. * * * The Austrians, literally drunk with fury, threw the unfortunate inhabitants into the burning houses. There were numerous cases where soldiers impaled children on their bayonets and then threw them into the flames. * * *

The manager of an estate on the outskirts of Lovicz testified: "The Teutons

came to us toward evening, at least seventy in number. They put their horses in the stables, the sheds, and the cow houses, driving out the cows. Then they came into the house, crying: 'Give us supper!' 'Give us wine!' We killed poultry and I opened the cellar. Meanwhile, the officers wandered from room to room, with drawn swords, slashing at everything, portraits, porcelains, the grand piano.

"But the worst came later. When supper was over, the officers, three in number, who had drunk six bottles of wine, were completely drunk. 'Bring us women!' they cried. The soldiers rushed to fulfill their orders. I had my wife and a little girl of 12; the mechanician who lived in the house had a young wife; he had been married only that Summer. The poor creatures were seized. Terrorized, broken down, I could not move. The mechanician's wife struggled to escape, crying to him: 'Save me from dishonor!' He dashed toward her, but a dragoon cut him over the head with his sabre. She died during the night. They brought the two women and the little girl into the officers' room. The little girl was found dead in the morning. * * *

An eyewitness records a monstrous piece of cruelty which he saw in the village of Kilniki, in the district of Vershobolovo, in the Government of Suwalki: The inhabitants led me to the hut of a Polish peasant, aged 56, Ossip Binderovitch by name. The miserable wretch was lying on a mattress, torn by convulsions of agony. His daughters, without a word, led me close to the body, which was beginning to stiffen, and with their fingers opened his mouth. I shuddered with horror; in place of the tongue there was a gaping wound. A few minutes later Binderovitch died under my eyes. His daughters told me the Germans had torn his tongue out because he had refused to show them the direction in which the Cossack scouts had retreated from the village. * * *

The prior of the famous Polish Monastery of Czenstochovo has testified to the thefts of the Germans. Thousands of

pounds of silver and gold, the offerings of pilgrims to the shrine, a great quantity of pearls from the halo of the famous image of the Virgin, among others a costly pearl given by the Chancellor, Prince Lubomirski; the giant ruby taken from the haft of a dagger captured by Jan Sobieski under the walls of Vienna, an emerald weighing more than forty karats, given by an unknown pilgrim in 1812, were carried away. * * * When the German officers, installed in the monastery after the expulsion of the monks, had emptied the wine cellars, they "requisitioned" the women of the town. The razzia was carried out under atrocious conditions. [The details here are so abominable that it is impossible to translate them.—Ed.] * * * Soon there was not a house in which were not heard foul German oaths; in the streets the conduct of the Germans was revolting. * * * There was not a house in Czenstochovo that had not some infamy to lament. * * *

By evening, more than fifteen hundred had been arrested, men and women. All were declared prisoners of war and sent to Germany. * * * In the village of Topaltcha, the soldiers of the Apostolic Emperor, Francis Joseph, established their hospital in the church, which was found littered with excrement. The church vessels were gone. * * * On the altar the soldiers had drunk, eaten, and played cards. In the sacristy, all objects of value were stolen. The fonts were turned into urinals. * * *

Michlachevski, an employe of the Countess Branitzka, testified: With a considerable group of Poles, I was moved from town to town in Germany, working at the supply of provisions for the troops, in the slaughterhouses, at the burial of soldiers, digging trenches. Finally, we were dressed in military uniforms and sent to fight against the French at Lunéville. * * *

S. F. Koninski testified: The Germans brought a large body of civilian prisoners to Silesia, drilled them, and sent them to Belgium and France, where they were put on the firing line. * * *

Ordeals of the Wounded

Extraordinary Phases and Episodes Described by Medical Experts

I.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from a report made by Professor Ludovico Isnardi to the Royal Academy of Medicine of Turin, Italy. Professor Isnardi has been Director of the Military Reserve Hospital at Vercelli since the beginning of the war.]

THERE is a sort of suppurating wound produced by the so-called wounds by explosion, with orifice of ample exit, funnel-shaped and especially dangerous when found in the thigh and leg. In these wounds for the most part the skeleton is affected.

It is easy to understand how in these cases the wounds become infected, if one thinks of the difficult places in which our war is being carried on. Some wounded have been lowered with ropes from the rocks. Many with serious wounds are compelled to go on foot over long tracts of most laborious road. One soldier fell at fifty meters from the enemy's trenches with fracture of the femur near the base of the thigh and with a wound on the internal side as large as a hand; all alone he bound the sick leg tightly to the well one with his belt, then slid down the slope of a hill, and for five hours crawled on hands and feet until he reached his own camp.

The inflammation of these wounds is impressive. From the orifices issue black blood, pus, and sometimes gas; the intermuscular spaces are invaded by the pus, the whole joint is discolored and much swollen; high fever, and in the first nights delirium. One condition only is favorable, the extent of the cutaneous opening.

I ought to say parenthetically that, in spite of everything, in general our wounded soldiers on arrival at the hospital with the clinical history which accompanies them, the dressings perfected, the fractured joints immobilized, often with plaster on which is written clearly the diagnosis and the facts, attest a calm,

an order, a solid scientific preparation in our field physicians which are truly admirable.

II.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from a recent article in Revue de Chirurgie, Paris, by André Chaliier and Roger Glénard. These two men made a military hospital out of a Summer hotel in the high valley of the Moselle, near one of the most frequented passes of the Vosges.]

The wounded were brought to us from the firing line, distant some 20 to 25 kilometers, in French, English, or American automobiles. They came to us either directly or after having passed through a division ambulance located in front of us, in relay fashion. We have received many wounded barely a few hours after they were put hors de combat, but the majority have come to us quite late, after one or several days of waiting, the delay being accounted for by the difficulties encountered in picking them up and by the length of the transport in the mountainous regions where our soldiers were fighting.

Thus, for example, an infantryman receives a ball in the chest at 3 P. M. He loses blood by the mouth, and, very much oppressed, does 300 meters on foot in order to gain the relief station; in traversing this distance he has to rest himself three times. He remains at the relief station until 9 P. M., then the stretcher bearers carry him for two hours, until he reaches a shelter for sappers, where he rests for three hours, and continues to spit much blood. The next day, at 2 A. M., he is placed on a mule, which carries him for three hours across the mountain, only to put him down by the edge of the road at 5 A. M. There a cart picks him up at 7 A. M., and puts him down at 10 A. M. at a point where finally horse-drawn vehicles arrive, which conduct him to the division ambulance.

Another infantryman, wounded at 10

A. M., also in the chest, at first remains there, where an individual dressing is applied for him. At 7 P. M. he leaves on foot and walks in the darkness until midnight; then he stretches himself out on the ground in a bit of woods and sleeps, covered by the beautiful stars. At the first trace of dawn he begins to walk again, and reaches the relay of stretcher bearers. These take him at 5 A. M., and at 8 A. M. they place him in a vehicle which bears him to the ambulance of the first line. He remains there some hours, and is finally brought to us in an automobile; he reaches us at 10 P. M., or thirty-six hours after receiving his wound.

Quite recently, in an action where a surrounded company was delivered only at the end of four days, certain wounded, their dressings done only in the most summary manner, were obliged to remain all this time on the ground.

In general, we have kept our wounded the least time possible, so as to reserve the largest number of places in our hospital ready for emergency use. However, as far as major wounds are concerned, particularly those of the extremities, we have made it a point not to discharge them before the seventh or eighth day after the time of wounding, for it is during this first week that ordinarily the worst infectious accidents supervene if they are to occur. Likewise, we have kept at least two weeks the cases of trephining, of amputation, of serious wounds of the chest, of the abdomen, and of the joints.

III.

[Translated from *España Médica*, Madrid, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The following episode was overheard in the corridor of a hospital and was told by a Spaniard who enlisted in the French Army and was wounded:

"The good Lalane, the merriest comrade of the region, has made an ugly death. Toward evening we had repulsed an attack of the 'boches'; we had leaped out of the trench, which was turned upside down by the artillery; then we had regained our posts. Seventeen men were missing, and among these was Lalane.

When the cannonading and the fusillade had ceased we heard the usual tormenting cries of our wounded, fallen on the ground between our trench and that of the enemy. 'Help, mercy, mamma!' pleaded the poor wretches.

"Uselessly we tried to aid them. Our self-denial cost us two men, because the enemies made a terrible fire every time that we repeated the attempt.

"At the dawn of day the cries had stopped; only one of our men continued to shriek tremendously. We recognized the voice of Lalane, who was roaring with pain and with anger. The unfortunate man was the prey of delirium; he pretended that nasty rats were gnawing him and that he could not free himself from them. Two days and three nights the torture of our unfortunate friend lasted. They were two days and three nights during which we did not sleep in the trench. We were obsessed. Little Cazan cried like a baby.

"In the end there was silence, which said clearly that Lalane was dead. There was a sigh of relief for all. 'Poor devil!' I proposed by all means to go after the corpse of our friend as soon as a favorable chance presented itself, in order to prevent it from being torn up by a flock of ravens roosting in the grove near by. The chance did not keep us waiting long; the thickest sort of a morning fog permitted Cazan to betake himself to the spot and to tie a small rope to one of his feet; pulling and pulling, we succeeded in dragging him along up to the trench. A cry of horror leaped from our throats! The eyes, empty; the nose, the ears, the lips, gnawed; all the body stripped, torn asunder, devoured—the bones could be seen here and there. Of his clothes there remained intact only his leather belt and shoes. The unhappy man had a slight wound in the spine, which had paralyzed and immobilized him; hence he could not defend himself against the trench rats, which had devoured him alive!"

At this point the narrator was interrupted by the protests of his comrades, who wished to sleep. That night I slept badly; I dreamed of struggling with all the monsters of the Apocalypse.

A Darkened Church in the War Zone

An Irish Officer's Word Picture

AT a certain point at the front there is a village where the troops come from time to time to rest, and there the church each evening is crowded with the soldiers. Lights of a brilliant kind are not allowed in this village, as it is so near the line, and it is urgent at night to give no sign which might make the place a target for the long-range guns of the enemy. Therefore the church is never lighted in the evening, and it is by the flames of a few candles alone on the altar of Our Lady of Dolores that the rosary is recited.

It is a strange scene in this church at night. Entering it, all is dark save for the few fluttering candles on the altar before which the priest kneels to say the prayers. It is only when the men join in that one becomes aware that the church is really full, and it is solemn and appealing beyond words to describe when up from the darkness rise the great chords from hundreds of voices in the prayers. The darkness seems to add impressiveness to the prayers, and from the outside are heard the rumble and roar of the guns which, not so very far away, are dealing out death and agony to the comrades of the men who pray. Sometimes the church is momentarily illuminated by the flashes of the guns and the windows are lighted up as though by lightning.

The writer of these lines has seen many an impressive spectacle of large congregations at prayer in great and spacious churches in many lands, but nothing more truly touching, impressive, and moving has ever been witnessed than the darkened church behind the lines, thronged with troops fervently invoking the intercession of the Mother of God under almost the very shadow of the wings of the Angel of Death! In France and Belgium the Catholic troops are fortunate in having at hand so many churches of their own faith, and this makes it easier for the devoted chaplains

to get their flocks together. For so many days the battalions are in the trenches, and for so many days in the comparative safety of the camps in the little villages somewhere back from the firing line. The day and night before a battalion goes to the trenches the chaplains are busy in the churches, for the men throng to confession, and it is a wonderful and most faith-inspiring sight to see them in hundreds approaching the altar before marching off to danger, and in many cases to death itself.

When the turn in the trenches is over and the men resume their rosary in the darkened church in the evenings there are always some absent ones who were there the week before. For this very reason, perhaps, because of the comrades who will never kneel by their side again, the men pray all the more fervently and with ever-increasing earnestness say, "May the souls of the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace!"

While some of the chaplains attend the men who are resting in the back villages, others follow the men into the line, and there, in some ruined house close by or in a shelter or dugout in the trench itself, they are always at hand to minister to the suffering and the dying. Who can measure the consolation they bring, or who can describe the comfort and happiness of the soldier whose eyes, before they close forever, rest upon the face of the priest of his own faith? If the priest in peace is the ever-sought comforter of the afflicted and dying, how much more so is the priest in time of war and in the battle line! The writer has met at the front many chaplains, and the dominant feeling of one and all is thankfulness that they were able to go out with the men and share their lot.

Of all the actors in the great tragedy of the war none stand out more heroically than the chaplains, none fill a greater place in what has come to be called the theatre of war. No wonder so many of

them have received decorations, and no wonder the men highly value the presence and the consolation and the encouragement of the "padre," as the officers call the minister of religion. To the Catholic soldiers, however, the priest remains "father," and it is good to see them smile as he approaches and to hear the sound ring of the old faith in their voices as they reply to his salutation and address him always as "father." Mass has been said in the very trenches, and the writer has attended mass in many a ruined church and many a shell-wrecked shelter. And ever and always the men are the same, devoted and earnest, and the more wretched their surroundings the more eager they are.

Nothing is more noticeable than the

way the Catholic soldier holds by his beads. The writer has seen men who were killed in the line. Their little personal belongings are carefully collected by comrades and safely kept to be sent home, but the rosary when found in the pocket is often, usually indeed, reverently placed round the dead man's neck before he is wrapped in his blanket for burial. "I put his beads about his neck, Sir," is the report often given by the stretcher bearer to the chaplain or other officer, as a man is given to the grave. How many Catholic soldiers lie in their lonely graves today in the war zone with their beads about their necks! How very, very many! And so, indeed, one feels sure would they wish to be buried.

The Great Work of the Belgian Relief Commission

THE breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany threatened to interrupt, if not entirely end, the valuable work of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, which has become equally well known by its initials, "C. R. B." When the German invasion cut off the 80 per cent. of Belgium's food imported from over the seas, nearly ten million people, including those in the invaded part of France, were in danger of starving to death. Something had to be done to help the Belgians, and somebody had to do it.

The emergency produced the man, Herbert C. Hoover, an American mining engineer and business organizer resident in London, and the head of industrial undertakings employing 125,000 men. Mr. Hoover marshaled a small legion of fellow-Americans—business men, sanitary experts, doctors, social workers—who as unpaid volunteers set about the great task of feeding the people of Belgium and Northern France. Today the C. R. B., which Mr. Hoover and his colleagues have built up, is a great institution, rec-

ognized by all Governments, receiving contributions from all parts of the earth, with its own ships in every great port, and in the eyes of the Belgians and French who receive their daily bread through its agency a monument of what Americans can do in social organization and business efficiency, for Americans have furnished the entire personnel of the commission from the beginning.

The initial negotiations with the various belligerent Governments in 1914 were conducted on behalf of the commission by the American Ambassadors and Ministers in London, Brussels, and Berlin. Mr. Hoover, early recognizing the possibility that the United States might become involved in the war, obtained the patronage of the Spanish and Dutch Ambassadors and Ministers in London, Berlin, and Brussels, and at every crisis which has threatened America in the war the commission has had the support of the Spanish and Dutch diplomats, who have been ready, if necessary, to find a new staff to replace the American personnel. The commission is a distinct organization from the Belgian National

Committee, through and with which it works in Belgium itself. Its functions are those of direction, supervision, and all matters that have to be dealt with outside Belgium. In the occupied territories it has the help of thousands of Belgian and French workers, many of them women.

The commission does not depend upon any one of its American members for leadership, since, as Mr. Hoover says, any one of them could at any time take charge and carry on the work. "Honold, Poland, Gregory, Brown, Kellogg, Lucey, White, Hunsiker, Connet, Young, and many others who at various periods have given of their great ability and experience in administration could do it." At the same time it is admitted that the commission would never have been so successful if Belgium had not already had in existence a well-developed communal system. The base of the commission's organization is a committee in every commune, or municipality. The communal committees consist of representatives of the trade unions, the communal authorities, the medical profession, and the business or professional class. Through their knowledge of everybody in their communes and of local conditions the committees are able to estimate exactly the extent of the relief required.

"You can have no idea what a great blessing it has been in Belgium and Northern France to have the small and intimate divisions which exist under the communal system," says Mr. Hoover. "It is the whole unit of life and a political entity much more developed than in America. It has been not only the basis of our relief organization, but the salvation of the people." Altogether there are 4,000 communal committees, which are linked up in larger groups under district and provincial committees, which in turn come under the Belgian National Committee.

Up to date the commission has spent \$250,000,000, most of which has been provided by the British and French Governments. The remainder has come from the Belgians and French themselves, and from contributions sent from all parts of

the world, including Madagascar, remote places in China, the Solomon Islands, Greenland, Liberia, and Tasmania. Tasmania, the smallest of the States of the Australian Commonwealth, has the honor of heading the per capita contributions, with \$6.53 subscribed for every inhabitant.

When Mr. Hoover and his fellow-Americans began the work of saving Belgium from starvation, they made their first appeal to the people of the United States. They considered that they were working on behalf of America in the name of humanity, and they felt that they were in this way writing "a page of true Americanism in Europe." But the American response to the appeal for contributions has thus far been sadly disappointing. It has amounted to only \$9,000,000, less than 9 cents per capita, while Canada has contributed 28 cents, Australia \$1.25, and New Zealand \$1.98. The miners of Johannesburg, South Africa, gave 10 per cent. of their wages, which was added to by a similar amount from the owners of the mines.

During his stay in America in the early part of 1917, Mr. Hoover more than once expressed himself on the subject of his own country's niggardliness, pointing out at the same time that the chief profits made out of providing food for Belgium had gone into American pockets. Out of the \$250,000,000 spent by the C. R. B., \$150,000,000 had been used in the United States to purchase supplies, and on these orders America had made a war profit of at least \$30,000,000. Yet in two years the American people had contributed only \$9,000,000. On these facts Mr. Hoover based this indictment of his fellow-countrymen:

Thousands of contributions have come to us from devoted people all over the United States, but the truth is that, with the exception of a few large gifts, American contributions have been little rills of charity of the poor toward the poor. Everywhere abroad America has been getting the credit for keeping alight the lamp of humanity, but what are the facts? America's contributions have been pitifully inadequate, and, do not forget it, other peoples have begun to take stock of us. We have been getting all the credit. Have we deserved it? We lay claim to idealism, to devotion to duty, and to great benevolence; but now the acid test is being

applied to us. This has a wider import than mere figures. Time and time again when the door to Belgium threatened to close we have defended its portals by the assertion that this was an American enterprise, that the sensibilities of the American people would be wounded beyond measure, would be outraged, if this work were interfered with. Our moral strength has been based upon this assertion. I believe it is true, but it is difficult in the face of the figures to carry conviction, and in the last six or eight months time and again we have felt our influence slip from under us.

The result of the war will be that America will be rich, prosperous, wealthy, and will have made untold millions out of the woe and swelter of Europe. The justification of any rich man in the community is his trusteeship to the community for his wealth. The justification of America to the world-community today is her trusteeship to the world-community for the property which she holds. There is growing up and there has grown up in Europe a note of bitterness which will seriously affect our whole relations with Europe for years to come. The only amelioration to this bitterness possible is for this country to properly assume its burden toward the helpless in Europe.

Speaking at Washington, D. C., on Feb. 17, Mr. Hoover said it made him feel ashamed when he heard Belgian children expressing their gratitude by singing "The Star-Spangled Banner," and he knew that the food they were eating had not been paid for by Americans.

The commission's requirements have grown to between \$18,000,000 and \$19,000,000 a month. Of this amount the Allied Governments are contributing \$14,000,000, leaving between four and five million dollars a month to be raised by public charity. The Belgians resent bitterly the very suggestion of charity, and have continued to borrow heavily with British and French support. Nevertheless, they have had to leave 3,000,000 of their people, who are totally destitute, as well as 1,250,000 adolescent children, to depend upon the commission's efforts. Mr. Hoover's mission during his visit to America included a plan to get the United States to undertake the provision of \$1,250,000 a month for the wants of the 1,250,000 adolescent children. The commission has had to cope with an alarming increase in tuberculosis and other diseases among adolescents, caused by the lower power of resistance consequent upon inadequate diet. A dol-

lar a month for each one of these children is needed to stop the gradual degeneration of the youth of Belgium.

One of the first noteworthy results of Mr. Hoover's criticism was that the Rocky Mountain Club of New York, whose members are mostly men interested in mining enterprises, decided to turn over to the commission the \$500,000 which they had raised for a new clubhouse costing \$1,000,000, and voted that every one of their 1,200 members should go to work to get contributions. In other directions Mr. Hoover made his presence felt, and there was an improvement in American subscriptions to the funds of the commission.

The statement that the Germans have taken food intended for the Belgians was disposed of by Mr. Hoover in a speech in New York City on Feb. 13. "We are satisfied," he said, "that the German Army has never eaten one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the food provided. The Allied Governments never would have supplied us with \$200,000,000 if we were supplying the German Army. If the Germans had absorbed any considerable quantity of this food, the population of Belgium would not be alive today."

When the break came between the United States and Germany, it was stated that the feeding of the people of Belgium and Northern France would go on, because the C. R. B. had become a unique international society, supported by contributions from both belligerents and neutrals, and represented by American citizens in the occupied territories. If America became involved in the war, the citizens of some other neutral country, such as Spain or Holland, would carry on the work.

Immunity from blockade measures for the commission's steamers was secured by Mr. Hoover after negotiation with Germany and Great Britain. At the outbreak of the war foodstuffs were not contraband, and the commission was free to transport its supplies in neutral ships to Holland. But sufficient neutral ships could not be obtained, and belligerent vessels had also to be chartered. The German Government agreed to consider immune from attack all ships flying the

flag of the commission and carrying passes from the German Ambassadors at the neutral capitals. The Captains of the commission's ships were pledged not to engage in belligerent practices, and the commission not to send anything but food and clothing for the Belgian population.

When Great Britain declared food-stuffs contraband, the commission's ships were exempted from the Order in Council. It was provided that they should be specially marked with the letters "C. R. B." At the beginning of the submarine warfare around the British Isles in February, 1915, the German Government agreed that the commission's steamers should go through the war zone immune from attack.

On President Wilson's announcement of the diplomatic break, the commission ordered all its ships in America, Argentina, India, and Europe to remain in port till further notice. But fifteen ships were either in or approaching the war zone, and could not be reached by wireless. Two of them were sunk. It was said that the German Government would no longer respect the commission's flag unless the ships took a course entirely to the north of the newly established war zone on their way to Holland. The German Government gave assurances that it had no intention of interfering with the work of feeding the civil populations of Belgium and Northern France.

Despite the diplomatic break, the commission decided at first not to withdraw its representatives from Belgium, but on Feb. 12, after a German order had been issued for all Americans to withdraw from the occupied territories, leaving in Brussels only a few of their representatives, headed by Brand Whitlock, the American Minister to Belgium, the commission notified the German authorities that the Americans would cease to participate in the relief work in Belgium and Northern France. However, after a conference on Feb. 15 between the German Civil Governor of Brussels, the American and Spanish Ministers, and representatives of the commission and the Belgian National Committee, permission was given by the German authori-

ties for the commission to continue its work, and it was decided not to withdraw. The German action in ordering Americans to leave the occupied territories was so promptly reversed that the continuity of the work was not interrupted.

In regard to immunity from attack by submarines, it was announced on Feb. 24 that the sailing of the commission's ships had been resumed as the result of arrangements with the British and German Governments whereby a route between North American ports and Rotterdam had been agreed upon. Meanwhile, however, many of the commission's vessels had accumulated in British ports, and were held there. Concerning these Sir Maurice de Bunsen, British Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement on March 5:

In declaring the war zone, Germany explicitly canceled all her safe conducts, giving only a few hours for the relief ships then in United Kingdom ports to clear for Rotterdam. It was impossible to get them away in time. It was also impossible to communicate with the ships on the high seas, as they were not provided with wireless.

Since then the Germans have alleged that they accorded to these and to other neutral ships a further period of grace. Nobody ever heard of this until the Germans announced that the period had expired. All that the commission or the world knew was that the Germans had opened their submarine campaign by sinking two Belgian relief ships.

There has thus been a steady accumulation of relief ships in the United Kingdom ports. Their cargoes have been deteriorating, valuable anchorages have been taken up, and the whole of this tonnage, which urgently is required to take additional relief cargoes from American ports, has been held in suspense for a month.

The commission immediately opened negotiations with the Germans through the Spanish, Dutch, and Swiss Governments, and the Entente Governments strongly supported their representations. The only reply which the Germans vouchsafed regarding the ships in the ports of the United Kingdom is that they will reserve any question as to the giving of guarantees for such ships until they have received a detailed list of their names and of the reports where they now are. This request was received virtually simultaneously with the sinking of Dutch liners in the English Channel.

His Majesty's Government have replied that, in view of that occurrence, to give any such information to the Germans before the latter have guaranteed absolute immunity to all these ships, would be to lay them open

to attack and invite treachery. In view of the evident intention of Germany to hold up this tonnage for the longest possible period, and in view of the urgent need of these ships to take further cargoes to the starving populations in Belgium and Northern France, his Majesty's Government have agreed with the commission to discharge these cargoes in the United Kingdom and provide storage for them until the Germans either have given the necessary guarantees to relief ships from the United Kingdom ports passing Rotterdam or have shown even more clearly than at present that they do not intend to give such guarantees.

Meanwhile a regular supply of foodstuffs for Belgium and Northern France will go on in ships passing under German safe conducts from American ports to Rotterdam. The

position therefore is as follows: His Majesty's Government have respected and will respect property of the commission in these cargoes. All that they have done is to provide storage room for foodstuffs which the Germans are apparently anxious to hinder reaching Belgium and Northern France.

On the other hand, the Germans already twice have broken their safe conducts and destroyed property of the commission. By this act of faithlessness they have struck one blow at the work of relief. They now invite his Majesty's Government to assist them in destroying more relief ships by informing them where the ships are and consequently how they can best be attacked when the ships set sail. To satisfy the German demands would be to become accomplices in their crimes.

Secret Journalism in Belgium

Story of La Libre Belgique

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, the secret newspaper whose tenacity of life exasperates the German authorities in the occupied provinces of Belgium, recently celebrated the second anniversary of its birth. At the end of January, 1915, appeared the first number of this unique organ, which describes itself as "regularly irregular," and which states under its title that its office is in an "automobile cellar." Naturally, this indomitable organ of patriotic propaganda, which circulates mysteriously in every Belgian town under the German yoke, celebrated the anniversary by coming out yet again and evading the frantic efforts of Baron von Bissing's police to suppress it.

La Libre Belgique (Free Belgium) is irrepressible. The Germans have arrested numerous persons suspected of being connected with it, but they have never succeeded in preventing or even retarding its publication. Neither the promise of a large reward for any one who will betray it, nor the threat of heavier punishments, nor yet the implacable attempt to hunt down all who carry or read the paper—nothing has been able to ruin the audacious enterprise. In its first issue of last December, when the forced deportation of civilians was in full swing, La Libre Belgique published on its front page an article depicting

this modern slavery in its most odious light, concluding with these words:

"Belgians, do you desire that when our brave soldiers return from the front they shall say to you, 'You dug the trenches which we had to fight for'? Take flight, or, if you cannot do that, resist; if necessary, even die, but die free!"

Baron von Bissing, the Governor General, finds the little sheet in his mail every week, and he will probably be the only person after the war, says a writer in the Paris Temps, "to possess a complete file of this publication, which mocks the German Emperor in the midst of Prussian terrorism, and which, in spite of all the censors, calls a cat a cat, Bethmann Hollweg a liar, and William II. a knave."

The only result obtained by the oppressor is an extraordinary development of clandestine printing in the occupied districts. The success of La Libre Belgique has caused other journals to spring up, edited by no one knows who, printed no one knows where, circulated no one knows by what means. There exists in downtrodden Belgium a Weekly Review of the French Press which has passed its sixtieth number and which reproduces for Belgian readers the chief articles in the Paris newspapers and magazines;

there is *Le Motus*, a satirical sheet, full of a biting, something cruel, irony; there is *Patrie!* which competes with *La Libre Belgique*—for there is competition even there—and indulges in the perilous luxury of reproducing the most striking cartoons of Louis Raemaekers, notably the famous “*En Route to Calais*,” which shows the corpses of German soldiers floating in the flood of the inundated region along the Yser.

How do these newspapers live? How can they get together their “copy”? How do they get their type set, or make the plates for their pictures, or procure the necessary paper, or recruit their salesmen, or deliver the printed copies to their subscribers? There is a series of complex problems, when one recalls that the German authorities have thousands of spies at their command, that every house is watched, and that a man cannot move from one town to another without a special permit from the “*kommandatur*.” And yet all this is accomplished regularly; hundreds of patriotic persons risk prison and deportation every week to devote themselves to this task. It is their way of fighting the Germans on the ground where these pretend to be absolute masters.

Later, when everything can be told, the story of the adventures of clandestine newspapers in the occupied regions will constitute one of the most curious chapters in the history of the war. The Germans will be astonished at the simplicity of the means used to circumvent them. The Belgian, a protester by nature, with rare tenacity in anything he undertakes, at once bold in conception and prudent in execution, was admirably fitted for a struggle of this sort. The writer above quoted remarks that the Germans understand nothing of the Belgian temperament, and do not even suspect the rivalries and complicities which are always to be found alike in Flanders and in Wallonia, for the most incredible tasks

that involve circumventing the police. No letter can enter Belgium or leave it without passing under the eyes of the German censors, and yet at Brussels, at Antwerp, at Liège, the people know exactly what the Paris papers of four or five days ago contained. *La Libre Belgique* in June, 1916, reproduced in extenso a speech by M. Briand that had appeared in *Le Temps* on May 19. At no moment since the beginning of the German occupation have the leading French papers ceased to circulate in Belgium. There is a well-known system which consists in obtaining for two or three francs the regular reading of this or that journal for half an hour. Another form of “subscription” is more curious, and more expensive: every day one receives two or three mimeographed sheets summing up the news and reproducing the essential passages from the latest Paris and London papers. What sort of an organization handles this service? Nobody knows; the Belgians themselves do not know. They read and reread the sheets, fixing the details in the memory, then carefully burn them. When the Germans afterward wish to impose on them with a false version of events, they have the laugh on their oppressors, for even in the remotest and smallest towns the people know the truth.

“The rapidity with which the news circulates in the invaded regions,” says a French writer, “has been one of the essential factors in maintaining the admirable morale of the Belgian people. The clandestine press, with its disconcerting phenomena, has kept the population in touch with the outer world and played an important rôle in the nation’s passive resistance to its oppressors. These little leaves, printed no matter how, in the chance of the hour, have demonstrated the fallibility of Prussian terrorism, for they sum up for a whole people its passion of patriotism and its inflexible will not to die.”



Serbia and the War's Beginning

By Woislav M. Petrovitch

Former attaché of the Royal Serbian Legation at the Court of St. James's; author of "Serbia: Her People, History, and Aspirations."

THE defeat of the Sultan's forces by the Balkan allies in 1912-13 had been a tremendous blow to Austria-Hungary and especially to Germany, whose officers had reorganized and trained the Ottoman Army, and who, for the success of her schemes of expansion in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, depended on her ascendancy in Constantinople. The utter débâcle of Bulgaria, inflicted upon her by the Serbians in the memorable battle of the Bregalnitsa, in July of 1913, the Greek occupation of Saloniki, and the rise in power and prestige of Serbia, the friend of Russia and the apostle of the Yugoslav, or Southern Slav, emancipation, constituted for the powers north of the Danube a still greater catastrophe. The high road to Saloniki, by the valleys of the Serbian rivers, Morava and the Vardar, was definitely closed to Austria, and Germany was cut off from Turkey, whose army was to act in conjunction with the Teutonic hosts in the event of a European war.

Only prompt action could retrieve such a miscarrying of the Austro-German plans, and it is not surprising to hear that as early as the Summer of 1913 the Dual Monarchy was bent on declaring war on Serbia, and endeavored to secure the support of Italy. As this help was not forthcoming, action was deferred for the moment, and a huge army bill was promulgated in Germany to redress the balance of power and make ready for any eventuality.

Such was the position when, on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his consort were murdered in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. "There are many mysterious features about that tragedy. His death certainly did not serve any Southern Slav interests, for, however great and dangerous his ambi-

tions, he is known to have been quite out of sympathy with the short-sighted policy of repression which had hitherto found favor in Vienna and in Pesth, where, for various reasons, he had many enemies in extremely influential quarters. The absence of all the most elementary precautions for his safety during the visit to Serajevo, though, according to the Austrians themselves, the whole of Bosnia was honeycombed with sedition, is an awkward fact which has not

hitherto been explained."*

On the morrow of the crime the Austro-Hungarian press started a violent campaign against Serbia, openly putting upon the Serbian Government the responsibility for the outrage. It availed nothing to point out that a country still bleeding from the wounds of two desperate wars, and whose most urgent need was a period of quiet and of internal consolidation, could not have chosen so unfavorable a moment to involve itself in new difficulties with a powerful neighbor; still less was considered the fact that the young miscreants



WOISLAV M. PETROVITCH

*Sir Valentine Chirol, "Serbia and the Serbs," Oxford, 1914.

were Austrian subjects, and that "Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia are a seething pot which needs no stirring from the outside;* the Viennese press set itself deliberately to spread the idea that the misdeed had been organized in and by official Serbia. Although the Bosnian Serbs, who constitute the bulk of the population of that province, are always referred to in Austria by such names as "die Bosniaken" or "die Orthodoxen aus Bosnian," the assassins were referred to invariably as "Serben," and in such a manner as to create the impression that they were Serbs from the Kingdom of Serbia.

On July 3, when the remains of the Archduke and his consort were brought from Serajevo to Vienna, the Serbian flag was very properly half-masted at the Serbian Legation in Vienna; noisy demonstrations took place in front of the legation, and the incident was referred to the next day under the heading: "Provocation by the Serbian Minister."

The "Case" Against Serbia

In the meantime a "case" against Serbia, resting upon a secret investigation in the prison of Serajevo, was in course of preparation; it had been intrusted to Austria's professional forger, Count Forgach, notorious especially by the Friedjung trial, who now fittingly occupied the post of permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, and who, in the early days of July, provided the Hungarian correspondence bureau with a plentiful supply of falsehoods. On July 3 the following communication was issued to the press:

The inquiries made up to the present prove conclusively that the outrage is the work of a conspiracy. Besides the two perpetrators, a considerable number of persons have been arrested, mostly young men, who are also, like the perpetrators, proved to have been employed by the Belgrade Narodna Odbrana (National Defense) in order to commit the outrage, and who were supplied in Belgrade with bombs and revolvers.

The Foreign Office in Vienna, however, probably realized that zeal was outrunning discretion, for on the same

date, late at night, the newspapers received the following request:

We beg the editor not to publish the report relating to the Serajevo outrage, which appeared in our evening's bulletin.

From this moment profound silence fell upon the inquiry at Serajevo and upon the proceedings at the Foreign Office. The attempt to trace the crime to any responsible quarters in Serbia was evidently beyond the power of even Count Forgach. Count Berchtold discontinued the usual weekly receptions at the Ballplatz; he refused to discuss the Serajevo outrage with the representatives of foreign countries, or, if discussion did arise, care was taken to dispel all apprehension and suspicion that Austria-Hungary was meditating any serious action against Serbia. Petrograd was assured that the step to be taken at Belgrade would be of a conciliatory character; the French Ambassador was told that only such demands would be put forward as Serbia would be able to accept without difficulty. The press campaign, nevertheless, continued unabated and took its tone from the utterance of the inspired *Neue Freie Presse*: "We have to settle matters with Serbia by war * * * and if we must come to war later, then it is better to see the matter through now."

On July 20, 1914, Mr. Jovanovitch, then Serbian Minister in Vienna, ciphered to Mr. Pashitch, the Premier:

It is very difficult, almost impossible, to discover here anything positive as to the real intentions of Austro-Hungary. The mot d'ordre is to maintain absolute secrecy about everything that is being done. Judging by the articles in our newspapers, Belgrade is taking an optimistic view of the question pending with Austria-Hungary. There is, however, no place for optimism. That which is chiefly to be feared and is highly probable is that Austria is preparing for war against Serbia. The general conviction that prevails here is that it would be nothing less than suicide if Austria-Hungary once more failed to take advantage of the opportunity to act against Serbia. It is believed that the two opportunities previously missed—annexation of Bosnia and the Balkan war—have been extremely harmful to Austria-Hungary. In addition to this, there is the still more deeply rooted opinion that Serbia, after her two wars, is completely exhausted, and that a war against Serbia would in fact merely

*R. W. Seaton-Watson, "The War and Democracy," London, 1915.

mean a military expedition to be concluded by a speedy occupation. It is also believed that such a war could be brought to an end before Europe could intervene.

The Austrian Note

It was at 6 P. M. on July 23 that the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade handed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the note embodying the demands of Austria, and insisting on a reply within forty-eight hours.

The Serbian Government was charged with fomenting a revolutionary propaganda having for its object the detachment of part of the territories of Austria-Hungary from the monarchy. It was asserted, though no proof was given, and dossier communicated, that the Serajevo assassinations were planned and the murderers equipped in Belgrade.

The following demands were included in the note:

The Royal Serbian Government will publish in the *Journal Officiel* of July 26, and as an army order, a condemnation of the anti-Austrian propaganda and of all officers and officials who have taken part in it.

The Royal Serbian Government will undertake besides:

1. To suppress all publications inciting to hatred or contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the tendency of which is directed against that power's territorial integrity.

2. To dissolve immediately the *Narodna Odbrana* and all other societies or affiliations which foster an anti-Austrian propaganda.

3. To eliminate without delay from the Serbian schools any members of the staffs or vehicles of instruction with anti-Austrian tendencies.

4. To remove from the army and the civil service a number of officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda, whose names will be communicated by the Austrian Government.

5. To accept the collaboration in Serbia of agents appointed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the suppression of the subversive movement.

6. To institute a judicial inquiry with regard to the accomplices to the plot of June 28, residing in Serbian territory; Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in this investigation.

7. To arrest at once Major Tankositch and Milan Ciganovitch, both of whom are implicated in the assassination.

8. To prevent the illicit trade in arms and explosives across the frontier, and to punish those who assisted the murderers to cross the frontier.

9. To furnish explanations regarding the

hostile and unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian functionaries at home and abroad since the outrage of June 28.

10. To notify the Austro-Hungarian Government without delay that the measures enumerated above have been duly carried out.

A reply is expected at the latest on Saturday, July 25, at 6 P. M.

So secret had the contents of the note been kept from the representatives of the powers—except the German Ambassador Tschirschky, who was understood to have co-operated in drafting it—that when its contents were published on the 24th all of them were dumfounded. The French and British Ambassadors and the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* held the view that the step taken by Austria-Hungary must be considered not as a note but as an ultimatum. They expressed indignation at its form, its contents, and the time limit, and they also declared it to be unacceptable.

It was not intended to be accepted, and all Vienna went wild with jubilation at the certainty of war, a short war and a merry one, or rather an "execution,"* to be rushed to a termination before the powers of the Entente had time to decide on a course of action; for Austria-Hungary had been assured by Herr von Tschirschky that the conflict would be localized, that Germany would keep the ring and that Russia must remain passive.

It was indeed a fact that neither Serbia nor Russia wanted war, and before the expiration of the time limit Serbia handed in a reply to the note, in which she exceeded all expectations in the direction of conciliation. The Serbian Government unreservedly accepted all the demands of Austria-Hungary, except Nos. 5 and 6, and promised to revise those articles of the Constitution (e. g., Article 22 on the liberty of the press) which stood in the way of these demands.

With regard to Nos. 5 and 6, further explanations were requested; the participation in the inquiries and investigations of Austrian functionaries could only be accepted in so far as it should

*On July 25, in a conversation with the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires*, Herr von Jagow said that what Vienna intended against Serbia was not a war, but an "execution."

conform with international equity and with the maintenance of friendly relations as between State and State.

Furthermore, if the manner of carrying out the different clauses enumerated above were not entirely satisfactory to Austria-Hungary, the Serbian Government was ready to refer any point either to The Hague Tribunal or the powers who had taken a part in the settlement of March 21, 1909.

Declaration of War

A conciliatory answer was neither expected nor wanted, however; that very evening the reply was rejected and the Austrian Minister instructed to leave Belgrade; on the 28th Austria declared war on Serbia.

Within the next two days Austria awoke to the startling fact that Russia was beginning to move. In spite of the German Ambassador's assurances that the Czar would not and could not fight, he had decided to intervene! A bully likes a fight best when his opponent is much smaller than himself; at this appearance of a full-grown adversary Vienna pulled a very long face, and on July 21 the Ballplatz suddenly consented to eliminate from the ultimatum those demands which involved a violation of the sovereignty of Serbia, to discuss certain others, and, in short, to reopen the question. It was too late. Germany, having jockeyed Austria into a position from which there was no escape, declared war on Russia the next day.

The "Punitive Expeditions"

When on the evening of July 25 the Crown Prince Alexander, acting as Prince Regent, signed the order for mobilization, Serbia was as entirely unprepared for war in every respect, save actual experience of warfare, as any country that has ever been summoned to take the field in self-defense. Little or none of the recent wastage had as yet been made good. The orders placed abroad for cannon, rifles, ammunition, clothing, and stores had not yet been carried out; heavy guns, automobiles, flying machines were lacking. During the campaign which followed, it fre-

quently happened that a regiment went into the firing line with one rifle for every two men, those who were unarmed taking both the place and the weapons of those who fell.

The declaration of war on the 28th was followed by a desultory bombardment of the unfortified Serbian capital from batteries on the opposite shore and monitors on the river. This, however, was the only action taken during the first few days, and Austria's failure to strike while Belgrade lay defenseless and open to easy occupation is significant testimony to her alarm at the European situation and anxiety to compromise.

It was impossible for the Serbian armies to line the Austro-Serbian frontier, which extends to 340 miles, especially as in Summer the Save and the Drina are easily forded at numerous points. Voyvoda (Field Marshal) Putnik therefore fell back upon the traditional lines of defense, and, while the Government withdrew from Belgrade to Nish, he grouped the main armies in the Shumadija on the line Palanka-Arandjelovats-Lazarevts, whence they could rapidly move either north or west. Strong detachments were posted at Valjevo and Uzhitse, and outposts stationed at every important point on the frontier, after which all the General Staff could do was to wait till the enemy's plan of invasion materialized.

The First Invasion

At the beginning of August, Belgrade, Semendria, and Gradishte were subjected to vigorous bombardment, and a number of attempts to cross the Danube were made and repulsed with heavy losses, one Austrian regiment having been practically wiped out. The Serbian staff knew, however, that several army corps were stationed in Bosnia, and refused to be misled by these feints on the Danube. Attempts followed to cross the Drina at Lubovia and Ratsha, and the Save at Shabats, and these were looked upon as more significant. Desultory fighting round places as far apart as Obrenovats and Vishegrad continued until Aug. 12, when the first penetration of Austrian troops into Serbia was signaled from

Losnitsa. At that town and at Leshnitsa the Thirteenth Army Corps effected a crossing, while on the same day the Fourth Army Corps crossed the Save to the north of Shabats, and other troops the Drina at Zvornik and Lubovia. By the 14th, over a front of about one hundred miles, six great columns had crossed the rivers and were converging on Valyevo.

The great bulk of the invaders had entered by the valley of the Jadar; the Third Serbian Army and part of the Second Army now advanced with all possible speed to meet them; meanwhile the remainder of the Second Army was ordered to block the advance from Shabats. The Austrian plan was obviously to isolate and overwhelm the Second and Third Serbian Armies in the wedge of land between the Save, the Drina, and the Jadar; this object once attained, the road to Valyevo and Kraguyevats lay open, and Serbia was at the mercy of the invader.

On the 14th the Austrians were brought to a temporary halt by the Serbian detachments retreating from Losnitsa, who dug themselves in across the Jadar Valley at Jarebitsa, and gave the main armies time to hasten westward by forced marches; but the first real shock of battle came on the 16th when the Austrian column of almost 80,000 men, advancing from Leshnitsa to the north of the Tzer Mountains, was heavily defeated and routed at Belikamen, two regiments having been annihilated. Pursuing their advantage, the Serbians drove in a wedge between the Austrian forces advancing from Shabats and those operating south of the Tzer Mountains along the Jadar. From this moment the Shabats and the Jadar campaign became distinct operations.

At the same time, south of the Tzer, a violent and indecisive action had taken place, and the Serbians were at length compelled to evacuate Jarebitsa on finding their left wing threatened by a force advancing, in hitherto unsuspected strength, from Krupani. The retirement was completed by the morning of the 17th.

On Aug. 18 the Crown Prince Alexan-

der, having thrown the Austrians back upon Shabats and brought up reinforcements south of the Tzer, deployed his army on a front of thirty-five miles, extending from Leshnitsa to the neighborhood of Lubovia. Inspired with memories of Kumanovo and Prilip, the Serbians gradually forced their way westward, along the Tzer and Iverak ranges, and down each bank of the Jadar, throwing the enemy back upon Leshnitsa and Losnitsa.

Aug. 19 was the decisive day of the struggle; the Austrians gave way at every point; their retreat along the valleys was shelled by the Serbian guns advancing along the intervening heights, and gradually converted into a rout, in which rifle and bayonet completed the work of the guns. By the 23d the Serbian armies, after taking quantities of prisoners and artillery, had hurled what was left of the Austrians back across the Drina. Thus ended the five days' engagement which will be known as the battle of the Jadar.

In the meantime strong Serbian forces had crossed the Dobrava Valley and advanced on Shabats, round which the Austrians had fortified a wide circle. Violent fighting took place on the 21st and 22d, on which day the Serbian troops worked their way round to the western approaches of the town. They tightened their cordon on the 23d, and during the night brought up siege artillery. When the bombardment had begun on the morning of the 24th, it was discovered that the Austrians had decamped, after murdering in cold blood fifty-eight prisoners from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Serbian Regiments, whose bodies were found piled up in three rows in a private house. By 4 P. M. the Serbians had reached the banks of the Save, and the first invasion of Serbia was at an end. The Austrians' explanation of their retreat, after the "successful accomplishment" of their incursion into the enemy's territory, on account of "more important operations at other points," is still fresh in public memory.

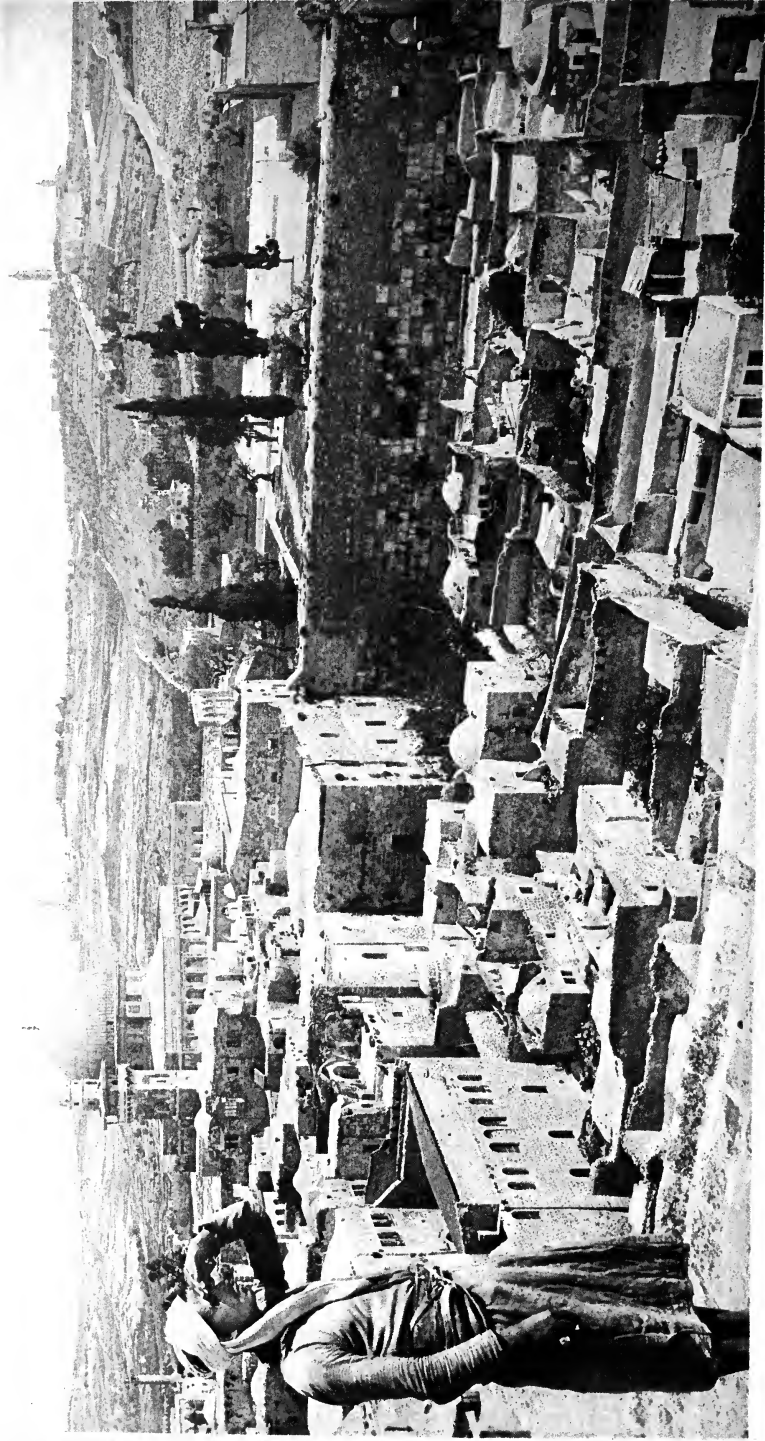
As a result of their attempt to "execute" Serbia, the Austrians had lost 8,000 dead, 4,000 prisoners, and about

AVIATION CAMP OF THE ALLIED ARMIES AT SALONIKI



The Curious Effect of the Circular Tents Is Accentuated by the Rings of Flower Beds
(Official French Photograph)

JERUSALEM, THREATENED WITH CAPTURE BY A BRITISH ARMY



The British Expedition From Egypt Has Driven the Turks Back as Far as Jerusalem. The View Here Given Is Looking Toward the Mount of Olives

30,000 wounded; forty-six cannon, thirty machine guns, and 140 ammunition wagons, besides an enormous mass of stores and transport. The Serbian troops had lost 3,000 dead and 15,000 wounded.

Treatment of Civilians

"Toward such a population there is room for no humanity or generosity."

As for the civilians of the districts invaded, they were treated with a disregard of every law of civilized warfare, and a fiendish refinement of cruelty and malice, probably without parallel in modern history. The instructions issued to the Austrian troops, in the form of leaflets, began with the words: "You are going into a hostile country, the population of which is animated by fanatical hatred, and in which murder is rife in all classes of society. * * * Toward such a population there is room for no feeling of humanity or generosity." The procedure adopted was, on entering any town or village, to shoot out of hand either the Mayor or a number of selected inhabitants, (amounting to fifty at Leshnitsa,) in order to "inspire terror"; to secure hostages among those that remained, and to take prisoners and remove to Austria the youths under military age, "in order that King Peter might remain without soldiers for some years."

At the same time the troops were given to understand that the campaign was an execution, and that they might not only loot and burn and ruin, but murder, violate and torture at will, "because these people were Serbians." The pent-up hatred and natural instinct of the Magyar found expression in deeds which could not, without offense, be described here; as a mild example we may cite the case of a man who in the village of Dvorska was tied to a mill-wheel; knifing him as he was whirled round was then engaged in by the soldiers as a game of skill.

Extortion of money from a woman by the threat to kill her babe was common, and generally followed by the murder of both; wanton mutilation was commoner still; all this during the invasion. The record of the Austrian retreat is probably one of the blackest chapters in the history

of mankind; whole families were burned alive, or systematically bayoneted and laid out in rows by the roadside; the treatment of the female population can only be hinted at; in their case the final act of murder must be looked on as a crowning mercy.

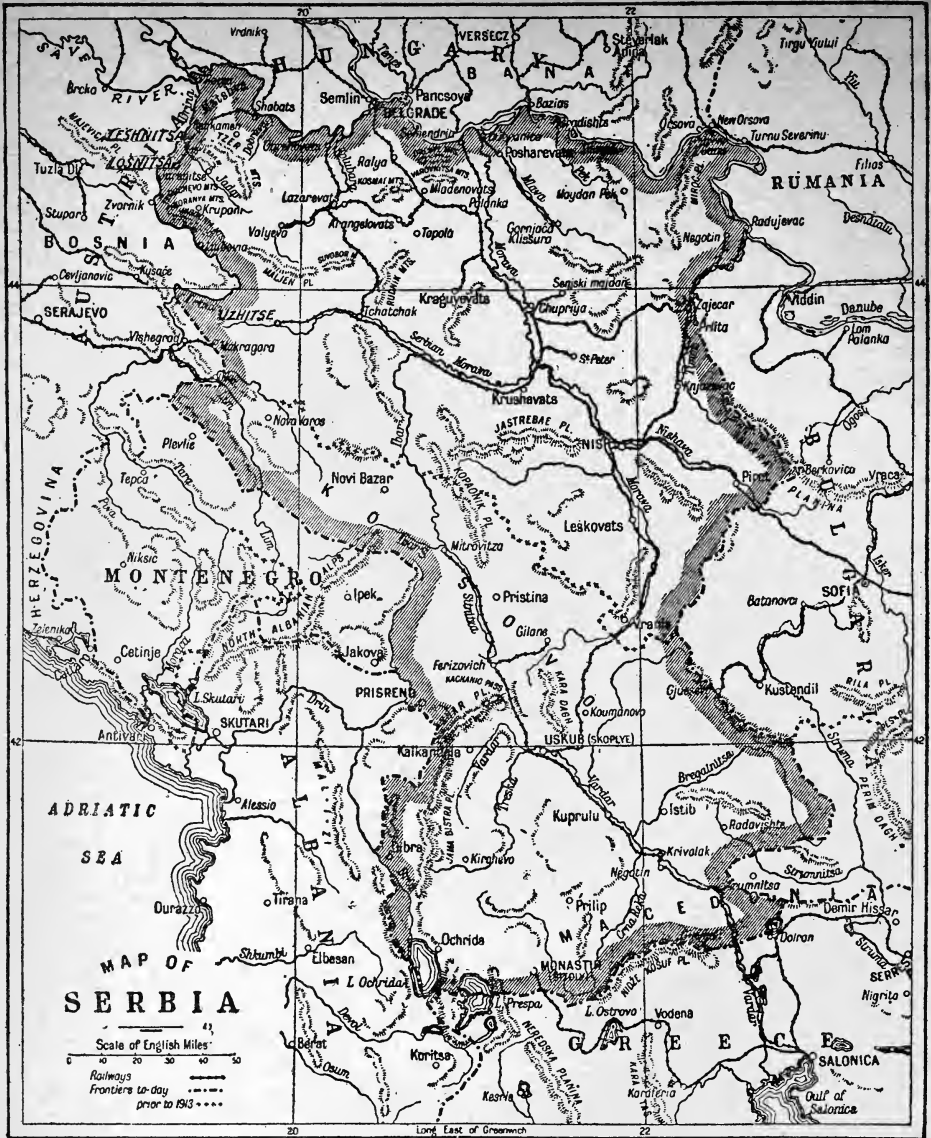
In the track of the army that fell back on Losnitsa followed a small group of doctors, officials, and engineers of Serbian, Dutch, and Swiss nationality, who reported circumstantially, and photographed, what they found. A day will come when the indictment thus constituted must be met by the Magyar race at the bar of public opinion.

It was not to be expected that Austria would accept as definite the blow inflicted on her military prestige at the battle of the Jadar. Having made good the losses in men and equipment, the enemy returned to the attack in September, and made a fresh attempt to invade the Matshva district and to occupy the left bank of the Jadar.

They were brought to an early halt, and again flung back across the Drina, and the Save, retaining possession only of some of the heights of the Gutshevo and Boranya Mountains, with the territory to the immediate west, and of a small tract of land in the Matshva plain which was commanded by the guns of the river monitors. For six weeks they were held in these positions by the Serbian armies, who defended a line of close on a hundred miles of trenches with a totally inadequate force and supplies, and under a strain which no troops could long endure.

The Second Invasion

By the beginning of November a retirement to a shorter and stronger line of defense became imperative, and the staff decided to move right back to the Kolubara River. The Austrians immediately advanced in overwhelming numbers, and five columns totaling 250 battalions of infantry with their artillery and cavalry streamed into the north-western territory. After fierce fighting they gained command of the Suvobor Mountains, the key to the whole district; this catastrophe made it impossible to



hold the Kolubara line, Belgrade was evacuated, and preparations were made to abandon, if need be, Kraguyevats and the arsenal. By the end of November the Austrians had extended on a line reaching from Tshavtshak to Belgrade, and were preparing to swing round, with the Suvobor Mountains as a pivot, on the Mladenovats to the northeast, and toward Kraguyevats to the southeast, an enveloping movement which must have

ended in the capture of the whole Serbian Army.

The weak resistance hitherto opposed to the Austrian invasion was not due, however, to lack of stamina or a deterioration of morale among the Serbian troops, fatigued and worn though they certainly were. Retreat was made imperative by an almost total lack of ammunition, either for rifles or for the artillery. The bulk of the Serbian field

ordnance is of French manufacture, and the French were themselves too hard pressed to make regular delivery of these. Whole batteries of guns were reduced to six rounds apiece, which were held in reserve against an extreme emergency. At the same time the retreat was in part deliberate and carefully planned, for when later Voyvoda Putnik was asked how he had effected the crushing defeat of the Austro-Hungarian troops, he answered laconically: "All my strategy consisted in placing between the enemy's fighting line and their impedimenta the Serbian national mud."

By the end of November new guns and large supplies of ammunition from the British ordnance factories had been landed and were being conveyed into Serbia with all possible dispatch. At some points of the line of battle the position was almost desperate, and it may not be without interest to repeat here an incident which occurred at this time and which was related to the present writer by King Peter's cousin, Prince Alexis Karageorgevitch, on the occasion of the latter's recent visit to London. The aged ruler of Serbia mounted his charger and rode up to the trenches, where his brave peasants crouched with bayonets fixed to empty rifles, and exclaimed: "My dear brothers, you have sworn allegiance to your country and to your King: from this latter oath I release you. You are at liberty to return to your homes; your aged King has come to take your place, for you must be more than worn out." With these words he dashed forward, his drawn sword in his right hand and a Browning pistol in his left. His peasants followed with a cheer and made a bayonet charge which caused a panic in the enemy's lines.

The Austrian Debacle

In the meantime the long-expected ammunition had arrived, and on Dec. 3, to the Austrians' amazement, the whole of their front was subjected to a sudden and violent offensive. On the 4th Suvobor was stormed, the Austrian centre was pierced, and the right wing scattered in headlong flight along the road to Val-

yevo. By the 7th the Serbians were back on a line extending from Lazarevats to Vallyevo, and thence to Uzhitse, and the enemy fleeing toward the Drina, which they crossed in disorder two days later.

The Austrians' right clung to their positions for a few days to the north and west of Maldenovats, and on the 7th and 8th made determined efforts to break through. They were repulsed with fearful losses and compelled to give ground, though they fought with the greatest obstinacy at every step of their retreat; on the 12th they were compelled to fall back upon Belgrade. The heights to the south of the capital had been fortified with extensive earthworks and gun emplacements and formed positions of great strength, but the Austrian troops were by now too demoralized to hold them and gave way on the 14th. They were still fleeing across the Save when, on the morning of the 15th, some Serbian batteries unlimbered on the surrounding heights and shelled the pontoon bridge, rendering further escape impossible.

The Austrians left behind them over 40,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, with the transport and stores of a vast army.

So extraordinary was the Serbian rally, and so overwhelming the catastrophe that had befallen the Austrian arms, that for some days Europe refused to credit the news from Belgrade. As its full import was grasped, the Allies also realized their indebtedness to their Balkan ally; nor, we may well believe, will it, on the day of reckoning, be forgotten.

Crucifixion of a People

Almost a whole year passed in relative quiet; the Austro-Hungarians had obviously enough of their chastising of Serbia. Count Tisza, then Prime Minister of the Monarchy, declared that the Hapsburg forces were "not a match" for the Serbian experienced warriors. Simultaneously with his admission the oldest and most patriotic German newspaper, *Die Vossische Zeitung*, in its editorial columns, suggested that a separate peace should be made with Serbia, guaranteeing the absolute integrity of

her kingdom and granting her, as compensation, the "nobody's land" of Albania, from which its comical 'mpret had fled long since.

But Serbia continued her preparations for an eventual new foe, who, on the east and south of the kingdom, was sharpening his sword and fortifying his frontiers. The credulous Sir Edward Grey and his "wait and see" colleague were too deaf to the voice of the Serbian sage, Mr. Pashitch, who, in early June, 1915, informed the British Government that Prince Bülow had brought to Sofia a draft of the Treaty of Alliance and a military convention between the Central Powers and the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

What Mr. Pashitch required was a sanction, on the part of the Allies, of Serbia's timely action against isolated Bulgaria, in order to prevent the latter's intervention at a moment when the troops of King Peter would be too busily engaged in resisting a fresh attempt from the north. But the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs was still nursing the hope that a Balkan league could be renewed. This futile course of action—or, to be less incorrect, inaction—gave ample opportunity for Bulgaria to make good the wastage suffered in her disaster in the battle of Bregalnitsa in July of the previous year. According to her well-established tradition she awaited the moment when the fourth punitive expedition—this time composed chiefly of the best German Imperial Armies and of what was still left of the Austro-Hungarian forces—under the ingenious leadership of General Mackensen, penetrated far into the desolated Serbian land, to stab in the back the heroically resisting Serbian armies.

It is impossible to ascertain at this juncture the exact strength of the Teutonic forces advancing through Serbia. Certain writers assert that the Serbian armies—or what was still left of them—were outnumbered as ten to one by the combined forces of General Mackensen and those of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria. The Serbians fought desperately on both fronts, and, while the army officers were renewing their oath at Stalatch (in Cen-

tral Serbia) either to stop the invaders or to perish to the last man, suddenly came from France and Great Britain, not the long expected and officially promised help, but the wise advice: "Sauve qui peut!" The advice was good indeed, for, had the Serbians not followed it, they would have lost not only their land but also every one of their men. And after almost three years of continuous triumph of the Serbian arms over the Turks, the treacherous Bulgarians and the Babel-like Austro-Hungarian "punitive expeditions," a proud people, not a defeated army, had to retreat! But where? Surely not to Greece, Serbia's ally!

Horrors of the Exodus

Before the general exodus of the Serbian people had begun, the German Imperial Government, in chivalrous recognition of Serbian bravery, offered to the Nish Government a comparatively liberal peace, by which, so we are informed, the integrity of the Serbian territory was guaranteed. Moreover, if the Serbian armies would only simulate a resistance, but in truth leave a free passage to Salonki for the combined Austro-German forces, not only Albania but also so much of the Serbian-populated provinces in Austria-Hungary would be yielded as the dignity of the Dual Monarchy would permit. Although the Serbian Government had no specific treaties of alliance with either of the Entente Powers—the only one that had been concluded being that with Greece—and despite the imminent cataclysm which threatened from all the cardinal points, the Serbian Skupshtina, after a spirited and memorable speech delivered by Mr. Pashitch in which he accentuated that "it were better to die in beauty than to live in shame," unanimously decided to offer a stubborn resistance to the invaders, while the noncombatants were ordered to retreat through the rocky fastnesses of Albania to Durazzo, where British ships waited to transport them further.

More than one volume could be written on the horrors of that exodus, which stands unique in the history of mankind. The scenes from Dante's "Inferno" are but pallid shadows in comparison with

those in which a nation of hard-striving and honest soil-tillers played in reality to the amusement of the powers of darkness. Tens of thousands were dying in silence on the roadsides, afflicted by diseases, utter exhaustion, and hunger. The improvised graves gave up their dwellers, and corpses of domestic animals in a strange conjunction were intermingled with those of fathers and mothers of families, peasants and Senators, beggars and the wealthiest members of an old society. The bitter frost prevented the survivors from digging out the roots of young firs and pines, the only vegetation yet possible in the desolate Albanian mountains, and many were found frozen in the act of securing that last remnant of food. The exhausted women, once happy maidens, brides or mothers, either staggered, with bound-up eyes, over the narrow trails, on both sides of which yawned bottomless gulfs, or, in utter exhaustion, crawled on their knees, clutching convulsively at the rocks with their still rosy nails. Now

and then one could see a mother standing knee-deep in snow, erect as a statue, pressing to her bosom a sleeping babe, and fixing with her glassy eye every passer-by; and if some one, who had still a remnant of compassion or was not as yet maddened with his own fate, warned her to move, he would discover that she had long been dead. Or a volunteer, crouching on one knee and clutching his rifle, ready to fire at enemy or friend, would remain in that position until some Arnaout, puzzled by the irony, should come to him, and, cutting the weapon out of his frozen fingers, thrust the body back to its icy grave.

Such was the soundless death of a once happy people.

The Serbian State may eventually be restored, but there will be no Serbians to people it again. They have not been "punished"; that is what one does to naughty children; but one of the oldest Slav races has been exterminated—crucified—never to be resurrected.

The Torpedoing of the Westminster

The British Admiralty has published the following note:

The degree of savagery to which the Germans have attained in their submarine policy of sinking merchant ships at sight would appear to have reached its climax in the sinking of the British steamship Westminster, proceeding in ballast from Torre Annunziata to Port Said.

On Dec. 14 this vessel was attacked by a German submarine without warning, when 180 miles from the nearest land, and was struck by two torpedoes in quick succession, which killed four men. She sank in four minutes.

This ruthless disregard of the rules of international law was followed by a deliberate attempt to murder the survivors. The officers and crew, while effecting their escape from the sinking ship in boats, were shelled by the submarine at a range of 3,000 yards. The master and chief engineer were killed outright, and their boat sunk. The second and third engineers and three of the crew were not picked up, and are presumed to have been drowned.

Great Britain, together with all other civilized nations, regards the sinking without warning of merchant ships with detestation, but seeing the avowed policy of the German Government, and the refusal to consider the protests of neutrals, it is recognized that mere protests are unavailing.

The Captain of the German submarine must, however, have been satisfied with the effectiveness of his two torpedoes, and yet he proceeded to carry out in cold blood an act of murder which cannot possibly be justified by any urgency of war, and can only be regarded in the eyes of the world as a further proof of the degradation of German honor.

The Sufferings of Neutral Greece

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

Greek-American Journalist

GREECE neutral—why? Is not Turkey fighting, and Bulgaria, too, and is not the warfare of these two traditional enemies a sufficient inducement for the Hellenic people to join forces with those who battle to reduce German and Austrian power, Turkish barbarism, and Bulgarian greed, to a state in which they will no more be dangerous to mankind? What does Greece expect at the close of the war, when, in case of Entente victory, she will find herself without friends, while, should Germany win, Turkey and Bulgaria will crush every hope of a greater Hellas?

These questions and many others are persistently asked by the friends of Greece, who cannot explain an attitude condemned from every side as treacherous, faithless, cowardly, ungrateful, and generally out of keeping with the best traditions of the Greek people.

Greece has vainly tried to defend her course to the world. She has been prevented from so doing by a number of causes, chief of which is the denial of free speech and free intercourse with the outside world. In addition to that, Greece, besides giving explanations to the world at large, is forced to defend her actions even against a turbulent minority at home, which, notwithstanding the general Greek desire for peace, has persistently labored for war while the inducements offered therefor are continually lessening.

This minority is known both in and out of Greece as the Venizelist Party; and this party is first, last, and always a one-man party, existing only by the activity and the strength of its leader, Eleutherios K. Venizelos. This leader, however, has been clever enough to tie up his followers to the fortunes of the Entente, thus monopolizing for himself and his party the sympathies and goodwill with which all Greece follows the struggle of Great Britain and France.

Between the average Greek, however, and the regular Venizelist this difference exists: the former does not push his affection for the Entente to the extent of going to war for it; and this attitude is due to fear that Greece, by entering the European war, would be destroyed, as Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were destroyed. In other words, we of Greece love the Entente, but not to the extent of committing suicide, especially when it is apparent that our sacrifice would not in the least affect the fortunes of the European war.

The Venizelist Greek, on the other hand, is loud in his sympathies for the Entente, and, besides that, he wants rather to commit suicide at the side of Great Britain and France than emerge living and disgraced from the great struggle.

Error of the Venizelists

Since the beginning of the war Venizelos has aligned himself with the Entente Powers and assumed the leadership of the so-called war party. He thought at that time—and in his opinion he had a large majority of people agreeing with him—that the European war would end shortly in an overwhelming victory of the Entente, and insisted that Greece ought to enter the struggle and secure those advantages which would be denied her if she stood out of the fray; contrary to this view, all the Greek military factors, including King Constantine and the Hellenic General Staff, were convinced that the war would last longer than any politician imagined; that the bloody game was being played on too large a scale to allow small participants any chance of success. Events subsequently justified this latter view against the Venizelos idealism. One after the other, all the little nationalities entering the war were knocked out in a few rounds; Greece succeeded in preserving her life despite tremendous pressure

brought to bear by Venizelos and the Entente Governments, and it is on that account that she has had to suffer, in addition to other indignities, an internal revolution in Saloniki and a rigorous blockade, which has continued since Dec. 1 of last year.

And yet the sufferings of Greece are the result of circumstances rather than of her mistakes. Could a little country like Greece do anything to affect the final result of the European war? The question is one to be answered with a smile by those who have an intimate knowledge of what the European conflict means. Yet the belligerent coalitions actually seem to have assumed that the side which had the assistance of Greece would be the victor in the gigantic conflict. Only under this assumption can we justify the intensity of the activity of both the Entente and the Teuton allies in Athens, which activity is responsible for all the troubles of Greece in the last months.

To go back over the history of the elapsed twelvemonth would be to repeat those things which are known to almost every reader of the daily press. The period may be recapitulated by saying that Greece was united in a policy of neutrality up to March, 1915, when Venizelos came out as the champion of immediate participation in the Dardanelles campaign. King Constantine and the Greek General Staff rejected his advice on grounds of military inexpediency, and subsequent events justified them. Venizelos resigned, but at the same time declared that should Greece enter the war at that time she was to secure important territorial concessions in Asia Minor; provided, however, she offered Greek Eastern Macedonia to Bulgaria.

The Gounaris Ministry, assuming power after Venizelos resigned, offered to cooperate with the Entente forces, but he asked, as a *sine qua non* condition, a written guarantee from the Entente to the effect that Greek territorial integrity on the Balkan Peninsula would be safeguarded against any covetous attack from Bulgaria at the time when the Greek troops would be fighting overseas in Asia Minor. This guarantee the En-

tente could not give, as it was trying to secure Bulgarian intervention also at the expense of Greece.

Following the dissolution of the Greek Chamber, an election was held on May 31, (June 13,) 1915, in which Venizelos won 180 seats out of a total of 316. The Entente hailed that result as a victory of the Greek war party; but Venizelos had avoided the issue in his campaign, and the people, although expressing their confidence in him, did not vote for war.

The Treaty with Serbia

In the first days of October, 1915, the great Teuton drive against Serbia began, and almost simultaneously Bulgaria attacked the Serbs from the rear; Venizelos, working on the assumption that the treaty with Serbia obliged Greece to attack Bulgaria, ordered a general mobilization of the Greek forces, a measure approved by the King, who wanted to forestall a possible attack from Bulgaria. King Constantine and the majority of the Greek people knew that the Serbian treaty was Balkan in its character, and was contracted at a time when the possibility of a European conflict did not enter the minds of at least the Greek delegates who signed it.

Greece was willing to stand by Serbia had she been attacked by a Balkan State; but Serbia was attacked by Germany, Austria, and Turkey, as well as Bulgaria; and meantime she was assisted in her struggle by such powerful allies as Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Nevertheless, the Greek military command had good reason to expect an irresistible Teuton avalanche in the Balkans; it knew beforehand that the Serbian campaign was doomed, and also knew that if Greece attacked the Central Empires a small addition to the Teuton and Bulgarian forces would crush her as surely and as effectively as they did Belgium and Serbia.

That King Constantine and the Greek military chiefs were right in their calculations is shown from this simple fact: In October, 1915, Germany had not suffered the losses of the Verdun campaign, which started in February, 1916; she had not suffered the losses of the Galician

campaign under General Brusiloff, which started later in May of the same year, and she had not suffered the losses incidental to the Anglo-French offensive on the Somme, which took place late in the Summer of last year. Now, the German losses in the Verdun, Galicia, and Somme campaigns must have been above one million men, if we take the lowest estimate of both sides. Yet, notwithstanding these losses, Germany was able to crush Rumania in three months. Does any one imagine that had Greece entered the war before Germany lost that million men, she could have saved herself from destruction?

But when we speak of Greek destruction we also have to face this naïve objection: Greece is an island kingdom, and Great Britain rules the seas. Undoubtedly this is true to a certain extent; but Greece has two million Greek population in Asia Minor, and has another three million Greeks in the lands which would have been invaded, not by the Germans and Austrians, but by the Bulgars and the Turks, who would have made a short job of the extermination of Hellenism in the peninsula and in Asia Minor. The fate of the Armenians points clearly enough to what the Greeks in Asia Minor could expect at the hands of the Turk; and as for Bulgarian sympathy toward the Greek, the less said the better.

All this goes to show that Greece was right when she followed the advice of her King to stay out of the war, and to adopt a program of "safety first."

Venizelos Evaded Issue

Venizelos resigned a second time in the same year, when his advice for intervention was rejected. And as no Government in Greece is constitutional without a Parliamentary majority behind it, the King ordered a new election to be held on Dec. 6-19, 1916, in order to have the people decide for war or peace. Venizelos in this instance not only dodged the issue put squarely before him, but in addition stayed away from the polls with his whole party, and gave proof of an untimely weakness when he clamored that the entire population was with him in a program of immediate entrance into war.

When one takes into account that in December, 1915, the German and Bulgar armies had cleared Serbia of the Serbian troops, one can easily infer the actual extent of the alleged Greek belligerency on which the Venizelist program was based.

From October, 1915, to June, 1916, Greece, although neutral and benevolent to the Entente, suffered all the trials of a belligerent country.

Venizelos just before his first resignation in March, 1915, had offered the Entente the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos to be used as naval bases against the Dardanelles; following the landing of the Anglo-French troops in Saloniki, which was effected through an invitation by Venizelos, and in violation of Article 99 of the Hellenic Constitution, General Sarraill took over the Greek forts of Karabournou in Saloniki, and about the same time a French fleet secured possession of Corfu, where the broken and sick Serbian Army gathered to reorganize. Railway communication between Saloniki and Eastern Macedonia was severed following the blowing up of the great Demir Hissar Bridge by the Allies, and the Dova Tepé fort on the Bulgarian border passed under allied control shortly afterward; then naval bases were established by the Entente in the islands of Milo and Castellorizo, and the Teuton Consuls in Saloniki, instead of being ordered away, were arrested by the French forces. Subsequently the allied control was extended to the islands of Chios, Mitylene, Zante, Cefallonia, Crete, and Thassos.

Under suspicion that Greece was sending food to Bulgaria, the whole country was put under a rigid control as far as imports of foodstuffs were concerned, and the people experienced the first taste of a blockade when the wheat and coal ships from America to Piraeus began to be detained for days and weeks in the allied ports of Gibraltar, Algiers, and Malta.

Surrender of Fort Rupel

In the first days of June, 1916, a mixed German-Bulgarian force appeared before the Greek fort of Rupel in Eastern Macedonia and demanded immediate

possession. Had Greece decided to attack the invaders she would have proved, first, that her neutrality was one-sided, and in the second place she would have had to enter the war, not only against Bulgaria, but against the entire combination of the Teuton Powers. In the face of such a contingency Greece, wishing above all to remain neutral, turned over the fort and withdrew her troops.

The Allies, once more disappointed in their hopes to see Greece enter the war, immediately declared martial law all over Macedonia, placed an embargo on Greek shipping, and presented the ultimatum of June 21 with the following demands:

1. Immediate resignation of the Skouloudis Government, which, after Zaimis, took Venizelos's place following the latter's resignation in October, 1915.
2. Appointment of a new Government of a nonpolitical and nonpartisan character.
3. Immediate demobilization of the army.
4. Dissolution of the Chamber, and the holding of a general election, immediately following general demobilization.
5. Substitution of certain police officials suspected of anti-Entente leanings.

King Constantine forthwith complied with the demands of the Entente. Thus the Skouloudis Ministry resigned, Zaimis again came to power, the army was demobilized in record time, and the police officials were succeeded by others who were acceptable to the Entente.

Greece was getting ready to hold the general election, in accordance with the last demand of the ultimatum, when Venizelos, apprehending disaster at the polls, induced the Entente to hold back its ultimate demand.

This happened because the Greek Army, when demobilized, became the strongest anti-Venizelist factor, and through the organization known as the Reservist League threatened to make any Venizelos victory in the election impossible.

In their eagerness to shift Greek attention to other matters, and with the assurance that Rumania and Italy were to declare war on Germany, the Allies started on their great Balkan offensive in the last days of August, 1916; in order to try once more to get Greece on their side the troops of General Sarrail left the en-

tire East Macedonian frontier unprotected, and when the few Greek troops stationed there attacked the Bulgarian invader, and a number of sanguinary clashes ensued, it was affirmed positively in every Entente capital that Greece was getting in. In order to make Greek participation sure, the Entente dispatched a fleet to Piraeus, had the Teuton Ministers arrested, and took over the Greek fleet in order "to protect it."

The Venizelos Revolt

Greece once more refused to enter the war of destruction. And it was thus that Venizelos, despairing of coming into power as a war leader, or as chief of the Parliamentary majority, left Athens, and after a short cruise in the Aegean, touching Crete and Mitylene, settled down at Saloniki and established his so-called "Provisional Government." His was assumed to be a patriotic movement directed against the Bulgar invader, and for that reason succeeded in having immediately the support of a large number of patriotic Greeks, eager to fight the Bulgar; when, however, these people assembled in Saloniki, they received the impression that the Provisional Government was nothing else than an organized plot of Venizelos to drive King Constantine out of Greece and become himself the dictator of the country. This accomplished, Venizelos thought, there would be no difficulty in having the entire Greek people thrown into the war on the side of the Entente.

Venizelos claimed that he had the Greek people with him, and that the moment he became master in Athens Greece would take the field against the Teutons. The Entente believed the Cretan politician, and gave him every assistance in order that he might succeed in his effort. The Ionian Bank was ordered to place at the disposal of the "Provisional Government" an amount of funds approximating \$5,000,000; a number of officers were assigned to train the Venizelist volunteers, and numerous emissaries to the Entente capitals and other cities were sent to preach the gospel of Venizelism against Constantine, the neutralist King. Venizelos counted on fifty thousand

Greeks leaving the United States to place themselves in his army, and on substantial financial support from those who would not volunteer to serve with the troops.

In order to arm his troops Venizelos suggested that the Entente force the Athens Government to turn over its artillery and ammunition to the revolutionists; of course the arms would be used apparently against the Bulgar foe, and as Greece was not willing to fight, the Entente ought to secure those guns and hand them to the Venizelos men.

The Clash in Athens

The Entente with the usual eagerness acceded to the Venizelos demand, and through Admiral Fournet, commanding the allied fleet in Greek waters, demanded peremptorily that the Hellenic Government hand over its arms to the allied forces. The Royal Government, having information that the arms thus demanded were to be used against the established Hellenic régime, refused to comply with the Admiral's ultimatum, and when on Dec. 1 an allied force landed in Athens to take possession of the arms by force, the Greek troops in the capital offered a most stubborn resistance, succeeded in isolating Admiral Fournet, and almost made him a prisoner. They finally drove the invader out, after inflicting and suffering serious losses in the encounter.

It then became apparent that the Venizelist element in Athens had everything ready for a revolution to overthrow the Government and the King, and to establish the rule of the "Provisional Government" in the capital of Greece. The Venizelists were well armed for this purpose, and counted chiefly on the support that the allied troops would afford them in engaging the Greek troops. When Admiral du Fournet became aware that the entire population of Athens was for the King and against Venizelos, he immediately withdrew, and subsequently was punished by his Government.

It was following this "treacherous assault" on the Entente troops by the Greek Army that a new ultimatum was presented to Greece, asking reparation and the transfer of the Greek military

forces to the Peloponnesus; in addition the demand for the handing over of the weapons was again repeated. Greece complied with all the other desires of the Entente, but refused to hand over the guns. Thereupon the Entente established a new blockade, which is continuing still.

During well-nigh four months not a single ship was allowed to take any food to Greece; immense misery, starvation, sickness, and a diversity of epidemics have ensued; in vain the Royal Government protested against this inhuman treatment, which is costing scores of lives daily. Every Greek steamer has suspended sailings, and Greece is completely cut off from communication with the outside world.

Venizelos Movement a Failure

Venizelos at the same time is unable to go ahead with his movement. After having spent the \$5,000,000 given him by the Entente he has scarcely succeeded in assembling in Saloniki more than 5,000 volunteers; he is today despised by the majority of the Greek people; he is considered as the man who has split his country in two at a time when Hellas ought to present a united front. The Venizelos movement is a failure, and is maintained simply because it has behind it the prestige and the support of the Entente. Tomorrow, should the Entente abandon Saloniki, Venizelos would have to flee for his life.

What profit, therefore, do the Allies expect from a man and a party which cannot count on the sympathy of the majority of the Greek people?

This blockade, this misery, this suffering, of the Greek nation were expected to strengthen the Venizelist movement; but Greece starving and dying will not follow him. The Venizelos movement has ceased to thrill the nation. The Venizelist emissaries in Europe and America may continue their efforts, but neither a volunteer nor a dollar will be lured to Saloniki.

Greece has ceased to be a factor in the European war. Venizelos has ceased to be the powerful leader who could wrest his country from the King of the Hellenes. The Entente were deceived, and

are today pushing the Hellenic people into the arms of their traditional enemies. And the question arises: Is it Venizelos or Greece that the Allies care for? If it is the former, then let them continue the tactics which alienate them from the Greek people. But if it is the latter, then for God's sake don't push that country's sufferings and despair any

further. Because the Greek people have done no harm to any one, and history will place the plight of Greece beside that of martyred Belgium when the hour of reckoning comes; and it would be a pity to besmirch the noble struggle of the Allies with such a record of brutality and inhumanity as the Entente is today guilty of in Greece.

King Constantine's Statement of the Wrongs of Greece

KING CONSTANTINE of Greece gave The Associated Press correspondent, at Athens a detailed statement on Jan. 14, in which he said that it had been impossible to get the truth about Greece into the newspapers of the Entente countries. After citing false reports in the French press regarding the events of the attempted Venizelos revolution on Dec. 1 and 2, 1916, the King continued:

After all, all we ask is fair play. But it seems almost hopeless to try to get the truth out of Greece to the rest of the world under present circumstances. We have been sorely tried these last two years and we don't pretend to have always been angels under the constant irritation of the ever-increasing allied control of every little thing in our own private life—letters, telegrams, police, everything. Why, do you know that my sister-in-law, Princess Alice of Battenberg, was only permitted to receive a telegram of Christmas greetings from her mother in England by courtesy of the British Legation here?

Moreover, by taking an active hand in our own internal politics, England and France especially have succeeded in alienating an admiration, a sympathy, and a devotion toward them on the part of the Greek people that, at the beginning of the war, was virtually a unanimous tradition. I am a soldier myself, and I know nothing about politics, but it seems to me that when you start with almost the whole of a country passionately in your favor and end with it almost unanimously against you, you haven't succeeded very well. And I quite understand how those responsible for such a result seek to excuse themselves by exaggerating the difficulties they have had to contend with in Greece—by talking about Greek treachery and the immense sinister organization of German propaganda that has foiled them at every turn, and so on.

The only trouble with that is that they make us pay for the errors of their policy. The people of Greece are paying for them now in suffering and death from exposure and hunger, while France and England starve us out because they have made the mistake of assuming that their man Venizelos could deliver the Greek Army and the Greek people to the Entente Powers whenever they wanted to use Greece for their advantage, regardless of the interests of Greece as an independent nation.

There are just two things about our desperate struggle to save ourselves from destruction that I am going to ask The Associate Press to try to make clear to the people of America. The rest will have to come out some day—all the blockades and censorships in the world cannot keep the truth down forever. Understand, I am not presuming to sit in judgment on the Entente Powers. I appreciate that they have got other things to think about besides Greece. What I say is meant to help them do justice to themselves and to us, a small nation.

The first point is this: We have two problems on our hands here in Greece—an internal one and an external one. The Entente Powers have made the fundamental mistake of considering them both as one. They said to themselves: "Venizelos is the strongest man in Greece and he is heart and soul with us. He can deliver the Greeks whenever he wants to. Let us back Venizelos, therefore, and when we need the Greek Army he will turn it over to us."

Well, they were wrong, as I think you have seen for yourself since you have been here. Venizelos was perhaps the strongest man in Greece, as they thought. But the moment he tried to turn over the Greek Army to the Entente, as if we were a lot of mercenaries, he became the weakest man in Greece and the most despised. For in Greece no man delivers the Greeks. They decide their own destinies as a free people, and not England, France, and Russia together can change

them, neither by force of arms nor by starvation. And they have tried both. As for Venizelos himself—you had a man once in your country, a very great man, who had even been Vice President of the United States, who planned to split the country in two and set himself up as a ruler in the part he separated from the rest. I refer to Aaron Burr. But he only plotted to do a thing which he never accomplished. Venizelos, with the assistance of the allied powers—and he never could have done it without them—has succeeded for the time being in the same kind of a seditious enterprise. You called Aaron Burr a traitor. Well, that's what the Greek people call Venizelos.

The impression has been spread broadcast that Venizelos stands in Greece for liberalism and his opponents for absolutism and militarism. It is just the other way around. Venizelos stands for whatever suits his own personal book. His idea of government is an absolute dictatorship—a sort of Mexican government, I take it. When he was Premier he broke every man who dared to disagree with him in his own party. He never sought to express the will of the people; he imposed his will on the people. The Greek people will not stand that. They demand a constitutional Government in which there is room for two parties—Liberals and Conservatives—each with a definite program, as in the United States or England or any other civilized country, not a personal Government, where the only party division is into Venizelists and anti-Venizelists.

The other thing I wanted to say is about the effect of the so-called German propaganda in Greece. The Entente Powers seem to have adopted the attitude that everybody who is not willing to fight on their side must be a pro-German. Nothing could be falsier in respect of Greece. The present resentment against the Allies in Greece—and there is a good deal of it, especially since the blockade—is due to the Allies themselves and not to any German propaganda. The proof of it is that when the so-called German propaganda was at its height there was little or no hostility in Greece toward the Allies. It has only been since the diplomatic representatives of all the Central Empires and everybody else whom the Anglo-French secret police indicated as inimical to the Entente have been expelled from Greece, and any German propaganda rendered virtually impossible, that there has grown up any popular feeling against the Entente.

Part of this is due to the Entente's identification of its greater cause with the personal ambitions of Venizelos, but a great deal has also been due to the very unfortunate handling of the allied control in Greece. When you write a personal letter of no possible international significance to a friend or relative here in Athens, and post it in Athens, and it is held a week, opened, and half its contents blacked out, it makes you pretty

cross—not because it is unspeakable tyranny in a free country at peace with all the world, but because it is so silly. For, after all, if you want to plot with a man living in the same town you don't write him a letter. You put on your hat and go to see him. Half the people in Greece have been continually exasperated by just this sort of unintelligent control, which has irritated the Greek people beyond any telling. But to say that they are pro-Germans because they dislike having their private letters opened or their homes entered without any legal authority whatsoever is childish. It's a vicious circle. The Entente takes exceptionally severe measures because it alleges the Greeks are pro-German. The Greeks very naturally resent the measures thus taken, as would the Americans or anybody else. The Entente then turns around and says: "You see, that proves that the Greeks are pro-German, as we suspected."

The fact of the matter is that there is even now less pro-German feeling in Greece than in the United States, Holland, or any of the Scandinavian countries. And there is far less anti-Entente propaganda in Greece even now than there is anti-Hellenic propaganda in England, France, and Russia. The whole feeling of the Greek people toward the Entente Powers today is one of sorrow and disillusionment. They had heard so much of this "war for the defense of little nations" that it had been a very great shock to them to be treated, as they feel, very badly, even cruelly, for no reason and to nobody's profit. And more than anything else, after all the Greek Government and Greek people have done to help the Entente Powers since the very outbreak of the war, they deeply resent being called pro-German because they have not been willing to see their own country destroyed as Serbia and Rumania have been destroyed.

I have done everything I could to dissipate the mistrust of the powers, I have given every possible assurance and guarantee. Many of the military measures that have been demanded I myself suggested with a view to tranquilizing the Allies, and myself voluntarily offered to execute. My army, which any soldier knows could never conceivably have constituted a danger to the allied forces in Macedonia, has been virtually put in jail in the Peloponnesus. My people have been disarmed, and are today powerless, even against revolution, and they know from bitter experience that revolution is a possibility so long as the Entente Powers continue to finance the openly declared revolutionary party of Venizelos. There isn't enough food left in Greece to last a fortnight. Not the Belgians themselves under German rule have been rendered more helpless than are we in Greece today.

Isn't it, therefore, time calmly to look at conditions in Greece as they are, to give over a policy dictated by panic, and to display a little of that high quality of faith which alone is the foundation of friendship?

The Story of Saloniki

By James B. Macdonald

NINETY years ago, when the Hellenes were fruitlessly fighting for their independence, George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, induced France and Russia to join his country in freeing them. The allied fleet destroyed that of Egypt at Navarino, and Greece again became a political entity in 1832 under the protection of Britain, France, and Russia.

The guaranteeing powers agreed to assist the new kingdom financially, to contribute toward the maintenance of a sovereign in suitable state, and that whatever ruler was chosen should not be a member of the British, French, or Russian royal families. They also agreed that none of the contracting powers should send troops into Greece without the consent of the other guarantors.

Otto, the first King—a son of King Louis I. of Bavaria—was deposed by a national assembly, following a military revolt in 1862. A plebiscite of the people elected Prince Alfred of Great Britain, better known as the Duke of Edinburgh, but the British Government refused to sanction it as being contrary to the agreement with their co-guarantors. The throne was next offered to the Earl of Derby, grandfather of the present War Minister, but declined by him. The British Government then suggested the Danish Prince, William George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and this nomination was approved by a National Assembly and ratified by the guaranteeing powers.

The new sovereign, George I., was the father of the present King Constantine. As a special mark of good-will, Britain ceded Corfu and the other Ionian Islands to Greece. In 1864 the King accepted a new democratic Constitution drawn up by the National Assembly, and this is the one still in force.

Meanwhile, the relationship between the guaranteeing powers and their ward had not always been harmonious, and

coercive measures have had to be resorted to on several occasions. A French army occupied Greece during the Crimean war to prevent the Greeks from making war on Turkey and threatening the allied communications. Toward the close of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 the Hellenes invaded Thessaly, but their claim of territory was set aside in the Treaty of San Stefano. At the instance of Lord Salisbury, two Greek delegates were permitted to address the Berlin Conference, and they obtained a rectification of the frontier.

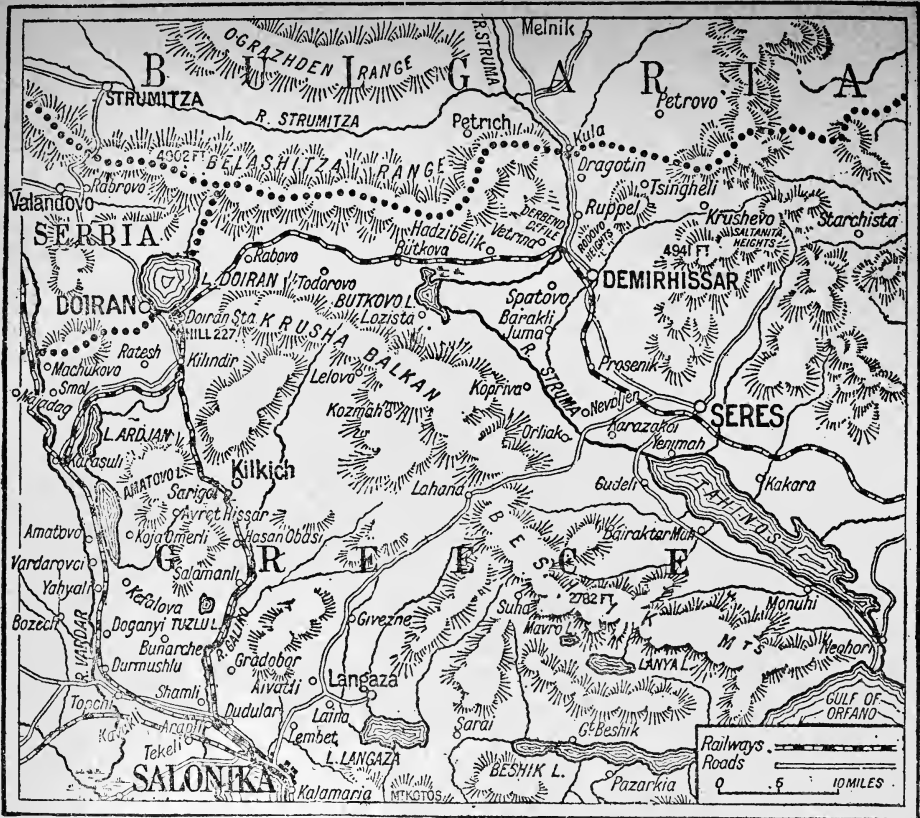
In 1893 Greece defaulted in her national obligations, and four years later entered upon an unprovoked and aggressive war against Turkey. The Greek Army, under Crown Prince Constantine, was decisively beaten, and the capital lay at the mercy of the victorious Turks when the King telegraphed to the Czar to save Greece. The Czar made personal representations to the Sultan, and peace was arranged. Greece agreed to pay about \$15,000,000 for her escapade.

Smarting from disappointment, the military forces in 1909 set aside all constitutional government and substituted the Military League. They expelled Crown Prince Constantine and his brother from the army and threatened the Crown itself. Later the army and navy quarreled, and Venizelos, who at this time came into prominence, persuaded the Military League to dissolve and permit the re-establishment of constitutional government.

In 1912-13 came the first and second Balkan wars, the assassination of King George at Saloniki, and the crowning of King Constantine.

A French military mission had reorganized the Greek Army and equipped it with the latest pattern mountain guns and light howitzers.

In the first war the Bulgars broke the main Turkish resistance at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas, the Serbians



REGION OF ALLIED OPERATIONS IN MACEDONIA.

broke their western armies at Kumanova and Monastir, and King Constantine, after the fight at Yanitza, had a walk-over to Saloniki, where the demoralized Turks surrendered without resistance.

In the second war the Bulgarian objective was to seize Saloniki and to destroy the Greek and Serbian Armies in detail. King Constantine, with a superior Greek Army, fought his first real battle between Saloniki and Seres, and, after a struggle of five days, forced the Bulgars to retire. The King pursued the enemy energetically to the Rhodope Mountains, where the Bulgarians counter-attacked and enveloped both his wings, but the timely intervention of the Rumanians compelled the Bulgars to seek an armistice. This alone saved Constantine's army from discomfiture. The war closed with the Greek Army unbeaten and its morale good.

The Repudiated Treaty

Upon the outbreak of the great war the Serbian Army repulsed the Austrian incursion, and in the following year decisively routed the second army of invasion. During the Summer the attitude of Bulgaria had been uncertain and suspicious, and the Greek Government decided it was time to arm. Greece mobilized on Sept. 24, 1915, and three weeks later Bulgaria declared war on Serbia.

Both Greece and Serbia at the close of the second Balkan war expected that Bulgaria would sooner or later seek revenge, and to insure against this contingency they entered into a secret treaty providing that each would assist the other. Serbia, being attacked in the rear by Bulgaria while confronting Austria-Hungary, called on the Hellenes to assist

them in terms of their mutual agreement. The Venizelos Government acknowledged the obligation and proceeded to fulfill it.

As in duty bound, the Greek Government represented the situation to the three great powers who were guaranteeing the independence of Greece. It so happened that these powers were also allied to Serbia and engaged at the moment in war with the Teutonic States.

The Greek Government stated *inter alia*: that they desired to assist Serbia; that their resources were insufficient to make their intervention effective, as they could muster only 200,000 first-line troops with adequate reserves, and that if Britain and France would assist them with an additional 150,000 men they would take the field against Bulgaria. The western powers agreed, and the matter was arranged. Thirteen thousand Anglo-French troops landed at Saloniki on Oct. 6, 1915, as a first installment, whereupon the political situation changed at Athens.

King Constantine rightly diagnosed the political situation: that the drive eastward through the Balkans to Turkey was the Alpha and Omega of the war so far as his brother-in-law the German Emperor was concerned; that the Austrians were taking the same road, bent upon seizing Albania and Saloniki, and that the invasion of Belgium, France, and Russia was merely side play to engage and hold off the opponents to this eastern adventure. He also inferred that the Asquith Government had mistaken the real political direction of the war. The Teutons were opportunists—gamblers, if you will—in the west, but their heart was in the east.

Constantine erred, however, in supposing that the western powers did not appreciate the political importance of holding Saloniki and Valona (or Avlona) until the end of the war, and that they had no other means of countering the drive to the east than by a major campaign in the Balkans or at the Dardanelles. He concluded that there might be profit for himself in favoring his brother-in-law's ambition and danger to himself in opposing it. King Constantine thereupon reconsidered his pre-

vious concurrence in the pourparlers of his Government with the guaranteeing powers, decided that Greece, in the circumstances of a general European war, was not bound by the treaty with Serbia, and accordingly dismissed Venizelos. The latter obtained the suffrage of the electors with an increased majority, but was again dismissed by his sovereign. Since then the King has reigned as an absolute monarch, and his present Ministry professes to be nothing more than the mouthpiece of the King and the army.

New Greece and the Islands have risen in revolt under Venizelos, who has established a Provisional Government at Saloniki, while Old Greece supports the King at Athens. The situation resembles that in England before the civil war in the reign of Charles I. The guaranteeing powers, however, have asserted their authority, have curbed the power of the King, and will no doubt restore the Constitution at a more convenient period.

All the Greeks believe that Constantine is a great military genius, and, while one party would gladly accept him as a constitutional monarch, the other hails him as the successor of Alexander the Great—above all laws, for "himself he is the State." Venizelos, however, reminds Constantine that his father was elected of the people, and that his own title as King is no better than that of his father. Briefly, one party favors the autocracy of Alexander the Great and believes it has found his successor in Constantine, while the other prefers the democracy of the ancient Greek republics, but associated with the hereditary prestige of a constitutional sovereign.

Bulgaria's Military Strength

The population of Bulgaria, according to the census of 1906, comprised: Bulgaria proper, 2,853,704; Eastern Rumania, 1,174,535; total, 4,028,239. Allowing for territory and extra population gained through the Balkan wars, natural increase of population, and war losses in 1912-13, the pre-war total may be set down as under 5,000,000.

Carried away by the Teutonic successes

in Poland, the British reverse at the Dardanelles, and their own ambition to attain the abortive terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, the Bulgars embarked upon the world war in the belief that it would be a brief one once they threw their weight in the scales. They immediately mobilized every available man down to the youngest class and enrolled about 750,000 men, leaving the women and old men to work the farms. It was essential to their success that the war be brief, because only about 35,000 youths mature every year, and they had no other reserves.

Their attack on the Serbian rear attained its object and made possible the Austrian advance under General von Mackensen. So far their losses had not been great, because their strength had not been tested out in a pitched battle with a well-equipped foe. They had, moreover, proved themselves good fighting material, and were well-backed up by heavy artillery lent by their northern allies.

The Retreat from Serbia

Meanwhile, at Saloniki, the French had landed a division under General Sarrail, the renowned defender of Verdun, and the British had disembarked the heroic remnants of the Tenth Irish Division under Sir Bryan Mahon, who had led the flying column to the relief of Mafeking during the Boer war. There was no Commander in Chief to co-ordinate the movements of the allied forces, who now moved up country, where the French took station on the left around Krivolak and the British on the right around Doiran. General Sarrail endeavored to extend his left flank to get in touch with some 5,000 Serbians who were retreating from Uskub, and were at the moment holding the Babuna Pass, north of Prilip. Owing to the weakness of his force he did not succeed, although his manoeuvre diverted the attention of the Bulgars and enabled the Serbians to escape into Albania.

The allied commanders themselves now had to think about retreating, but were hampered by the Greeks in their rear wrecking trains and endeavoring to prevent stores and ammunition reaching the

allied forces from the base at Saloniki. The Government at Athens announced that if the Anglo-French army came back into Greek territory they would intern it. The protecting powers responded with an ultimatum threatening to blockade Greece, whereupon Athens gave way with a bad grace.

In November, 1915, large allied reinforcements arrived at Saloniki, but were not sent up country, partly owing to the threatening attitude of the Greek Army and partly because a retreat from the front had already been decided on. They consisted of one French corps, and two British corps—of which two divisions were veterans from the old regular standing army.

General Sarrail retreated to Ghevgeli with small loss and saved his stores, but on Dec. 7, 1915, he was attacked in force and retired without advising his colleague on the right of his change of position. The British on the right still held their ground in ignorance of the French withdrawal, and were suddenly overwhelmed by a Bulgarian army several times their number. They were only saved from annihilation through the Bulgars not venturing to follow them into Greek territory. The Tenth Irish and a portion of the Twenty-second British Division in support were lost for days in the mountain mists, and some of the sentries were frozen to death in the hills.

The Allies fell back on Saloniki with the Greek Army all around them, truculent and obstructive, and with the Greek guns trained upon the allied camp.

Fortified Camp at Saloniki

General Sarrail was appointed Commander in Chief and instructed to fortify Saloniki, while the guaranteeing powers compelled the Greek King to withdraw his main army from Macedonia and retire it to Old Greece, or the kingdom as it existed prior to the Balkan war of 1912. General Mahon was given a high command in Egypt, and afterward succeeded General Maxwell in command of the troops in Ireland, he himself being an Irishman. General Milne of the Royal Artillery was appointed to the vacancy.

The position at the base was still highly unsatisfactory, mainly due to the Greek King having appointed pro-German sympathizers to all the chief posts throughout Greece. This organization became a network of spying and reporting in the German interest. The inadequate transportation service was further depleted by Greek officials sending railway cars across the frontier to the Bulgarians, until the British blew up the Demir-Hissar bridge in February and so stopped it.

In Saloniki itself the Greek division stationed there claimed the best landing facilities for themselves, and permitted Fort Kara-Burram to be used as a base of supplies for German submarines. When the position became intolerable, General Sarrail deported the enemy Consuls and ousted the Greek garrison from the fort and quay.

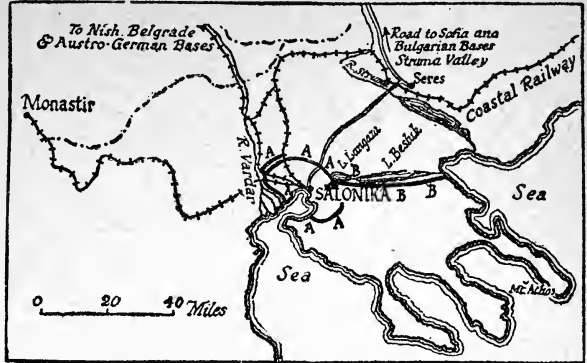
The military considerations which dictated the holding of Saloniki were not less important than the political. They are comparable to those which determined the Duke of Wellington to establish the succession of impregnable lines at Torres-Vedras to cover the Port of Lisbon during his operations in the Peninsula in 1809. These not only provided him with a safe retreat, but kept open his entry into the Peninsula until such time as his army could be suitably augmented, and had the additional merit of lying across the enemys' line of action. So with Sarrail at Saloniki. He found that nature had provided him with such a camp, and that, with little alteration, it could be made impregnable against assault by the whole Bulgarian Army of 750,000.

Sarrail's garrison now consisted of three French and five British divisions, with supplementary detachments—in all about 170,000 troops; but the great camp in Egypt was only three days distant and could be drawn upon for assistance if required. When General de Castelnau arrived at Christmas, 1915, from head-

quarters in France, he was eminently satisfied with the position at Saloniki.

Extending the Lines

The Royal Engineers and the Génie Français were directed to prepare for an extension of the lines beyond the entrenched camp, as at that time there



INNER DEFENSES OF SALONIKI

were only two roads available—one to Monastir and the other to Seres. Since then they have constructed over 5,000 miles of new roadways, besides building railways and improving the landing facilities at the port.

The outposts were then advanced about thirty miles, to just within the Greek frontier, from Karasuli to Kilindir. The British occupied the right with three divisions, the French the left with two divisions, and the remaining three divisions held Saloniki and the line of communications. The Greeks still had 12,000 troops in Saloniki and 38,000 in Eastern Macedonia, as well as other troops in Western Macedonia.

The major portion of the Serbian Army arrived in April and May, 1916, after leaving a division behind at Corfu. It consisted of 110,000 young hardy veterans, the survival of the fittest in the retreat through Albania; but they had still to be armed, equipped, and reorganized.

The Bulgars held the Midji Mountains on the west and the Belashitza Mountains on the east. They had encroached on the Monastir plain to within a short distance of Florina, then held by the French, and at the Vardar Pass they

had again come within Greek territory. Otherwise they adhered to their own frontier. This line was held by six Bulgarian divisions of 30,000 men each, under General Teodoroff, to whose command some German gunners and engineers were attached.

In Western Macedonia the Greeks were undisturbed. In Albania the Italians had occupied Valona (or Avlona) as a precautionary measure shortly after Austria entered the Balkan area. Their strong force at Valona, however, was not in touch with Sarrail's army at Saloniki until after the capture of Monastir.

The prompt action of the Italians in seizing Valona defeated one of the political objects Austria had in initiating the war, and the Anglo-French occupation of Saloniki completed the discomfiture of the Dual Kingdom.

The Bulgars Invade Greece

Satisfactory assurances having apparently been obtained by the Teutonic powers from the Greek King, the Bulgarian forces crossed the frontier on May 26, 1916. A German officer led the vanguard and demanded the surrender of Fort Rupel, the Hellenic key to the Struma River Pass. When the commander refused he was requested to telephone Athens, and, on doing so, was directed by the War Office to yield up the fort. The same procedure followed with the other forts guarding the passes into Eastern Macedonia.

The Central Powers were now in possession of all the strategic sites of value without Saloniki. The Greek Government had refused to permit the powers who were protectors of their kingdom to occupy these vantage points and so prevent such a dénouement.

General Sarrail immediately proclaimed martial law in Saloniki, seized all the means of communication, and expelled the Greek civil authorities. The British, on the right, left their entrenched lines and advanced to the Struma, while the Bulgars dug themselves in on the further bank.

King Constantine adopted the well-understood Levantine attitude of simulating compliance, but was hampered by his

own evanescent Government creations. Early in September, 1916, the whole Greek army corps in Eastern Macedonia declined to accept passage to Old Greece and voluntarily surrendered to the Germans with all their artillery and the stores which Sarrail had sent to them by motor transport from Saloniki.

This placed the seaport of Kavalla, the inland towns of Drama and Seres, and the Oriental railway from Greece to Constantinople in the hands of the Bulgarians. It also enabled them to bring in Turkish troops from Adrianople.

The protecting powers thereupon seized the Island of Thasos, which dominates Kavalla.

The Summer of 1916

Coincident with the arrival of the Serbian Army at Saloniki, the enemy had been reinforced by two Bulgarian divisions, or 60,000 troops. The military position now was that the Anglo-French army had about 120,000 rifles, 500 field guns, and some 200 heavy guns. The Serbians were being rearmed with about 80,000 rifles, and their organization had been taken in hand, as their primitive formations were unsuited for co-ordination with their allies. Their guns and horses had not yet come to hand. Until the Serbians were ready, Sarrail was unable to move, because the Bulgars were possessed of 150,000 rifles and 700 guns, including heavy artillery.

Throughout the Summer the British troops holding the line on the Struma marshes were afflicted with malarial fever, and half their number were on the sick list. The Bulgars were not so affected because, besides being acclimatized, their local knowledge of climatic conditions had warned them to keep to the higher ground which they were already in possession of.

The equipment of the British force, while admirable for defending the entrenched camp at Saloniki, was unsuited for taking the offensive in mountain warfare in a country where there were no cart roads. Pack mules must replace their motor transport and light railways, and mountain guns take the place of their garrison artillery.

The Asquith Government had their eyes on the great battle on the Somme, and, after their misadventures at the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia, were not sympathetic to a vigorous prosecution of the war in the East. For this they were later turned out of office. Contrary to press reports, there was no serious intention at this time of attempting to cut the Balkan railway.

The political object of foiling Austria had been attained by occupying Saloniki and Valona in force.

In August two more divisions arrived to reinforce the Bulgarian Army, and the latter now attacked the Serbians, whom Sarrail had placed on the left wing. The Serbs yielded Florina at the first onslaught and fell back behind Lake Ostrova, where they checked the Bulgar advance. Here they were strengthened on their extreme left by the arrival of a division of Russian infantry, together with French troops, who had been set free from the right wing by the timely arrival of Italian troops. The latter were inset in the British lines between Lake Doiran and Lake Butkova, or, in other words, at the base of the Belashitza Mountains. The Italians were better equipped for the hill fighting than the British, and this determined the task assigned to them.

Until the Bulgars are driven out of the Belashitza Mountains the railway to Seres cannot be used. With a view to the coming offensive, General Milne took over the greater part of the allied centre in addition to holding the right wing.

Autumn Campaign of 1916

If the Entente General Staff contemplated an attack on the Sophia-Adrianople railway at the moment when Rumania entered the war, then it seems clear from subsequent events that neither Sarrail's force nor the Rumanian Army

was designed to play the leading rôle. The only other striking force available was the Russian strategic reserve, but we know now that the Russians were not prepared for a move in this direction at that time. The inference, therefore, is that the press correspondents misinterpreted the situation.



REGION COVERED IN THE CAPTURE OF MONASTIR

The Autumn campaign opened with Sarrail's army aligned in the following disposition:

On the right wing, three British divisions held the line of the Struma and the Italians held the base of the Belashitza Mountains. In the centre, the Vardar front was held by two British divisions on the east side of the river and by French forces on the west side. On the left wing, the second Serbian army held the line of the Nidji Mountains, and their first army, supplemented by French and Russian detachments, held the country on either side of Lake Ostrova. The position of the Entente army was concentric, with its communications arranged accordingly.

The Bulgarian Army, augmented by

Austrian, German, and Turkish troops, was strung out along the hills in concave formation, and suffered from the absence of lateral communications.

Both sides in the early Autumn were jockeying for position, with the Bulgars uncertain whether the attack would come from the British on the right or from the French on the left. On Sept. 11, 1916, the British forded the Struma on a wide front, and during the next few days carried several villages. Simultaneously, artillery preparation commenced on the Vardar front. Sept. 29 and 30 the attack was renewed in force on the Struma front. These, however, were only feints while the mass of the French artillery and troops engaged the enemy's right.

The Capture of Monastir

The real fighting took place on Sarraill's left wing, and this was quite a brilliant affair, in which the Serbians gained great honor.

The plain of Monastir is the dry bed of an ancient lake and one of the few level stretches in this war theatre. It lies in a north and south direction and, therefore, appeared to General Sarraill an inviting entrance to outflank and turn all the Bulgar positions west of the Vardar. The Bulgarian flank was secure on that wing because the terrain was impossible. The eastern side of the valley is also protected by hills, but of a less formidable nature, and round this mountain mass the Cerna River bends back on its own course.

The Bulgars had constructed a series of intrenchments across the southern entrance of the valley near the town of

Kenali and stretching from the eastern mountains to those on the west. Between these lines and the Serbian front at Lake Ostrova lay a ridge of hills culminating in the high peak of Kaymakchalan. They were situated astride Sarraill's line of advance and were held in by force by the enemy.

On Sept. 14 the Serbian outposts were heavily reinforced and counterattacked the Bulgars opposed to them. Meantime, a Franco-Russian column was outflanking the western end of the ridge, and next day the Serbian advance captured the main position with thirty-two field and heavy guns. The Bulgars fought a rear-guard action at the River Brod, but failed to hold their pursuers, and on the 18th the French and Serbians entered Florina.

On the 19th the Serbs carried by assault the high peak of Kaymakchalan and repelled successive counterattacks to recover it during the next week. Another fortnight passed in carrying forward the railway, bringing up the heavy guns and accumulating a sufficiency of shells. On Oct. 14 and 15 a frontal assault on the Kenali lines failed.

General Sarraill now changed his tactics and directed the artillery against the positions on the eastern hills. The next month was occupied by the French artillery and Serbian infantry in clearing ridge after ridge from which they enfiladed the Kenali lines, and, in co-operation with a Franco-Russian frontal assault, compelled the Bulgars to evacuate them on Nov. 14. The latter were unable to make a further stand in front of Monastir, and on Nov. 19 General Sarraill's troops entered the city.

[For a Greek view of the acts of Greece see Page 148]



British Operations at Saloniki

Official Report of General Milne

[See Map on Page 156]

SINCE the conference at Rome the situation in Macedonia has been radically changed. The weakness of General Sarrail's position lay in the fact that neither England nor France felt free to send from the critical western front the large reinforcements of men which the situation north of Saloniki called for. Italy had the men, but was unwilling to send them and to incur the heavy additional expense of maintaining them in Macedonia. The conference at Rome, in which Premier Lloyd George was the dominant figure, overcame that reluctance, probably promising Italy parts of the Turkish Empire that had been earlier assigned tentatively to Greece and guaranteeing the cost of the new expedition. The result has been immediate and of the highest importance. Rome dispatches indicate that Italy has sent, or is sending, a force of not less than 300,000 men; that these troops, to avoid the danger of submarines, are being dispatched, not to Saloniki, but to Avlona, which is within forty miles of the Italian coast; and, finally, these Italian forces have not only built an excellent highway through the Albanian mountains but have already joined forces with General Sarrail's right wing at Monastir. All these facts indicate early activity in the Macedonian sector.

This glimpse of present conditions will serve to introduce the following report of General G. F. Milne, commanding the British Saloniki Army in Macedonia, on last Summer's operations in that sector. His report, submitted to the British War Office early in December, 1916, covered the army's operations from May 9 to Oct. 8. The official text of the report is here reproduced, with a few minor omissions:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations carried out by the British Saloniki army since I assumed command on May 9, in accordance with instructions received from the General Officer Com-

manding in Chief, Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

On that date the greater part of the army was concentrated within the fortified lines of Saloniki, extending from Stavros on the east to near the Galiko River on the west; a mixed force, consisting of a mounted brigade and a division, had been pushed forward to the north of Kukush in order to support the French Army which had advanced and was watching the right bank of the Struma River and the northern frontier of Greece. Further moves in this direction were contemplated, but, in order to keep the army concentrated, I entered into an agreement with General Sarrail by which the British forces should become responsible for that portion of the allied front which covered Saloniki from the east and northeast. By this arrangement a definite and independent area was allotted to the army under my command. On June 8 the troops commenced to occupy advanced positions along the right bank of the River Struma and its tributary, the River Butkova, from Lake Tachinos to Lozista village. By the end of July, on the demobilization of the Greek Army, this occupation had extended to the sea at Chai Aghizi. Along the whole front the construction of a line of resistance was begun; work on trenches, entanglements, bridgeheads, and supporting points was commenced; for administrative purposes the reconstruction of the Saloniki-Seres road was undertaken and the cutting of wagon tracks through the mountainous country was pushed forward.

On July 20, in accordance with the policy laid down in my instructions, and in order to release French troops for employment elsewhere, I began to take over the line south and west of Lake Doiran, and commenced preparations for a joint offensive on this front. This move was completed by Aug. 2, and on the 10th of that month an offensive was commenced against the Bulgarian defenses south of the line Doiran-Hill 535. The French captured Hills 227 and La Tortue, while the British occupied in succession those features of the main 535 ridge now known as Kidney Hill and Horseshoe Hill, and, pushing forward, established a series of advanced posts on the line Doldzeli-Reselli. The capture of Horseshoe Hill was successfully carried out on the night of Aug. 17-18 by the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry at the point of the bayonet in the face of stubborn opposition. The enemy's counterattacks were repulsed with heavy loss.

As a result of these operations it became possible to shorten considerably the allied

line between Doiran Lake and the River Vardar, and on Aug. 29, in agreement with General Sarrail, I extended my front as far as the left bank of that river so as to set free more troops for his offensive operations. This relief was completed by Aug. 31, the position then held extending from Hill 420 to the Vardar River just north of Smol. In the Struma Valley a French mounted detachment was at the same time pushed forward to Seres.

Bulgarian Invasion of Macedonia

On Aug. 17 the Bulgarians, who, at the end of May, had entered Greek territory by the Struma Valley and moved down as far as Demir Hissar, continued their advance into Greek Macedonia. Columns of all arms advanced from seven different points, between Sarisaban, on the Mesta, and Demir Hissar. The four eastern columns converged on the country about Drama and Kavala, while the remainder moved southward on to the line of the Struma from Demir Hissar toward Orfano. On Aug. 19 a mounted brigade with one battery carried out a strong reconnaissance, and found the enemy in some force on the line Prosenik-Barakli Djuma; on the following day, after being reinforced by a battalion, this brigade again advanced in conjunction with the French detachment. These attacking troops, after encountering the enemy in force on the line Kalendra-Prosenik-Haznatar, withdrew after dark to the right bank of the Struma. The French detachment was subsequently placed under the orders of the General Officer Commanding British troops on this front, and received instructions to co-operate in the defense of the river line.

On Aug. 21 the railway bridge near Angista Station was demolished by a detachment from the Neohori garrison, and three days later two road bridges over the Angista River were destroyed. Both these operations were well carried out by yeomanry, engineers, and cyclists in the face of hostile opposition.

The Bulgarians continued their advance into Eastern Macedonia unopposed by the Greek garrison, and it was estimated that by the end of August the enemy's forces, extending from Demir Hissar southward in the Seres sector of the Struma front, comprised the complete Seventh Bulgarian Division, with two or three regiments of the Eleventh Macedonian Division, which had moved eastward from their positions on the Beles Mountain to act as a reserve to the Seventh Division, and at the same time to occupy the defenses from Vetrina-Pujovo northward. Opposite the Lower Struma was a brigade of the Second Division, with a brigade of the Tenth Division, in occupation of the coast and the zone of country between Orfano and the Drama-Kavala road. This brigade of the Tenth Division was supported by another brigade in the Drama-Kavala area. As a result of this advance and of a similar move in the west General Sarrail decided to intrust

to the British Army the task of maintaining the greater portion of the right and centre of the allied line.

Struma Crossed in Six Places

On Sept. 10 detachments crossed the river above Lake Tachinos at five places between Bajraktar Mah and Dragos, while a sixth detachment crossed lower down at Neohori. The villages of Oraoman and Kato Gudeli were occupied, and the Northumberland Fusiliers gallantly captured Nevolian, taking thirty prisoners and driving the enemy out of the village. The latter lost heavily during their retirement and in their subsequent counterattack. They also suffered severely from our artillery fire in attempting to follow our prearranged movements to regain the right bank of the river.

On the 15th similar operations were undertaken, six small columns crossing the river between Lake Tachinos and Orljak bridge. The villages of Kato Gudeli, Dzami Mah, Agomah, and Komarjan were burned and twenty-seven prisoners were taken. The enemy's counterattacks completely broke down under the accurate fire of our guns on the right bank of the river. On the 23d a similar scheme was put into action, but a sudden rise of three feet in the Struma interfered with the bridging operations. Nevertheless, the enemy's trenches at Yenimah were captured, fourteen prisoners taken, and three other villages raided. Considerable help was given on each occasion by the French detachment under Colonel Bescoins, and much information was obtained which proved to be of considerable value during subsequent operations.

On the Doiran-River Vardar front there remained as before the whole of the Bulgarian Ninth Division, less one regiment; a brigade of the Second Division, and at least two-thirds of the German 101st Division, which had intrenched the salient north of Machukovo on the usual German system. To assist the general offensive by the Allies I ordered this salient to be attacked at the same time as the allied operations in the Florina area commenced. With this object in view the whole of the enemy's intrenched position was subjected to a heavy bombardment from Sept. 11 to 13, the southwest corner of the salient known as the Piton des Mitrailleuses being specially selected for destruction. The enemy's position was occupied during the night 13th-14th, after a skillfully planned and gallant assault, in which the King's Liverpool Regiment and Lancashire Fusiliers specially distinguished themselves. Over 200 Germans were killed in the work, chiefly by bombing, and seventy-one prisoners were brought in. During the 14th the enemy concentrated from three directions a very heavy artillery fire, and delivered several counterattacks, which were for the most part broken up under the fire of our guns. Some of the enemy, however, succeeded in forcing an entrance into the work, and severe fighting followed. As hostile reinforcements were increasing in

numbers, and as the rocky nature of the ground rendered rapid consolidation difficult, the troops were withdrawn in the evening to their original line, the object of the attack having been accomplished. This withdrawal was conducted with little loss, thanks to the very effective fire of the artillery. During the bombardment and subsequent counter-attack the enemy's losses must have been considerable. On the same front on the night of the 20th-21st, after bombarding the hostile positions on the Crête des Tentés, a strong detachment raided and bombed the trenches and dugouts, retiring quickly with little loss. A similar raid was carried out northeast of Doldzeli.

In addition to these operations and raids, constant combats took place between patrols, many prisoners being captured, and several bombing raids were carried out by the Royal Flying Corps.

Holding the Bulgarians

In order further to assist the progress of our allies toward Monastir by maintaining such a continuous offensive as would insure no transference of Bulgarian troops from the Struma front to the west, I now issued instructions for operations on a more extensive scale than those already reported. In accordance with these the General Officer Commanding on that front commenced operations by seizing and holding certain villages on the left bank of the river with a view to enlarging the bridgehead opposite Orljak, whence he would be in a position to threaten a further movement either on Seres or on Demir Hissar. The high ground on the right bank of the river enabled full use to be made of our superiority in artillery, which contributed greatly to the success of these operations. The river itself formed a potential danger, owing to the rapidity with which its waters rise after heavy rain in the mountains, but by the night of Sept. 29 sufficient bridges had been constructed by the Royal Engineers for the passage of all arms. During the night of Sept. 29-30 the attacking infantry crossed below Orljak bridge and formed up on the left bank.

At dawn on the following morning the Gloucesters and the Cameron Highlanders advanced under cover of an artillery bombardment, and by 8 A. M. had seized the village of Karadjakoi Bala. Shortly after the occupation of the village the enemy opened a heavy and accurate artillery fire, but the remaining two battalions of the brigade, the Royal Scots and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, though suffering severely from enfilade fire, pushed on against Karadjakoi Zir. By 5:30 P. M. that village also was occupied, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the enemy. Attempts to bring forward hostile reinforcements were frustrated during the day by our artillery, but during the night the Bulgarians launched several strong counterattacks, which were repulsed with heavy loss.

During the following night determined counterattacks of the enemy were again repulsed, and by the evening of Oct. 2 the position had been fully consolidated. Preparations were at once made to extend the position by the capture of Yenikoi, an important village on the main Seres road. This operation was successfully carried out by an infantry brigade, composed of the Royal Munster and Royal Dublin Fusiliers, on the morning of Oct. 3, after bombardment by our artillery. By 7 A. M. the village was in our hands. During the day the enemy launched three heavy counterattacks. The first two were stopped by artillery fire, which caused severe loss. At 4 P. M. the village, the ground in the rear, and the bridges were subjected to an unexpectedly heavy bombardment from several heavy batteries which had hitherto not disclosed their positions. Following on the bombardment was the heaviest counterattack of the day, six or seven battalions advancing from the direction of Homondos, Kalendra, and Topalova with a view to enveloping our positions. This attack was carried forward with great determination, and some detachments succeeded in entering the northern portion of Yenikoi, where hard fighting continued all night, until fresh reinforcements succeeded in clearing out such enemy as survived. During the following day the consolidation of our new line was continued under artillery fire. On the 5th, after a bombardment, the village of Nevolien was occupied, the Bulgarian garrison retiring on the approach of our infantry. By the following evening the front extended from Komarjan on the right via Yenikoi to Elisian on the left. On the 7th a strong reconnaissance by mounted troops located the enemy on the Demir Hissar-Seres railway, with advanced posts approximately on the line of the Belica stream and a strong garrison in Barakli Djuma. On Oct. 8 our troops had reached the line Agomah-Homondos-Elisian-Ormanli, with the mounted troops on the line Kispeki-Kalendra. The enemy's casualties during these few days were heavy, over 1,500 corpses being counted in the immediate front of the captured localities. Three hundred and seventy-five prisoners and three machine guns were taken.

I consider that the success of these operations was due to the skill and decision with which they were conducted by Lieut. Gen. C. J. Briggs, C. B., and to the excellent co-operation of all arms, which was greatly assisted by the exceptional facilities for observation of artillery fire. The Royal Flying Corps, in spite of the difficulties which they had to overcome and the great strain on their resources, rendered valuable assistance. Armored motor cars were used with effect. * * *

On the enforcement of martial law the management of the three lines of railway radiating from Saloniki had to be undertaken by the Allies; one line, the Junction-Saloniki-

Constantinople, is now entirely administered by the British Army; this, together with the additional railway traffic involved by the arrival of the Serbian Army, as well as the Russian and Italian troops, has thrown a considerable strain on the railway direct-rate, which, however, has successfully risen to the occasion and has worked harmoniously and smoothly with the French military and Greek civil officials.

Medical Services and Malaria

I desire specially to acknowledge the excellent work rendered by Surgeon Gen. H. R. Whitehead, C. B., and all ranks of the medical services under his command during a period in which sickness was prevalent. All branches of the Royal Army Medical Corps and the Canadian Army Medical Corps deserve the greatest commendation and have fully maintained their high traditions of efficiency.

The medical services have been called upon to face problems of great difficulty. It can be easily realized that in a climate varying from severe cold to intense damp heat, and in a mountainous country deficient in water, poorly supplied with roads, without local resources, and where dysentery and malaria are rife, the duties and responsibilities of these services must necessarily be heavy. Experiments as to the most efficacious types of mountain ambulance transport had been conducted in the Winter and Spring, and as a

result travois, mule litters, and cacolets now form integral portions of each field ambulance.

During the same period exhaustive measures were taken for an anti-malarial campaign. Officers with special knowledge were appointed to supervise anti-malarial work; swampy areas were drained and the defensive lines then held carefully surveyed with a view to only the most healthy portions being held. Although malaria has still been the prevailing disease, yet I feel certain that these careful precautionary measures have been greatly instrumental in lessening its intensity. The move to the valley of the Struma in June tested all the preparations made and severely tried the medical resources. The area occupied was found to be highly malarious, the heat intense and damp, and the single road from the base long, hilly, and of uneven surface. The organization of this line of evacuation and the arrangement of halting places and refilling points was, however, successfully undertaken. * * *

On the declaration of martial law at Saloniki on June 3, certain administrative functions had necessarily to be taken over from the Greeks by the Allies; among these was the control of the customs, which is now administered by a Greek director working under the supervision of a commission composed of British and French officers directed by French Headquarters. The administration of this important office has been conducted with discretion and common sense.

“The Mad Dog of Europe”

T. P. O'Connor, writing in The London Chronicle a few days after the breaking of America's diplomatic relations with Germany, offered this striking parable:

A mad dog rushes into the streets early in the morning when few people are about. Most of the citizens are still in bed. For horrible moments it has full and unchecked run; it bites here, there, everywhere. It catches the early postman and chambermaid and jumps at the baby in arms until the whole town is at last aroused and, pell-mell, everybody rushes after the mad dog until at last its brains are dashed out by truncheon or rifle and the unclean and wicked thing lies on the ground with the poisonous foam still oozing from its dead and impotent lips.

This is a parable. It sums up and symbolizes to my imagination the story of Germany in this war. For years, as Lloyd George puts it in one of his great passages, she plotted to murder Europe in her sleep. Meantime she prepared herself for the devil's work by poisoning her mind and the mind of all her peoples with the devil's gospel that might alone constituted right; that war was not merely the means but the end; that the human conscience, free will, and the existence of nations should lie at the mercy of the biggest battalions and the best machine guns, and when the appropriate time was supposed to have come she burst on sleeping and unarmed Europe, foaming at the mouth with the fury of madness.

At first the mad dog was able to bite and to infect everybody and everywhere until at last the whole world woke up to the universal peril, and today the whole world, or almost the whole world, is in full pursuit of the noxious beast and its end is near at hand. America has come in to give the coup de grace—for it is quite certain America's intervention is the coup de grace.

Blame for the Dardanelles Failure

The Report of the Special Commission Headed by Lord Cromer

HERE was issued in London, March 8, 1917, a comprehensive report by the special commission appointed by Parliament to investigate the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign. The report is an ad interim one, dealing exclusively with the origin and inception of the attack on the Dardanelles. It is signed by the late Lord Cromer, who was Chairman of the commission; Andrew Fisher, representing Australia; Thomas McKenzie, representing New Zealand; Sir Frederick Cawley, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; James A. Clyde, Lord Advocate; Stephen L. Gwynn, Nationalist Member of the House of Commons; Rear Admiral Sir William H. May, Field Marshal Baron Nicholson, and Justice Pickford.

There were two minority reports—a dissent by Andrew Fisher, Australian High Commissioner, on one of the findings, and by Thomas McKenzie, New Zealand High Commissioner, on the same; and a separate report by Walter Roch, Liberal Member of the House of Commons from Pembrokeshire.

The signing of the report was the last act performed by Lord Cromer; his death followed a few days later. There has been some discussion as to why a document revealing the inner history of an ill-fated campaign should be published by the Government in time of war, and it is charged that it was done for political effect to discredit the Asquith Administration; in fact, in the discussion in the House of Parliament a few days after it was made public, the findings of the commission were quoted as a direct reflection on the Asquith Cabinet. Some influential English newspapers have gone so far as to demand proceedings against Asquith and other members of the Cabinet responsible for the campaign.

The report is remarkable for its candor. It blames in frank terms the

late Earl Kitchener, Secretary of War; Winston Spencer Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Fisher, then First Sea Lord; Prime Minister Asquith, and other members of the War Council.

Kitchener a Dominant Force

The report begins with a general synopsis of the organization of the War Cabinet calling attention to the fact that the management in November, 1914, devolved upon a War Council of the Cabinet, consisting of Premier Asquith, Earl Kitchener, and Mr. Churchill, with Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Marquis of Crewe, then heads of the Foreign, Treasury, and India Offices, participating, but with comparatively inactive advisory functions. Sea Lords Fisher and Wilson were with Mr. Churchill, and Chief of Staff General Murray with Earl Kitchener, theoretically as technical advisers, but in practice, according to the report, usually playing silent parts. The commission was "struck with the atmosphere of vagueness and want of precision which seems to have characterized the proceedings of the War Council."

Mr. Churchill testified that Mr. Asquith and Earl Kitchener "settled matters," although he had the same authority. The commission thought his view was overmodest. The Cabinet as a body placed all responsibility on the council, sometimes requesting that it was not to be told of occurrences on the ground that the fewer who knew of them the better.

Earl Kitchener's dominating influence pervades the testimony. The commission says he would not impart full information of his plans, even to the War Council. His action in holding troops back for three weeks without consulting the Admiralty greatly compromised the probability of success. Mr. Churchill de-

scribed him as "all powerful, imperturbable, and reserved," adding, "he dominated absolutely our councils at this time. The belief that he had plans deeper and wider than any we could see silenced misgivings."

The report discusses the political aspects of the campaign, saying it was also designed to influence Bulgaria and Italy, then neutrals, and relieve pressure on Russia. General Hamilton said Earl Kitchener thought the operation would be successful in staving off Bulgaria's entrance into the war, in occupying 300,000 Turks for nine months, and in heartening Russia.

Designed to Defeat Egypt

The report summarizes the conclusions reached as follows:

The question of attacking the Dardanelles was, on the initiative of Mr. Churchill, brought under the consideration of the War Council on Nov. 25, 1914, as the ideal method of defending Egypt. It may reasonably be assumed that inasmuch as all the authorities concerned were *prima facie* in favor of a joint military rather than a purely naval attack, such an attack, if undertaken at all, would have been of the former rather than of the latter character had not other circumstances led to a modification of the program. A communication from the Russian Government of Jan. 2 introduced a fresh element into the case. The British Government considered that something must be done in response to it, and in this connection the question of attacking the Dardanelles was again raised.

The Secretary of State for War declared that there were no troops immediately available for operations in the East, and his statement was accepted by the War Council, who took no steps to satisfy themselves by reports of estimates as to what troops were available then or in the near future. Had this been done the Commissioners think it would have been ascertained that sufficient troops would be available for a joint military and naval operation at an earlier date than supposed, but this matter was not adequately investigated by the War Council. Thus the question before the War Council on Jan. 13 was whether no action of any kind should for the time being be undertaken or whether action should be taken by the fleet alone, the navy being held to be the only force available.

Political arguments, which were adduced to the War Council in favor of a prompt and effective action if such were practicable, were valid and of the highest importance, but the practicability of whatever action was proposed was of equal importance. Mr. Churchill appears to have advocated an at-

tack by ships alone before the War Council, on a certain amount of half-hearted and hesitating expert opinion which favored a tentative or progressive scheme, beginning with an attack upon the outer forts. This attack, if successful, was to be followed by further operations against the main defenses of the Narrows. There does not appear to have been direct support or direct opposition from the responsible naval and military advisers, Lord Fisher and Sir James Wolfe Murray, as to the practicability of carrying on the operations as approved by the War Council, viz., to bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula, with Constantinople as the objective.

Fisher Made No Objection

The First Sea Lord and Sir Arthur Wilson, who was the only naval adviser present at the War Council, expressed no dissent. Lord Kitchener, who occupied a commanding position at the time the decision was taken, was in favor of the project. Both Lord Fisher and Sir Arthur Wilson would have preferred a joint naval and military attack, but they did not express to the War Council and were not asked to express any opinion on the subject, and offered no objection to naval operations, as they considered them experimental and such as could be discontinued if the first results obtained were not satisfactory.

The Commissioners think that there was an obligation, first on the First Lord, secondly on the Prime Minister, thirdly on one other member of the War Council, to see that the views of the naval advisers were clearly put before the council, and that the naval advisers should have expressed their views to the council, whether asked or not, if they considered the project which the council was about to adopt was impracticable from a naval point of view.

Looking at the position which existed on Jan. 13, 1915, the Commissioners do not think the War Council was justified in coming to the decision without much fuller investigation of the proposition which had been suggested to them. The Commissioners hold that the possibility of making a surprise amphibious attack on Gallipoli offered such great military and political advantage that it was mistaken and ill-advised to sacrifice this possibility by deciding to undertake a purely naval attack, which from its nature could not obtain completely the object set out in the terms of the decision.

The decision taken on the 16th to mass troops in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles marked a very critical stage of the whole operation. It ought to have been clear that when this was once done, even if troops were not actually landed, it would be apparent to the world that a serious attack was intended, and a withdrawal could no longer be effected without running serious risk of loss of prestige. At that moment, as time was all important, no compromise was possible between making an immediate and

vigorous effort to insure success at the Dardanelles by joint naval and military occupation and falling back on the original intention of desisting from a naval attack if the experiences gained during the bombardment were unsatisfactory.

Troops Delayed by Kitchener

On Feb. 20 Lord Kitchener decided that the Twenty-ninth Division, part of the troops which by the decision of Feb. 16 were to be sent to the East, should not be sent at that time, and Colonel Fitzgerald instructed the Director of Naval Transport that transports for that division and the rest of the expeditionary force would not be required. This was done without informing the First Lord, and the dispatch of troops was thus delayed three weeks. This delay greatly compromised the probability of success of the original attack by land forces and materially increased the difficulties encountered in the final attack some months later.

We consider that in view of the opinions expressed by the naval and military authorities on the spot the decision to abandon the naval attack after the bombardment of March 18 was inevitable. There was no meeting of the War Council between March 19 and May 14. Meanwhile important land operations were undertaken. We think that before such operations were commenced the War Council should have carefully reconsidered the whole position.

In our opinion the Prime Minister ought to have summoned a meeting of the War Council for that purpose and, if not summoned, other members of the War Council should have pressed for such a meeting. We think this was a serious omission. We consider that the responsibility of those members of the Cabinet who did not attend the meetings of the War Council was limited to the fact that they delegated their authority to their colleagues who attended those meetings.

We are of the opinion that Lord Kitchener did not sufficiently avail himself of the services of his General Staff, with the result that more work was undertaken by him than it was possible for one man to do, and confusion and want of efficiency resulted.

We are unable to concur in the view set forth by Lord Fisher that it was his duty, if he differed from the chief of his department, to maintain silence at the council or to resign. We think that the adoption of any such principle generally would impair the efficiency of public service.

We think that although the main object was not attained, certain important political advantages, upon the nature of which we have already dwelt, were secured by the Dardanelles expedition. Whether those advantages were worth the loss of life and treasure involved is and must always remain a matter of opinion.

The report says that Lord Kitchener's premature death and the death of his secretary, Major Fitzgerald, render it impossible to state with the same confidence as in the case of living witnesses the opinions and aims of Lord Kitchener at different periods of the proceedings. The commission does not believe, however, that even deference to the memory of the illustrious dead justified it in abstaining from complete revelations of his course. The report adds: "It is necessary to do justice to the living as well as to the dead."

Colonel Churchill testified that Lord Kitchener's personal qualities and position played a very great part in the decision of events, the report says. It continues: "He was the sole mouthpiece of War Office opinion in the War Council. When he gave a decision it was invariably accepted as final. He was never overruled by the War Council or Cabinet in any matter, great or small. Scarcely any one ever ventured to argue with him in the council."

Major Gen. Charles E. Callwell, who was Director of Military Operations at the War Office at the time of the Dardanelles expedition, testified that the General Staff virtually ceased to exist, because it was not consulted.

The principle of centralization was pushed to the extreme point by Lord Kitchener. It proved successful in the minor operations in the Sudan, but in larger operations it threw on one man more work than any individual could cope with.

Australian Commissioner Dissents

Andrew Fisher, Australian High Commissioner in London, in a note issued with the Dardanelles report dissented from the findings of the majority—that the naval advisers should have expressed their views at the War Council; and from the opinion of the majority—that Lord Fisher was not justified in remaining silent. Mr. Fisher says:

I dissent in the strongest terms from any suggestion that departmental advisers of a Minister, in his company at council meetings, should express any views at all other than to the Minister and through him, unless specifically invited to do so. I am of the opinion

that it would seal the fate of responsible government if servants of the State were to share the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament and to the people on matters of public policy. The Minister has command of the opinions and views of all the officers of the department he administers on matters of public policy. Good stewardship demands from Ministers of the Crown frank, fair, and full statements of all opinions of trusted and experienced officials to their colleagues when they have direct reference to matters of high policy.

Thomas McKenzie, High Commissioner of New Zealand in London, took a similar stand regarding Lord Fisher and the naval advisers. Mr. McKenzie also expressed the opinion that the commission was not yet justified in coming to a decision as to the results of the enterprise. To do so, he said, it would be necessary to investigate the conduct of the offensive on the Gallipoli Peninsula and of the subsidiary operations.

A separate report was presented also by Walter F. Roch, Liberal member of the House of Commons from Pembroke-shire. Mr. Roch made an exhaustive exposition of the attitude of Lord Fisher, who, he said, vigorously opposed the Dardanelles enterprise and on Jan. 28 actually left the council table declaring he would resign his office.

"Lord Kitchener," he continued, "took Lord Fisher aside and urged him that his duty to the country was to continue in office. Lord Fisher reluctantly yielded to Lord Kitchener's entreaty and resumed his seat."

Lord Fisher, continues the Roch report, in his evidence before the Commissioners said he had "taken every step to show his dislike of the proposed operations," and replying to a question as to why he had made no formal protests at

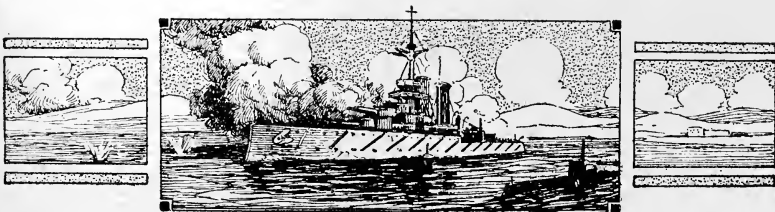
the meetings of the War Council, told the Commissioners: "Mr. Churchill knew my opposition. I didn't think it would tend toward good relations between him and myself, nor to smooth working at the Admiralty, to raise an objection in the War Council's discussions."

Lord Fisher's Point of View

After the decision of the War Council had been taken and the expedition begun, Lord Fisher, the report continues, did everything in his power to assist. His whole theory of the use of the British sea power in the war, Mr. Roch states, was embodied in a memorandum submitted to Premier Asquith in January, as follows:

The Germans have already endeavored, without success, to scatter our naval strength by attacks on our trade and by submarines and mines. The pressure of sea power is a slow process and requires great patience. In time it will almost certainly compel the enemy to seek a decision at sea. This is one reason for husbanding our resources. Another reason is that the prolongation of war at sea tends to raise up fresh enemies for the dominant naval power, owing to the exasperation of neutrals. This tendency is only checked by the conviction that an overwhelming naval supremacy is behind the nation exercising the sea power.

The sole justification of bombardments and attacks by the fleet on fortified places, such as the Dardanelles, is to force a decision at sea. As long as the German High Sea Fleet possesses its present strength and splendid gunnery efficiency, so long is it imperative that no operation be undertaken by the British fleet calculated to impair its superiority, which is none too great in view of the heavy losses already experienced in ships and men, which latter cannot be filled in the period of the war, in which the navy differs materially from the army. Even the older ships should not be risked, for they cannot be lost without losing men, and they form the only reserve behind the great fleet.

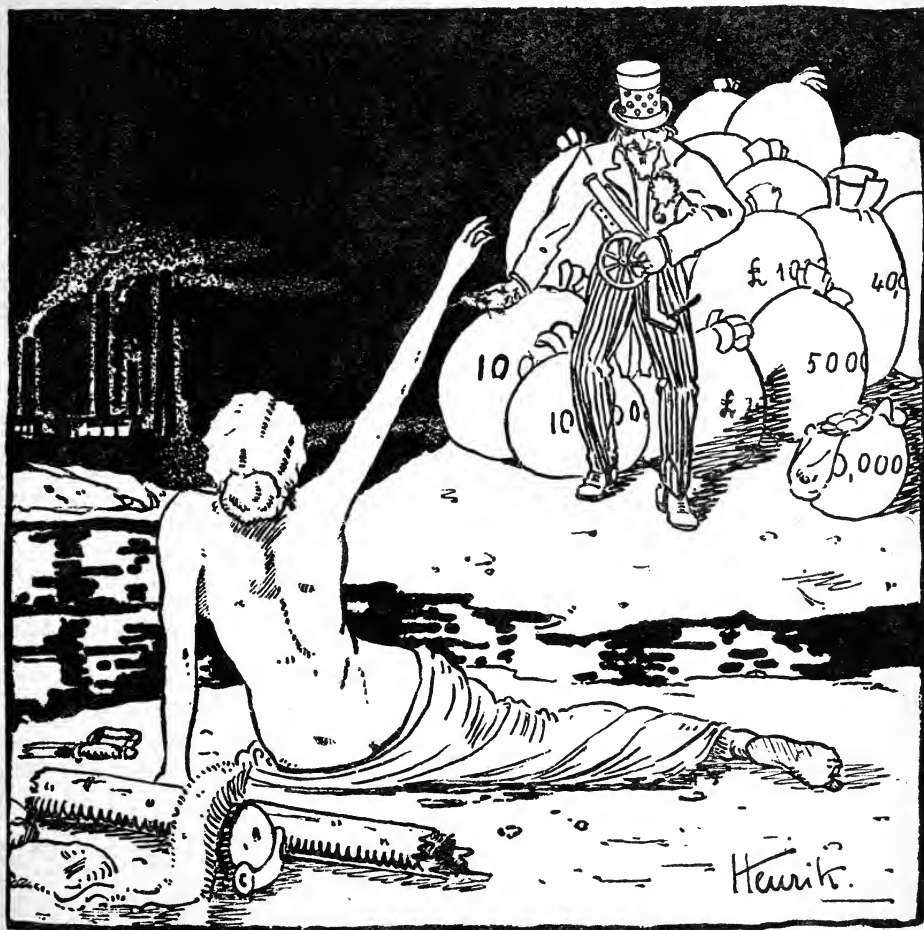


THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the seizure of all German periodicals by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain for this issue a full representation of recent German cartoons.

[Swiss Cartoon]

Dying Europe

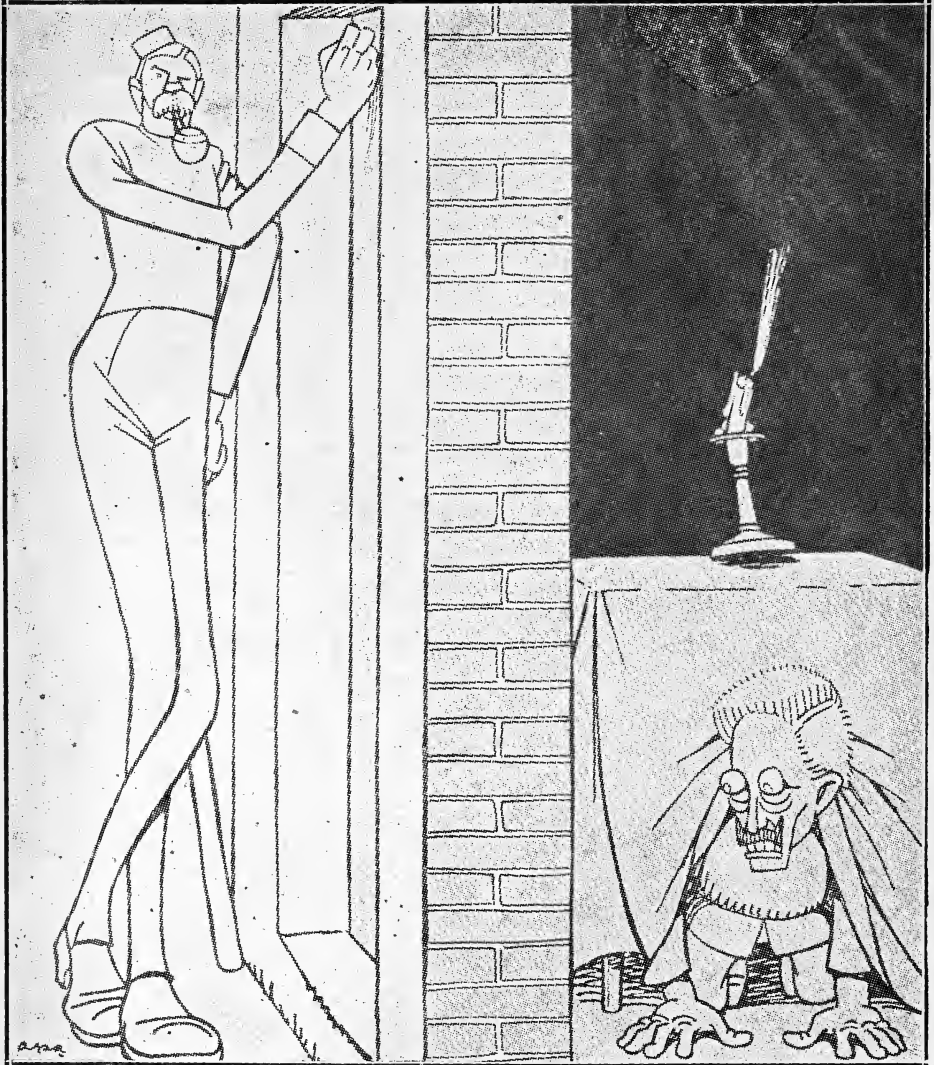


—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

EUROPE: "Help!"
AMERICA: "Pay!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Steady Pounding

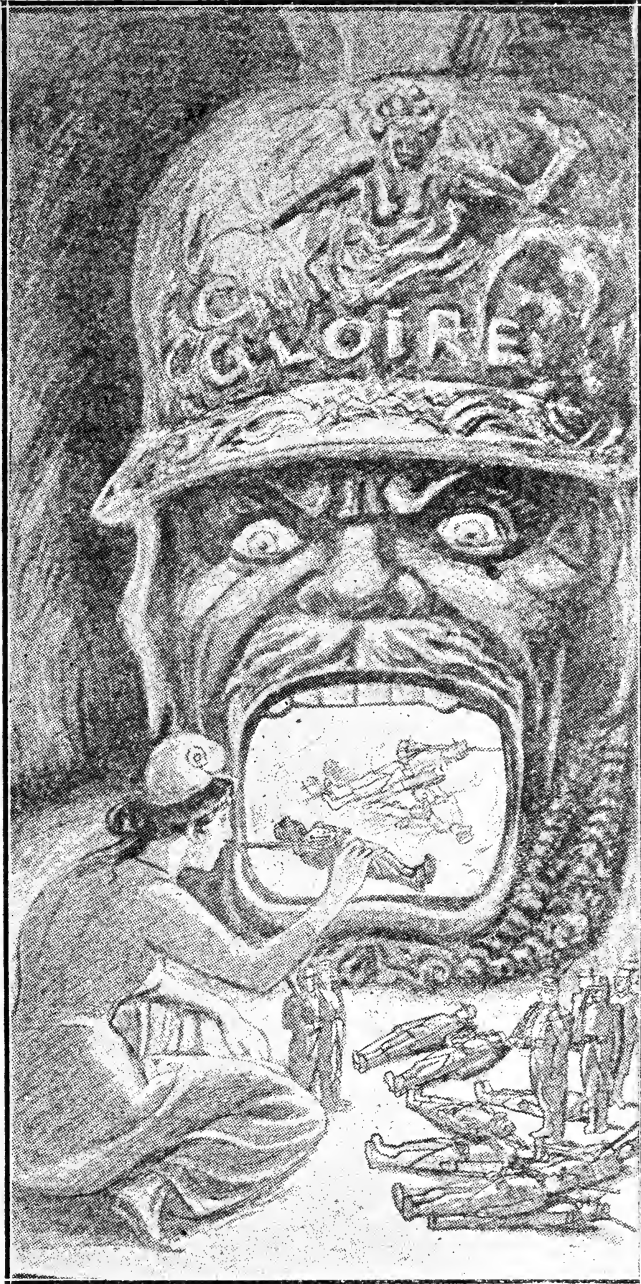


—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

ATTILA-WILHELM: "The more I tremble the harder the Briton hammers at the door!"

[German Cartoon]

The Sacrifice for Fame



—© *Jugend, Berlin.*

Since France has no coal, she throws her 17-year-olds into the fire.

[Italian Cartoon]

Deporting the Belgians

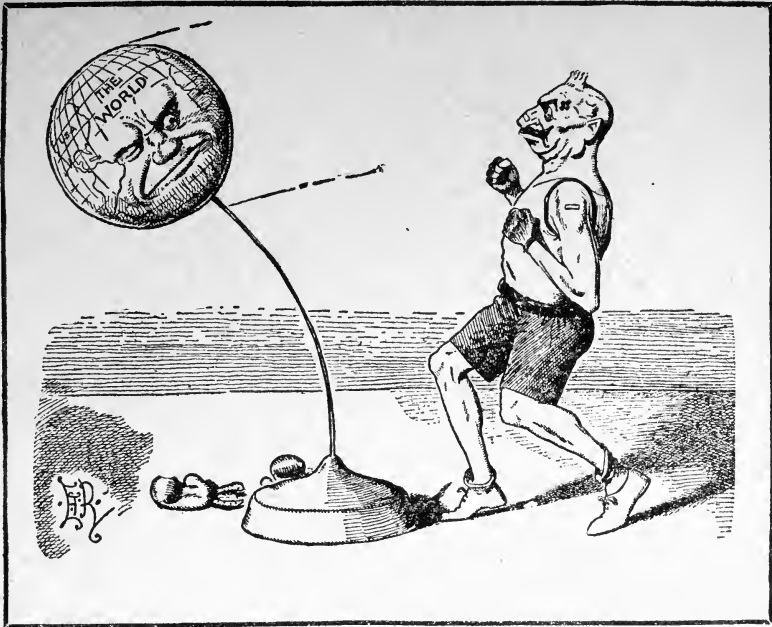


—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

THE BOCHE: "By going into Germany you will acquire our Kultur better."

[English Cartoon]

A Ball You Don't Punch Twice



—From *The London Telegram*.

Wait for the return journey and see what happens.

[French Cartoon]

German Remorse



—From *La Victoire, Paris*.

“What an awful war! I would give Belgium for a mess of sauerkraut!”

Among the Neutrals



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

BROTHER JONATHAN: "Come on the ice with me!"
SPAIN: "No! Thank you!"

The Latest Stunt in the White House

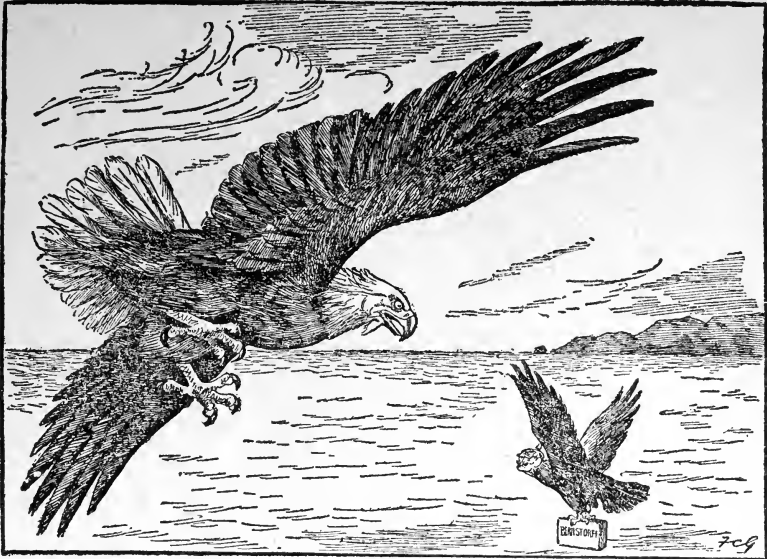


—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

"While I Still in Angel Garb"—comedy skit in the popular show by W. Wilson.
[Published at the time of President Wilson's peace notes.]

[English Cartoons]

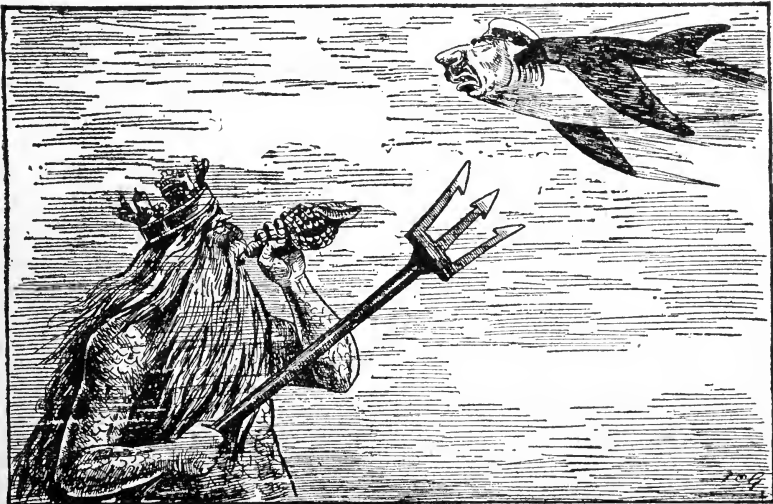
The Two Eagles



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

Notice to quit.

The New Shark



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

NEPTUNE: "Now, then, clear out of here, you murdering villain! Aren't there sharks enough in the sea without you?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Civilizing Armenia

"In Armenia two trenches of murdered Armenians were discovered."—Cable dispatch.



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

Under the protection of German "Kultur" the Turk is making every effort to civilize the Armenian people.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Pacific President



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

BULL: "Mean to say you attach the same weight to both cases? Haven't the German outrages made your blood boil?"

WILSON: "Brother, if I HAD any blood, it would NEVER boil."

[French Cartoon]

Reply of the Entente



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

A German peace? We will sit on it!

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace Threatens



—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

MARS AND DEATH: "If we can't drive her away we are lost!"

[English Cartoon]

The Fool and His Folly



—From *John Bull*, London.

“There is no God but me!” cries Bill,
In tones of blood and thunder;
“On all the world I’ll work my will,
Or split the earth asunder!”

But Bill—blaspheming fool!—will learn
He’s made a fatal blunder,
For soon the world will “take a turn,”
And Bill will then go under.

[English Cartoon]

The Awakening



—From *London Opinion*.

UNCLE SAM: "And I always thought until now it was a man!"

[Swiss Cartoon]
The Latest Victim



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

The Entente has taken a prisoner.

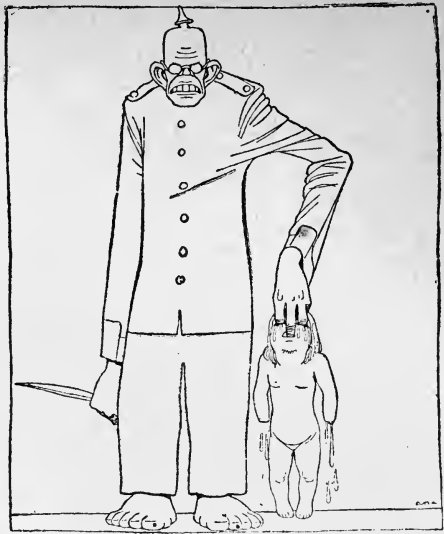
[English Cartoon]
Ending in a "Draw"



—From *The Evening News*, London.

President Wilson says the war must end in a "draw." If meant in the sense depicted above we entirely agree with him.

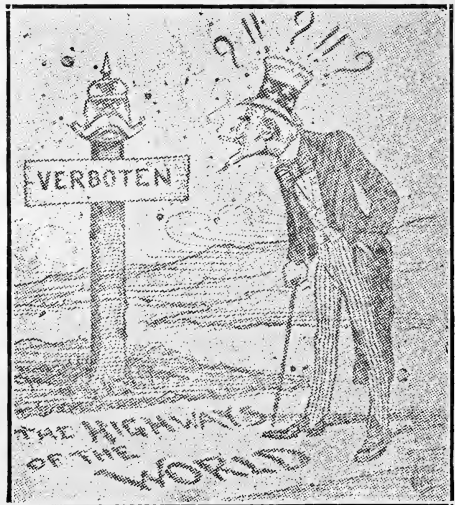
[Spanish Cartoon]
German "Humanity"



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

Peace—in the name of humanity!

[English Cartoon]
Barred Sea Zones



—From *The London Evening News*.

The Limit!

The Temptation



—From *The Dallas Morning News*.

German money for a Mexican invasion of the United States.

The Watchdog Uncle Sam Is Looking For



—From *The Knickerhocker Press*.

Seeing Is Believing



—From *The Boston Journal*.

The Kaiser's friendly hand.

In German Headquarters



—From *The Spokesman-Review, Spokane*.

The threat without an army back of it.

Too Proud to Bite



—From *The Knickerbocker Press*.

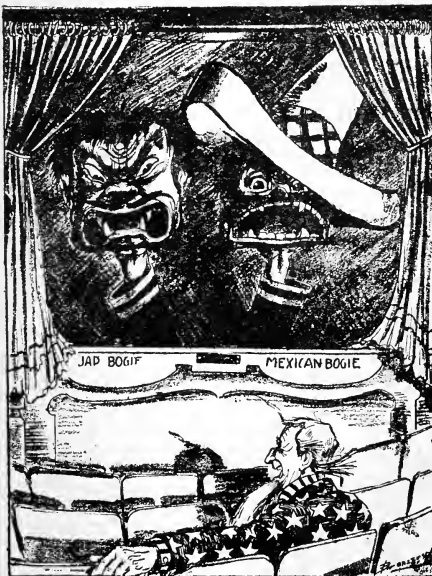
An Untenable Position



—From *The Portland Oregonian*.

Unpreparedness is a rotten limb to depend on in an emergency.

Who is Pulling the Strings?



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

The Submarine Blockade



—From *The New York Times*.

“Damn the torpedoes! Go ahead!”—Admiral Farragut.

Crucified



—From *The St. Louis Republic*.
The rights of humanity on the cross of military necessity.

Awaiting an "Overt Act"



—From *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

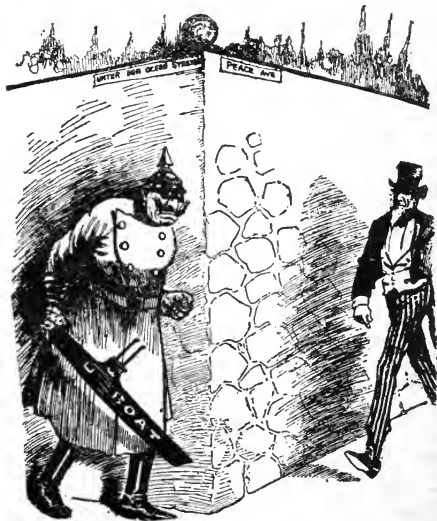
Patience that has ceased to be a virtue.

What's He Smoking?



—From *The Ohio State Journal*.
The Kaiser's pipe dreams.

Lying in Wait



—From *The Telegram*, New York.

[English Cartoon]

The Gambler's Last Stake



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[French Cartoon]

The Reply to Germany's Peace Proposal



You imposed *your* war on us, now we will impose *our* peace on you. —From *La Battonette*, Paris.

[American Cartoon]
The Rebellious Pupil

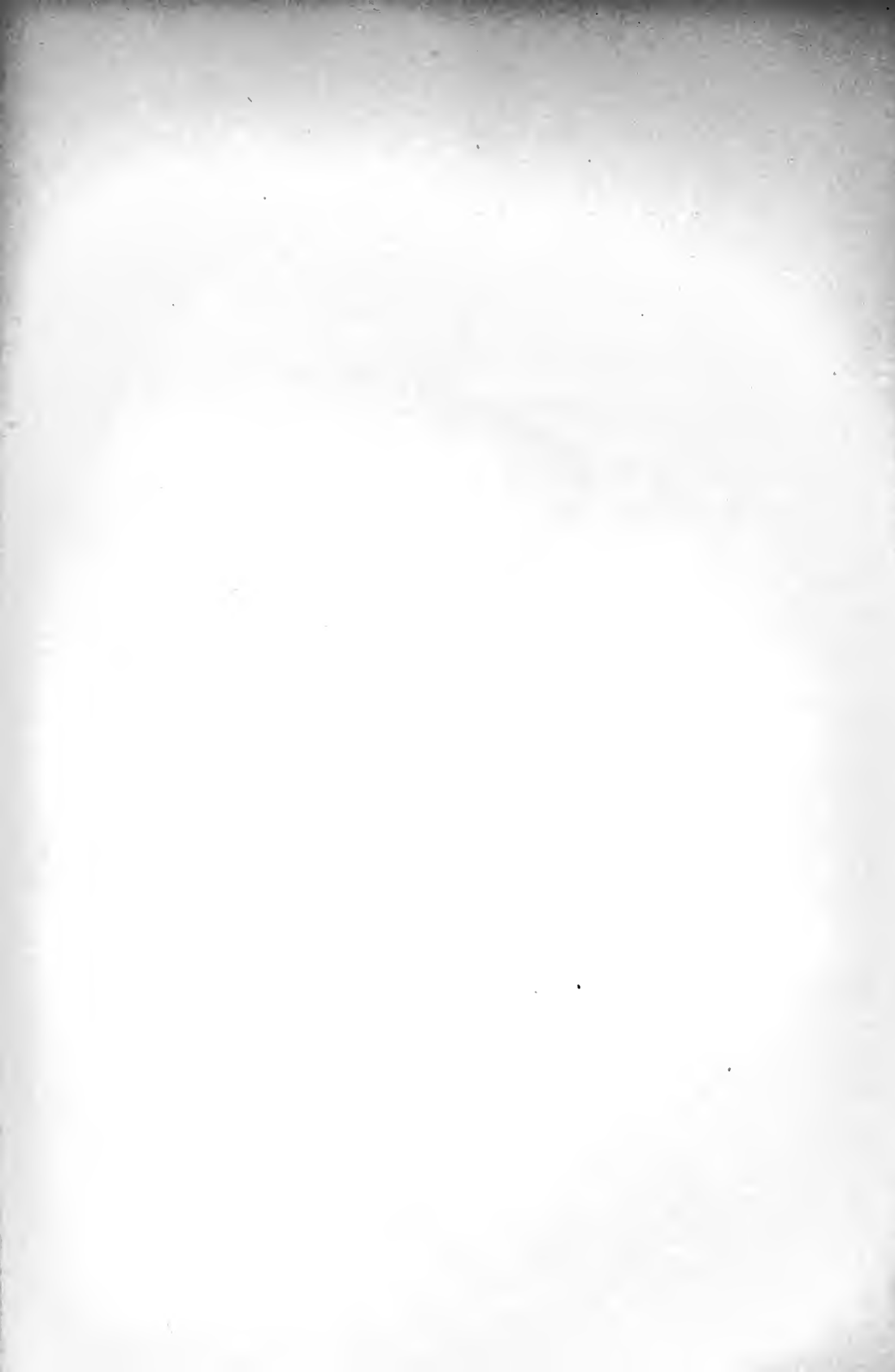


—From The New York Times.

TEACHER: "Maybe you'll feel more like playing when I'm through with you."

PERIOD XXXII.

President Wilson's War Message to Congress—
Text of the Declaration of War—Historic Joint Session
of Congress—Mobilizing the Army and Navy—Dr.
Zimmermann's Defense—Austria-Hungary Breaks with
the United States—Vessels Sunk by Submarines—Hol-
land in the Cross-Fire of Submarine Controversy—Allied
Successes in France—United States Rejects the German
Protocol—The Battle of Arras—Great French Offensive
Near Rheims—Rasputin, Nemesis of the Czar—Russia's
First Month of Freedom—German Raiders in the Atlantic
—Writing War History in France—Arab Revolt Against
Turkish Rule—German Vandalism During the Retreat
in France—French Heroes of the Air—The Zeppelin Raids
and Their Effect on England—Terrible Realities of War
—Amazing Effects of Shell Shock—Curious German War
Medals—The War's Influence on Woman's Status.



THE WAR MESSAGE

Delivered by President Woodrow Wilson Before
the United States Congress on April 2, 1917

Text of the address read by the President at 8:30 P. M., April 2, 1917, at the Joint Session of Congress, convened by special call at noon of that day.

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise, then given to us, that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free

highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

Ruthless Destruction of Life

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside, under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the wind all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination.

The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws, when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the

defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

State of War Recognized

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits, which will now be necessary, entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon whom the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

The Menace of Autocracy

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling

toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

The Only Basis for Peace

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naive majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that have served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within

and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country, have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us, (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were,) but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

A World Safe for Democracy

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial

Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

Friends of the German People

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the

things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

God helping her, she can do no other.

Text of the Declaration of War

Joint Resolution Passed by the United States Senate
and House of Representatives

[Effective April 6, 1917, at 1:18 P. M.]

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Proclamation to the American People

Text of President Wilson's Formal Announcement of a State of War

[Issued on April 6, 1917.]

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, have resolved by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, bearing date this day, "that a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared";

Whereas, It is provided by Section 4,067 of the Revised Statutes as follows:

"Whenever there is declared a war between the United States and any foreign nation or Government or any invasion or predatory incursion is perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States by any foreign nation or Government, and the President makes public proclamation of the event, all native citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or Government being male of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not

actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies. The President is authorized in any such event by his proclamation thereof, or other public acts, to direct the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward the aliens who become so liable; the manner and degree of the restraint to which they shall be subject and in what cases and upon what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, refuse or neglect to depart therefrom; and to establish any such regulations which are found necessary in the premises and for the public safety."

Whereas, By Sections 4,068, 4,069, and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes, further provision is made relative to alien enemies;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim, to all whom it may concern, that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war, and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace;

And, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the said sections of the Revised Statutes,

I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Germany, being male of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, who for the purpose of this proclamation and under such sections of the Revised Statutes are termed alien enemies, shall be as follows:

All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace toward the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid, or comfort to the enemies of the United States and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby, or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President, and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations, and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States, and toward such alien enemies as conduct themselves in accordance with law all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States.

And all alien enemies who fail to conduct themselves as so enjoined, in addition to all other penalties prescribed by law, shall be liable to restraint or to give security or to remove and depart from the United States, in the manner prescribed by Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes and as prescribed in the regulations duly promulgated by the President.

And pursuant to the authority vested in me, I hereby declare and establish the following regulations, which I find necessary in the premises and for the public safety:

1. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place any firearms, weapons, or implements of war, or component parts thereof, ammunition, Maxim or other silencer, arms, or explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives;
2. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place, or use or operate, any aircraft or wireless apparatus, or any form of signaling device or any form

of cipher code or any paper, document, or book written or printed in cipher or in which there may be invisible writing;

3. All property found in the possession of an alien enemy in violation of the foregoing regulations shall be subject to seizure by the United States;

4. An alien enemy shall not approach or be found within one-half of a mile of any Federal or State fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop for the manufacture of munitions of war or of any products for the use of the army or navy;

5. An alien enemy shall not write, print, or publish any attack or threat against the Government or Congress of the United States, or either branch thereof, or against the measures or policy of the United States, or against the persons or property of any person in the military, naval, or civil service of the United States, or of the States or Territories, or of the District of Columbia, or of the municipal governments therein;

6. An alien enemy shall not commit or abet any hostile acts against the United States or give information, aid, or comfort to its enemies;

7. An alien enemy shall not reside in or continue to reside in, to remain in, or enter any locality which the President may from time to time designate by an Executive order as a prohibitive area, in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found by him to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States, except by permit from the President and except under such limitations or restrictions as the President may prescribe;

8. An alien enemy whom the President shall have reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy or to be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety of the United States, or to have violated or to be about to violate any of these regulations, shall remove to any location designated by the President by Executive order, and shall not remove therefrom without permit, or shall depart from the United States if so required by the President;

9. No alien enemy shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, Judge, or Justice, under Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes;

10. No alien enemy shall land in or enter the United States except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

11. If necessary to prevent violation of the regulations, all alien enemies will be obliged to register;

12. An alien enemy whom there may be reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or who attempts to violate or of whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that he is about to violate, any regulation to be promulgated by the President or any criminal law of the United States, or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States Marshal, or his Deputy, or such other officers as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.

This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.



The President's War Economies Proclamation

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 15, 1917.

My Fellow-Countrymen:

THE entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an effective war footing, and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves

to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are co-operating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for wornout railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever, and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international service army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are co-operating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency, but for some time after peace shall have come, both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual co-operation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done, and done immediately, to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this

duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs, as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The Government of the United States and the Governments of the several States stand ready to co-operate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it, and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it!

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service," and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas, no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied, and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employes that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that every one who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

WOODROW WILSON.

UNITED STATES DECLARES WAR

Narrative of Events Before and After the Nation's Entrance Into War Against Germany

THE United States and the Imperial German Government were officially proclaimed to be at war on Friday, April 6, 1917, when the President of the United States signed a joint resolution passed in both houses of Congress by overwhelming majorities, formally declaring a state of war between the two Governments.

On March 9 President Wilson, after the Senate had modified its rules so that debate could be limited, called Congress to meet in extra session on April 16, "to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive." This call was contemporaneous with the President's decision that he would authorize the arming of merchant ships and the detail of naval gun crews to man them as a protection against unrestricted German submarines. It was construed as practically a war measure in that the President desired Congress to be at hand to give support to the Government in its defense of merchant shipping.

On March 12 Secretary Lansing gave the following formal notice of the action of the United States:

In view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government on Jan. 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precaution taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.

On March 14 the news came that the American steamship *Algonquin*, bound from New York for London with a cargo of foodstuffs, had been attacked without warning on March 2, and had been sunk by a German submarine with shell fire and bombs; the crew had escaped, and after twenty-seven hours in open boats had been rescued. This news created a disagreeable impression

throughout the country. Public opinion at length burst into intense excitement on Monday, March 19, when it was announced that within the preceding twenty-four hours three American ships, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, and the *Vigilancia*, had been sunk by German submarines near the English coast, and that fifteen members of the *Vigilancia's* crew were lost. The *City of Memphis*, some of whose men were then missing, had left Cardiff in ballast for New York the day before; she was overhauled Saturday at 5 P. M. by a German submarine and the Captain was given fifteen minutes to get his crew into boats. The American flag was flying from the mast, but the ship was shelled, torpedoed, and sunk within twenty minutes. The *Vigilancia* was torpedoed without warning; she was in ballast. The *Illinois* was a tank steamship and was bound from Texas for London with a cargo of oil valued at \$1,000,000. The *City of Memphis* was of 5,252 gross tonnage; the *Vigilancia* 4,115, the *Illinois* 5,220 tons; all bore the American flag and were conspicuously marked as American ships.

The news of the sinking of these vessels created deep indignation. It was apparent that Germany had determined to defy the American people to do their worst, and the issue of peace or war was no longer in doubt.

The day following the receipt of the news President Wilson had a long conference with Secretary of the Navy Daniels, and as a result orders were issued for speeding up work on warships under construction; also for the issue of bonds to obtain money for this purpose. The eight-hour day for Government naval construction was suspended; two classes of midshipmen were ordered to be graduated ahead of time, and all other preparations for war were hurried. The country was in tense expectation of some momentous step.

The Cabinet was summoned by the

President on the afternoon of the 20th, and the session lasted more than two hours. No formal announcement of the decision was made, but it was given out that it was the unanimous opinion of the President's advisers that a state of war was in fact existing between the United States and Germany, and that the special session of Congress should be summoned to meet at an earlier date than April 16, the time originally set.

On Wednesday, March 21, the President reached his momentous decision, and forthwith issued a proclamation summoning Congress in extra session on April 2, "to receive a communication by the Executive on grave questions of national policy, which should be immediately taken under consideration"

Nation's War Sentiment

This action was recognized everywhere as the preliminary step to declaring a state of war. Europe regarded it as the definite plunge of the United States into the world conflict. Meanwhile all war preparations were actively proceeding, and the war policy of the country was taking shape.

The news from America was received in Germany without excitement and produced no alteration whatever in her submarine policy. During the night of March 22 the American tank steamer *Healdton*, proceeding with a cargo of petroleum from Philadelphia to Rotterdam, was sunk without warning in the North Sea, and seven of her crew were lost.

Mass meetings were held in many parts of the United States, pledging loyalty to the country, approving the severance of relations with Germany, and demanding war. Typical of these were the resolutions passed at a mass meeting of 12,000 people in Madison Square Garden, New York, on March 22. Addresses were delivered by former Secretary of State Root, a staunch Republican; former Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild, a strong Democrat, and Mayor Mitchel of New York. A letter from former President Roosevelt was read, in which he asserted that Germany was at war with the United States and demanded that we accept the gage of battle. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

Whereas, Germany has destroyed our ships, murdered our citizens, restricted our commerce by illegal submarine warfare, and attempted to array against us the friendly powers Japan and Mexico in a plot to dismember our nation; and

Whereas, By these and other hostile acts Germany is now virtually making war against the United States;

Resolved, That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, in deciding to arm American vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session;

Resolved, That we call upon our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership in the immediate mobilizing of the entire naval, military, and industrial strength of the nation, including the augmenting of our army and navy for the effective protection of American rights and the faithful discharge of America's duties in the present crisis;

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a Universal Military Training bill providing for a permanent national defense based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals;

Resolved, That we declare our deep conviction that the principles of national conduct governing Germany's actions in the present war are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and with the purposes and aspirations of this Republic; and we hold that the time has now come when it is the duty of this nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against German military aggression; and

Whereas, Our Government in severing diplomatic relations with Germany gave notice that further overt acts of war would be forcibly resisted; and said overt acts have been committed in the sinking of the *Laconia*, the City of Memphis, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, and other vessels, with the loss of American lives; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress as soon as assembled to declare that by the acts of Germany a state of war does now exist between that country and the United States.

Activities of Pacifists

On the other hand, a group of prominent men were strongly opposed to our entry into the war. They instituted a nation-wide publicity propaganda to bring public pressure upon Congress and the President to keep us out of war. A mass meeting was held in New York on the night of March 24 at Madison Square Garden, and resolutions were passed opposing war and demanding a general referendum on the subject. All over the

MEMBERS OF WAR COUNCIL AT WASHINGTON



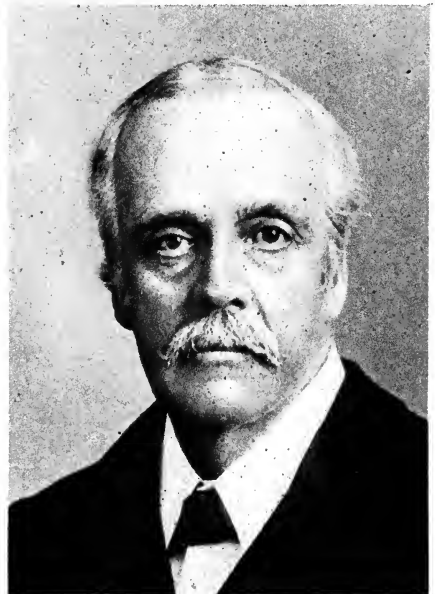
RENE VIVIANI
French Minister of Justice



MARSHAL JOFFRE
Victor of the Marne



MAJ. GEN. G. T. M. BRIDGES
Of British War Office
(© *International News*)



ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
British Foreign Minister
(*Central News Service*)

COMMANDERS OF ARMY DEPARTMENTS



MAJ. GEN. J. FRANKLIN
BELL
Eastern Department
(Photo Bain)



BRIG. GEN. CLARENCE R.
EDWARDS
Northeastern Department
(Harris & Ewing)



MAJ. GEN. HUNTER
LIGGETT
Western Department
(© Harris & Ewing)



MAJ. GEN. THOS. H. BARRY
Central Department
(Underwood & Underwood)

country, however, there were evidences that the prevailing sentiment was overwhelmingly for war. Many States took steps toward defense and appropriated large sums to provide the measures.

Preliminary Call for Men

On March 25 President Wilson signed an order authorizing an increase in the enlisted strength of the navy to 87,000 men, being an addition of 26,000, and the War Department issued orders calling out units of the National Guard in nine Eastern States and the District of Columbia for police purposes. The order was regarded as indicating extensive precautions to forestall any outbreak by enemy agents upon the expected declaration of a state of war. Munitions plants, bridges, railroads, and all other important public property which might be in danger of attack upon the outbreak of war were to be carefully guarded.

The first call affected 13,000 men; on March 26 units from eighteen Western States, affecting 25,000 additional men, were called, and this was followed by other calls, so that by April 12 60,000 National Guardsmen had been called out.

Policy Toward Germans

To allay unrest and apprehension of Germans residing in the United States, it was announced at Washington on the 20th that there would be no general internment of German citizens or German reservists resident in this country in the event of war between the United States and Germany. Secretary of War Baker authorized the formal statement that "everybody of every nationality who conducts himself in accordance with American law will be free from official molestation, both now and in the future." He declared that rumors that the department had plans for the internment of resident aliens had no foundation in fact.

It was during this period of excitement that the arrival was announced of the first armed American steamship at a European port. The American liner *St. Louis* left New York March 17, with two guns forward and one aft and with a detail of crack marksmen of the United States Navy; she reached Liverpool with-

out encountering any hostile submarines, on Monday, March 26. During the same period merchantmen of various other lines were equipped with guns and departed daily from various American ports.

The period between the President's call and the assembling of Congress was full of excitement throughout the country. Every department of the Government was keyed up to the highest pitch of energetic preparation for war. The mustering out of National Guardsmen who had been on duty on the Mexican border was stopped, and 22,000 guardsmen who were about to be relieved were retained in the ranks. The navy intensified its recruiting work and the Cabinet held daily sessions to discuss questions of war policy and of ways and means.

German Chancellor's Speech

The first official word that came from Germany after it was clear that President Wilson had decided to ask Congress to declare war was made public March 30 in the form of a dispatch from Berlin, transmitted by the semi-official news agency, giving the text of a speech delivered in the German Reichstag March 29 by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. He proceeded to review the causes which led up to the unrestricted use of submarines by Germany as a matter, he said, of self-defense. Then he added:

Within the next few days the directors of the American Nation will be convened by President Wilson for an extraordinary session of Congress in order to decide the question of war or peace between the American and German Nations.

Germany never had the slightest intention of attacking the United States of America, and does not have such intention now. It never desired war against the United States of America and does not desire it today.

How did these things develop? More than once we told the United States that we made unrestricted use of the submarine weapon, expecting that England could be made to observe, in her policy of blockade, the laws of humanity and of international agreements. This blockade policy (this I expressly recall) has been called illegal and indefensible (the Imperial Chancellor here used the English words) by President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing.

Our expectations, which we maintained during eight months, have been disappointed completely. England not only did not give up

her illegal and indefensible policy of blockade, but uninterruptedly intensified it. England, together with her allies, arrogantly rejected the peace offers made by us and our allies and proclaimed her war aims, which aim at our annihilation and that of our allies.

Then we took unrestricted submarine warfare into our hands; then we had to for our defense.

If the American Nation considers this a cause for which to declare war against the German Nation with which it has lived in peace for more than 100 years, if this action warrants an increase of bloodshed, we shall not have to bear the responsibility for it. The German Nation, which feels neither hatred nor hostility against the United States of America, shall also bear and overcome this.

Among the speeches of party leaders commenting on the Chancellor's address those of Dr. Gustav Stresemann, National Liberal, and Count von Westarp, Conservative, were the most important. Herr Stresemann remarked:

"A declaration of war by America will be possible only because American public opinion has been misled."

Count von Westarp alluded briefly to America, saying:

"We can await the decision of America with complete calm, and the execution of our operations in the barred zone will not be changed thereby."

Lord Cecil's Bitter Reply

This declaration of the Imperial Chancellor was bitterly attacked the next day by Lord Robert Cecil, the British Blockade Minister, in the following formal statement:

The German Chancellor claims that Germany in the past renounced the unrestricted use of her submarine weapon in the expectation that Great Britain could be made to observe in her blockade policy the laws of humanity and international agreements. It is difficult to say whether this statement is the more remarkable for its hypocrisy or for its falseness. It would hardly seem that Germany is in a position to speak of humanity or international agreements, since she began this war by deliberately violating the international agreement guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, and has continued it by violating all the dictates of humanity.

Has the Chancellor forgotten that the German forces have been guilty of excesses 'n Belgium, unparalleled in history, culminating in the attempted enslavement of a dauntless people, of poisoning wells, of bombarding open towns, torpedoing hospital ships and sinking other vessels with total disregard for the safety of noncombatants on board, with

the result that many hundreds of innocent victims, including both women and children, have lost their lives?

The latest manifestation of this policy is to be seen in the devastation and deportations carried out by the Germans in their forced retreat on the western front.

The Chancellor states that it is because the Allies have not abandoned their blockade and have refused the so-called peace offer of Germany that unrestricted submarine warfare is now decided on. As to this I will do no more than quote what the Chancellor himself said in the Reichstag, when announcing the adoption of unrestricted submarine war.

He said that as soon as he himself, in agreement with the supreme army command, reached the conviction that ruthless U-boat warfare would bring Germany nearer to a victorious peace, then the U-boat warfare would be started. He continued:

"This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not ripe, but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must not wait any longer. Where has there been a change? In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has been very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success."

Does not this prove conclusively that it was not any scruple or any respect for international law or neutral rights that prevented unrestricted warfare from being adopted earlier, but merely a lack of means to carry it out?

I think it may be useful once again to point out that the illegal and inhuman attack on shipping by the Germans cannot be justified as a reprisal for the action of Great Britain in attempting to cut off from Germany all imports.

The submarine campaign was clearly contemplated as far back as December, 1914, when Admiral von Tirpitz gave an indication to an American correspondent in Berlin of the projected plan.

As for the plea that the Allies are aiming at the annihilation of Germany and her allies and that ruthless warfare is, therefore, justified, it is sufficient in order to refute this to quote the following passage from the Allies' reply of Jan. 10, 1917, to President Wilson's note:

"There is no need to say that if the Allies desire to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism, the extermination and political disappearance of the German people have never, as has been pretended, formed a part of their design."

Patriotic Rallies

A notable patriotic rally occurred March 31 at Independence Square, Philadelphia, when resolutions were adopted pledging loyal support to the President in

any action he might take for the protection of American rights on land and sea; it was one of the largest and most enthusiastic that ever assembled at Independence Square. Enthusiastic mass meetings with tumultuous ardor were also held in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, and in nearly all the important cities of the country.

The pacifist propagandists, however, were busy and were issuing appeals and urging united action to bring influences on Congress to avert a declaration of war. General calls were issued by both pacifists and war patriots to meet at Washington when Congress assembled, and there were acrimonious debates at various meetings between the contending parties, sometimes attended with violence.

Washington was a seething city on

April 1, the day before Congress convened; delegations of both pacifists and war patriots came from all parts of the country, though the number of pacifists fell considerably short of expectations. It was intended by both to hold conventions and parades, but in order to avoid possible trouble all parades in Washington were forbidden. The day Congress assembled there were few outward signs to indicate that the United States was about to enter into the greatest war in history. The only difference in the normal aspect of Washington was in the somewhat larger crowds in the streets and the fact that National Guardsmen and regular troops were on guard at strategic points, that the new iron gates of the White House grounds were closed and guarded, and that admittance to some of the Government departments was obtainable only on identification.

Historic Joint Session of Congress

THE new Congress, the Sixty-fifth, which had been chosen in the preceding November, met in response to the President's special call at noon on April 2. The members in assembling had to crowd their way through swarms of pacifists who had assembled on the Capitol steps to use what influence they could against war. The House of Representatives had resolved on acting in a patriotic spirit and determined to show no spirit of partisanship in organizing.

The blind Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Couden, offered a prayer in which he said:

God of the Ages, our father's God and our God, whose holy influence has shaped and guided the destiny of our Republic from its inception, we wait upon that influence to guide us in the present crisis which has been thrust upon us.

Diplomacy has failed; moral suasion has failed; every appeal to reason and justice has been swept aside. We abhor war and love peace. But if war has been, or shall be, forced upon us, we pray that the heart of every American citizen shall throb with patriotic zeal; that a united people may rally around our President to hold up his hands in every measure that shall be deemed necessary to protect American lives and safeguard our inherent rights.

Let Thy blessings, we beseech Thee, attend the Congress now convened in extraordinary session under extraordinary conditions which call for extraordinary thought, wise counsel, calm and deliberate legislation; that its resolves and all its enactments may spring spontaneously from loyal and patriotic hearts; that our defenders on land and sea may be amply supplied with the things which make for strength and efficiency.

And, O God, our Heavenly Father, let Thy strong right arm uphold, sustain, and guide us in a just and righteous cause; for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and glory, forever, amen.

The roll was then called, amid the usual confusion; but when Montana was reached the Clerk rapped for order, and in the stillness that finally followed he called the name of Miss Rankin, the first woman ever elected to Congress. Both sides of the House burst out in applause, and Miss Rankin blushed and smiled, but they wanted her to stand up, and they cheered until she did, bowing first to the Republican side, then to the Democratic.

Champ Clark as Speaker

Champ Clark was placed in nomination for his fourth term as Speaker by Mr. Schall of Minnesota, a man elected as a Progressive in a district which, he told

the House, contains 43,000 voters, of whom 32,000 are Republicans. Mr. Schall is a blind man. He spoke from the front of the House, leaning on a cane. The pith of Mr. Schall's speech was that both parties should sink partisanship and co-operate with the President, and that the best way to do it was to give him a Congress controlled by his own party.

"I, with my sightless eyes," he said, "would be of little use to my country on the field of battle, but I can cast my vote to help it. I know of no better way to stand by the President than to return his party to the control of the House."

James R. Mann was nominated by the Republicans. The vote stood: Clark, 217; Mann, 205; six Republicans declined to vote for Mr. Mann. The organization of the House was completed by 5 o'clock and adjournment was then taken until 8:30 to meet in joint session with the Senate to receive the President's address.

President Wilson came to the Capitol escorted by a squadron of cavalry.

The House an hour before had taken a recess. When it met again it was in a scene that the hall had never presented before. Directly in front of the Speaker and facing him sat the members of the Supreme Court without their gowns. Over at one side sat the members of the Diplomatic Corps in evening dress. It was the first time any one could remember when the foreign envoys had ever sat together officially in the Hall of Representatives.

Then the doors opened, and in came the Senators, headed by Vice President Marshall, each man wearing or carrying a small American flag. There were three or four exceptions, including Senators La Follette and Vardaman, but one had to look hard to find them, and Senator Stone was no exception. It was at 8:32 that they came in, and five minutes later the Speaker announced:

"The President of the United States."

President Delivers Address

As he walked in and ascended the speakers' platform he got such a reception as Congress had never given him before in any of his visits to it. The

Supreme Court Justices rose from their chairs, facing the place where he stood, and led the applause, while Representatives and Senators not only cheered, but yelled. It was two minutes before he could begin his address.

When he did begin it, he stood with his manuscript before him typewritten on sheets of note paper. He held it in both hands, resting his arm on the green baize covered desk, and at first he read without looking up, but after a while he would glance occasionally to the right or the left as he made a point, not as if he were trying to see the effect but more as a sort of gesture—the only one he employed.

Congress listened intently and without any sort of interruption while he recited the German crimes against humanity, his own and his country's effort to believe that the German rulers had not wholly cut themselves off from the path which civilized nations follow, and how the truth has been forced upon unwilling minds. Congress was waiting for his conclusions, and there was no applause or demonstration of any kind for the recital.

But when he finished his story of our efforts to avoid war and came to the sentence "armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable because submarines are in fact outlaws when used as the German submarines are used," the close attention deepened into a breathless silence, so painfully intense that it seemed almost audible.

The President ended at 9:11, having spoken thirty-six minutes. Then the great scene which had been enacted at his entrance was repeated. The diplomats, Supreme Court, the galleries, the House and Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, stood in their places and the Senators waved flags they had brought in with them. Those who were wearing, not carrying, flags tore them from their lapels or their sleeves and waved with the rest, and they all cheered wildly.

Senator Robert Marion La Follette, however, stood motionless with his arms folded tight and high on his chest, so

that nobody could have any excuse for mistaking his attitude, and there he stood, chewing gum with a sardonic smile.

The President walked rapidly out of the hall, and when he had gone the Senators and the Supreme Court and the diplomats went their ways.

[The address of the President appears in preceding pages.]

After the departure of the President both houses of Congress were assembled and resolutions were introduced in each house embodying the President's recommendations that the state of war with Germany be declared. The resolutions were introduced in the House by Chairman Flood of the Foreign Relations Committee, and in the Senate by Senator Martin, both of Virginia, and at once referred to the respective committees, and the two houses thereupon adjourned.

[The text of the joint resolution is printed on page 198.]

Debate in the Senate

The war resolution was passed by the Senate at 11:11 P. M. Wednesday, April 4, after thirteen hours' debate, by a vote of 82 to 6, eight Senators being unavoidably absent—all the absentees favored the resolution, hence the true sentiment of the Senate was 90 to 6. The six Senators who voted nay were La Follette of Wisconsin, Gronna of North Dakota, Norris of Nebraska, Stone of Missouri, Lane of Oregon, and Vardaman of Mississippi, the first three being Republicans, the last three Democrats.

The opening speech was delivered by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who was in charge of the resolution in substitution for Chairman Stone of the Foreign Relations Committee, who was in opposition. In his address the Senator said that Germany's resumption of submarine activity was not a violation of her word, but a revocation of it, a step taken in desperation.

It was not intended to provoke war with us, but it was followed by acts of war upon us. They were not made for the deliberate purpose of injuring us but rather to starve the English people. The effect, however, was the same. We were ordered off the high seas. We could not submit; no great nation could remain great and independent, if it did so.

No great nation could maintain its place in history if it permitted another to order it off the sea, if it permitted another to bottle up its commerce, if it permitted another to dictate to it in the exercise of its unquestioned right and to impose the penalty of murder of its citizens in case of refusal.

Words of Senator Lodge

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, who had been precipitated into a personal affray in the Senate corridor the day before by a committee of pacifists and had knocked down one who attacked him, in the course of his remarks, said:

We have never been a military nation. We are not prepared for war in the modern sense; but we have vast resources and unbounded energies and the day when war is declared we should devote ourselves to calling out those resources and organizing those energies so that they can be used with the utmost effect in hastening the complete victory. The worst of all wars is a feeble war. War is too awful to be entered upon half-heartedly. If we fight at all, we must fight for all we are worth. It must be no weak, hesitating war. The most merciful war is that which is most vigorously waged and which comes most quickly to an end.

But there are, in my opinion, some things worse for a nation than war. National degeneracy is worse; national cowardice is worse. The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope, and one tradition—all these dangers have been gathering about us and darkening the horizon during the last three years. Whatever suffering and misery war may bring, it will at least sweep these foul things away. It will unify us into one nation.

This war is a war against barbarism, panoplied in all the devices for destruction of human life which science, beneficent science, can bring forth. We are resisting an effort to thrust mankind back to forms of government, to political creeds, and methods of conquest which we had hoped had disappeared forever from the world. We are fighting against a nation which, in the fashion of centuries ago, drags the inhabitants of conquered lands into slavery; which carries off women and girls for even worse purposes; which in its mad desire to conquer mankind and trample them under foot has stopped at no wrong, has regarded no treaty.

The work that we are called upon to do when we enter this war is to preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy, and the light of modern civilization; all that we most love, all that we hold dearer than life itself. We wish only to preserve our own peace and our own security, to uphold the great doctrine which

guards the American Hémisphere, and to see the disappearance of all wars or rumors of wars from the East, if any dangers there exist.

What we want most of all by this victory, which we shall help to win, is to secure the world's peace, based on freedom and democracy, a world not controlled by a Prussian military autocracy, but by the will of the free people of the earth. We shall achieve this result, and when we achieve it we shall be able to say that we have helped to confer a great blessing upon mankind, and that we have not fought in vain.

Senator Norris, in his opposition, said:

We are going into war upon command of gold. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate and make millions of our countrymen suffer and untold generations bear burdens and shed their life blood, all because we want to preserve our commercial right to deliver munitions to the belligerents. I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag.

Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, replied to Senator Norris by declaring that his charge that the war resolution was placing the dollar sign on the American flag was "almost treason." The assertion that the nation was going to war on the demand of gold was "an indictment of the President of the United States, an indictment of Congress, of the American people, and of the truth."

"It is not the truth!" shouted the Missouri Senator.

Opposition by La Follette

Senator La Follette of Wisconsin delivered the principal speech against the resolution. He read a number of telegrams reporting straw votes, postcard, and other polls in various communities in the Central West, where the sentiment was overwhelmingly against war. He asserted that, of 15,000 or 20,000 letters and telegrams he had received regarding his vote on the armed ship bill, 80 to 90 per cent. had approved his stand. He referred to the President's statement that Germany had violated her submarine pledges, and continued:

Her promise, so called, was conditional upon England being brought to obedience of international law. Was it quite fair to lay before the country the statement that Germany made an unconditional promise and had deliberately violated it?

It was England, not Germany, who refused to obey the Declaration of London, containing the most humane ideas of naval

warfare which could be framed by the civilized world up to that time. Keep that in mind.

If this is war upon all mankind, is it not peculiar that the United States is the only nation of all neutrals which regards it as necessary to declare war upon Germany? All have refused to join in a combination against Germany. Some may have a clearer view than we. This suspicion of a desire for war profits does not attach to them.

Senator La Follette said that the United States had not the confidence of the other American republics because of its war policies. He predicted that entrance of the United States would not shorten the conflict, "but will vastly extend it by drawing other nations in." It is idle, the Senator went on, to talk of a war on the German Government and not on the German people.

We are leagued, (he continued,) or are about to be, according to the President's speech, with the hereditary enemies of the German people. Words are not strong enough to protest against a combination with the Entente Allies which would have us indorse the violations of international law by Great Britain and her purpose to wreak vengeance on the German people. We do not know what is in the minds of those who made the compacts in which we are to share.

Reverting to the President's assertion that the German people were thrown into war without an opportunity to say anything about it, the Senator asked: "Will the supporters of this war bill have a vote on it before it goes into effect? Unless they do that, it ill becomes us to speak of Germany. Submit this question to the people. By a vote of ten to one they would register their declaration against war."

The German people, he asserted, were more solidly behind their Government than the people of the United States would be behind the President in waging war on Germany.

"The Espionage bill and the Military bill that have been drawn by the war machine in this country," he said, "are complete proof that those responsible know that it has not popular support. The armies, necessary to be raised to aid the Entente Allies, cannot be raised by voluntary enlistment."

Praising the character and services of German-Americans in this country, Senator La Follette said that they were

being "dogged" by Secret Service men. He denied that any one Government was responsible for the war, saying that it was caused by European secret diplomacy. He cited the Anglo-French Moroccan secret treaty as "the most reprehensible, dishonest, and perjured on record."

"England first began the ruthless naval warfare," he asserted, "by repudiating the declaration of London."

Senator Knox, Republican, of Pennsylvania, interrupted to suggest that England did not ratify the declaration. Senator La Follette replied that British representatives signed it, and Senator Stone said England had not actually rejected it.

"It has pleased those who have been conducting this campaign (for war) through the press to make a jumble of issues," Senator La Follette continued, "until now it is impossible to get an intelligent answer regarding the real issues. They say that Americans are being killed by German submarines. We haven't a leg to stand on in support of this war declaration."

That the United States did not protest more vigorously against the British mine field blockade was the Administration's great mistake, the Senator said, and the real and primary cause of an American war declaration. He added:

We have wallowed in the mire at the feet of Great Britain and submitted in silence to her dictation. Because we acquiesce we have a legal and moral responsibility to Germany. Thus we have been actively aiding her enemy in starving German women, children, and old men. Germany waited three long months for this Government to protest. In principle, therefore, Germany had the right to destroy, blindly, ships by submarines and mines, in her own blockade zone. Germany is only doing what England is doing. Germany has been patient with us, standing strictly on her right to be accorded the same treatment as England by us.

Reply of Senator Williams

Senator Williams of Mississippi, in replying to Senator La Follette, said:

The Senator from Wisconsin labored to establish an identity of purpose and action in the violations of our neutral rights by Great Britain and Germany. He proved that he did not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo. Great Britain has drowned none of our citizens.

I am a little tired of utterances like that of the Senator from Wisconsin, denouncing the Entente Allies. He endeavors to twist the British lion's tail. Demagogues have been doing that ever since the Revolution, but it is a matter of history that most of the people of England were against the war on the colonies.

Which would you rather do, fight Germany now with France and Great Britain and Russia, or fight her alone later? You've got to do one or the other. I tell you that if Germany does win that fight on the Continent of Europe she will begin building and getting ready to whip us, unless the English fleet prevents it.

Referring to the Wisconsin Senator's statement that the United States had nothing to lose, no matter which side won the war, Senator Williams said:

Let's see. Have we no honor? No regard for the future sovereignty of our country? No regard for our flag? Is sentiment rot? Is patriotism rot? Is there nothing precious except money?

I'm getting tired of this talk that this is a Wall Street war. That's a lie. Wall Street did not sink the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Sussex, and these other ships. I'm tired of lies like that, and I think it is the duty of the American Congress and people to brand them as lies.

Senator Williams said that the resolution did not propose that the United States enter the European war, but that it go into an American war to protect American rights and for the sake of honor, justice, safety, liberty, and equality. Once at war, he added, the United States should stay until it became assured the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg would no longer reign in Germany and Austria, and that the Turk would be forced back into Asia.

Debate in the House

The resolution declaring war was reported to the House of Representatives after its passage by the Senate on Thursday, April 5. In presenting the resolution for passage the Committee on Foreign Affairs submitted an exhaustive report, in which the American indictment against the German Government was reviewed. The full text of this report is printed on pages 214-222.

The resolution was discussed in the House from 10 A. M. Thursday until 3:12 A. M. Friday, when it was passed by a vote of 373 yeas and 50 nays, 9 not vot-

ing. Miss Rankin, the woman member of the House, voted "no" after being called three times; she prefaced her vote in a voice choked by emotion, with the words: "I want to stand by my country—but I cannot vote for war."

The first important speech against the resolution was made by Representative Cooper of Wisconsin of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He maintained that Germany had not violated her promise regarding submarines; that she specifically reserved the right to withdraw it unless the United States Government would induce Great Britain to modify the blockade regulations. He argued that Great Britain had violated American rights upon the seas, that America had not been neutral. He defended German militarism with the query:

What has overthrown Russia? The tremendous struggle of the Central Powers. Now, then, I ask you this question: If we were in the situation of the German people and had just across an imaginary boundary, say like the Rio Grande River, a country of 120,000,000 or 130,000,000 or 140,000,000 people, having the most absolute, tyrannical, corrupt despotism of modern times, with an army of 1,300,000, what would we have done to secure our own safety and how long before this would we have had universal military service?

He quoted from a speech of Lloyd George delivered in Queen's Hall, London, July 28, 1908, in which he justified Germany's military preparedness, and quoted Lloyd George as follows:

Here is Germany, in the middle of Europe, with France and Russia on either side, and with a combination of their armies greater than hers. Suppose we had here a possible combination which would lay us open to invasion—suppose Germany and France, or Germany and Russia, or Germany and Austria had fleets which in combination would be stronger than ours.

Would not we be frightened; would not we build; would not we arm? Of course we should. I want our friends, who think that because Germany is a little frightened she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances.

British Blockade Defended

Representative Harrison of Mississippi, in replying, said regarding England's blockade:

When she executed that order she said to the United States, "We have mined certain places in the North Sea, but if any of your

vessels wish to go through we will furnish you a diagram, so to speak; we will furnish you pilot boats, so that you may not run against the mines." Did Germany do that? No. Germany said, "Here is a zone 1,500 miles long and 1,100 miles wide your vessels cannot enter except once a week, and then only at a certain port and along a certain path, and your vessel shall be painted a certain color—like a barber's sign, so to speak." And then they said, so far as the Mediterranean is concerned, "You cannot enter it except in a strip of twenty miles wide." Can you not see the difference between the actions of Germany and the actions of England? A man who cannot is unable to see the difference between, as some one has said, a torpedo and a prize court.

England's prize courts have awarded hundreds of thousands of dollars for affecting the property rights of the citizens of this country. Their courts are open, and they have said, "We will try the cases coming before us, and award damages not upon the orders in council but upon international law." And on that principle hundreds of our citizens have collected the full market value of their cargoes taken. And yet men say that we ought to go to war against England for violating property rights and excuse Germany for destroying the lives of American citizens. By that argument you say to me I shall not be permitted to choose my assailant. If one comes into my home and steals my pocketknife, he can be prosecuted for petit larceny. The penalty will be light. But if he comes into my home and kills some one who is dear to me, the punishment will be death. * * *

For nearly three years we have tried every avenue of diplomacy commensurate with a nation's honor to avoid war. So intense has been our desire for peace that at home our Government has been criticised and abroad our patience and forbearance have been marveled at.

Indictment by Mr. Foss

Representative Foss of Illinois denounced Germany's attitude in these terms:

German belief in German power has fattened on the blood of innocents. She no longer seeks to hide behind her broken promise, but tells us she will sink on sight any ship within a certain zone, save one poor ship per week, and then only under conditions which, to accept, was to surrender each and all our dearly bought liberties.

At the same moment we caught her red-handed in the basest act of international treachery ever committed by a civilized nation. She offers as barter a part of our sovereign territory in exchange for an attack on us by two friendly nations—Mexico and Japan.

Now Germany has dropped her diplomatic mask and stands revealed in all her naked

savagery. She will now kill on sight; she has run amuck on the seas; she has now treacherously sought an alliance against our peace. Throughout all this we have remained neutral, and, as a reward for our neutrality, what have we received at the hands of William II.?

He has set the torch of the incendiary to our factories, our workshops, our ships, and our wharves.

He has laid the bomb of the assassin in our munition plants and in the holds of our ships.

He has sought to corrupt our manhood with a selfish dream of peace when there is no peace.

He has willfully butchered our citizens on the high seas.

He has destroyed our commerce.

He seeks to terrorize us with his devilish policy of frightfulness.

He has violated every canon of international decency and set at naught every solemn treaty and every precept of international law.

He has plunged the world into the maddest orgy of blood, rapine, and murder which history records.

He has intrigued against our peace at home and abroad.

He seeks to destroy our civilization. Patience is no longer a virtue, further endurance is cowardice, submission to Prussian demands is slavery.

Kitchin's Opposition Speech

Representative Kitchin of North Carolina, who is the Democratic floor leader, opposed the resolution. In his address he said:

Great Britain every day, every hour, for two years has violated American rights on the seas. We have persistently protested. She has denied us not only entrance into the ports of the Central Powers but has closed to us by force the ports of neutrals. She has unlawfully seized our ships and our cargoes. She has rifled our mails. She has declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover all the ports of her enemy. She made the entire North Sea a military area—strewn it with hidden mines and told the neutral nations of the world to stay out or be blown up. We protested. No American ships were sunk, no American life was destroyed, because we submitted and did not go in. We kept out of war. We sacrificed no honor. We surrendered permanently no essential rights. We knew that these acts of Great Britain, though in plain violation of international law and of our rights on the seas, were not aimed at us. They were directed at her enemy. They were inspired by military necessity. Rather than plunge this country into war, we were willing to forego for the time our rights. I approved that course then; I approve it now. Germany declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover the ports of her enemy. She infests it with submarines and warns the neu-

tral world to stay out, though in plain violation of our rights and of international law. We know that these acts are aimed not directly at us but intended to injure and cripple her enemy, with which she is in a death struggle.

We refuse to yield; we refuse to forego our rights for the time. We insist upon going in.

In my judgment, we could keep out of the war with Germany, as we kept out of the war with Great Britain, by keeping our ships and our citizens out of the war zone of Germany as we did out of the war zone of Great Britain. And we would sacrifice no more honor, surrender no more rights in the one case than in the other. But we are told that Germany has destroyed American lives while Great Britain destroyed only property. Great Britain destroyed no American lives, because this nation kept her ships and her citizens out of her war zone which she infested with hidden mines. But are we quite sure that the real reason for war with Germany is the destruction of lives as distinguished from property, that to avenge the killing of innocent Americans and to protect American lives war becomes a duty?

Mr. Kitchin argued that Mexicans had murdered American citizens, had invaded American territory, and committed acts of war against the United States; and that we had refrained from war on that occasion without sacrificing our honor. He continued:

Are we quite sure that in a war with Germany or Japan, if our fleet was bottled up, helpless, and our ships of commerce had been swept from the seas, all our ports closed by the enemy's fleet, imports of fuel and food and clothing for our people and ammunition for our soldiers were denied, with our very life trembling in the balance, we would not, in the last struggle for existence, strike our enemy with the only weapon of the sea remaining and in a manner violative of the international law? Would one contend that under the circumstances our submarine commanders should permit the landing at the ports of the enemy arms and ammunition with which to shoot down our brave American boys when they had it in their power to prevent it? Would we demand of our submarine commanders that they give the benefit of the doubt to questions of international law rather than to the safety of our country and the lives of our own soldiers?

There were more than fifty speeches delivered during the session.

The War Proclamation

The war resolution as passed by the two houses of Congress was signed by President Wilson at 1:18 P. M. Friday,

April 6, and by that act the United States and Germany became officially at war. At the same time the President issued a proclamation to the American people announcing the existence of a state of war, the text of which appears on Pages 198-200. Formal notice was at the same time flashed to every American war vessel, naval station, fort, and army post; also to American diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad. Orders were likewise at once issued by the Navy Department to mobilize the naval forces of the United States and all branches of the navy were placed upon a war footing.

Seizure of German Ships

The first act in recognition of a state of war was the seizure by the United States authorities of all German ships that had taken refuge in American ports at the commencement of the war. Preparations to this end were made by the Federal authorities at all ports, and when the news was flashed from Washington at dawn on Friday that the war resolution had been adopted by Congress a detachment of port officials accompanied by a detail of Federal troops instantly took possession of the vessels.

There were in all 91 German-owned vessels in American waters with a gross tonnage of 594,696; twenty-seven of them in the Harbor of New York, six at Boston, three at Baltimore, two at Wilmington, N. C.; two at Philadelphia, three at

San Francisco, two at Pensacola, two at New Orleans, two at Astoria, Ore.; eight at Honolulu, seventeen at Manila, three at Zamboango, and three at Cebu, Philippine Islands; one each at New London, Newport News, Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, Portland, Ore.; Seattle, Winslow, Wash.; Hilo, Hawaii; San Juan, P. R.; Pago Pago, Samoa. The seizures were made without incident except in one case, and the crews were interned at the various immigrant stations, where they were treated as newly arrived immigrants. A German gunboat at Manila, the *Cormoran*, was blown up by its officers before the Federal officials took possession, and five members of the crew perished; the remaining 353 men and officers then peacefully accepted internment. The vessels seized were valued at about \$100,000,000. It was found that the machinery had been disabled on each of the ships, except the *Vaterland*, the 54,000-ton German liner at New York. It was estimated that several weeks would be required to make repairs.

The Government announced that the ships were seized for the purpose of protecting them from further injury, and that until a decision could be reached as to their proper disposition Customs guards had been placed on board. A few days later a large numbers of machinists were placed on the ships by Government authorities, and the work of repairs was vigorously begun.

Report of House Committee on Foreign Affairs Reciting German Misdeeds

When the resolution declaring war was reported for passage in the House of Representatives on April 5, the Committee of Foreign Affairs submitted the following exhaustive report, reciting the long catalogue of unfriendly acts that would justify war on the part of the United States:

IT is with the deepest sense of responsibility of the momentous results which will follow the passage of this resolution that your committee reports it to the House, with the recommendation that it be passed.

The conduct of the Imperial German Government toward this Government, its citizens, and its interests has been so discourteous, unjust, cruel, barbarous, and so lacking in honesty and fair dealing that it has constituted a violation of the course of conduct which should obtain between friendly nations.

In addition to this, the German Government is actually making war upon the people and the commerce of this country, and leaves no course open to this Government but to accept its gage of battle, de-

clare that a state of war exists, and wage that war vigorously.

On the 31st day of January, 1917, notice was given by the Imperial German Government to this Government that after the following day—

Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

Since that day seven American ships flying the American flag have been sunk and between twenty-five and thirty American lives have been lost as a result of the prosecution of the submarine warfare in accordance with the above declaration. This is war. War waged by the Imperial German Government upon this country and its people.

A brief review of some of the hostile and illegal acts of the German Government toward this Government and its officers and its people is herewith given.

Germany's Conduct at Sea

In the memorial of the Imperial German Government accompanying its proclamation of Feb. 4, 1915, in regard to submarine warfare, that Government declared: "The German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such." In the note of the German Government dated Feb. 16, 1915, in reply to the American note of Feb. 10, it was declared that "It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant ships when they are recognizable as such."

Nevertheless, the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare and torpedoed the British passenger steamer Falaba on March 27, 1915, when one American life was lost, attacked the American steamer Cushing April 28 by airship, and made submarine attacks upon the American tank steamer Gulfight May 1, the British passenger steamer Lusitania May 7, when

114 American lives were lost, and the American steamer Nebraskan on May 25, in all of which over 125 citizens of the United States lost their lives, not to mention hundreds of noncombatants who were lost and hundreds of Americans and noncombatants whose lives were put in jeopardy.

The British mule boat Armenian was torpedoed on June 28, as a result of which twenty Americans are reported missing.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare and particularly of its submarine commander in the Lusitania case, it is stated:

The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance.

Subsequently the following vessels carrying American citizens were attacked by submarines: British liner Orduna, July 9; Russian steamer Leo, July 9; American steamer Leelanaw, July 25; British passenger liner Arabic, Aug. 19; British mule ship Nicosian, Aug. 19; British steamer Hesperian, Sept. 4. In these attacks twenty-three Americans lost their lives, not to mention the large number whose lives were placed in jeopardy.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German Ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on Sept. 1 gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States:

Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

On Sept. 9, in a reply as to the submarine attack on the Orduna, the German Government renewed these assurances in the following language:

The first attack on the Orduna by a torpedo

was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew. The failure to observe the instructions was based on an error which is at any rate comprehensible and the repetition of which appears to be out of the question, in view of the more explicit instructions issued in the meantime. Moreover, the commanders of the submarines have been reminded that it is their duty to exercise greater care and to observe carefully the orders issued.

The German Government could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On Nov. 29 the German Government states, in connection with the case of the American vessel William P. Frye:

The German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband, when the preconditions provided by the Declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crew and passengers of a vessel to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into her lifeboats except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coasts—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port.

Following this accumulative series of assurances, however, there seems to have been no abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon the American steamer *Communiapaw* on Dec. 3, the American steamer *Petrolite* Dec. 5, the Japanese liner *Yasaka Maru* Dec. 21, and the passenger liner *Persia* Dec. 30. In the sinking of the *Persia* out of a total of some 500 passengers and crew only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American Consul traveling to his post.

On Jan. 7, eight days after the sinking of the *Persia*, the German Government notified the Government of the United States through its Ambassador in Washington as follows:

1. German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war

zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

2. 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.

German Promises Violated

Clearly the assurances of the German Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed except upon the passengers and crew being accorded safety stood as the official position of the Imperial German Government.

On Feb. 16, 1916, the German Ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*, and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note he said:

Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects.

On March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer *Patria*, carrying a number of American citizens, was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark *Silius*, riding at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed by an unseen submarine and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia* was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer *Berwindale* was torpedoed without warning off Bantry Island with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer *Englishman* was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine U-19, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-Channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning, several of the twenty-four American passengers being injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner *Manchester Engineer* was sunk by an explosion without prior warning, with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer *Eagle Point*, carrying a

Hotchkiss gun, which she did not use, was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

The American note of Feb. 10, 1915, stated that should German vessels of war "destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two Governments," and that if such a deplorable situation should arise, "the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities."

In the American note of May 13, 1915, the Government stated:

The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and in safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

In the note of July 21, 1915, the United States Government said that

Repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

In a communication of April 18, 1916, the American Government said:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of 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 not 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.

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval

forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law." And this agreement was substantially complied with for many months, but finally, on Jan. 31, 1917, notice was given that after the following day

Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

In view of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the Imperial German Government's pledge of May 4 of the same year, the Government of the United States, on Feb. 3, 1917, stated to the Imperial German Government that

in view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purposes again to resort.

The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your Excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and, in accordance with such announcement, to deliver to your Excellency your passports.

On Feb. 3 one American ship was sunk, and since that date six American ships flying the American flag have been torpedoed, with a loss of about thirteen American citizens. In addition, fifty or more foreign vessels of both belligerent and neutral nationality with Americans on board have been torpedoed, in most cases without warning, with a consequent loss of several American citizens.

Intrigues in the United States

Since the beginning of the war German officials in the United States have engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country. Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, Captain von

Papen, Military Attaché of the embassy, Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, as well as various Consular officers and other officials, were involved in these activities, which were very widespread.

The following instances are chosen at random from the cases which have come to the knowledge of the Government:

I. By direct instructions received from the Foreign Office in Berlin the German Embassy in this country furnished funds and issued orders to the Indian Independence Committee of the Indian Nationalist Party in the United States. These instructions were usually conveyed to the committee by the military information bureau in New York, (von Igel,) or by the German Consulates in New York and San Francisco.

Dr. Chakrabarty, recently arrested in New York City, received, all in all, according to his own admission, some \$50,000 from von Igel. He claims that the greater portion of this money was used for defraying the expenses of the Indian revolutionary propaganda in this country and, as he says, for educational purposes. While this is in itself true, it is not all that was done by the revolutionists. They have sent representatives to the Far East to stir up trouble in India, and they have attempted to ship arms and ammunition to India. These expeditions have failed. The German Embassy also employed Ernest T. Euphrat to carry instructions and information between Berlin and Washington under an American passport.

II. Officers of interned German warships have violated their word of honor and escaped. In one instance the German Consul at Richmond furnished the money to purchase a boat to enable six warrant officers of the steamer Kronprinz Wilhelm to escape after breaking their parole.

III. Under the supervision of Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Hans von Wedell and, subsequently, Carl Ruroede maintained a regular office for the procurement of fraudulent passports for German reservists. These operations were directed and financed in part by Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel. Indictments were returned, Carl Ruroede sentenced to the penitentiary, and a num-

ber of German officers fined. Von Wedell escaped and has apparently been drowned at sea. Von Wedell's operations were also known to high officials in Germany. When von Wedell became suspicious that forgeries committed by him on a passport application had become known, he conferred with Captain von Papen and obtained money from him wherewith to make his escape.

IV. James J. F. Archibald, under cover of an American passport and in the pay of the German Government through Ambassador Bernstorff, carried dispatches for Ambassador Dumba and otherwise engaged in unneutral activities.

V. Albert O. Sander, Charles Wunnenberg, and others, German agents in this country, were engaged, among other activities, in sending spies to England, equipped with American passports, for the purpose of securing military information. Several such men have been sent. Sander and Wunnenberg have pleaded guilty to indictments brought against them in New York City, as has George Voux Bacon, one of the men sent abroad by them.

VI. American passports have been counterfeited and counterfeits found on German agents. Baron von Cupenberg, a German agent, when arrested abroad, bore a counterfeit of an American passport issued to Gustav C. Roeder; Irving Guy Ries received an American passport, went to Germany, where the police retained his passports for twenty-four hours. Later a German spy named Carl Paul Julius Hensel was arrested in London with a counterfeit of the Ries passport in his possession.

VII. Prominent officials of the Hamburg-American Line, who, under the direction of Captain Boy-Ed, endeavored to provide German warships at sea with coal and other supplies in violation of the statutes of the United States, have been tried and convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. Some twelve or more vessels were involved in this plan.

VIII. Under the direction of Captain Boy-Ed and the German Consulate at San Francisco, and in violation of our law, the steamships Sacramento and Mazatlan carried supplies from San

Francisco to German war vessels. The Olsen and Mahoney, which was engaged in a similar enterprise, was detained. The money for these ventures was furnished by Captain Boy-Ed. Indictments have been returned in connection with these matters against a large number of persons.

IX. Werner Horn, a Lieutenant in the German reserve, was furnished funds by Captain Franz von Papen and sent, with dynamite, under orders to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me. He was partially successful. He is now under indictment for the unlawful transportation of dynamite on passenger trains and is in jail awaiting trial following the dismissal of his appeal by the Supreme Court.

X. Captain von Papen furnished funds to Albert Kaltschmidt of Detroit, who is involved in a plot to blow up a factory at Walkerville, Canada, and the armory at Windsor, Canada.

Bomb Plots Against Ships

XI. Robert Fay, Walter Scholtz, and Paul Daeche have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary and three others are under indictment for conspiracy to prepare bombs and attach them to allied ships leaving New York Harbor. Fay, who was the principal in this scheme, was a German soldier. He testified that he received finances from a German secret agent in Brussels, and told Von Papen of his plans, who advised him that his device was not practicable, but that he should go ahead with it, and if he could make it work he would consider it.

XII. Under the direction of Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Dr. Walter T. Scheele, Captain von Kleist, Captain Wolpert of the Atlas Steamship Company, and Captain Rode of the Hamburg-American Line manufactured incendiary bombs and placed them on board allied vessels. The shells in which the chemicals were placed were made on board the steamship Friedrich der Grosse. Scheele was furnished \$1,000 by von Igel wherewith to become a fugitive from justice.

XIII. Captain Franz Rintelen, a re-

serve officer in the German Navy, came to this country secretly for the purpose of preventing the exportation of munitions of war to the Allies and of getting to Germany needed supplies. He organized and financed Labor's National Peace Council in an effort to bring about an embargo on the shipment of munitions of war, tried to bring about strikes, &c.

XIV. Consul General Bopp, at San Francisco, Vice Consul General von Schaick, Baron George Wilhelm von Brincken, (an employe of the consulate,) Charles C. Crowley, and Mrs. Margaret W. Cornell (secret agents of the German Consulate at San Francisco) have been convicted of conspiracy to send agents into Canada to blow up railroad tunnels and bridges, and to wreck vessels sailing from Pacific Coast ports with war material for Russia and Japan.

XV. Paul Koenig, head of the secret-service work of the Hamburg-American Line, by direction of his superior officers, largely augmented his organization and under the direction of Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert carried on secret work for the German Government. He secured and sent spies to Canada to gather information concerning the Welland Canal, the movements of Canadian troops to England, bribed an employe of a bank for information concerning shipments to the Allies, sent spies to Europe on American passports to secure military information, and was involved with Captain von Papen in plans to place bombs on ships of the Allies leaving New York Harbor, &c. Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert had frequent conferences with Koenig in his office, at theirs, and at outside places. Koenig and certain of his associates are under indictment.

Welland Canal Plot

XVI. Captain von Papen, Captain Hans Tauscher, Wolf von Igel, and a number of German reservists organized an expedition to go into Canada, destroy the Welland Canal, and endeavor to terrorize Canadians in order to delay the sending of troops from Canada to Europe. Indictments have been returned

against these persons. Wolf von Igel furnished Fritzen, one of the conspirators in this case, money on which to flee from New York City. Fritzen is now in jail in New York City.

XVII. With money furnished by official German representatives in this country, a cargo of arms and ammunition was purchased and shipped on board the schooner Annie Larsen. Through the activities of German official representatives in this country and other Germans a number of Indians were procured to form an expedition to go on the steamship *Maverick*, meet the *Annie Larsen*, take over her cargo, and endeavor to bring about a revolution in India. This plan involved the sending of a German officer to drill Indian recruits and the entire plan was managed and directed by Captain von Papen, Captain Hans Tauscher, and other official German representatives in this country.

XVIII. Gustav Stahl, a German reservist, made an affidavit which he admitted was false, regarding the armament of the *Lusitania*, which affidavit was forwarded to the State Department by Ambassador von Bernstorff. He plead guilty to an indictment charging perjury, and was sentenced to the penitentiary. Koenig, herein mentioned, was active in securing this affidavit.

XIX. The German Embassy organized, directed, and financed the Hans Libau Employment Agency, through which extended efforts were made to induce employes of manufacturers engaged in supplying various kinds of material to the Allies to give up their positions in an effort to interfere with the output of such manufacturers. Von Papen indorsed this organization as a military measure, and it was hoped through its propaganda to cripple munition factories.

XX. The German Government has assisted financially a number of newspapers in this country in return for pro-German propaganda.

XXI. Many facts have been secured indicating that Germans have aided and encouraged financially and otherwise the activities of one or the other faction in Mexico, the purpose being to keep the

United States occupied along its borders and to prevent the exportation of munitions of war to the Allies; see, in this connection, the activities of Rintelen, Stallforth, Kopf, the German Consul at Chihuahua; Krum-Hellen, Felix Somerfeld, (Villa's representative at New York,) Carl Heynen, Gustav Steinberg, and many others.

Belgian Relief Ships Sunk

When the Commission for Relief in Belgium began its work in October, 1914, it received from the German authorities, through the various Governments concerned, definite written assurances that ships engaged in carrying cargoes for the relief of the civil population of Belgium and Northern France should be immune from attack. In order that there may be no room for attacks upon these ships through misunderstanding, each ship is given a safe conduct by the German diplomatic representative in the country from which it sails, and, in addition, bears conspicuously upon its sides markings which have been agreed upon with the German authorities; furthermore, similar markings are painted upon the decks of the ships in order that they may be readily recognized by airplanes.

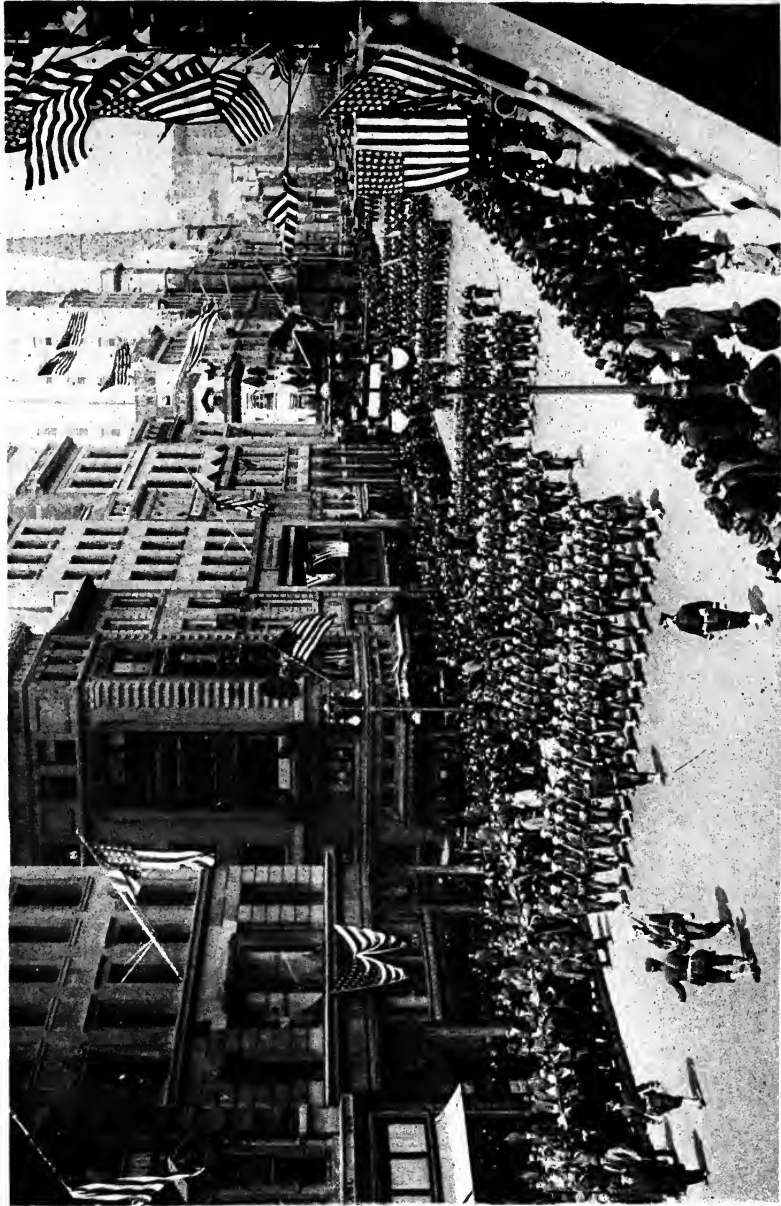
Upon the rupture of relations with Germany the commission was definitely assured by the German Government that its ships would be immune from attack by following certain prescribed courses and conforming to the arrangements previously made.

Despite these solemn assurances there have been several unwarranted attacks upon ships under charter to the commission.

On March 7 or 8 the Norwegian ship *Storstad*, carrying 10,000 tons of corn from Buenos Aires to Rotterdam for the commission was sunk in broad daylight by a German submarine despite the conspicuous markings of the commission which the submarine could not help observing. The *Storstad* was repeatedly shelled without warning and finally torpedoed.

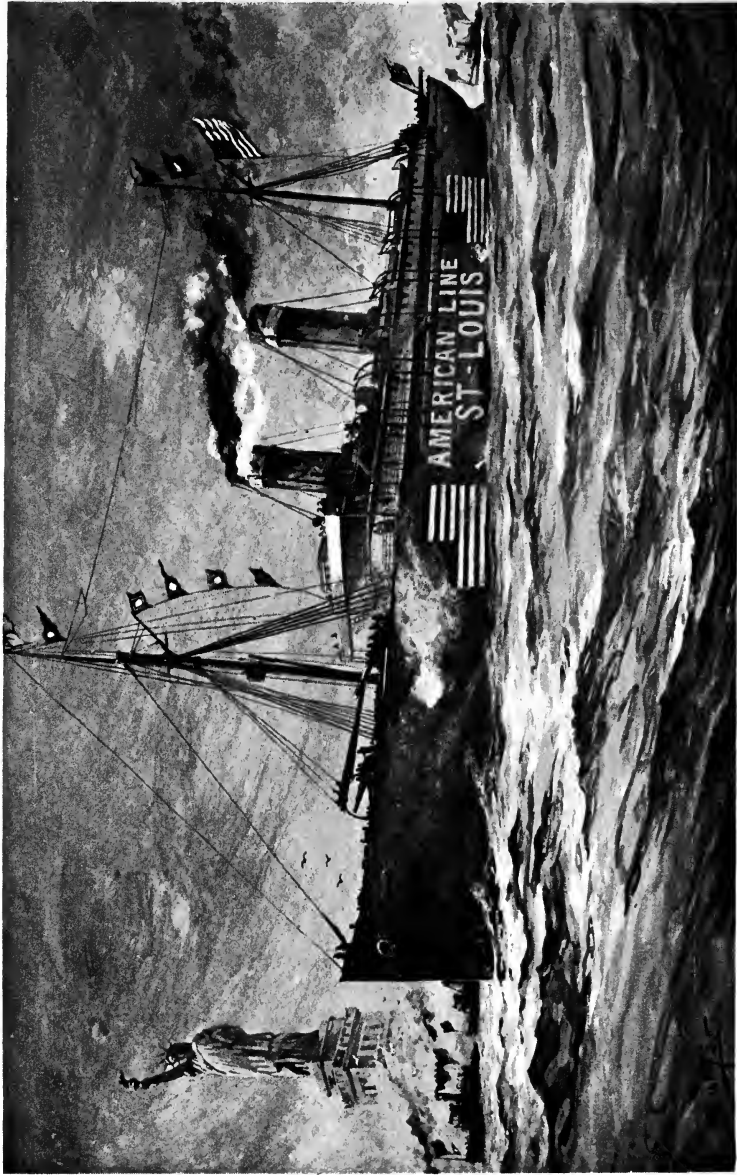
On March 19 the steamships *Tunisie* and *Haelen*, under charter to the com-

NAVAL MILITIA MARCHING DOWN FIFTH AVENUE



The First Battalion, New York Naval Militia, on Its Way to the Train to Begin Active Sea Service in the War

FIRST ARMED AMERICAN STEAMSHIP LEAVING NEW YORK



The Liner St. Louis, With Two Guns Forward and One Aft. Was the First American Merchant Vessel to Carry Arms Through the "Barred" Submarine Zone; She Sailed March 17, 1917.

(Drawing by M. J. Burns. © 1917 by New York Times Co.)

mission, proceeding to the United States under safe conducts and guarantees from the German Minister at The Hague and bearing conspicuous marking of the commission, were attacked without warning by a German submarine outside the danger zone, (56 degrees 15 minutes north, 5 degrees 32 minutes east.) The ships were not sunk, but on the Haelen seven men were killed, including the first and third officers; a port boat was sunk; a hole was made in the port bunker above the water line; and the ships sustained sundry damages to decks and engines.

Indignities to Americans

Various Consular officers have suffered indignities and humiliation at the hands of German frontier authorities. The following are illustrations:

Mr. Pike, Consul at St. Gall, Switzerland, on proceeding to his post with a passport duly indorsed by German officials in New York and Copenhagen, was on Nov. 26, 1916, subjected to great indignities at Warnemünde on the German frontier. Mr. Pike refused to submit to search of his person, the removal of his clothing, or the seizure of his official reports and papers of a private and confidential nature. He was therefore obliged to return to Copenhagen.

Mr. Murphy, the Consul General at Sofia, and his wife, provided with passports from the German legations at The Hague and Copenhagen, were on two occasions stripped and searched and subjected to great humiliation at the same frontier station. No consideration was given them because of their official position.

Such has been the behavior on the part of German officials notwithstanding that Consular officials hold positions of dignity and responsibility under their Government and that during the present war Germany has been placed under deep obligation to American Consular officers by their efforts in the protection of German interests.

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

On Jan. 19 Mr. Gerard telegraphed that the evening papers contained a report that the English steamer Yarrow-

dale had been brought to Swinemunde as prize with 469 prisoners on board taken from ships captured by German auxiliary cruisers; that among these prisoners were 103 neutrals; and that such of these as had been taken on board enemy ships and had accepted pay on such ships would be held as prisoners of war.

After repeated inquiries Mr. Gerard learned that there were among the Yarrowdale prisoners seventy-two men claiming American citizenship.

On Feb. 4 Mr. Gerard was informed by Count Montgelas of the Foreign Office that the Americans taken on the Yarrowdale would be released immediately on the ground that they could not have known at the time of sailing that it was Germany's intention to treat armed merchantmen as ships of war.

Despite this assurance, the prisoners were not released, but some time prior to Feb. 17 the German Minister for Foreign Affairs told the Spanish Ambassador that the American prisoners from the Yarrowdale would be liberated "in a very short time."

Upon receipt of this information a formal demand was made through the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin for the immediate release of these men. The message sent the Spanish Ambassador was as follows:

If Yarrowdale prisoners have not been released, please make formal demand in the name of the United States for their immediate release. If they are not promptly released and allowed to cross the frontier without further delay, please state to the Foreign Minister that this policy of the Imperial Government, if continued, apparently without the slightest justification, will oblige the Government of the United States to consider what measures it may be necessary to take in order to obtain satisfaction for the continued detention of these innocent American citizens.

On Feb. 25 the American Ambassador at Madrid was informed by the Spanish Foreign Office that the Yarrowdale prisoners had been released on the 16th inst. The foregoing statement appears to have been based on erroneous information. The men finally reached Zurich, Switzerland, on the afternoon of March 11.

Official reports now in the possession of the Department of State indicate that these American sailors were from the moment of their arrival in Germany, on Jan. 3, subjected to the most cruel and heartless treatment. Although the weather was very cold, they were given no suitable clothes, and many of them stood about for hours barefoot in the snow. The food supplied them was utterly inadequate. After one cup of coffee in the morning almost the only article of food given them was boiled frosted cabbage, with mush once a week and beans once a week. One member of the crew states that, without provocation, he was severely kicked in the abdomen by a German officer. He appears still to be suffering severely from this assault. Another sailor is still suffering from a wound caused by shrapnel fired by the Germans at an open boat in which he and his companions had taken refuge after the sinking of the *Georgic*.

All of the men stated that their treatment had been so inhuman that should a submarine be sighted in the course of their voyage home they would prefer to be drowned rather than have any further experience in German prison camps.

It is significant that the inhuman treatment accorded these American sailors occurred a month before the break in relations and while Germany was on every occasion professing the most cordial friendship for the United States.

Other Unfriendly Acts

After the suspension of diplomatic relations the German authorities cut off the telephone at the embassy at Berlin

and suppressed Mr. Gerard's communication by telegraph and post. Mr. Gerard was not even permitted to send to American Consular officers in Germany the instructions he had received for them from the Department of State. Neither was he allowed to receive his mail. Just before he left Berlin the telephonic communication at the embassy was restored and some telegrams and letters were delivered. No apologies were offered, however.

The Government of the United States is in possession of instructions addressed by the German Minister for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico concerning a proposed alliance of Germany, Japan, and Mexico to make war on the United States. The text of this document is as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico on his own initiative should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Reception Accorded the President's War Message

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to Congress in behalf of "a world safe for democracy," followed quickly by the action of Congress in declaring a state of war between the United States and Germany, created a profound sensation throughout the world. It was received by the nations composing

the Entente Alliance with thrilling enthusiasm, being conceded by all to be the pivotal point in the great war. In this country there was no tumult or hysteria, such as ordinarily accompanies a nation's entrance into war, but there was widespread, definite, and very earnest approval, coupled with ardent expressions of

loyalty from all sections and all classes. The apprehension felt in some quarters—so seriously regarded as to be scarcely articulated in the most intimate circles—that there might be disturbances and riots, perhaps civil revolt, among the millions of citizens and alien residents of Teutonic blood, was wholly dispelled within a few hours. There was not a ripple in any of the large German-American centres, not even a protest. The decision of Congress was accepted by the German language press of the United States as regrettable, but this expression in every case was accompanied by a fervent declaration of loyalty to this country. There were arrests in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and some Western cities—less than one hundred of such cases among the 10,000,000 persons of Teutonic parentage—the arrests in every instance being based on specific charges of unneutral acts and plottings committed prior to the declaration of war.

European Congratulations

Telegrams of congratulation came to President Wilson from the heads of the Governments of the Entente nations, from their leading Ministers, from learned societies and universities; the Mayors of Paris, London, and other large cities in Great Britain, France, and Italy sent telegrams of felicitation to American cities. Neutral nations in some instances sent expressions of approval. Definite action was taken by Cuba, Panama, and China; the latter nation broke off relations with Germany following this action by the United States. The declaration of war by the United States was followed by similar action by the Republics of Cuba and Panama. Brazil broke off relations with Germany a few days later and on April 14 seized all German ships in Brazilian ports. The action of the various nations is given in fuller detail elsewhere.

President of France

President Poincaré of France sent the following cablegram to President Wilson on April 4:

At the moment when, under the generous inspiration of yourself, the great American

Republic, faithful to its ideals and its traditions, is coming forward to defend with the force of arms the cause of justice and of liberty, the people of France are filled with the deepest feelings of brotherly appreciation.

Permit me again to convey to you, Mr. President, in this solemn and grave hour, an assurance of the same sentiments of which I recently gave you evidence, sentiments which, under the present circumstances, have grown in depth and warmth.

I am confident that I voice the thought of all France in expressing to you and to the American Nation the joy and the pride which we feel today as our hearts once again beat in unison with yours.

This war would not have reached its final import had not the United States been led by the enemy himself to take part in it. To every impartial spirit it will be apparent, in the future more than ever in the past, that German imperialism, which desired, prepared, and declared this war, had conceived the mad dream of establishing its hegemony throughout the world. It has succeeded only in bringing about a revolt of the conscience of humanity.

In never-to-be-forgotten language you have made yourself, before the universe, the eloquent interpreter of outraged laws and a menaced civilization.

Honor to you, Mr. President, and to your noble country. I beg you to believe in my devoted friendship.

RAYMOND POINCARÉ.

To this President Wilson replied as follows:

In this trying hour, when the destinies of civilized mankind are in the balance, it has been a source of gratification and joy to me to receive your congratulations upon the step which my country has been constrained to take in opposition to the relentless policy and course of imperialistic Germany.

It is very delightful to us that France, who stood shoulder to shoulder with us of the Western world in our struggle for independence, should now give us such a welcome into the lists of battle as upholders of the freedom and rights of humanity.

We stand as partners of the noble democracies whose aims and acts make for the perpetuation of the rights and freedom of man and for the safeguarding of the true principles of human liberties. In the name of the American people, I salute you and your illustrious countrymen.

Address by Premier Ribot

Premier Ribot, in an address to the Senators of France, referring to the President's speech, said:

What particularly touches us is that the United States has always kept alive that friendship toward us which was sealed with our blood. We recognize with joy that the

bond of sympathy between the peoples is inspired by ideals which can be cultivated in the heart of democracy. The starry flag is going to float beside the tricolor. Our hands shall join and our hearts shall beat in unison.

President Wilson makes it plain to all that the conflict is truly one between the liberty of modern society and the spirit of the domination of military despotism. It is this which causes the President's message to stir our hearts to their depths as a message of deliverance to the whole world. The people who in the eighteenth century made a declaration of rights under the inspiration of the writings of our philosophers, the people who placed Washington and Lincoln among the foremost of its heroes, the people who in the last century liberated the slaves, is well worthy to give the world such an exalted example.

For us, after such death and ruin, such heroic suffering, the words of the President mean renewal of the sentiments which have animated and sustained us throughout this long trial. The powerful and decisive assistance which the United States brings us will be not material aid alone; it will be moral aid, above all, a veritable consolation. As we see the conscience of the whole world stirred in mighty protest against the atrocities of which we are victims, we feel that we are fighting not alone for ourselves and our allies, but for something immortal; that we are striving to establish a new order of things. And so our sacrifices have not been in vain. The blood poured out so generously by the sons of France has been shed in order to spread the ideals of liberty and justice which are necessary for the establishment of concord among nations.

In the name of all the country, the Government of the French Republic addresses to the Government and people of the United States an expression of its gratitude, and its most ardent greetings.

President Wilson's address was placarded on all official billboards throughout France by order of the War Cabinet. Celebrations were held in all parts of the French Republic, and at Paris many notable public functions, at which the American Ambassador was the guest of honor, were attended by the most distinguished men in literature and public life.

The American flag was displayed everywhere in Paris along with the tricolor, and on the fighting line in France the American aviators were allowed to display their colors for the first time. When the 1918 classes were called out the boys buoyantly responded, wearing the Stars and Stripes along with the French colors.

In the famous attack and capture of Vimy Ridge near Lens, by the Canadians early in April, an American was in the front ranks bearing an American flag, and fell wounded.

Message from British Premier

Premier Lloyd George on April 6 sent the following message to the American people:

America has at one bound become a world power in a sense she never was before. She waited until she found a cause worthy of her traditions. The American people held back until they were fully convinced that the fight was not a sordid scrimmage for power and possessions, but an unselfish struggle to overthrow a sinister conspiracy against human liberty and human rights.

Once that conviction was reached, the great Republic of the West has leaped into the arena, and she stands now side by side with the European democracies who, bruised and bleeding after three years of grim conflict, are still fighting the most savage foe that ever menaced the freedom of the world.

The glowing phrases of the President's noble deliverance illumine the horizon and make clearer than ever the goal we are striving to reach.

There are three phrases which will stand out forever in the story of this crusade. The first is that "The world must be safe for democracy." The next, "The menace to peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will and not by the will of their people," and the crowning phrase is that in which he declares that "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations."

These words represent the faith which inspires and sustains our people in the tremendous sacrifices they have made and are still making. They also believe that the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy, upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government; upon respect for the rights and liberties of nations both great and small, and upon the universal dominion of public right.

To all of these the Prussian military autocracy is an implacable foe.

The Imperial War Cabinet, representative of all the peoples of the British Empire, wish me on their behalf to recognize the chivalry and courage which call the people of the United States to dedicate the whole of their resources to the greatest cause that ever engaged human endeavor.

Words of Mr. Asquith

Former Premier Asquith, in an address to the American people, said:

The people of the United States have been

forced, as the United Kingdom was forced, into a struggle which, in neither case, was of our own seeking. They have realized as we have realized that the choice lay between peace with humiliation and war with honor. There was no middle course, for armed neutrality, as the President points out with irresistible cogency, affords no secure or powerful foothold.

The provocation offered in the two cases was different, but in both the challenge was one which neither nation could refuse to take up without the sacrifice of its self-respect and without a betrayal of the sacred trust which is imposed upon all free peoples, to uphold the defense of liberty and humanity. Never had the fundamental issues which are at stake been stated with more precision or with a greater elevation of thought and language than in the President's address.

The present German warfare, he points out, is a war against all nations, and the animating motives of the Allies, by whose side he invites his fellow-countrymen to range themselves, are not vindictiveness, but vindication—the vindication of those human rights which are the common interest and the natural bond of the whole family of civilized societies.

To this great purpose the American people now dedicate their lives and fortunes—as we have already dedicated ours—conscious that they are listening to and obeying one of those supreme calls which come but rarely in history, but which, when they come, sound in the ears of a community of free men with a note of imperious demand.

King George's Congratulations

King George V. on April 6 cabled President Wilson as follows:

I desire on behalf of the empire to offer my heartfelt congratulations to you on the entry of the United States of America into the war for the great ideals so nobly set forth in your speech to Congress. The moral not less than the material results of this notable declaration are incalculable, and civilization itself will owe much to the decision at which, in the greatest crisis of the world's history, the people of the great Republic have arrived.

GEORGE, R. I.

April 6, 1917.

In reply to the message President Wilson cabled:

To His Majesty George V., King and Emperor:

Your eloquent message comes to me at this critical moment of our national life as proof of the community of sentiment among the free peoples of the world, now striving to defend their ideals, to maintain the blessings of national independence, and to uphold the rights of humanity.

In the name of the American people and

the Government to which they look for guidance I thank you for your inspiring words.

WOODROW WILSON.

Washington, April 8.

Enthusiasm In Italy

At Rome there was great excitement and enormous multitudes went to the American Ambassador's home displaying the Stars and Stripes and singing "The Star-Spangled Banner." President Wilson received the following address from former Premier Luzzatti and sixty-seven other Italian Deputies at Rome:

Your message, with its ideal beauty and its political contents, brings us back to that dawn of civilization when the United States, inspired by Washington, gave to the oppressed peoples of Europe and of the two Americas the fruitful example of their redemption. Your message is not addressed to the United States alone but to all humanity, and awakens the noblest instincts among free nations. Your message is the hymn of freedom.

Italy, who, by toilsome slavery, learned to love a free and a national Government, and who, having experienced the bitterness of evil Governments, longs for the liberation of all peoples groaning under despotic rulers, thanks you and acclaims you and in you acclaims the great Republic of the United States.

The Belgian Premier and Minister of War, Charles De Broqueville, sent the following message by cable to President Wilson:

The Belgian Government decided in August, 1914, to make an unprecedented application to your Excellency. It was an act of faith and hope in the moral grandeur of a republic friendly to Belgium. Our people, small in number but strong in indomitable purpose, had foreseen that in the American people and in you, who are its noblest expression, it would find support for its honor and an avenging arm for its martyrdom. It has clearly distinguished between those groups that have directed the assault against the rights of peoples and those that have deemed it necessary to follow them, moved perhaps by a false understanding of solidarity that had been accepted for other objects than the gratuitous aggression of which civilization was the victim in 1914.

The Royal Government has contracted an unforgettable debt to the generosity of the United States of America. As in 1914, it counts upon her aid to those whose only fault was to have thought like free and honest men and acted rather as the servants of honor than as traders in it. The Belgian Government salutes with joy, emotion, and respectful admiration the decisive act that, through the intermediary of your Excellency, honors the man, the nation, and humanity.

Praise From Petrograd

At Petrograd the news evoked great enthusiasm and street manifestations occurred throughout the city. Professor Milukoff, the Foreign Minister, said: "The ideal side of the war is once more emphasized by the intervention of Amer-

ica. For me it becomes still clearer under these circumstances that without victory there can be no peace."

Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma, said: "America's intervention on the side of the powers at war with Germany is the best guarantee of an early victory over the Germans."

Parliament Welcomes America's Action

RESOLUTIONS were adopted April 18 in the House of Lords and House of Commons, with only one dissenting vote in the Commons, (an Independent Irish Nationalist member who was angered at the Speaker's ruling,) as follows:

This House desires to express to the Government and people of the United States of America their profound appreciation of the action of their Government in joining the allied powers, and thus defending the high cause of freedom and rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they ever have been faced.

Bonar Law, in his address, said:

"This is not only the greatest event, but, as I believe, the turning point of the war. The New World has been brought in, or has stepped in, to restore the balance in the Old.

"Being in, the United States has already shown that her enemies must beware of her, and despite the fact that the path immediately before us is more difficult than ever before, I venture to express the hope and belief that a change is coming—that the long night of sorrow and anguish which has desolated the world is drawing to a close.

"The United States," Mr. Bonar Law continued, "possesses resources of all kinds, resources which in the long run are decisive in war, to a greater extent, probably, than any other nation. The quality of her people was shown nearly sixty years ago in a struggle which, in its essentials, was not dissimilar to that which they have now entered. Since then the American people have shown qualities of resource, energy, and readiness to adapt themselves to new situations in the art of peace, and the same qualities will now be directed in no half-hearted way

and with equal success to the art of war. The entrance of the great Republic is a fitting pendant to the revolution which has brought the Russian people, whose courage and endurance we have so much admired and whose sufferings have been so terrible, into the circle of the freed nations of mankind.

"I read the other day a characteristic extract from a German newspaper, in which it was said America was going into the war for nothing. From their point of view the statement is true. America, like the British Empire—I wish to make that plain—is animated by no love of conquest, no greed for territory, no selfish ends. The aims and ideals to which President Wilson has given noble expression in his recent speech are our aims, our ideals also."

Mr. Asquith's Praise

Seconding Bonar Law's resolution, ex-Premier Asquith said:

"It is only right and fitting that this House, the chief representative body of the British Empire, should at the earliest possible opportunity give definite and emphatic expression to the feelings which throughout the length and breadth of the empire have grown day by day in volume and fervor since the memorable decision of the President and Congress of the United States.

"I doubt whether even now the world realizes the full significance of the step America has taken. I do not use language of flattery or exaggeration when I say it is one of the most disinterested acts in history.

"Nor were American interests at home or abroad directly imperiled, least of all that greatest interest of a democratic

community, the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty," Mr. Asquith continued. "What then has enabled the President—after waiting with the patience which Pitt described as the first virtue of statesmanship—to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and horrors of the greatest war in history? It was the constraining force of conscience and humanity.

"What was it that our kinsmen in America realized as the issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which, if we are worthy of our best traditions, we are bound to indicate—essential conditions of free and honorable development of the nations of the world, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and unprotected, chivalry toward mankind, observance of good faith—these things, which we used to regard as commonplaces of international decency, one after another have been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were effete superstitions of a bygone creed.

"There was never in the minds of any of us a fear that the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable the voice of America would not be heard. She has now dedicated herself without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of causes, to which, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our fealty and devotion."

John Dillon extended greetings to the United States in the name of the Irish Nationalists.

"The Nationalists join most heartily in the welcome to the United States," Mr. Dillon said. "The full meaning of the entry of America into the struggle is difficult to describe. It is not like the entrance of the other allies, but has a more mighty significance to the whole civilized world.

"When the banner of the United States was unfurled every man of Irish blood in the United States was a loyal supporter of the President. I venture to prophesy that when the roll is called for battle the Irish will be there. They will outnumber, in proportion to their popula-

tion, all other races among the soldiers of the Republic.

"The presence of the United States at the peace conference is a sign of hope and an assurance of liberty. Her voice will be heard when the settlement comes, and Ireland knows that on that day she will have a firm and sure friend who will not desert Ireland. To America will fall the blessed task of basing peace upon liberty."

Earl Curzon's Tribute

In opening his speech on the resolution in the House of Lords, Earl Curzon said:

"The case of America entering the war is widely differentiated from that of any of the other allied countries. All of the latter had a direct personal interest in the war, but America's interest is secondary and remote. She had no ambition to gratify. Her people had a constitutional aversion to war and a rooted dislike to be involved in the secular ambitions or the quarrels of the Continent of Europe. If a nation with these hereditary instincts and traditions, after so long a period of hesitation, is yet compelled to draw the sword, there must be some great, overwhelming reason. Yes, there was a reason.

"The entry of America is a great event in moral history for the human race, and it stamps the character of the struggle in which we are engaged. America will not pause or stay until the peace of the world is built upon a sure foundation."

Viscount Bryce said:

"We recognize in the action of the American people their common devotion with ourselves to the same lofty ideals and their common loyalty to the time-honored traditions dating from our and their remote past. And we find their loyal attachment to these ideals the surest bond of unity between ourselves and our kinsfolk beyond the ocean."

April 19 was made American day in London. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled from the Victoria tower of the Houses of Parliament, being the first time in history that any but the British flag had flown there. The American colors were shown and worn everywhere.

Action by Latin-American Nations

Brazil Breaks With Germany

THE entrance of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies changed the entire status of affairs on this continent. The Western Hemisphere, which up to that time, with the exception of Canada, had held aloof from the conflict, was suddenly plunged into the maelstrom, and the various South and Central American States in turn declared themselves.

Brazil severed relations with Germany April 10. The rupture was precipitated by the sinking of the Brazilian steamship Parana, torpedoed off the port of Cherbourg, France, by a German submarine without warning. After the severance of relations great excitement prevailed throughout the country, and mass meetings in many cities demanded a declaration of war. All German ships in Brazilian waters, 46 in number, were seized by the Government. The vessels aggregate 240,770 tons, ranging from the Hamburg-American liner Blücher, 12,350 tons, formerly in the American transatlantic service, to a vessel of 1,103 tons.

At Rio de Janeiro there were 15 vessels; at Pernambuco, 12; Santos, 5; Bahia, 4; Paraiba, 3; Para, 2; Rio Grande, 2, and at Santa Catharina, Paranagua, and Maranham, 1 each.

Thirty-three of the vessels are more than 4,000 tons each.

Action of Argentina

On April 10 the Argentine Government issued a declaration announcing that it supported the position of the United States in reference to Germany. The declaration was made known to the public through bulletins posted throughout Buenos Aires, and caused a great sensation. Enthusiastic crowds marched through the streets, and the university students organized pro-ally demonstrations.

The declaration was followed by a period of the most intense excitement throughout the country. An influential part of the population were strongly

pacifist and pro-German, but the great majority were pro-American and pro-ally. A serious riot occurred at Buenos Aires on April 14, and the German Consulate and several pro-German newspaper offices were attacked; there were several deaths before the mob was quelled. The situation became more acute when it was learned on the 13th that an Argentine sailing ship, Monte Protegido, had been sunk off the European coast by a German submarine, and fresh outbreaks occurred at Buenos Aires.

Chile and Bolivia

Chile issued an official statement on April 10 that she would remain neutral.

Bolivia severed relations with Germany on April 13, and the German Minister and his staff were handed their passports that day at La Paz. The note denounced the attacks of German submarines on neutral vessels as violations of international law and of The Hague conventions. It recalled that the Bolivian Minister to Berlin was on board the Holland-Lloyd liner Tubantia when that vessel was sunk in neutral waters a year ago. The note concluded:

"Your Excellency will understand that, although we regret the breach of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the German Empire, such relations have become insupportable in existing circumstances. In consequence, your Excellency will find herewith passports for yourself and the members of your legation."

The note declared that German subjects and property would enjoy all liberties guaranteed by law, provided that they did not commit any act of delinquency, either collectively or as individuals.

The Paraguayan Government, in reply to the note of the United States, said that it recognized profoundly that Germany's military actions, which are opposed to the principles of the right of neutrals, forced the United States to resort to

arms to re-establish order and rehabilitate those rights.

The Paraguayan Government expressed "its most sincere sympathy with the Government and people of the United States."

In its reply to the United States the Uruguayan Government said that Uruguay did not recognize the right to wage unrestricted submarine warfare, "because it is an attempt against justice, violates neutral rights, and is an insult to humanity. Uruguay recognizes that the decision taken at Washington answers the situation arising from the action of Germany."

The note recalled that Uruguay in due course protested to Germany against her submarine methods, adding that the Government had decided to maintain neutrality, but recognized that the attitude of the United States was just, and expressed to it its sympathy and its sentiments of moral solidarity.

The Peruvian Government in its reply said that Peru deplored the fact that the United States had been compelled to take such action and expressed the hope of a speedy ending of the great war. No reference was made to the neutrality of Peru.

Attitude of Mexico

Mexico's attitude was announced by President Carranza in his inaugural address at Mexico City April 16. He declared that Mexico would maintain "strict and rigorous neutrality," but his message contained no friendly references to the United States; in fact, his attitude was critical and plaintive with reference to this country, and wholly lacking in warmth or any evidence of friendship. The impression it left at Washington was irritating and displeasing.

Costa Rica and Panama were the two Central American States that approved the action of the United States. Costa Rica announced that "it indorsed the course of President Wilson" and "was ready to prove it, if necessary."

Panama's War Declaration

The President of the Republic of Panama, Dr. Ramon Valdez, signed a proclamation April 7 committing Panama un-

reservedly to the assistance of the United States in the defense of the Canal. The President also canceled the exequaturs of all the German Consuls in Panama. The proclamation declares:

Our indisputable duty in this tremendous hour of history is of a common ally, whose interests and existence as well are linked indissolubly with the United States. As the situation creates dangers for our country, it is the duty of the Panaman people to cooperate with all the energies and resources they can command for the protection of the canal and to safeguard national territory.

The attitude of the people was foreseen and interpreted faithfully in a resolution unanimously approved by the National Assembly on Feb. 24, and confirmed by later laws, and the moment has arrived for the Executive to act in accordance with the declarations of the supreme body. I therefore declare that the Panaman Nation will lend emphatic co-operation to the United States against enemies who execute or attempt to execute hostile acts against the territory of the canal, or in any manner affect or tend to affect the common interests.

The Government will adopt adequate measures in accordance with the circumstances. I consider it the patriotic duty of all Panaman citizens to facilitate the military operations which the forces of the United States undertake within the limits of our country. Foreigners, resident or transient, will be obliged to submit to the conditions of this declaration.

It was announced that Germans resident in Panama would be interned if they give any evidence of being involved in plots.

The proclamation was issued after President Valdez had sent a message to President Wilson indorsing the American action in declaring a state of war with Germany "after the United States had given unequivocal proofs of its love of peace and had made efforts to save Western civilization from the horrors of war, and had borne with patience a long series of provocations as irritating as they have been unjustifiable."

Cuba's Prompt Action

President Menocal, on the day that the United States took action, sent a message to Congress asking permission to declare war, declaring that the debt Cuba owes to the United States as well as the principles of justice and humanity demanded that such action be taken.

An extraordinary session of Congress

was held the next afternoon when the following bill was presented:

Reasons of gratitude to the powerful American Nation impose upon us the duty to ally ourselves to it in its patriotic purpose to crush the militarism that has carried such disaster to the whole universe, and we ought not to waste a single moment in taking such action which will exalt us, offering everything that may be necessary to the Star and Stripes, seconded by our own lone star banner, to maintain not only in this continent, but also in the Old World, the practices of liberty, right, and justice.

Whatever effort Cuba shall make to assist the United States of America will be looked upon as the generous action of a grateful people and of a friend who can never forget the sacrifice and effort made by the United States to co-operate in our struggle for independence. Therefore the undersigned representatives present for the consideration of this legislative body this bill:

Article I.—The Executive is authorized to organize and place at the disposition of the United States of America a contingent of 10,000 men, to the end of aiding in its military purposes the said nation in the present European conflict.

Article II.—The Congress of the republic grants in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of Article XLVII. of the Constitution to Colonel José Estrames y Vega of the liberating army and Congressman Ofer of Havana and to other citizens of the republic who may enlist permission to absent themselves from the territory of the republic and serve in the army of Cuba, to be placed at the disposition of the War Department of the United States of America.

President Menocal in his message said:

Cuba cannot remain neutral in this supreme conflict because the declaration of neutrality would oblige her to treat all the belligerents equally, refusing them with equal rigor any access to her ports and imposing on them the same restrictions and prohibitions, which would be in the present case contrary to public sentiment, to the essence of the pacts and moral obligations, moral rather than legal, which bind us to the United States; and would result, lastly, because of our geographical location, in being the cause of innumerable conflicts, the consequences of which it is easy to predict for a friendly and allied nation, and which would prove an inexcusable weakness and condescension for the attitude of implacable aggression unconditionally proclaimed by the Imperial German Government against the rights of all neutral peoples and against the principles of humanity and justice, which constitute the highest note of modern civilization.

The Congress met on April 7 and the declaration of war was passed by both houses without a dissenting vote, amid scenes of gravity and intense feeling. The war resolution as passed follows:

Article I. Resolved, That from today a state of war is formally declared between the Republic of Cuba and the Imperial Government of Germany, and the President of the Republic is authorized and directed by this resolution to employ all the forces of the nation and the resources of our Government to make war against the Imperial German Government with the object of maintaining our rights, guarding our territory and providing for our security, prevent any acts which may be attempted against us, and defend the navigation of the seas, the liberty of commerce, and the rights of neutrals and international justice.

Article II. The President of the Republic is hereby authorized to use all the land and naval forces in the form he may deem necessary, using existing forces, reorganizing them, or creating new ones, and to dispose of the economic forces of the nation in any way he may deem necessary.

Article III. The President will give account to Congress of the measures adopted in fulfillment of this law, which will be in operation from the moment of its publication in the Official Gazette.

The President immediately signed the measure. On April 8 Count von Verdy du Vernois, the German Minister, received his passports. The German ships in Cuban waters were seized on the night of the 7th; all had been damaged.

On April 11 Speaker Clark laid before the United States Congress, amid applause, a message from Miguel Coyula, Speaker of the Cuban House of Representatives, regarding the Cuban declaration of war against Germany. It read:

The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, in declaring that a state of war exists between this nation and the German Empire, resolved, all members rising to their feet and amid the greatest enthusiasm, to address a message of confraternity to that body announcing the pride felt by the people of Cuba in uniting their modest efforts to those of the great nation contending for the triumph of right and respect for the liberty of small nationalities.

The House also resolved to express the special gratification of the Cuban people in uniting their flag side by side to that of the glorious nation which in days of undying memory sacrificed the blood of her sons to help the people of Cuba to conquer their liberty and independence.

Mobilizing the Army and Navy

MANY weeks before the present crisis had reached the stage of war the United States Government was actively pushing all possible preliminaries for the event. On March 25 President Wilson issued an executive order increasing the enlisted strength of the United States Navy to 87,000 men, in accordance with the emergency authority conferred upon him by the naval service act of Aug. 29, 1916. The next day Secretary Daniels sent a telegram to 2,600 editors throughout the country, stating that new ships and ships in reserve were being fully commissioned as rapidly as possible, and asking that the public be urged to furnish the naval recruits imperatively needed to man these vessels.

On March 26 President Wilson signed an executive order increasing the authorized enlisted strength of the United States Marine Corps to 17,400 men, an increase of 2,419, the limit allowed under the emergency act.

At the Naval Academy 183 new Ensigns were rushed into the navy three months in advance of their time, and were graduated on March 29, at once receiving their assignments on various vessels.

Calling Navy Into Service

When the declaration of a state of war became operative on April 6 Secretary Daniels signed an order at 4:05 o'clock the same afternoon for the mobilization of the navy. One hundred code messages were sent by wireless and telegraph from the office of Admiral W. S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, within a few minutes after the signing of the order. The messages set in motion the machinery by which the navy went on a war basis with every ship and shore station, and by which the Naval Militia of all the States, as well as the Naval Reserves and the Coast Guard Service, passed into the control of the Navy Department.

There were about 584 officers and 7,933 enlisted men in the Naval Militia, a total force of 8,517. These assembled at design-

ated points and were assigned to ships to be used in the Coast Patrol Service or on other naval duty. All ships in active commission in the regular navy were ready for duty when the order came. But there were battleships in the reserve fleets, reserve destroyers, and other reserve units that had only nucleus crews, which were now to be fully manned and put into service. Other vessels which had been out of commission were assigned to active duty as rapidly as possible.

There were approximately 361 vessels of the navy completed and fit for service, including 12 first-line battleships, 25 second-line battleships, 9 armored cruisers, 24 other cruisers, 7 monitors, 50 destroyers, 16 coast torpedo vessels, 17 torpedo boats, 44 submarines, 8 tenders to torpedo boats, 28 gunboats, 4 transports, 4 supply ships, a hospital ship, 21 fuel ships, 14 converted yachts, 49 tugs, and 28 minor units. The mobilization order also called into active service about 70,000 enlisted men, as well as over 8,500 members of the Naval Militia, a considerable number of Naval Reserves, and the men in the Coast Guard Service. It put into the regular naval service all new units in process of being purchased as well as those which had been offered for the power boat patrol by yachtsmen and other patriotic citizens along with their volunteer crews.

The total number of men required for the proper mobilization of the navy as it stands is 99,809 regulars and 45,870 reserves. It was estimated that 73,817 regulars and 25,219 reserves were needed for the battleships, scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine force, and training ships. For the Coast Defense forces it was estimated that 10,633 regulars and 17,195 reserves were needed, and for the various shore stations 10,318 regulars and 2,080 reserves.

The order called out those retired officers who had been registered in the department as fit for duty in the event of war to the Naval Reserve force, Naval Militia, examining boards, and bureau

duties, where they in turn released officers on the active list, and enabled the latter to go to sea for fighting duty.

Naval Recruiting Campaign

When the mobilization order came to the navy it still lacked 35,000 men to bring it up to the full authorized strength of 87,000. Recruiting had been carried on in the last few weeks with exceptional energy, but the average daily gain was only about twenty-five men. After the declaration of a state of war the call became more urgent, and large posters on the highways and handbills stuck across the front of taxicabs and other vehicles re-echoed the appeal for men. An increase of enlistments followed at once.

At the end of the first week of April the Naval Reserve recruiting office in New York City was crowded daily, and the daily total of recruits in the country was more than 700. Enlistments for the navy and for the Marine Corps all continued to show marked gains. On April 17 the navy was enrolling nearly 1,000 men a day, and Secretary Daniels announced that he already had 71,696 of the 87,000 men thus far authorized.

Meanwhile the mobilization of a large fleet of "mosquito craft" to patrol the Atlantic Coast and fight U-boats if they invaded American waters was in progress under Secretary Daniels and Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations. Many owners of private yachts donated the use of their craft and crews for this purpose, and other men of wealth began building submarine chasers of a kind that had proved successful in British waters.

More than fifty small boat builders submitted proposals on March 31 for the construction of chasers and patrol boats of the 110-foot and 50-foot types, indicating that the Navy Department would be able to get all the small boats it needed in a comparatively brief time. On that date the coast patrol fleet was organized on an official basis under the Government, and Captain Henry B. Wilson was detached from his post as commander of the superdreadnought Pennsylvania to take charge of the coast "mosquito fleet."

Radio Stations Seized

Seizure of all wireless stations in the United States and its possessions was ordered by President Wilson on April 6, and the enforcement of the order was delegated to the Secretary of the Navy. Accordingly the navy at once took possession of the radio system throughout the country, assuming control of all commercial stations that might be useful to the Government in war time, and suppressing and dismantling the rest, including thousands of amateur wireless plants.

Defensive war zones, guarded by patrol boats, were established around the whole coast line of the United States through an executive order issued by President Wilson on April 5. To prevent surprise attacks against New York and other coast points by German submarines or raiders, this order created a series of local barred zones extending from two to ten miles from the larger harbors in American waters all the way from Maine to California and the Philippine Islands. All vessels are barred from entering these harbors at night, and entrance or exit in daytime must be in accordance with certain rules of pilotage and other matters which the patrol boats are under orders to enforce. The ports at both ends of the Panama Canal are closed each night under the same order.

Contracts for the construction of twenty-four destroyers of thirty-five-knot speed were awarded by the Navy Department on March 24. Ten will be built at the Union Iron Works, San Francisco; six by William Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia, and eight by the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Quincy, Mass. The contracts will be paid on the basis of cost plus 10 per cent. profit. The average cost will be in the neighborhood of \$1,400,000 for each vessel. The Navy Department awarded the contracts on the day the bids were opened, and Secretary Daniels stated that he was ready to award similar ones for fifty destroyers, all urgently needed, and to pay for them out of the \$115,000,000 emergency fund; but the shipbuilding plants of the country were so overcrowded with other naval work that only three were able to do any-

thing in that direction at the present time. Of the twenty-four destroyers in question fifteen belong to the regular 1917 program and nine to the emergency program. Including these new orders the navy now has under construction a total of fifty-two destroyers, eight of which were authorized in 1914-15 and twenty in 1916.

Secretary Daniels announced on April 11 that Charleston, W. Va., had been selected as the site for the Government armor plate plant, for the construction of which Congress appropriated \$11,000,000.

National Guard Mobilized

The preliminary steps toward mobilizing the National Guard also were well under way before the assembling of Congress in special session. The War Department issued orders on March 25 calling out fourteen National Guard units "for police purposes" in New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, besides the District of Columbia. They were assigned to protect railways, bridges, water systems, and other strategic points. As an example of the promptness with which these State units got into active service it may be noted that every man of the Seventy-first New York Infantry Regiment left New York City under secret orders on April 1.

On March 26 President Wilson called out twenty additional regiments and five separate battalions of National Guard units in eighteen different States, from Ohio to the Pacific Coast. The following day he suspended the muster out of the 22,000 National Guardsmen that still remained in the Federal service from the Mexican border mobilization. Seven more regiments were called into service in the next two days, and by the beginning of April the total under arms was more than 60,000, or over one-third of the 150,000 men in all the National Guard organizations in the country. Then a temporary halt was called, owing to inability to furnish supplies as fast as the men were mustered in.

It was announced that twenty-six training camps for the military training

of civilians would be maintained by the War Department in various parts of the country during the Summer months, with facilities for drilling 25,000 men.

State Governments responded generally to the needs of the hour. New York promptly appropriated \$1,000,000 for defense, Massachusetts the same, New Hampshire \$500,000, and many other States similar amounts. Mobilization of National Guard units throughout New England was especially prompt and rapid. College men in all parts of the country organized student regiments, and in many cases a majority of the whole undergraduate community began drilling. Home defense leagues in cities and towns sprang up from Maine to California, and obtained professional military drill; in New York City the body of this nature created by Police Commissioner Woods numbered nearly 10,000 men, the equivalent of a United States Army division, with a full military organization and a large degree of effectiveness. Mayor Mitchel of New York City organized a Committee on National Defense, under whose leadership nearly all the States of the Union joined in making April 19—the anniversary of the battle of Lexington—a "Wake Up, America!" day.

Patriotic enthusiasm was everywhere in evidence, yet enlistments in the regular army continued to come very slowly. Men of military age awaited the action of Congress, which was in process of determining whether to depend once more upon the volunteer system or to enact a compulsory service law. President Wilson and the Army General Staff strongly favored universal compulsory service for young men, and two bills embodying such a system were introduced in Congress, but they met considerable opposition from the outset. On April 18 the House Military Committee, by a vote of 13 to 8, finally agreed to report the Army General Staff bill with an amendment authorizing the President first to try the volunteer system for raising 500,000 men, and then to use the selective draft if the volunteer method proved unsuccessful. The matter rests there at the present writing. Meanwhile Secretary Baker has announced that men are en-

listing in the regular army at the average rate of 1,434 a day.

Many large banks and commercial houses have undertaken to keep up the salaries of National Guardsmen recruited

from among their employes, as was done at the time of the call to the Mexican border, when one large telephone company alone paid \$284,000 to absent employes.

Organizing for Economic Defense

A NATION-WIDE system of economic war activities developed during the month, nearly all centring about the Council of National Defense, a body consisting officially of the members of the President's Cabinet and its civilian Advisory Commission, a group of picked business men and leaders of industries. The members of the Advisory Commission are: Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary; Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of Committee on Supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, in charge of raw materials; Daniel Willard, transportation; Dr. F. H. Martin, medicine and sanitation; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, science and research; Howard Coffin, munitions, and W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council. Each is working through a board of experts to organize the war activities in his department. Many of these boards were created in April.

The important work of the Food Board was placed under the management of Herbert C. Hoover, the executive head of the Belgian Relief Commission. The task assigned to the Food Board is that of coping with the problems of food shortage, distribution, and waste; price control, the mobilization of the agricultural resources of the country, and the formulating of all necessary measures to keep up the stream of American food supplies to the Allies.

Presidents of the leading railroads of the country met at Washington on April 11 at the call of the Council of Defense and named a board of five men to direct the operations of American railways throughout the war, with Fairfax Harrison of the Southern Railway as Chairman and Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio and Chairman of the Defense Council's Advisory Commission, as an ex-officio member.

The creation of a General Munitions

Board was announced on April 9, headed by Frank A. Scott, a Cleveland manufacturer. This board is charged with supplying the army and navy with munitions and equipment. One of its chief functions will be to decide between the country's military and industrial needs when recruiting invades the factories. Twenty men, fifteen of them army or navy officers, make up the board.

In like manner an Economy Board was organized to mobilize the commercial interests of the country and attend to the equitable distribution of commodities in war time and to keep prices down. Important pioneer work in the direction of economy for the Government was achieved by one of the members of the Advisory Commission, Bernard M. Baruch, who, as Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials, arranged to get copper, steel, and other metals for the Government at about half the market price, thus saving the nation many millions. The insurance interests of the country placed their valuable records at the service of the Government and laid plans to prevent the destruction of grain and cotton by incendiary fires. A General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense was organized on April 17 by leading physicians from all parts of the country, with Dr. Franklin Martin of Chicago as Chairman, and a score of eminent physicians as members of the Executive Committee, to mobilize the nation's medical resources during the war.

General Goethals's New Task

The Federal Shipping Board, which embodies the Administration's program for building a vast fleet of wooden cargo ships to transport supplies to the Allies and thus defeat the German submarine

campaign, was organized as a \$50,000,000 corporation on April 16. Its avowed purpose is to construct 1,000 ships of 3,000 to 5,000 tons burden within the shortest possible time. Major Gen. George W. Goethals, the engineer who built the Panama Canal, was made General Manager of the enterprise. Congress has authorized the use of \$50,000,000 for the work of this board. Chairman Denman announced that contracts had already been let, and that, barring unforeseen obstacles, by October the shipyards on the Atlantic and Pacific would be turning out the new vessels at the rate of two or three a day, to be leased to private shipping concerns.

Treatment of Germans

The history of America's entrance into the world war would be incomplete without reference to the attitude of the United States Government toward the unnaturalized and naturalized German citizens in this country, the former having become alien enemies by the declaration of war. The war proclamation of President Wilson was followed by proclamations to the same effect by the Mayors of all American cities. Typical of the spirit of these was the following by the Mayor of New York:

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK

Upon just grounds and after long and patient forbearance, the President and the Congress of the United States have declared that by the act of the autocratic Government which rules in the German Empire war exists between the two countries, and the free people of America are about entering into the great world conflict. Millions of the people of this city were born in the countries engaged in this great war. No part of the earth is without its representatives here.

I enjoin upon you all that you honor the liberty which so many of you have sought in this land and the free self-government of the American democracy, in which we all find our opportunity and individual freedom, by exercising kindly consideration, self-control, and respect to each other and to all others who dwell within our limits; that you, one and all, aid in the preservation of order and in the exercise of calm and deliberate judgment in this time of stress and tension.

There will be some exceptional cases of malign influence and malicious purpose among you, and as to them I advise you all that full and timely preparation has been made adequate to the exigency which exists

for the maintenance of order throughout the City of New York, and for the warning of the ill-disposed I quote the statute of the United States, which is applicable to all residents enjoying the protection of our laws whether they be citizens or not:

Whoever owing allegiance to the United States levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason.

The punishment prescribed by law for the crime of treason is death or, at the discretion of the court, imprisonment for not less than five years and a fine of not less than \$10,000. All officers of the police have been especially instructed to give their prompt and efficacious attention to the enforcement of this law.

JOHN PURROY MITCHEL,
Mayor.

Official proclamations were issued forbidding any "alien enemy" from remaining or residing "within half a mile of any Governmental fort, factory, reservation, base of supplies, or any land used for war purposes." The enforcement of this order, however, was left to the discretion of the United States Marshals, and forbearance was shown. The enemy aliens living or employed about the military points around New York were given six weeks to find new locations, and exceptions to the rule were made where bond could be furnished. Hoboken, N. J., which is almost entirely populated by Germans, being the site of the chief piers of the two great German steamship lines, the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd, was placed under military guard in the pier districts on April 19; the Mayor at the same time issued a proclamation announcing that aliens residing within half a mile of the piers would not be disturbed if they obeyed the laws.

Nowhere in the country were there reports of any disturbances among the Germans during the first two weeks following the declaration of war, and their general attitude was one of unswerving loyalty to the United States. The 750 officers and men of the German Navy who sought refuge in American waters on the cruisers Kronprinz Wilhelm and Prinz Eitel Friedrich were taken to Georgia on special trains March 27 and placed for safe keeping in stockades at Fort McPherson and Fort Oglethorpe, under guard of the Seventeenth Infantry.

The men from the Wilhelm, numbering more than 400, were assigned to Fort McPherson and those from the Eitel Friedrich to Fort Oglethorpe.

The men were housed in barracks surrounded by a barbed-wire stockade. They

were removed from the League Island Navy Yard at Philadelphia, as their presence at the country's chief navy yard during the tense days preceding our declaration of war was regarded as perilous.

Dr. Zimmermann's Defense of His Mexican Plan

THE German Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, made a second statement on March 29 in attempted defense of his unsuccessful plan to create a German-Mexican-Japanese alliance against the United States. His act was subjected to criticism by Hugo Haase, leader of the Socialist minority, who remarked in the Reichstag that the affair had aggravated the situation in America. According to an Amsterdam Reuter dispatch, Dr. Zimmermann replied:

I wrote no letter to General Carranza. I was not so naïve. I merely addressed, by a route that appeared to me to be a safe one, instructions to our representative in Mexico. It is being investigated how these instructions fell into the hands of the American authorities. I instructed the Minister to Mexico, in the event of war with the United States, to propose a German alliance to Mexico, and simultaneously to suggest that Japan join the alliance. I declared expressly that, despite the submarine war, we hoped that America would maintain neutrality.

My instructions were to be carried out only after the United States declared war and a state of war supervened. I believe the instructions were absolutely loyal as regards the United States.

General Carranza would have heard nothing of it up to the present if the United States had not published the instructions which came into its hands in a way which was not unobjectionable. Our behavior contrasts considerably with the behavior of the Washington Government.

President Wilson after our note of Jan. 31, 1917, which avoided all aggressiveness in tone, deemed it proper immediately to break off relations with extraordinary roughness. Our Ambassador no longer had the opportunity to explain or elucidate our attitude orally. The United States Government thus declined to negotiate with us. On the other hand, it addressed itself immediately to all the neutral powers to induce them to join the United States and break with us.

Every unprejudiced person must see in

this the hostile attitude of the American Government, which seemed to consider it right, before being at war with us, to set the entire world against us. It cannot deny us the right to seek allies when it has itself practically declared war on us.

Herr Haase says that it caused great indignation in America. Of course, in the first instance, the affair was employed as an incitement against us. But the storm abated slowly and the calm and sensible politicians, and also the great mass of the American people, saw that there was nothing to object to in these instructions in themselves. I refer especially to the statements of Senator Underwood. Even at times newspapers felt obliged to admit regretfully that not so very much had been made out of this affair.

The Government was reproached for thinking just of Mexico and Japan. First of all, Mexico was a neighboring State to America. If we wanted allies against America, Mexico would be the first to come into consideration. The relations between Mexico and ourselves since the time of Porfirio Diaz have been extremely friendly and trustful. The Mexicans, moreover, are known as good and efficient soldiers.

It can hardly be said that the relations between the United States and Mexico had been friendly and trustful.

But the world knows that antagonism exists between America and Japan. I maintain that these antagonisms are stronger than those which, despite the war, exist between Germany and Japan.

When I also wished to persuade Carranza that Japan should join the alliance there was nothing extraordinary in this. The relations between Japan and Mexico are long existent. The Mexicans and Japanese are of a like race and good relations exist between both countries.

When, further, the Entente press affirms that it is shameless to take away allies, such reproach must have a peculiar effect coming from powers who, like our enemies, made no scruple in taking away from us two powers and peoples with whom we were bound by treaties for more than thirty years. The powers who desire to make pliant an old European country of culture like Greece by unparalleled and violent means cannot raise such a reproach against us.

THE PURCHASE OF THE DANISH WEST INDIES

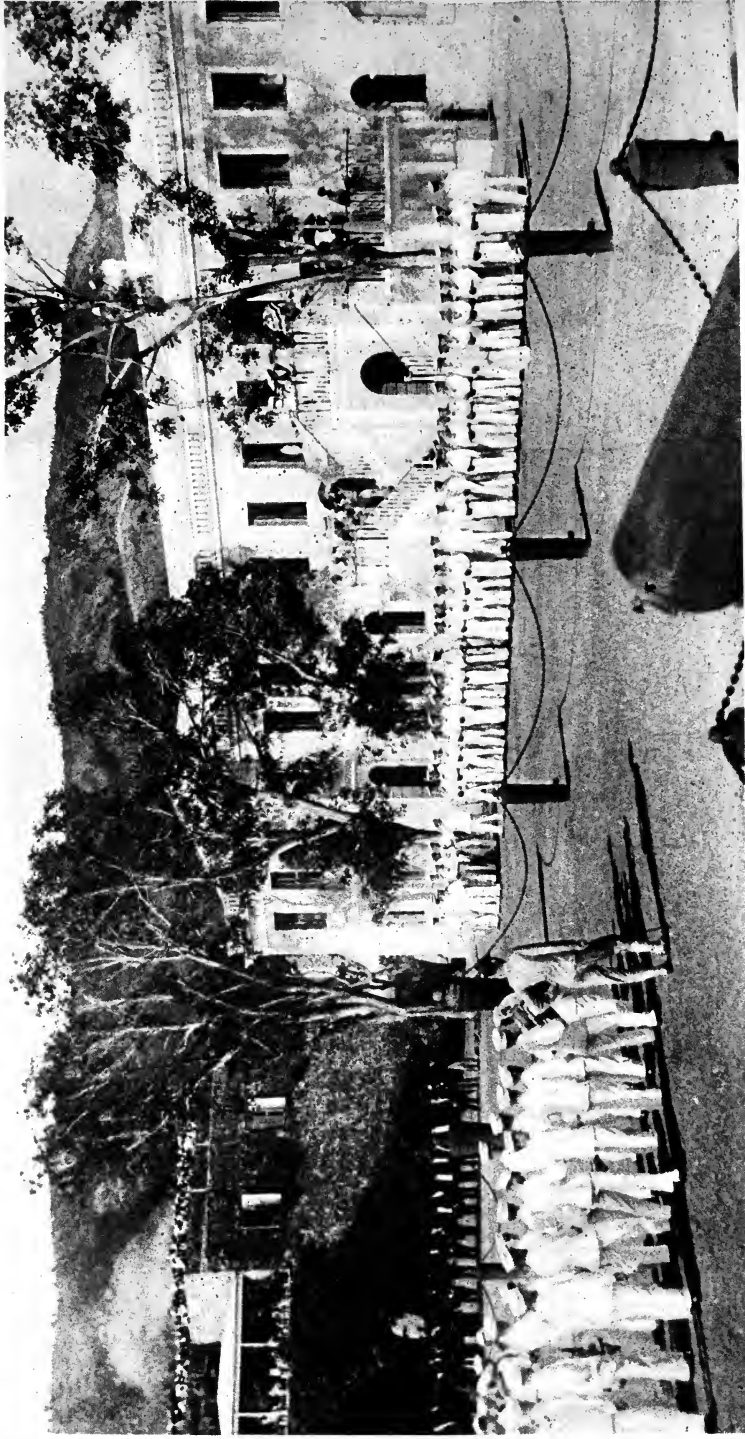


Secretary Lansing Is Handing a United States Treasury Warrant for \$25,000,000 to Constantin Brun, the Danish Minister. In the Picture, Left to Right: Secretary Daniels, Rear Admiral James H.

Oliver, Governor General of the Islands; Mr. Brun, Secretary Lansang, Secretary McAdoo

(© Harris & Ewing)

TAKING FORMAL POSSESSION OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS



American Sailors From the U. S. S. Hancock and Olympia in Front of the Government Buildings at St. Thomas for Ceremonies of Formal Transfer of Danish West Indies

(Photo Central News Service)

When I thought of this alliance with Mexico and Japan I allowed myself to be guided by the consideration that our brave troops already have to fight against a superior force of enemies, and my duty is, as far as possible, to keep further enemies away

from them. That Mexico and Japan suited that purpose even Herr Haase will not deny.

Thus, I considered it a patriotic duty to release those instructions, and I hold to the standpoint that I acted rightly.

Austria-Hungary Breaks With United States

ON April 8 the Government of Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States. Baron Erich Zwiadinek, who had been Chargé d'Affaires of the Austrian Embassy ever since the recall of Dr. Dumba, former Ambassador, called at the State Department and demanded passports for himself, all his embassy staff, including Ambassador-designate Tarnowski, and all Austrian Consular officers in the United States and its possessions.

As soon as the announcement of the break was received by the Administration orders were given for taking possession of the Austrian merchant vessels that had been self-interned in this country. Secretary Lansing said that this was done as a precautionary measure. There were fourteen ships with a gross tonnage of 67,807. The largest was the Martha Washington, 8,312 gross tons, at New York, three others were self-interned at New York, one at Boston, three at New Orleans, one at Pensacola, two at Galveston, one at Newport News, one at Phil-

adelphia, and one at Tampa. The machinery in most of them had been damaged.

The following was the official note handed to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna in the absence of Ambassador Penfield, who had left for America a few days previously:

Since the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between it and the Imperial German Government, Austria-Hungary, as an ally of the German Empire, has decided to break off diplomatic relations with the United States, and the Imperial and Royal Embassy at Washington has been instructed to inform the Department of State to that effect.

While regretting under these circumstances to see a termination of the personal relations which he has had the honor to hold with the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, the undersigned does not fail to place at the former's disposal herewith the passport for the departure from Austria-Hungary of himself and the other members of the embassy.

At the same time the undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to the Chargé d'Affaires the expression of his most perfect consideration.

(Signed) CZERNIN.

Belgian Relief Work Transferred

BRAND WHITLOCK, the American Minister to Belgium, was ordered to withdraw from Belgian soil by President Wilson on March 24; the President also ordered the departure of all American Consular officers. The withdrawal of the American members of the Belgian Relief Commission, who had been directing the feeding of several millions of destitute Belgian and French civilians, also was necessitated by the war situation. The work of these Americans was taken up by Dutch citizens under direction of the Netherlands Government. Herbert C.

Hoover, the head of the relief commission, continued to direct the work from Rotterdam, but after the American declaration of war it was understood that he would return to America to assume the position of Food Director. In the official announcement of the withdrawal the State Department at Washington very bluntly and sharply put the blame on the Germans, as the following extract from the official statement of March 24 shows:

"Immediately after the break in relations the German authorities in Brussels withdrew from Mr. Whitlock the diplo-

matic privileges and immunities which he had up to that time enjoyed. His courier service to The Hague was stopped. He was denied the privilege of communicating with the Department of State in cipher, and later even in plain language. The members of the relief commission were placed under great restrictions of movements and communications, which hampered the efficient performance of their task.

"In spite of all these difficulties, the Government and the commission were determined to keep the work going till the last possible moment. Now, however, a more serious difficulty has arisen. In the course of the last ten days several of the commission's ships have been attacked without warning by German submarines, in flagrant violation of the solemn engagements of the German Government. Protests addressed by this Government to Berlin through the intermediary of the Spanish Government have not been answered.

"The German Government's disregard

of its written undertakings causes grave concern as to the future of the relief work. In any event, it is felt that the American staff of the commission can no longer serve with advantage in Belgium. Although a verbal promise has been made that the members of the commission would be permitted to leave if they desire, the German Government's observance of its other undertakings has not been such that the department would feel warranted in accepting responsibility for leaving these American citizens in German occupied territory."

Four Belgian relief ships loaded with food bound from America for Rotterdam were sunk by German submarines between March 25 and April 10, and it was feared that all relief measures must be abandoned. On April 17, however, it was announced that eight loaded relief ships had reached Rotterdam between April 6 and 15, indicating that the Germans had concluded to allow the relief service to continue.

Vessels Sunk by Submarines

THE allied nations having ceased to report the detailed results of the German submarine warfare, only general data can be obtained for the most part for the months of March and April.

The Aztec was the chief American ship reported sunk after the destruction of the Memphis, Vigilancia, and Illinois, the three American vessels whose loss brought on the extra session of Congress and the war declaration. The Aztec was an armed merchantman; the sinking was reported on April 2, the day the President delivered his war message. She was attacked by a submarine at night near an island off Brest, without warning, and in a heavy sea. She was a slow-moving freighter of 3,727 tons, loaded with a cargo of foodstuffs, valued at \$500,000, belonging to the Oriental Navigation Company. The vessel's guns were in charge of a naval detachment consisting of a Lieutenant and a crew of 11 gunners; 28 of the men on board, includ-

ing Boatswain's Mate Eopolucci of the United States Naval Guard, perished.

The American Oil steamship Healdton was sunk March 22 in the North Sea by a German submarine, and 21 of her crew, of whom 7 were Americans, perished. The cargo was valued at \$2,150,000; the United States Government War Risk Bureau lost \$499,000 by the sinking of the Healdton, bringing the total losses of the bureau—including \$250,000 on the Illinois—to \$1,583,924; but the premiums in that period amounted to \$3,167,997.

On March 23 the French cruiser Danton was reported as having been torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea; 296 men were lost, 806 saved. The vessel displaced 18,028 tons.

The unarmed American steamer Misourian, which left Genoa April 4 with 32 Americans in her crew of 53—net tonnage 4,981—was sunk without warning in the Mediterranean. The American

steamer Seward, 3,390 tons, was sunk in the Mediterranean April 7.

On April 5 there came news of the sinking of two Belgian relief ships, the Trevier from New York and the Feistein; the latter was 2,991 tons, the Trevier 3,001. On April 9 the loss of the Belgian relief ship Camilla was sunk with a cargo of foodstuffs, making four relief ships destroyed in five weeks, with 17,000 tons of food.

On April 10 it was reported by the State Department that up to April 3, 1917, German submarines had sunk during the war 686 neutral vessels, including 19 American, and attacked unsuccessfully 79 others, including 8 American. Since the German war zone decree went into effect on Feb. 1 more than one-third of the vessels sunk were neutral, and a large number of other neutral vessels were terrorized into staying in

port. The neutral vessels sunk were as follows:

Norwegian, 410; Swedish, 111; Dutch, 61; Greek, 50; Spanish, 33; American, 19; Peruvian, 1; Argentine, 1; Total, 686.

Neutral vessels attacked and escaped: Norwegian, 32; Swedish, 9; Danish, 5; Greek, 8; Spanish, 2; Argentine, 1; Brazilian, 1; American, 8. Total, 79.

The British Admiralty reported sinkings in the five weeks ended April 1, 1917, to have been 80 vessels of over 1,600 tons each, 41 under 1,600 tons, and 43 smaller vessels. During the week ended April 8, 1917, the sinkings reported by the British Admiralty were: Vessels over 1,600 tons, 16; under 1,600 tons, 2; vessels arriving and sailing from United Kingdom in same period, 4,773. During the week ended April 15 the Admiralty reported the loss of 19 vessels of more than 1,600 tons, 9 less than 1,600, also 12 fishing vessels.

The Wind of Freedom

By JOHN GALSWORTHY

A wind in the world! The dark departs,
The chains now rust that crushed men's flesh and bones;
Feet tread no more the mildewed prison stones,
And slavery is lifted from your hearts.

A wind in the world! O company
Of darkened Russia, watching long in vain,
Now shall you see the cloud of Russia's pain
Go shrinking out across a Summer sky.

A wind in the world—but God shall be
In all the future left no kingly doll,
Decked out with dreadful sceptre, steel, and stole,
But walk the earth, a man in charity.

A wind in the world—and doubts are blown
To dust along, and the old stars come forth,
Stars of a creed to Pilgrim Father's worth—
A field of broken spears and flowers strown.

A wind in the world! Now truancy
From the true self is ended; to her part
Supreme again she moves and from her heart
A great America causes death to tyranny.

A wind in the world—and we have come
Together sea by sea in all the lands.
Vision doth move at last and freedom stands
With brightened wings and smiles and beckons home.

Holland in the Cross-Fire of Submarine Controversy

HOLLAND, more than any other neutral, has felt the effects of the war's cross-fire of trade restriction and destruction of shipping.

The little nation's geographical position exposes it to interference by both warring groups. The drastic means adopted by Great Britain to prevent the Germans from importing foodstuffs and raw material would alone have been sufficient to cause privation, but when to this is added the havoc wrought by the German submarines at the expense of the Netherlands merchant marine the state of affairs becomes still more distressful. Even there the menace does not end. Since the beginning of the war Holland has had to be prepared to defend her neutrality by guarding her land frontier and by keeping the mouth of the Scheldt closed against any attempt to make Antwerp a base of submarine and other naval operations. In addition to the large force concentrated at Antwerp the Germans have recently had five army corps massed on their Dutch frontier. Nor has the problem of dealing with the hundreds of thousands of Belgians who fled into Holland from the invaders been a light one.

In the circumstances it was not practicable or expedient for Holland to follow the example set by the United States when the new submarine campaign began. Nevertheless, while unable to break off relations with Germany, the Netherlands Government lost no time in protesting in the most vigorous manner, as will be seen from the following note, dated Feb. 7, 1917, which was addressed by J. Loudon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German Minister at The Hague:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note of Jan. 31 last, A 390, in which your Excellency informed me that the Imperial Government sees itself forced to abolish the restrictions which it has applied until now to its methods of warfare at sea.

This note was accompanied by a memorandum containing details of the naval measures

to be adopted not only in the North Sea, the Channel, and a part of the Atlantic Ocean, but also in the Mediterranean. These measures are summed up in the establishment of two vast maritime zones, in which trade under any flag, neutral or enemy, will be stopped by force of arms, and in which ships will be exposed to destruction.

As far as the North Sea is concerned the zone is outlined in such a way as to leave a free passage for Dutch navigation, but on the other hand in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean the way is entirely barred between Port Said and the track drawn from Gibraltar to Greece, so that the route to the East Indies, which is essential to Holland as a colonial power, is cut.

The Queen's Government has in the course of the war more than once explained how it regards the arbitrary delimitation by the belligerent powers of a part of the sea as a zone reserved for military operations, in which commercial traffic is exposed to danger. Thus the Government protested, in a note, dated Nov. 16, 1914, to the British Minister, against the designation of the North Sea as a military zone in which merchant ships and fishing boats would be at least in danger by observing strictly the indications furnished by the British Admiralty.

Similarly, the Dutch Government protested in a memorandum, dated Feb. 12, 1915, against the proclamation by the German Government of a large portion of the North Sea and the Channel as a zone of war.

In these two cases the Queen's Government pointed out that, according to the law of nations, only the immediate sphere of action of the belligerents' military operations constitutes a military zone in which a belligerent's police power can be exercised. A zone with an area of the whole of the North Sea or of a large part of this sea and the Channel could not, in its opinion, be considered as an immediate sphere of action for operations of war; and in calling such areas military zones a serious blow was struck at the fundamental principle of the freedom of the seas.

That the Netherlands Government protested against both the above-mentioned cases is only a reason more why it is obliged to protest most energetically against the system now instituted by your Excellency's Government, a system which not only extends over much vaster areas but which also suggests premeditated attack on neutral vessels, whatever their cargo or destination, and without distinction as to whether their presence in the aforesaid areas is voluntary or due to circumstances independent of their will.

Even if the Imperial Government had de-

scribed as a blockade the measures which it had just adopted, the merciless destruction of every neutral ship proceeding to or leaving an enemy port would be contrary to the law of nations, which recognizes only the *confiscation* and not the *destruction* of ships trying to break a blockade. Moreover, the term "blockade," ["*blocus*"] in the French original of this document,] which the Imperial Government has rightly avoided using, could evidently not be applied to the immense stretch of sea covered by each of the two zones of military operations indicated in the memorandum which your Excellency has transmitted to me; much less so, since, from the standpoint of international law, a blockade is directed solely against traffic to and from an adversary's ports and in no case against navigation directly between two neutral countries. Now, in the aforesaid zones the Imperial Navy has received orders to destroy all ships it meets without making the least distinction between those proceeding to or leaving an enemy port and those which are on the way between two neutral ports without touching at an enemy port.

Faithful to the principle which it has constantly upheld during this war, the Queen's Government can see in the destruction of neutral vessels by belligerents only a violation of the established law of nations, to say nothing of the wrong against the laws of humanity if such destruction is to take place without any regard for the safety of the people on board.

The responsibility for the destruction of Dutch ships which may eventuate in the zones under discussion and for the loss of human lives which would be involved will fall on the German Government. Its responsibility will be particularly heavy in the cases which are to be foreseen where vessels are forced to enter the danger zone by warships of an adversary exercising the right of visit and search.

To this protest Germany paid no attention. On Feb. 22 seven Dutch steamships sailing from Falmouth, England, were attacked by a German submarine a few hours after they left port. Six of the vessels, the *Noorderdijk*, *Zaandijk*, *Jacatra*, *Bandoeng*, *Gaasterland*, and *Eemland*, representing a total of over 30,000 tons, were sunk—without loss of life. The seventh, the *Menado*, was damaged, but towed back to port. Three, in ballast, were outward bound to America, and the others homeward bound with cargoes consisting mainly of foodstuffs. They had arrived at Falmouth on various dates and had been released by the British authorities at the special request of the Netherlands Government in the belief that the German submarines would

leave the ships unmolested. A storm of indignation swept through Holland, but the German Government refused to accept the blame. Foreign Secretary Zimmermann, replying to a question in the Reichstag on Feb. 28, said:

In the name of the Government I express regret at the accident which occurred a few days ago to Dutch boats. On our part, however, nothing was left undone to prevent it. In no way is the Imperial Government blamable. The Dutch shipowners naturally desired to get their ships out of English ports. Doubtless they were not ready to sail on Feb. 10, up to which date they could have gone with full security.

Then we put before them the dates Feb. 22 and March 17, stating expressly and formally that on the previous date the ships would have only relative security, while positive security could be guaranteed for March 17. The reason for this was that the possibility existed that on the earlier date submarines, being already en route, they might not all receive our message granting safe conduct to the Dutch vessels.

When the Dutch owners, notwithstanding our reiterated warnings, decided in favor of the earlier date, the Minister of Marine did everything in his power to communicate the order to all submarines. But it appears he was not successful, for, although a complete report on the incident has not yet been received, it appears established that the sinkings are attributable to a German submarine.

I can only repeat regrets of the Admiralty that the Dutch merchant marine has lost precious ships. The incident proves how dangerous it is to navigate the prohibited zones, and gives expression to our wish that neutral navigators cease to cross the zone, and remain in their ports. Thus they really serve their own interests and contribute effectively to the desired end that freedom of the seas be rapidly established.

The German Government also tried to appease Dutch anger by offering to replace the seven ships with German freighters. A Dutch Foreign Office statement issued on March 23 explained that the German Government on March 6 offered to pay an indemnity for the loss of members of the crews and to help the owners by facilitating the purchase of German ships after the war. This offer was made "on considerations of humanity and good neighborhood." Further steps led to a reconsideration of the offer by Germany, who then suggested that Holland rent German ships "on reasonable conditions." The Dutch Government rejected the offer, and the owners of the ships that had been sunk in the

circumstances also refused to accept the proposal of indemnification for the crews.

In Great Britain the view was held that, despite the protests made by Holland, that country was accepting "whatever Germany dictates" and was indorsing "Germany's ruthless action by acquiescing in illegal submarine warfare on neutrals," and that, therefore, it was out of the question for Holland to expect facilities or consideration from Great Britain. These words were used in a statement issued in London on March 7 and were inspired by the fact that since the new German submarine campaign had begun Holland had held up practically all its shipping, thereby depriving England of the food supplies normally received from Holland.

The refusal of the authorities at Rotterdam to permit the British merchant steamer *Princess Melita* to enter the harbor because it was armed provided another bone of contention between the British and Dutch Governments. On March 9, however, when the *Princess Melita* put in an appearance for the third time after having thrown its armament overboard, it was permitted to berth. It was supposed that the *Princess Melita* had been sent for the purpose of giving the British Government the excuse to reopen the whole question of armed merchantmen. The Dutch Government, in its Orange Book of October, 1915, had

defined its attitude as one prohibiting all armed merchantmen from entering its ports. The German military menace on the eastern frontier and Great Britain's control of the sea easily accounted for Holland's indecision. Germany wanted armed merchantmen barred altogether, while Great Britain demanded that they should be admitted to Dutch ports in return for the facilities extended to Dutch vessels in avoiding German submarine dangers.

At the end of March the British Government insisted that a certain percentage of Dutch merchant tonnage should carry cargoes to British destinations, and on the Dutch Government refusing it was reported that forty Dutch steamers in British ports were to be confiscated, if they could not be acquired otherwise. Many of these vessels had been detained from six to eight weeks. The holding back of the grain in their holds intensified the food shortage in Holland, where a rule reducing the bread ration went into operation on April 2.

The situation created by Germany's new submarine campaign had thus in the course of a couple of months developed several new issues, with the result that there was also a growth of hostile feeling against Great Britain. America's entry into the war brought a change over the whole aspect of things, but at this writing Holland's attitude is undefined.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From March 19 Up to and Including April 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

On March 21, a few days after the sinking of the American ships *Vigilancia*, *City of Memphis*, and *Illinois* by German submarines, President Wilson issued a proclamation calling Congress in extra session on April 2. On March 24 he ordered the withdrawal from Belgium of Minister Whitlock, all American Consular officials, and American members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Mr. Whitlock and most of the relief workers left Brussels for Switzerland on April 2, but a few Americans who were working where the

German Army was in operation, by agreement, remained two weeks to prevent military disclosures.

The State Department formally refused Germany's request to extend the Prussian-American treaties of 1799 and 1828.

President Wilson addressed the Congress on April 2, asking that body to declare that Germany had been making war upon the United States. A resolution recognizing and declaring a state of war was passed by both houses. President Wilson signed it April 6 and at the same time issued a proclamation notifying the world that war

had been begun and warning alien enemies to keep the peace.

Defensive war zones around the coasts of the United States were announced in an executive order.

A \$7,000,000 war loan bill providing for a loan of \$3,000,000,000 to the Allies was passed by Congress.

On April 15 President Wilson issued a proclamation to the people setting forth the necessity for the mobilization of all the industrial forces of the nation to help win the war. Another proclamation, issued April 16, warned alien enemies against committing treasonable acts.

The United States destroyer Smith reported that she was attacked by a German submarine on April 17 off the Atlantic Coast. Several American ships were sunk by German submarines.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

On March 23 Germany declared a submarine blockade of the Arctic coast of Russia.

The British Admiralty announced that twenty-four British steamers were sunk in the war zone in the week ended March 18, nineteen in the week ended April 8, and nineteen in the week ended April 15. A dispatch from Berlin dated March 26 reported that twenty-five steamships, fourteen sailing vessels, and thirty-seven trawlers had been sunk within a few days. An additional list of thirty-four vessels sunk in March was given out April 1. Seven Italian ships were sunk without warning in the week ended April 15. The Norwegian Legation in London announced that in February and March 105 Norwegian vessels of over 228,000 tons were sunk and 106 persons killed and 222 missing. An official tabulation given out by the United States Government showed 686 neutral vessels, including 18 American, sunk by German submarines from the beginning of the war up to April 3.

Two Danish steamers were sunk outside the barred zone.

American losses for the month included the armed steamer Aztec and the unarmed ships *Missourian* and *Seward*. The schooner *Marguerite* was captured and presumably sunk.

Two British hospital ships, the *Asturias* and the *Gloucester Castle*, were sunk. The British steamer *Alhwick Castle* was torpedoed 320 miles from land. Four boats containing passengers reached Spain with ten dead. Other British losses included the horse transport *Canadian* and the steamships *Crispin*, *Eptafoles*, and *Snowdon Range*.

Three Belgian relief ships, the *Camilla*, the *Trevier*, and the *Feistein* were sunk and two others, the *Tunisie* and the *Haelen*, were attacked.

Spain protested against the sinking of the Spanish steamer *San Fulgencio* without warning and demanded an indemnity. Later the Spanish steamer *Tom* was sunk, also without warning.

Brazil severed relations with Germany after the sinking of the steamer *Parana* in which three lives were lost, and seized all German ships in Brazilian ports.

Argentina, on April 10, issued a declaration announcing that the Government supported the position of the United States with reference to Germany. A few days later two Argentine ships, the transport *Pamra* and the sailing vessel *Oriana*, were sunk. Germans were ordered from a suburb of Buenos Aires, and German ships in Argentine waters, which were found to be damaged, were placed under guard. Mobs in Argentina destroyed much German property.

Guatemala protested to Germany against the blockade note of Feb. 1.

Cuba announced on April 7 that a state of war existed with Germany, and German ships in Havana Harbor were seized.

Panama announced her support of the United States.

Costa Rica declared her approval of United States course.

Mexico declared neutrality; also Chile; Bolivia severed relations with Germany; Paraguay and Uruguay declared neutrality.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

March 23—Russians regain positions near the Beresina River east of Lida.

March 24—Russians prepare to meet huge concentration of Germans on the northern front.

March 27—Germans force Russians back by gas attacks in the Baranovich region.

April 1—Russians repel repeated Austrian attacks near Kirlibaba.

April 4—Germans defeat the Russians and cross the Stokhod River near Helenin; capture Toboly bridgehead.

April 6—Germans occupy part of Russian trenches east of Plakanen, but are driven out by counterattack.

April 14—Germans bombard Brody.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

March 19—Germans retreat over eighty-five-mile front extending from south of Arras to Soissons; French take Ham, Guiscard, and Chauny; British advance slowly; Germans make slight gains at Verdun between Avocourt and Dead Man Hill.

March 20—French occupy Tergnier and reach the outskirts of Roupy; ruins of Coucy-le-Chateau destroyed by Germans; French beat off German attacks on the left bank of the Meuse.

March 21—Germans make a stand on the Arras-Cambrai-St. Quentin-La Fère line; French cross the Somme Canal at two

- places, driving the Germans back to Clâstres and Montescourt; British occupy forty more villages south and southeast of Péronne.
- March 22—French cross the Ailette River at several points.
- March 23—French force Germans back two miles between St. Quentin and La Fère; Germans inundate the district around La Fère.
- March 24—French take two forts protecting La Fère on the west and drive Germans toward St. Quentin; British occupy Roisel.
- March 25—French drive Germans back to the outskirts of Folembray and Coucy.
- March 26—British capture Lagnicourt, west of Cambrai; French push on in Coucy forest and capture Folembray and La Feuillée.
- March 27—French capture the forest of Coucy; British take Longavesnes, Lieramont, and Equancourt.
- March 28—British press on north of Roisel and capture Villers-Faucon and the heights crowned by Saulcourt; Germans penetrate French first-line trenches west of Maisons-de-Champagne.
- March 29—British capture Neuville Bourjonval.
- March 30—British occupy Ruyalcourt, Fins, and Sorel-le-Grand; French recapture first-line positions west of Maisons-de-Champagne.
- March 31—St. Quentin menaced on three sides as British take Vermand and Marteville; British advance up the Cologne River to within striking distance of the Scheldt, capturing eight villages; French push the Germans back on the Vregny plateau.
- April 1—British capture Savy and Epehy.
- April 2—British drive a wedge into the German positions on the ridge protecting St. Quentin from the west, capturing Holnon, Francilly, and Selency.
- April 3—French storm the heights south and southwest of St. Quentin and capture Dallon, Giffecourt, and Cerizy, and heights south of Urvillers; British occupy Maissemy on the eastern bank of the Omignon River, Ronsoy Wood, and Henin on the Cojeol River.
- April 4—French occupy Grugies, Urvillers, and Moy, south of St. Quentin; British take Metz-en-Couture.
- April 5—Germans attack the French west of Rheims and force them over the Aisne Canal at some places; British capture Ronsoy and Basse-Boulogne east of Péronne.
- April 6—British capture Lempire and advance toward Le Catelet; French retake part of positions lost north of Rheims.
- April 8—British advance on a front of 3,000 yards north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road; Germans shell Rheims and French Government orders the civil population to evacuate the city.
- April 9—British launch offensive on twelve-mile front north and south of Arras, penetrating German positions to a depth of from two to three miles, and capturing many fortified points, including Vimy Ridge.
- April 10—British push forward as far as the outskirts of Monchy-le-Preux and capture Fampoux and its defenses on both sides of the Scarpe River.
- April 11—British capture Monchy-le-Preux and heights dominating the country toward Cambrai.
- April 12—British take Wancourt and Haninel, some positions north of the Scarpe River and drive the Germans from their last footing in the Vimy Ridge; French advance between Coucy and Quincy-Basse.
- April 13—British capture Ancres and the town of Vimy, extending their line of advance from the Scarpe River to Loos, and push on west of Le Catelet; French attack the Germans south of St. Quentin.
- April 14—British take Fayet, Gricourt, and Lievin, the western suburb of Lens.
- April 15—French guns shell St. Quentin; Belgians penetrate Dixmude as far as the second enemy line.
- April 16—French launch an offensive on a twenty-five-mile front between Soissons and Rheims, capturing the German first-line positions and taking over 10,000 prisoners and reach the second German line at six points in Alsace; Germans destroy St. Quentin Canal.
- April 17—French pierce new German line on eleven-mile front from Prunay to Auberville, capturing important heights and support positions from Mount Carnillet to Vaudesincourt.
- April 18—French again smash the Aisne line and capture Chavonne, Chivy, Ostel, and Braye-en-Laonnois, press forward north of Ostel, reach the outskirts of Courtecon, and take Vailly and Conde-sur-Aisne; British take Villers-Guislain, reporting 17,000 prisoners and much booty in three days' fighting, threatening German lines so as to make further withdrawals in Rheims region inevitable.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- March 20—French in Macedonia report the capture of Rashtani, Hill 1248, and the Snegoo monastery north of Monastir; British take prisoners at Brest and Poroy, east of Lake Doiran.
- March 21—French driven from heights north-east of Tarnova and Anegovo.
- March 24—Germans take Rumanian frontier ridge between the Solyomtar and Czobanos Valleys from the Russians.
- April 2—Russians in Rumania repulsed on four-mile front on both sides of the Oituz Valley.
- April 18—Germans burn Braila and Fokshani.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- March 19—Renewal of activity reported;

Austrian raids repulsed in the Giumella Valley and Lucati sector.

March 21—Austrians repulsed on Costabella Massif.

April 17—Intense artillery fire reported on the Julian front; Italians bombard Callano in the Lagarina Valley.

April 18—Italians shell Rovereto Station and trains on the Sugana Valley Railway.

ASIA MINOR

March 19—Russians in Persia occupy Harunabad; British cross the Diala River and occupy Bahriz and part of Bakubah.

March 21—Turkish force near Aden isolated from headquarters; another Arabian chieftain rises against the Turks; Russians cross the Mesopotamian frontier into Turkish territory to join the British.

March 23—Russians attack the Turks along the Shirwan River.

March 26—Russians pursue the Turks into Mosul Vilayet.

March 29—British rout a Turkish army of 20,000 in battle near Gaza.

March 31—British advance north of Bagdad and occupy Kalaat Felujah, Sheraban, Dely Abbas, and the areas of Deltawah and Sindirjah.

April 2—Russians occupy Miatague Peitah and Serpoule and force the Turks toward the Mesopotamian border.

April 5—Russians occupy Khaninkin and Kasrichirin and get into touch with British patrols.

April 7—Russians land on Turkish territory on the Black Sea coast east of Samsoun.

April 12—British capture Turkish territory to a depth of fifteen miles in the region of Gaza.

April 14—Turks routed in battle north of Bagdad.

April 16—British drive Turks back to their positions on the Jebel Hamrin hills.

AERIAL RECORD

Italians bombarded the railway station at Galliano and brought down two Austrian airplanes.

Russian airplanes set Braila on fire April 1.

On April 7 large squadrons of British airplanes were sent up over the new German lines on the western front to photograph enemy positions. The greatest air battle of the war followed. Forty-eight German airplanes and ten captive balloons were brought down by the British, who lost twenty-eight of their own machines, but succeeded in taking 1,700 photographs.

Allied airplanes raided Freiburg April 14. Eleven persons were killed and twenty-seven wounded.

American Aviator Genet killed in France.

NAVAL RECORD

The French warship Danton torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea March 19, and 296 sailors were drowned.

On March 22 Berlin announced that the Ger-

man raider M \ddot{o} we had returned to her home port from a second cruise in the Atlantic in which she captured twenty-seven vessels.

England announced an extension of the boundaries of the North Sea danger area, cutting safety lanes off Holland and Denmark.

The French bark Cambronne arrived at Rio Janeiro March 30 carrying the crews of eleven steamers and sailing vessels sunk by the German raider Seeadler in the South Atlantic.

During the night of March 28-29 German warships cruised in the barred zone off the south coast of England and sank the British patrol trawler Mascot.

One German destroyer was sunk and another damaged off the Belgian coast April 8.

The American Line steamship New York struck a mine near the coast of England on April 10, but was only slightly damaged and reached her dock unaided.

The British hospital ship Salta was sunk by a mine in the English Channel.

A German submarine made an unsuccessful attack on the U. S. destroyer Smith on April 17, about 100 miles south of New York.

RUSSIA

The former Czar and Czarina were taken to Tsarskoe Selo. Other high dignitaries of the old r \acute{e} gime were imprisoned. The United States extended partial recognition to the new Government on March 21.

The Central Committee and Parliamentary representatives of the Constitutional Democratic Party at Petrograd voted in favor of a republican form of government. A committee was appointed to settle the affairs of Poland and the Provisional Government announced its wish that Poland decide for itself the form of government it desired. Religious freedom was proclaimed April 4 and many other reforms are under consideration, including woman suffrage.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the United States on April 7. Austrian ships in American ports were seized.

The German Emperor ordered Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg to submit to him proposals for the reform of the Prussian electoral law. Strikes in Berlin followed a reduction in bread rations. Thousands of workers left the munitions plants.

Greece presented a note to Italy insisting upon the withdrawal of Italian troops from Epirus to Avlona.

A new Cabinet was formed in France, headed by Alexandre Ribot.

Chinese troops occupied without opposition the German concessions at Tien-tsin and Hankow.

Allied Successes in France

Period from March 18 to April 17, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE past month has seen the most important developments in the European war since the first months of its progress. These have been principally three, all distinctly hurtful to Germany: The retreat on the western front, which includes the battle of Arras; the operations in the Near East, and, finally, the entrance of the United States on the side of the Allies. All theatres other than those mentioned have been extremely, ominously quiet.

The great German retreat was well under way as the review for April was being written, but it had not progressed to the point where any conclusions were admitted. The German press at the outset confused the entire issue. Its statements may then be ignored.

In the first place the German retreat was not voluntary, but was forced. The battle of the Somme, biting as it did deep into the German lines, produced a wedge which seriously threatened the Noyon salient. Only a little more, and the troops in this salient would have been unable to retire. The Germans saw the threat to this large body of men, so drew back from the danger before it had an opportunity actually to strike them. To this extent the retreat was a strategical move. That the movement was made with a view to shortening the lines and thereby strengthening them may be entirely possible as a subsidiary thought, but it was not the moving factor. The theory that von Hindenburg simply wished to draw the Allies out of the trenches into the open and then defeat them has also been exploded.

The matter of the withdrawal itself is most interesting. It was assumed in many quarters that the line on which the Germans would stand was through Laon, La Fère, St. Quentin, and Cambrai. This

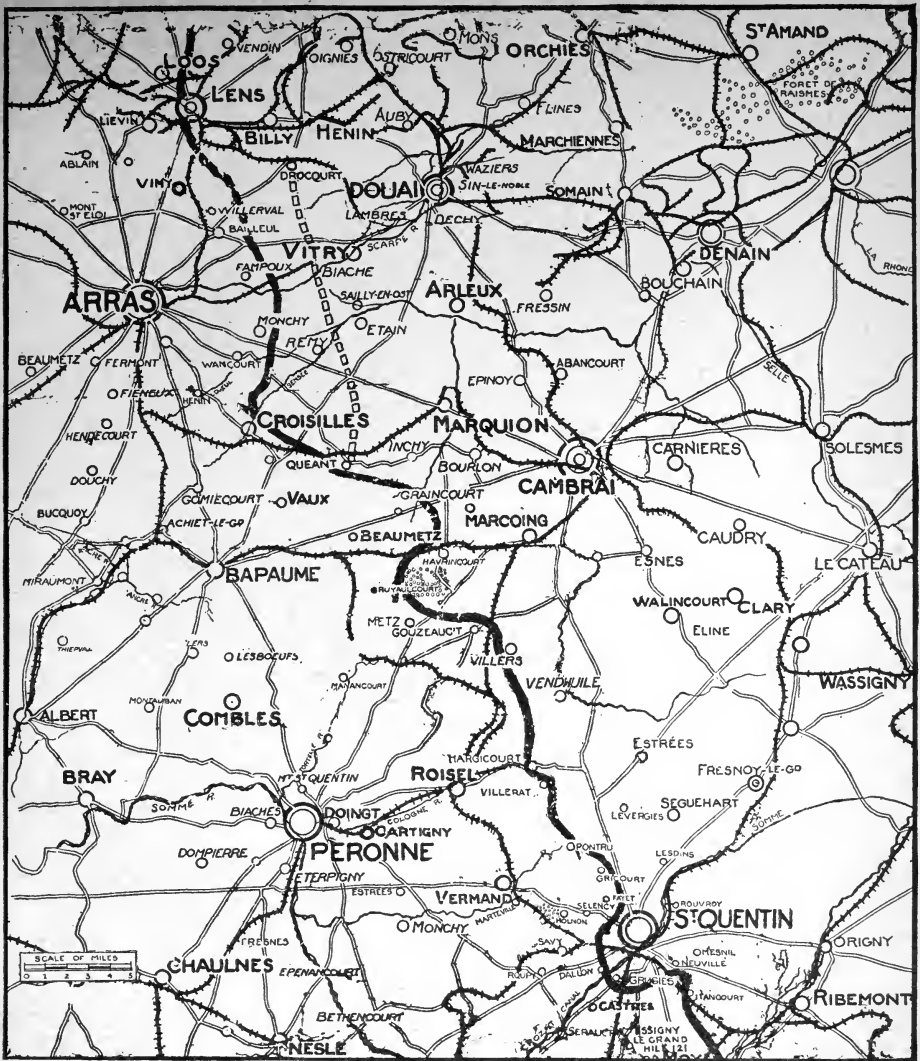
was a perfectly logical conclusion, as it had its basis in the existing railroads connecting these places. In fact, but little has happened since to give rise to any doubt that the German intention was different from that outlined. The distance from Noyon to the new line was very much greater than that from the Bapaume position to Cambrai. Nevertheless, it was the Bapaume line which first gave way.

This would indicate that the German retirement took place ahead of schedule time because of the British pressure along the Ancre, and the way in which the Germans have since been handled by both the British and the French would seem to increase the probability that this was the case. Nevertheless, the preparations for the retreat were thoroughly made and the requisite transport was at hand.

Rapid French Pursuit

The Germans, as they fell back, destroyed all the railroad lines, blew up the roads and roadbeds, and did all else that could in any way hinder the pursuit of the allied armies. That they went beyond this and, in a blind, ruthless orgy of destruction, razed to the ground every building however unadapted it might be to military purposes is beside the point. This is merely another interesting phase of German psychology. But in spite of the fact that the Germans were able to get away with small loss, the French and the British were apparently as prepared to follow as the Germans were to fall back. The French in particular did brilliant work in this respect. The pursuit on the southern part of the line, which was held by the French, was extremely rapid—much more rapid than any one had anticipated.

Not for a moment, it seemed, was con-



BATTLE LINE IN FRANCE, APRIL 18, 1917. THE WHOLE REGION FROM BAPAUME, PERONNE AND NESLE, AS FAR EAST AS THE BLACK LINE, WAS DEVASTATED BY THE GERMANS IN THEIR RECENT RETREAT

tact lost. The French engineers followed the Germans closely, reconstructing and rebuilding, and the French infantry and artillery pressed the situation closely. The pursuit evidently surprised the Germans, who, before they had an opportunity to stop and fight, found their line interfered with, if not actually cut. La Fère seemed to be the point at which the French advance was directed. Without fighting any heavy engagements the French reached and occupied the town

of Tergnier, within two miles of La Fère. This completely eliminated the latter town as a point of German vantage.

Further south, along the Ailette River, the French came to their first stumbling block. This river stands as a guard to the great patches of wood south of the La Fère position, and is known as the lower and upper forests of Coucy and the Woods of St. Gobain. This river was crossed, however, after heavy fighting, and, finally, pushing ahead on the

southern end of the line, the French took the village of Coucy. The lower forests of Coucy were occupied, bringing the French to the edge of the forest of St. Gobain. Here the French came to a halt, as it was evident that they had reached the main defenses of the German line to which von Hindenburg had intended to retreat.

Further north the Germans were not so fortunate in checking the French. From just east of Tergnier, the French fought their way eastward, pivoting their line on the Tergnier position, and pressed the Germans back against the Oise River as far north as the town of Moy. This threw the French well to the east of St. Quentin and in a position to work their way, without meeting any natural obstacles, in rear of the town. This they did, driving due north from Moy until they had reached a point just south of Neuville. Their line then swung westward near the suburbs of St. Quentin, along all the high ground south of the city. This was certainly not in accordance with the German plan, as it brought every means of exit from the city directly under the fire even of the smaller French artillery.

The British Advance

The British, on the other hand, had a much more difficult road to travel. Because of the shorter distance which the Germans had to pass over, their retreat, after the line first began to give way, was much slower, and the pursuit was conducted with constant fighting, mostly of heavy rear-guard character. The British object was to prevent the use of Cambrai in the same way as the French had impaired if not destroyed the usefulness of St. Quentin.

The pivot of the German retreat in the north was a point on the southern tip of Vimy Ridge, a position before which so many French had lost their lives, and which was believed to be practically impregnable. No effort was made against it, the British expending all of their efforts toward reaching the line of the Scheldt River. Here the British gave the best indication of their fighting strength. Each day recorded a new advance of greater or less extent on the

entire front from the Vimy Ridge to St. Quentin, where the British and French joined. The result was more than satisfactory to the British commander.

As this review is being written the British have thrown a loop around St. Quentin on the north and west which brings their lines so near to those of the French that it is impossible for the Germans to keep control or possession of the city much longer. More important still, the British are but a little over a mile from the Scheldt River, with the Germans in between. It seems certain that before these lines appear the Germans will have fallen behind the river, from which the British cannot force them except by a flanking movement, to be made at some time in the future.

While the fighting west of the Scheldt was at its height the British, after a terrific artillery preparation, suddenly launched an attack against the Vimy Ridge, the pivot of the German retirement. Here was the first positive indication that the Germans, in addition to being outgunned and outmanned, were also outgeneraled. The Germans gave out officially that by their retirement they had completely upset the British plan for an attack on the Somme and delayed any other attack indefinitely because of the necessity of reconstructing the transport system. The probabilities were, however, that the British never intended to attack on that section of the front affected by the German retreat. On the contrary, it now seems that the British commander, undoubtedly acquainted with the fact that a retreat was coming, had laid his plans for an attack which would produce the same result on the line north of Arras as the Somme had produced in the south.

In one day's fighting the Canadian troops, who held the centre of the attacking line, swept to the crest of Vimy Ridge and well over it, forcing the Germans down the eastern slope. It was here, too, that for the first time the Germans gave indications of going to pieces. There was a temporary demoralization in their ranks which manifested itself in the fighting, for, almost

immediately following the first attack, the British pushed this new wedge fully five miles into the German lines.

Since these early days the advance has been further extended, but the first blow netted five miles. The Germans were entirely unprepared for any such action as this. The amount and character of booty captured show how completely swept off their feet they were. Nearly 200 guns, some of them of large calibre, an enormous quantity of shell, 15,000 prisoners, loaded wagon trains and transports, all of which there was sufficient time to remove or destroy—these are the things which tell the story much more vividly than the official reports.

As this review is being written, (April 20,) the British are in the streets of the great coal mining centre of Lens, in possession of half of the town and fighting desperately for the other half. The advantage now on this section of the front all lies with the British. All of the high ground overlooking the coal fields and the great plain of Northern France now stretches out before them. Douai, which must now become a point on the new line, is in plain sight, with the Germans everywhere recoiling toward it. It may well be, from the desperate character of the fighting, that the battle of Europe is now being fought.

Turkish Armies in Retreat

In the Near Eastern theatre matters have gone very ill with the Turks. Beaten in every engagement by the British, the resistance offered to the Russians in Persia suddenly gave way, and, without any opposition, the Russians drove for-

ward past the Persian frontiers into Mesopotamia and effected a junction with the British, cutting off in the process a considerable portion of the Turkish Army. This junction means the downfall of the Turkish opposition. Nothing approaching this in importance has happened in this theatre since the beginning of the war. It has been a long time coming, and has been most bitterly fought for, but its importance cannot be overestimated. Turkey is more than weakened. She is in danger of dismemberment even before the war closes. A successful revolution in Arabia, an uprising in Syria, defeats in the Holy Land, the loss of almost all of Armenia, the occupation of a great part of Mesopotamia—all these disasters have shaken Turkish rule in Asia to the very foundations. It is questionable how much longer the Sultan can hold out and keep his followers and his army loyal.

Finally, to complete the list of German disasters for the month, German barbaric cruelty and ruthlessness forced the United States to the admission that a state of war existed with the German Empire. America has a potential force of 15,000,000 men, can put up if need be seventy-five billion of dollars, and has the greatest resources for food and manufacturing of any nation in the world. The navy is nearly as large in itself as that of Germany, and if any one factor were needed to give to the world assurance of the solidity and permanence of democratic rule as opposed to autocracy, the action of this, the most pacific of great democracies, has furnished it.



German Version of the Month's Fighting

March 17 to April 17, 1917.

FROM the official German standpoint the events in the western theatre of the war during April differ from the allied reports. The following summary of the month's fighting was compiled exclusively from the official reports issued by the War Office in Berlin and other German sources.

The Germans assert that the retirement at three different points on an eighty-five-mile front from south of Arras to Soissons on the Aisne, which was taking place in the middle of March and leaving a large number of towns and villages in the hands of the British and French, "was part of a definite plan." These strategic movements had been "prepared long ago and were carried out without being disturbed by the enemy, who followed in a hesitating manner." The "protecting troops, by perspicacious and energetic conduct, cast a veil over the abandonment of the positions and the departure of our troops." In the abandoned districts the means of communication useful to the enemy were destroyed.

The Berlin official report of March 22 said that spirited fighting in the district on both sides of the Somme and the Oise had "an issue favorable to us," and the next day's report contained the following:

"French troops, which on both sides of St. Simon had crossed the Somme-Crozat Canal, were repulsed by an attack against and beyond those sectors. The enemy suffered sanguinary losses and lost 230 prisoners, as well as several machine guns and carts.

"Between the Oise and the Aisne during the evening hours engagements developed west and south of Margival. Attacks by strong French forces were repulsed with heavy losses under our fire and by a counterattack."

German View of Retreat

An account of the German retirement

given by a correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt was as follows:

"Till the last moment the exploding platoons remained in the towns and villages to finish the work of destruction, and then fight their way back the best they could. The general system of retreat was something marvelous. Every detachment knew exactly which way to turn. Every column had its way prescribed, and, despite this gigantic movement of man, beast, and truck, there were no blockades, no congestion anywhere, all arriving exactly at the prescribed hour. Messengers rode about to notify the different commands of the time to start, while at the same time gigantic motor cars distributed enormous quantities of explosives to the pioneer platoons.

"Wherever possible, without attracting the special attention of the natives or the Allies, houses were burned down days before the evacuation. Walls that would not fall were exploded when the Allies were in the heat of an artillery fight, suggesting the tremendous effect of their fire. These preparations took many days, but toward the end heavy fogs in the mornings and cloudy atmosphere in the afternoons permitted the burning of villages without concealment. And to think, the Allies never had the slightest idea of what was going on! They never interfered with the German plans of destruction, and never thought of shelling the German lines of communication, while endless columns marched over them. The last I saw was German machine-gun platoons disappearing among the ruins and German patrols taking what little part was left to await the Allies. Slowly, with enormous losses, the hostile hordes are now feeling their way through the dangers lurking all about them."

Another correspondent's story contains the following:

"The country behind the allied trenches had been covered with a great network of

railways and roads for heavy mortars which would enable them to move divisions and army corps with lightning speed and so concentrate unexpectedly on any weak spot of the German line they might discover while shamming a general attack along the whole front. Day after day German fliers watched the mountains of ammunition and provisions pile up at the British base, to which well-metalled white roads reached out from the trenches like tentacles of some ghastly monster to suck in the whole world for slaughter and destruction. Billions of dollars' worth of material, iron, wood, and cement, and the labor of a vast army was sunk in this ground between the British trenches and the base. All these gigantic preparations were conducted with truly English naïveté, for any other nation would have told itself that fliers watching them day by day would have long ago supplied the German General Staff with very exact data of what was going on.

"Then all of a sudden mysterious movements began on the German side. Soldiers, taking with them their kits and all other belongings, left the trenches and dugouts. The mountains of munitions grew rapidly less by the efforts of many hundreds of huge mortar carriers, of wagons drawn by eight horses, streaming incessantly, day and night, over the groundless roads which nobody now thought of repairing any more.

"Whole villages disappeared overnight, their inhabitants being concentrated in a few singled-out towns and places where they were comparatively safe and from where they might easily reach their own people when the time would come. Of bush and trees, nothing was left standing that might serve the Allies as cover. Even the belongings were removed from the houses before the latter were leveled to the ground. Night after night the artillery rolled back in an endless chain, followed by regiment after regiment of silent gray war lords.

"Small troops armed with machine guns remained behind, however, and kept up a sham of trench war. So well did they succeed in deceiving the British that they often drew the British heavy guns to furious bombardments of what

was already a deserted strip of land. Behind their new positions, ten to fifteen kilometers back, the Germans chuckled when they read in the British reports of the explosions of German munition magazines caused by the never-failing British gunfire. They knew only too well that another village had been leveled, another bridge blown up by the astute German pioneers.

"When finally the British hesitatingly felt their way into what were once the German lines, they discovered between the Oise and Arras a lifeless chaos which baffled all their zealous preparation of many months for the deadly blow that would now fall on the air."

A Successful Retirement

An official report on March 25 stated that "the German rear guards engaged with hostile forces near Beaumetz and Roisel and east of the Crozat Canal fell back after inflicting heavy losses, and that a French attack northeast of Soissons was repulsed." Again, on March 27, a French attack on the west bank of the Oise, near La Fère, "failed with heavy losses." "The German retirement continued to be conducted with the greatest success." On March 31, however, "between the road from Péronne to Gouzeaucourt and the lowland of Omignon Brook the English, in engagements in which they suffered heavy losses, advanced their line for a distance of from two to three kilometers."

Heavy fighting took place between Arras and the Aisne on April 1 and 2, "notably between the roads leading from Bapaume to Croiselles and Bapaume to Cambrai, as well as on both banks of the Somme, west of St. Quentin. The British and the French launched strong forces, which, because of the effect of our artillery fire, flowed back several times, and which only after considerable losses, which included fifty prisoners and some machine guns, gained ground because of our troops giving way, as had been ordered."

In the official report of April 9, describing the first day of the battle of Arras, it was stated that the enemy had forced his way into parts of the German positions. On April 10 the report said:

"In stubbornly resisting the superiority of the enemy two of our divisions suffered considerable losses. The British succeeded in penetrating our positions on the roads radiating from Arras, but did not break through."

The Frankfort Gazette stated positively that the German line had not been broken east of Arras and that the attack did not take the General Staff by surprise, but had been provided for in its plans. Heavy losses were admitted, but, said that journal, "the defense of the western front will cost us heavy sacrifices this year, but they will not be in vain."

The impression sought to be created by the German press was that the battle of Arras was an event of "only local importance, though lamentable in its results." "It had, however, been soon brought to a standstill and did not in any way affect the strategic situation. It was part of the plan of the Anglo-French command, foiled in its intentions of delivering a shattering blow on the Somme front, to roll up the new Hindenburg line by assaults on both flanks, at Soissons and Arras. Both attempts failed."

Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in an interview, avowed his confidence in the strength of the German fronts on the west and east, and expressed a conviction that the submarine campaign would not fail.

"Unfounded" Excitement

The official reports continued to speak of attacks repulsed with heavy losses during the succeeding days of the battle of Arras, but on April 13 the military critic of the Berlin Vossische Zeitung wrote that he had received many letters which proved that "the nerves of many readers are beginning to give way." He dwelt on the "unfounded" excitement which, he said, was spreading among those at home, and he warned the public not to judge the situation from single events, but to take events as a whole into consideration.

The German War Office report of April 15 stated:

"On the Arras battlefield, as the result of the removal of our line north of the Scarpe, only minor engagements occurred,

in which the enemy suffered heavy losses. From the Scarpe lowlands to the Arras-Cambrai railway violent fighting occurred yesterday morning. British divisions in heavy masses attacked repeatedly, but were always repulsed with sanguinary losses. In addition to these British sacrifices, a counterthrust by our troops resulted in the capture of 300 prisoners and twenty machine guns."

That the fighting was no longer merely of local importance was indicated in the report issued at the end of the first day of the new French offensive, April 16: "On the Aisne a great French attempt to break through, with a far-distant object, has commenced after a ten days' mass fire. A bitter fight is proceeding on a forty-kilometer front around our foremost positions."

Finally, the report of April 17 says that "one of the greatest battles of the mighty war, and, therefore, also in the world's history, is in progress on the River Aisne." The report continues:

"In the Champagne this morning fighting between Prunay and Auberive developed, the battle line thereby extending from the River Oise into the Champagne. Our troops anticipate with entire confidence the coming heavy fighting.

"A great French attempt to break through yesterday, the object of which was far-reaching, failed. The losses of the enemy were very heavy. More than 2,100 prisoners remained in our hands. Where the enemy at a few places penetrated into our line fighting still continues and fresh enemy attacks are expected.

"On Monday afternoon the French threw fresh masses into the fray and carried out lateral attacks between the Oise and Condé, on the Aisne. The artillery fight which was continued today leveled the positions and produced wide, deep craters, rendering an obstinate defense no longer possible.

"The fighting no longer is against a line but over quite a deep and irregular fortified zone. The battle sways backward and forward around our foremost positions, our object being, if the war material is lost, to spare the lives of our forces and to inflict heavy sanguinary losses and thus decisively weaken the enemy. This was achieved."

United States Rejects German Protocol

WHEN Ambassador Gerard was about to depart from Berlin he was placed under pressure by the German Government to get him to sign a document confirming and enlarging the privileges of German citizens in the United States in case of war between the two countries, as defined in the half-forgotten treaty made with Prussia in 1799. The protocol which Mr. Gerard was asked to sign was an elaboration of Article 23 of the old convention, amounting practically to a new treaty, and requiring not only the approval of the State Department at Washington but also the confirmation of the United States Senate. Mr. Gerard protested against the methods used to get his support for this document, and emphatically declined to have anything to do with it. After some delay he was allowed to depart.

Text of German Protocol

The document was then forwarded by the Berlin authorities—through the Swiss Foreign Office at Berne—to the Swiss Minister at Washington, Dr. Paul Ritter, who handed it to Secretary of State Lansing on Feb. 10, 1917. The text of this communication, and of the agreement which Germany was so anxious to have the United States accept on the eve of war, is as follows:

The American treaty of friendship and commerce of the 11th of July, 1799, provides by Article 23 for the treatment of the subjects or citizens of the two States and their property in the event of war between the two States. This article, which is without question in full force as regards the relations between the German Empire and the United States, requires certain explanations and additions on account of the development of international law. The German Government, therefore, proposes that a special arrangement be now signed, of which the English text is as follows:

Agreement between Germany and the United States of America concerning the treatment of each other's citizens and their private property after the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article One—After the severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States of America, and in the event of the outbreak of war between the two powers, the citizens of either party and their private property in the territory of the other

party shall be treated according to Article 23 of the treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States of the 11th of July, 1799, with the following explanatory and supplementary clauses:

Article Two—German merchants in the United States and American merchants in Germany shall, so far as the treatment of their persons and property is concerned, be held in every respect on a par with the other persons mentioned in Article 23. They shall, accordingly, even after the period provided for in Article 23 has elapsed, be entitled to remain and continue their profession in the country of their residence. Merchants as well as the other persons mentioned in Article 23 may be excluded from fortified places or other places of military importance.

Article Three—Germans in the United States and Americans in Germany shall be free to leave the country of their residence within the time and by the routes that shall be assured to them by the proper authorities. The persons departing shall be entitled to take along their personal property, including money, valuables, and bank accounts, excepting such property the exportation of which is prohibited according to general provisions.

Article Four—The protection of Germans in the United States and of Americans in Germany and of their property shall be guaranteed in accordance with the laws existing in the countries of either party. They shall be under no other restrictions concerning the enjoyment of their private rights and the judicial enforcement of their rights than neutral residents. They may accordingly not be transferred to concentration camps, nor shall their private property be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation except in cases that under the existing laws apply also to neutrals. As a general rule, German property in the United States and American property in Germany shall not be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation under other conditions than neutral property.

Article Five—Patent rights or other protected rights held by Germans in the United States or Americans in Germany shall not be declared void, nor shall the exercise of such rights be impeded, nor shall such rights be transferred to others without the consent of the person entitled thereto, provided that regulations made exclusively in the interests of the States shall apply.

Article Six—Contracts made between Germans and Americans, either before or after the severance of diplomatic relations, also obligations of all kinds between Germans and Americans, shall not be declared canceled, void, or in suspension except under provisions applicable to neutrals. Likewise the citizens of either party shall not be impeded in fulfilling their liabilities arising from such

obligations, either by injunctions or by other provisions, unless these apply to neutrals.

Article Seven—The provisions of the Sixth Hague Convention relative to the treatment of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities shall apply to the merchant vessels of either party and their cargo. The aforesaid ships may not be forced to leave port unless at the time they be given a pass recognized as binding by all the enemy sea powers to a home port or a port of an allied country or to another port of the country in which the ship happens to be.

Article Eight—The regulations of Chapter 3 of the Eleventh Hague Convention relative to certain restrictions in the exercise of the right of capture in maritime war shall apply to the Captains, officers, and members of the crews of merchant ships specified in Article 7 and of such merchant ships as may be captured in the course of a possible war.

Article Nine—This agreement shall apply also to the colonies and other foreign possessions of either party.

Text of American Reply

The note in which the United States rejected the foregoing proposition was handed to the Swiss Minister at Washington on March 20, and is printed below in full. It places the refusal on the ground of Germany's own "flagrant violations" of the original treaty, and raises the question whether all the immunities granted by that treaty have not in effect been abrogated by the German sinkings of American merchant ships:

The Secretary of State to the Minister of Switzerland in charge of German interests in America.

Department of State,
Washington, March 20, 1917.

Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of Feb. 10 presenting the proposals of the German Government for an interpretative and supplementary agreement as to Article 23 of the Treaty of 1799.

After due consideration, I have to inform you that the Government of the United States is not disposed to look with favor upon the proposed agreement to alter or supplement the meaning of Article 23 of this treaty.

The position of the Government of the United States, which might under other conditions be different, is due to the repeated violations by Germany of the Treaty of 1828, and the articles of the Treaties of 1785 and 1799 revised by the Treaty of 1828. It is not necessary to narrate in detail these violations, for the attention of the German Government has been called to the circumstances of each instance of violation, but I may here refer to certain of them briefly and in general terms.

Since the sinking of the American ship William P. Frye for the carriage of contraband, there have been perpetrated by the

German naval forces similar unwarranted attacks upon and destruction of numerous American vessels for the reason, as alleged, that they were engaged in transportation of articles of contraband, notwithstanding and in disregard of Article 13 of the Treaty of 1799 that "no such articles (of contraband) carried in the vessels or by the subjects or citizens of either party to the enemies of the other shall be deemed contraband so as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals." And that in the case of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port or further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

In addition to the sinking of American vessels, foreign merchant vessels carrying American citizens and American property have been sunk by German submarines without warning and without any adequate security for the safety of the persons on board or compensation for the destruction of the property by such action, notwithstanding the solemn engagements of Article 15 of the Treaty of 1799, that "all persons belonging to any vessels of war, public or private, who shall molest or insult in any manner whatever the people, vessel, or effects of the other party, shall be responsible in their persons and property for damages and interests, sufficient security for which shall be given by all commanders of private armed vessels before they are commissioned," and notwithstanding the further stipulation of Article 12 of the Treaty of 1785 that "the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted."

Disregarding these obligations, the German Government has proclaimed certain zones of the high seas in which it declared without reservation that all ships, including those of neutrals, will be sunk, and in those zones German submarines have in fact, in accordance with this declaration, ruthlessly sunk merchant vessels and jeopardized or destroyed the lives of American citizens on board.

Moreover, since the severance of relations between the United States and Germany certain American citizens in Germany have been prevented from removing from the country. While this is not a violation of the terms of the treaties mentioned, it is a disregard of the reciprocal liberty of intercourse between the two countries in times of peace and cannot be taken otherwise than as an indication of the purpose on the part of the German Government to disregard, in the event of war, the similar liberty of action provided for in Article 23 of the Treaty of 1799—the very article which it is now proposed to interpret and supplement almost wholly in the interests of the large

number of German subjects residing in the United States and enjoying in their persons or property the protection of the United States Government.

This article provides in effect that merchants of either country residing in the other shall be allowed a stated time in which to remain to settle all their affairs and to "depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance," and women and children, artisans and certain others may continue their respective employments and shall not be molested in their persons or property. It is now proposed by the Imperial Government to enlarge the scope of this article so as to grant to German subjects and German property remaining in the United States in time of war the same treatment in many respects as that enjoyed by neutral subjects and neutral property in the United States.

In view of the clear violations by the German authorities of the plain terms of the treaties in question, solemnly concluded on the mutual understanding that the obligations thereunder would be faithfully kept; in view further of the disregard of the canons of international courtesy and the comity of

nations in the treatment of innocent American citizens in Germany, the Government of the United States cannot perceive any advantage which would flow from further engagements, even though they were merely declaratory of international law, entered into with the Imperial German Government in regard to the meaning of any articles of these treaties or as supplementary to them.

In these circumstances, therefore, the Government of the United States declines to enter into the special protocol proposed by the Imperial Government.

This Government is seriously considering whether or not the Treaty of 1828 and the revised articles of the Treaties of 1785 and 1799 have not been in effect abrogated by the German Government's flagrant violations of their provisions, for it would be manifestly unjust and inequitable to require one party to an agreement to observe its stipulations and to permit the other party to disregard them.

It would appear that the mutuality of the undertaking has been destroyed by the conduct of the German authorities.

Accept, &c.,

ROBERT LANSING.

Your Flag and My Flag

By WILBUR D. NESBIT

[A new national anthem that sprang into favor all over the country in the weeks preceding the declaration of war.]

Your flag and my flag!

And how it flies today

In your land and my land

And half a world away!

Rose-red and blood-red

The stripes forever gleam;

Snow-white and soul-white—

The good forefathers' dream;

Sky-blue and true blue, with stars to gleam aright—

The gloried guidon of the day; a shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag!

To every and star and stripe

The drums beat as hearts beat

And fifers shrilly pipe!

Your flag and my flag—

A blessing in the sky;

Your hope and my hope—

It never hid a lie!

Home land and far land and half the world around,

Old Glory hears our glad salute and ripples to the sound!

Your flag and my flag!

And oh, how much it holds—

Your land and my land—

Secure within its folds!

Your heart and my heart

Beat quicker at the sight;

Sun-kissed and wind-tossed—

Red and blue and white.

The one flag—the great flag—the flag for me and you—

Glorified all else beside—the red and white and blue!

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 20, 1917]

WAR COUNCIL AT WASHINGTON

THE heads of the French and British missions to the United States, Arthur James Balfour and René Viviani, are distinguished among the statesmen of their countries by the fact that both have been Prime Ministers. M. Viviani was Premier of France when the war broke out, and was later Minister of Justice under M. Briand. He was also a member of the joint Anglo-French mission to Russia in the weeks before the Russian revolution. Mr. Balfour was Prime Minister after the death of his distinguished uncle, the Marquis of Salisbury, in 1902. He has held office in the coalition War Ministries of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, as First Lord of the Admiralty, and later as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour is completely familiar with the two most vital Entente problems, the international question and the submarine question.

The hero of the joint mission is Marshal Joffre, the victor of the Marne, but for whose splendid work at the War Ministry France would have had no adequate army to oppose the German invasion; but for whose consummate strategy General von Kluck would in all likelihood have captured Paris and changed the history of the war. Marshal Joffre has been a great traveler, serving in Tonking, hard by the Philippines; in Western Africa, where he built a section of the railroad which joins the Senegal River to the Upper Niger; in the Sahara, where he first made a name by capturing Timbuktu; in Madagascar, where, under the late General Gallieni, he fortified a great harbor; but this is his first visit to the New World.

* * *

THE SEVEN BILLION DOLLAR LOAN

BOTH houses of Congress passed without a single negative vote—the House on April 14 by 389 to 0, the Senate on April 17 by 84 to 0—a bill to finance the prosecution of the war against Germany. The bill authorizes the issuance

of bonds to the amount of \$5,000,000,000, of which \$3,000,000,000 will be loaned to the nations comprising the Entente Alliance; also the issuance of Treasury certificates for \$2,000,000,000 ultimately to be met by increased taxation.

The proposed bond issue is the largest in the history of the world. Both the bonds and the certificates are to bear 3½ per cent. interest. Bonds heretofore authorized, but not sold, for the acquisition of the Danish West Indies, the construction of an armor plate and nitrate plant, the Panama Canal, the speeding up of the naval program, the Alaskan Railroad, and the Mexican mobilization, authorized at an interest rate of 3 per cent., are convertible into 3½ per cent. bonds.

Under the terms of the bill the President and the Secretary of the Treasury are unhampered in making a loan of \$3,000,000,000 to the Allies. The securities which the President shall purchase are not stipulated. The President is only to acquire "the obligations of foreign Governments" in an amount not to exceed \$3,000,000,000. The obligations of the foreign countries are to be taken at par. Payment of the Treasury certificates will be provided for by new stamp and increased income taxes; also by increased taxes on profits and new customs duties on imports now on the free list.

* * *

THE MILITARY SERVICE BILL

THERE was some hesitancy manifested in Congress over accepting the recommendation of the President for an obligatory army service bill. The Military Committee of the House at the first test vote subordinated the selective draft provision to a call for volunteers. Later, however, the President and Secretary of War renewed their arguments and with such force that it was generally agreed that the opposition had capitulated and that Congress would pass a selective draft bill, operative when the President finds volunteering insufficient, as follows:

First call, eligible men between the ages of 21 and 25; second call, 26 to 32; third call, 33 to 40.

On April 17 it was announced that army enlistments were averaging 1,434 men a day, and that the naval enlisted strength had reached 71,696 of the authorized strength of 87,500.

* * *

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

ON March 31 the transfer of the Danish West Indies to the United States was finally completed after half a century of effort. The Danish Minister, Mr. Brun, received a Treasury warrant on that day for \$25,000,000 and wireless messages were sent to the Danish and American authorities in the islands to lower the Danish flag and raise the Stars and Stripes. "By giving you this warrant," Secretary Lansing is reported to have said, "I will save you the trouble of transporting forty-eight tons of gold."

The area of the islands is 138 square miles; the population in 1911 was 27,086, of whom large numbers are free negroes engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane. The name, the Virgin Islands, of which St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John are the chief, is neither new nor altogether distinctive, since a group of contiguous islets, of which Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Anagada, and Jest-Van-Dykes are the chief, have long borne, and still bear, the title of the British Virgin Islands, while Crab Island, one of the same group, already belongs to the United States. Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, Chief of Naval Intelligence at the Navy Department, assumed the duties of Governor at St. Thomas, having been appointed by Secretary Daniels. He will serve until a permanent Government has been determined upon by Congress, and in the meantime local laws will be administered.

It is noted as an interesting coincidence that Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia just fifty years and one day before the final transfer of the Danish West Indies, the purchase price having been \$7,200,000, or less than a third of what has now been paid for the

tiny Virgin Islands. Alaska has produced gold valued at more than \$250,000,000, and has paid for itself a hundredfold.

* * *

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN RUSSIA

UNDER the imperial rule, with the exception of restraints laid on the Jews, all religions might be freely professed within the Russian Empire, which includes 14,000,000 Mohammedans, about 450,000 Buddhists, and about 300,000 Pagans, largely in Northern Siberia. There are also 11,500,000 Roman Catholics, largely in Poland, and 3,500,000 Lutherans, in the Baltic Provinces. All these confessions have hitherto enjoyed freedom of profession and worship. On two sections of the population restrictions have borne heavily: on the Jews, numbering 5,200,000, and on Dissenters from the Orthodox Church, who, it is estimated, number more than 12,000,000. The restrictions on the Jews were largely a survival of the time when they were subject to Poland; laws were passed confining them to the regions they then occupied, and restricting the numbers who might inhabit Russian towns, study at Russian universities, practice professions, and so forth. All these restrictions have been removed.

A further measure of liberation applies to the Orthodox Church, which was formerly subject to the control of the Emperor. The Emperor, through the Procurator of the Synod, appointed all Archbishops and Bishops, though the Bishops had the privilege of proposing candidates. The new Government will leave the appointment of all Church officials in the hands of the Church, which, as a body, gave its formal adherence to the new order in the opening days of the revolution.

Those who will now enjoy greatly increased religious liberty in Russia are, therefore, in order of numbers, first the Orthodox Church, which wins self-government; next, the Dissenters from the Orthodox Church; and, thirdly, the Jews, to whom all positions and professions in the State are now open on equal terms with all other Russians.

NEW FIGURES IN RUSSIAN LIFE

THE first step in the Russian revolution was taken in 1905, when, on Aug. 6, an elective body of representatives of the people was created, with the name of the State's Duma. On Oct. 17 the Duma was given wider legislative powers; inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association were guaranteed, and the Council of the Empire, transformed into a Legislative Council, was associated with the Duma as an upper house of the Legislature. The First and Second Dumas sat for only a few weeks each; the Third Duma completed its term of five years; the Fourth Duma was elected in November, 1912. In the Third and Fourth Dumas the men who accomplished the Russian revolution gained their administrative training and at the same time won the confidence of the Russian people.

M. V. Rodzianko, now President of the Duma, has attained high distinction as a leader in the liberal movement. Paul Milukoff, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, is the parliamentary leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party, which has fifty-five representatives in the Fourth Duma. He is widely known in the United States. Gutchkoff, the new Minister of War, and Kerensky, the Minister of Justice, are also tested parliamentarians. Prince Lvoff, the new Premier, was already widely known before the revolution as the head of the National Union of Zemstvos, which bear some resemblance to American State Legislatures, and which had formed a close organization among themselves to provide food, clothing and, to a large degree, munitions, for the active army. In this way the whole machinery of the new Russia was already in existence, first in the Duma and then in the Union of Zemstvos.

* * *

RELEASE OF THE SIBERIAN EXILES

THE return of thousands of political exiles from Siberia was one of the most dramatic aspects of the Russian revolution. This great act of liberation restored to Russia many of her ablest and most devoted men and women, who had worked, in their own way, for the

ends which the revolution accomplished. Among these exiles, Catharine Breshkovskaya, who has spent the greater part of a long life in exile, and who has recently been enthusiastically fêted at the capital, is, perhaps, the most picturesque figure. Vera Zassulitch, whose activities date back to the days of the Terrorists who assassinated Alexander II. on the eve of his granting Russia a Constitution in 1881, is also universally known, in part from the writings of "Stepniak," the historian of the earlier revolutionists, a close friend of William Morris and of Prince Peter Kropotkin. Kropotkin also has returned to Russia after a long exile, passed for the most part in England, but including visits to the United States and France; as a philosophical biologist he gained universal recognition, laying particular stress on the principle of co-operation throughout nature.

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DIFFICULTIES IN RUSSIA'S PATH

THAT serious obstacles lie in the path of the new Government in Russia was indicated by the imprisonment of the editor of the Socialist newspaper Pravda, "Truth," for lending himself to pro-German intrigue, counseling the soldiers to throw down their arms, to make peace without delay, and to enter on the "social revolution," which would bring them unimagined prosperity. The new intrigue set on foot in April by Germany, of which the German Socialist Deputy Scheidemann is the instrument, to involve Russian Socialists in peace negotiations at Copenhagen, further shows that the agents of the Kaiser, the instant that they saw that intrigue through the Russian Court was blocked by the revolution, turned their attention to the Russian Socialists. It is a second revelation of the same danger of which the Provisional Government is acutely conscious. Peasant risings in Samara, demanding immediate division of all land, are symptoms of a similar menace. A partial satisfaction of this demand will be reached by the distribution of the imperial domain, consisting of more than a million square miles, an area equal to the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Holland,

Belgium, Denmark, Austria and Hungary; but there will still remain the menace of the Extremists, possibly reinforced by returned Siberian exiles, many of whom are philosophical anarchists.

* * *

THE KAISER AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE

ACCORDING to the Constitution of the German Empire, dated April 16, 1871, the supreme direction of the military and political affairs of the empire is vested in the King of Prussia, who, as German Emperor, "represents the empire internationally," and can declare war if defensive, and make peace, as well as enter into treaties with other nations, and appoint and receive Ambassadors. But when war is not merely defensive the Kaiser must have the consent of the Bundesrat, or Federal Council. In this Federal Council of sixty-one members the Kingdom of Prussia has seventeen members; the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg have together fourteen, six Grand Duchies have eleven, five Duchies have six, seven Principalities have seven, three free towns—Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg—have one each, Alsace-Lorraine has three.

In the Reichstag, of 397 Deputies, Prussia has 236. In sharp contrast with the Prussian system, the Deputies are elected by universal manhood suffrage, with the result that, in the present Reichstag, there are 107 Socialists, ninety-one Centrists, ninety Liberals and Radicals, forty-four Conservatives, twenty-seven members of the German Party, eighteen Poles, and twenty Independents.

In the army Prussia greatly outweighs all the rest of the empire, providing sixteen of the twenty-five army corps, as against three for Bavaria, two for Saxony, one for Württemberg, two for Alsace-Lorraine, while there is also one corps of Prussian Guards. Under the Constitution of 1871, the whole of the land forces of the empire form a united army, under the orders of the Emperor, whom all troops are bound by the Constitution to obey conditionally. The Emperor is, therefore, responsible for every order given to any part of the German Army.

THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF PRUSSIA

KAISER WILHELM, as King of Prussia, has given an undertaking to reform the Prussian Constitution at the end of the war. Under the present fundamental laws, the whole of the executive and much of the legislative authority is vested in the King, who appoints all Ministers by royal decree. The King's power in the executive department is, therefore, absolute. He also possesses the power of veto over all legislation.

The Herrenhaus, the upper house of the Legislature, is closely identified with the King, since Princes of the royal family and of two other branches of the Hohenzollerns are members, as are the heads of sixteen princely families and of the nobility formed by the King, with a number of life peers chosen by the King, who may further nominate an unlimited number of members for life, or for shorter periods. The King thus has it in his power to insure a majority for any measure he may wish passed in the Herrenhaus. The lower house has 443 members, elected indirectly, as follows: The indirect electors are divided into three classes: The first consists of all electors who pay the highest taxes, to the amount of one-third of the whole; the second, of those who pay the next highest amount, down to the limits of the second one-third; the third, of all who pay the lowest taxes. The indirect electors choose electors, who choose the representatives.

Under this system, which secures control to a wealthy minority, there were elected, in 1913, 202 Conservatives, 216 Centrists, Liberals and Progressives, 10 Socialists, and 15 others.

* * *

A WORLD SHORTAGE OF WHEAT

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his proclamation of April 16, drew attention to the fact that the United States will in the coming year be called upon not only to feed its own people and army, but also to make very large contributions to the feeding of England, France, and Italy; Russia, as a great wheat growing country, being probably able to feed itself. It is estimated that, in part owing

to the destruction by frost of large areas of Winter wheat, the United States will this year produce less wheat than in average years by at least 26,000,000 bushels, though a part of this may be made up by Spring sowing over the frost-killed areas. The whole of Canada's coming supply of wheat has already been bought by the British Government, Canada having produced in 1915 336,258,000 bushels of wheat, one-fifth of which came into the United States.

Certain causes have contributed to bring about this world-wide wheat shortage, such as the large amount of wheat and other foods destroyed by German submarines, the lack of tonnage to bring wheat to England from Australia, the unwillingness of the Argentine Republic to sell wheat to England, the closing of the Black Sea route, by which Russia's vast surplus normally reaches the rest of the world, the destruction of immense quantities of wheat during the devastation of Rumania. France faces a deficit of 127,000,000 bushels of wheat in the coming year, in part due to the lack of field labor, while the aggregate deficit of the Entente Allies for the coming year has been placed at from 190,000,000 to 216,000,000 bushels.

Two ways of meeting this deficit have been suggested, besides wider cultivation—the saving of the large percentage of wheat lost in turning it into white flour, and the cessation of brewing and distilling, thus turning millions of bushels into bread instead of liquor.

* * *

NIGHT PLOWING IN ENGLAND

EXTRAORDINARY measures have been adopted in England to meet the threatened shortage of food resulting from the submarine warfare on commerce. Two of the most picturesque of these new methods are the universal application of Sunday labor and the hastening of work on the farms by supplementing day labor by night shifts. Powerful motor tractors have taken the place of the older steam plows, already largely used in England; and these new motor-tractor plows are provided with acetylene headlights such as are used on automo-

biles at night. On one farm a motor tractor working continuously for five days and four nights plowed a tract of forty-two acres, about equal to one-sixteenth of a square mile. To cover the same tract with a horse plow would, it is estimated, have taken fifty-six days, more than ten times as long; while the motor tractor plow, working only eight hours a day, would have taken twelve days to complete the work. On the darkest nights two acetylene lamps are used; on moonlight nights no artificial light is needed. The plow cuts four furrows at once, like the American "gang plow," and the men work in five-hour shifts, with an interval of an hour between two shifts for oiling and adjusting the tractor.

* * *

BRITISH WAR PENSIONS

THE schedule of the new War Pension Grants of the British Government are as follows, the rate being the maximum weekly allowance:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Disabled soldier, including children's allowance | \$18.75 |
| Widow with children..... | 9.37½ |
| Parent or guardian..... | 3.75 |
| Other dependents | 1.25 |

It is estimated that the annual charge on the pension account in 1918-19 will be \$125,000,000. The following are the allowances for the children of a totally disabled man:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| First child | \$1.25 |
| Second child | 1.12½ |
| Third child | .80 |
| For each child after the third..... | .62½ |

These payments are to be continued beyond the age of 16 in the case of apprentices receiving not more than nominal wages, or of children being educated at secondary schools, and may be granted or continued between the ages of 16 and 21 in the case of a child incapable through mental or physical infirmity of earning a living, provided the infirmity existed before the child attained the age of 16. Provision is also made for an alternative compensation to make up the deficit subject to a maximum of \$12.50 a week, plus half of any earnings prior to the war between \$12.50 and \$25 a week.

In the case of slight injuries a gratuity averaging from \$500 to \$1,000 is granted

in place of a pension. Widows are to be given half what would have been awarded to their deceased husbands had they been disabled in the highest degree. In the case of a private soldier this means \$3.87 a week. Allowances to widows are:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| For the first child..... | \$1.25 |
| For the second child..... | 1.12½ |
| For the third child..... | .90 |
| For each child after the third..... | .62½ |

The widow of a private with 8 children will get \$9.80 a week. "Unmarried wives" with dependent children are to get \$2.50 a week and children's allowances. If the unmarried wife has no dependent children she is to get \$2.50 a week for the period of the war and twelve months afterward. It is provided that a parent shall receive up to the amount of pre-war dependents of one or more sons within a total of \$3.75 a week.

* * *

GERMAN RULE IN RUMANIA

A DISPATCH from Jassy, the temporary capital of Rumania, reveals the first news of Rumanian affairs that has been permitted to leak out since the occupation of that country by the Germans. The dispatch is dated March 28, 1917, and says that in all parts of Rumania women, old and young, have been arrested on the pretext of being related to members of the Government. Elderly magistrates and doctors are also among those who have been seized and imprisoned. The majority are being sent to Bulgaria and Turkey. Among those arrested is the mother of the Prime Minister. The situation in the country districts, where the population is kept in a state of terror by robberies, fires, and incessant requisitions, systematically carried out, is worse than that in the towns.

A dispatch from Zurich dated March 26 says that approximately 1,100 Rumanians of Transylvania have been sentenced by Austro-Hungarian courts-martial to terms of penal servitude varying from thirty years to three years. The entire property of more than 600 Rumanians of Transylvania has been confiscated by the Hungarian Government. Practically all these victims of Hungarian persecution were Rumanians of position and education.

Among those condemned to death and

executed was a priest, Father David Pope; the former sub-prefect of Kronstadt, M. Constantine Bojta; M. Yovan Koman, a professor; M. Romulus Kristelgan, headmaster of the school at Kronstadt; M. Pompilius Dan, a private tutor; Dr. Zacharius Mountean, advocate; M. Victor Pope, chemist; Father Koman Baka, a priest, and Dr. Nicholas Hamzea, physician—all of Kronstadt. Among other victims condemned to death and executed were practically all the principal Rumanian Intellectuals of Klausenburg.

* * *

VAST QUANTITIES OF SUPPLIES

H. W. FORSTER, official Secretary of the British War Office, in moving the war estimates made some interesting statements to Parliament regarding the prodigious operations in equipping an army. As an illustration, he said, at the beginning of the war it was difficult to obtain horseshoes, which were procured from Canada and the United States, hence village blacksmiths were organized to make hand-made shoes. This output, at first, was 50,000 pairs a month; it is now 1,500,000. To illustrate the scale upon which supplies were required, he states that the War Office had to provide:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Gas helmets | 25,000,000 |
| Sand bags for the Allies..... | 250,000,000 |
| Khaki cloth, yards..... | 105,000,000 |
| Flannel, yards | 115,000,000 |

The khaki cloth and flannel together measured 111,000 miles, enough to go four and a half times around the earth at the Equator. Another interesting statement was that the typhoid fever cases were fifteen times higher among those who had not been inoculated than among the inoculated, and the death ratio seventy times higher among those not inoculated.

* * *

FIGHTING A BILLION ENEMIES

OMITTING China, which is giving every indication of an intention to enter the war on the side of the Allies, the Central Powers, with a population of 157,878,000, are at war with fourteen nations totaling a population of 1,003,681,000. This vast number is divided as follows:

ENTENTE-AMERICAN ALLIES

| Country. | Area (Sq. Miles.) | Population. |
|---|----------------------|---------------|
| United States | 3,627,557 | 101,740,000 |
| Philippines | 115,026 | 8,643,000 |
| Great Britain | 121,316 | 46,407,000 |
| British possessions.. | 12,660,460 | 388,036,000 |
| France | 207,129 | 39,700,000 |
| French colonies ... | 3,998,713 | 49,725,000 |
| Russia | 8,361,708 | 174,100,000 |
| Finland | 144,249 | 3,197,000 |
| Italy | 110,688 | 35,598,000 |
| Italian colonies | 458,162 | 1,450,000 |
| Japan, including For- mosa and Chosen... | 245,641 | 72,818,000 |
| Belgium | 11,373 | 7,658,000 |
| Belgian Congo | 913,127 | 20,000,000 |
| Portugal | 35,499 | 5,958,000 |
| Portuguese colonies. | 808,107 | 9,280,000 |
| Rumania | 53,934 | 7,508,000 |
| Serbia | 33,107 | 4,622,000 |
| Montenegro | 5,475 | 435,000 |
| Cuba | 45,881 | 2,469,000 |
| Panama | 32,330 | 337,000 |
| Brazil | 3,292,000 | 24,000,000 |
| Total | 34,282,082 | 1,003,681,000 |

CENTRAL POWERS

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Germany | 209,793 | 68,059,000 |
| German colonies ... | 1,026,022 | 12,287,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | 261,023 | 51,505,000 |
| Turkey | 682,239 | 21,274,000 |
| Bulgaria | 44,056 | 4,753,000 |
| Total | 2,223,133 | 157,878,000 |

* * *

THE \$5,000,000,000 bond issue authorized by Congress in April amounts to about one-tenth of the national income of the United States last year, as is shown by the following statistics of the financial strength of the country:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Annual national income..... | \$50,000,000,000 |
| Total bank resources..... | 35,000,000,000 |
| Individual deposits | 24,000,000,000 |
| Cash held by the banks..... | 2,500,000,000 |
| Total gold stock in the country. | 3,000,000,000 |
| Available additional commercial credits on basis of present cash holdings | 6,000,000,000 |

* * *

A BRITISH WAR MUSEUM

A COMMITTEE has been formed by authority of Parliament to establish a national war museum. The idea is to reconstruct for future generations the story of the British share in the war. The chief categories of exhibits will be relics and records. There will be separate departments to illustrate the work of the sailors, soldiers, and munition workers. The nucleus of these collections is already in the hands of the Admiralty,

the War Office, and the Ministry of Munitions. The aim will be to include examples of the following:

1. Material used by the British forces—guns, rifles, bayonets, trench weapons, tanks, submarines, &c.
2. Trophies captured from the enemy.
3. Souvenirs found on the battlefield.
4. New inventions employed in munition works at home.
5. Literature of the war—books, trench magazines, &c.
6. Maps of the war.
7. Music of the war—trench tunes, marching songs, &c.
8. Art of the war, including trench drawings.
9. Placards issued by the Government for recruiting, economy, &c.
10. Medals and decorations.
11. Autograph letters by distinguished actors in the war.
12. Civilian souvenirs, such as "flag-day" relics.

* * *

THE effect of the entry of the United States on the side of the Allies is shown by the following changes in foreign exchanges as quoted on April 12: Sterling, 4.76%, against 4.73 9-16 low in 1916, and 4.50 low in 1915; Francs, 5.70%, against 6.08½ low in 1916, 6.02 low in 1915. Italian lire rose 24 points in the week ending April 12, 1917. Rubles rose 20 points.

* * *

THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE number of citizens of foreign birth in the United States in 1917 is 14,500,000, while 20,500,000 native Americans have either a foreign-born father or a foreign-born mother, and 14,000,000 had both parents born abroad. Of the total 100,000,000 population of the United States 54,000,000 are of native white ancestry. Since the foundation of the Government the total immigration to the United States from Great Britain has been 4,000,000; from Germany, 6,000,000; from Ireland, 4,000,000; from Scandinavia, 2,000,000. Up to 1890, before the heavy influx began from Russia and Italy, the total immigration to the United States was 15,689,000, of

which one-third was German. After 1890, of the 17,000,000 immigrants only 1,023,000 were Germans.

The following tables compiled by the Geographic Magazine convey an idea of the distribution of the larger groups of foreign-born citizens:

CANADIANS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Massachusetts | 300,000 |
| Michigan | 190,000 |
| New York | 125,000 |
| Maine | 75,000 |
| New Hampshire | 55,000 |
| Illinois | 50,000 |
| California | 50,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,164,000 |

ITALIANS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| New York | 470,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 190,000 |
| New Jersey | 115,000 |
| Massachusetts | 90,000 |
| Illinois | 75,000 |
| California | 60,000 |
| Connecticut | 55,000 |
| Ohio | 40,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,335,000 |

AUSTRO-HUNGARIANS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Pennsylvania | 375,000 |
| New York | 360,000 |
| Illinois | 200,000 |
| Ohio | 160,000 |
| New Jersey | 100,000 |
| Wisconsin | 40,000 |
| Minnesota | 38,000 |
| Michigan | 38,000 |
| Connecticut | 37,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,680,000 |

ENGLISH, SCOTCH, WELSH

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| New York | 195,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 170,000 |
| Massachusetts | 125,000 |
| Illinois | 90,000 |
| New Jersey | 65,000 |
| California | 60,000 |
| Ohio | 60,000 |
| Michigan | 55,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,145,000 |

GERMANS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| New York | 430,000 |
| Illinois | 325,000 |
| Wisconsin | 235,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 210,000 |
| Ohio | 190,000 |
| Michigan | 125,000 |
| New Jersey | 115,000 |
| Minnesota | 95,000 |
| Iowa | 85,000 |
| Missouri | 80,000 |
| California | 75,000 |
| Indiana | 70,000 |
| Nebraska | 70,000 |
| Texas | 60,000 |
| Maryland | 50,000 |
| Kansas | 45,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 2,640,000 |

RUSSIANS AND FINNS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| New York | 560,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 260,000 |
| Illinois | 150,000 |
| Massachusetts | 130,000 |
| New Jersey | 95,000 |
| Michigan | 70,000 |
| Connecticut | 55,000 |
| Ohio | 55,000 |
| Minnesota | 40,000 |
| Wisconsin | 35,000 |
| North Dakota | 35,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,669,000 |

IRISH

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| New York | 370,000 |
| Massachusetts | 225,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 160,000 |
| Illinois | 90,000 |
| New Jersey | 85,000 |
| Connecticut | 55,000 |
| California | 50,000 |
| Ohio | 40,000 |
| Rhode Island | 35,000 |
| Missouri | 30,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,330,000 |

SCANDINAVIANS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Minnesota | 240,000 |
| Illinois | 165,000 |
| Wisconsin | 95,000 |
| New York | 90,000 |
| Washington | 70,000 |
| Iowa | 70,000 |
| North Dakota | 70,000 |
| California | 50,000 |
| Massachusetts | 50,000 |
| Michigan | 37,000 |
| Nebraska | 37,000 |
| South Dakota | 35,000 |
| Total in United States..... | 1,209,000 |

In the omitted States the number of foreign-born citizens in the foregoing classifications is fairly proportional, ranging from 30,000 in the more populous States to 4,000 or 5,000 in the Southern and smaller States. The foreign-born seem to prefer urban life, as 23,000,000 out of 35,000,000 live in cities. Only one-fifth of the population of New York and Chicago is of native white ancestry. Less than a third of the populations of Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Newark, Minneapolis, Jersey City, Providence, St. Paul, Worcester, Scranton, Paterson, Fall River, Lowell, Cambridge, and Bridgeport are of native ancestry.

Though the foreign-born constitute one-seventh of the nation, nearly one-fourth of the arm-bearing strength of the country is represented in this class.

The Battle of Arras

Scenes of Infernal Splendor on the First Day of the New British Offensive

By Philip Gibbs

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle]

At dawn on Easter Monday, April 9, 1917, the British armies began a tremendous offensive on a wide front between Lens and St. Quentin, including Vimy Ridge, that great, grim hill which dominates the plain of Douai and the coal fields of Lens and the German positions around Arras. Philip Gibbs has depicted the terrors of that first day's fighting in the following memorable description:

TODAY began another titanic conflict which the world will hold its breath to watch because of all that hangs upon it. I have seen the fury of this beginning and all the sky on fire with it, the most tragic and frightful sight that men have ever seen, with infernal splendor beyond words. The bombardment which went before the infantry assault lasted several days, and reached a great height yesterday. When coming from the south I saw it for the first time. Those of us who knew what would happen today—the beginning of another series of battles, greater perhaps than the struggle of the Somme—found ourselves yesterday filled with tense, restless emotion. Some of us smiled with a kind of tragic irony because it was Easter Sunday. In the little village behind the battle lines the bells of the French churches were ringing gladly because the Lord had risen, and on the altar steps priests were reciting splendid words of faith—“Resurrexi et adhuc et cum sum, Alleluia.”

The earth was glad yesterday. For the first time this year the sun had a touch of warmth in it—although patches of snow still stayed white under the shelter of banks—and the sky was blue and the light glinted on wet tree trunks and in furrows of new plowed earth.

As I went up the road to the battle lines, I passed a battalion of British

troops, who are fighting today, standing in a hollow square with bowed heads while the chaplain conducted the Easter service. It was Easter Sunday, but no truce of God. I went to a field outside Arras and looked into the ruins of the cathedral city. The cathedral itself stood clear in the sunlight, with a deep black shadow where its roof and aisles had been. Beyond was a ragged pinnacle of stone, once the glorious Town Hall, and the French barracks and all the broken streets going out to the Cambrai road. It was hell in Arras, though Easter Sunday. The enemy was flinging high explosives into the city, and clouds of shrapnel burst above black and green. All around the country, too, his shells were exploding in a scattered, aimless way. From the British side there was a great bombardment all along Vimy Ridge, above Neuville St. Vaast and sweeping around St. Nicholas and Blangy, two suburbs of Arras, and then southwest of the city on the ridge above the road to Cambrai. It was one continuous roar of death, and all the batteries were firing steadily. I watched the shells burst, and some of them were monsters, rising in great, lingering clouds above the German lines.

There was one figure in this landscape of war who made some officers about me laugh. He was a French plowman who upholds the traditions of war. Zola saw him in 1870. I have seen him on the edge of another battlefield, and here he was again, driving a pair of sturdy horses and his plow across the sloping field, not a furlong away from a village where German shells were raising a rosy cloud of brick dust. So he gave praise to the Lord on Easter morning and prepared for the harvests which shall be gathered after the war.

Scenes Behind the Front

All behind the front of battle there was great traffic. All that modern warfare means in organization and in preparation for the enormous operation was here in movement. I had just come from the British outpost lines down south, from the silence of that great desert which the enemy has left in the wake of his retreat east of Bapaume and Péronne, and from that open warfare with village fighting, where small bodies of British infantry and cavalry have been clearing the countryside of rearguard posts. Here round about Arras was concentration for the old form of battle, the attack upon intrenched positions, fortified hills, and great natural fortresses defended by masses as before the battles of the Somme.

For miles on the way in front were great camps, great stores, and restless activity. Everywhere supply columns of food for men and guns moved forward in an endless tide. Transport mules passed in long trails, field batteries went up to add to the mass of metal ready to pour fire upon the German lines. It was a vast circus of the world's great war, and everything that belongs to the machinery of killing streamed on and on; columns of ambulances for the rescue, for that other side of the business, came in procession, followed by an army of stretcher bearers—more than I have ever seen before—marching cheerily as though in a pageant. In some of the ambulances were army nurses, and the men marching on the roads waved their hands to them, and they laughed and waved back. There were greetings which made one's heart go soft awhile. In the fields by the roadside men were resting, lying on the wet earth between two spells of long marching, or encamped in rest—the same kind of men whom I saw on July 1 of last year, some of them the same men, clean shaven, gray eyed, so young and so splendid to see. Some of them sat between their stacked rifles writing letters home, and the tide of traffic passed them and flowed on to the edge of the battlefields where today they are fighting.

I went up in the darkness, long before

light broke today, to see the opening of the battle. The roads were quiet until I drew near to Arras, and then onward there was the traffic of marching men going up to the fighting lines.

In the darkness there were hundreds of little red lights, the glow of cigarette ends. Outside one camp a battalion was marching away, and on the bank above them the band was playing them out with fifes and drums. On each side of me as I passed by the men were densely massed, and they were whistling and singing and calling out jests and gibes—wonderful lads that they are. Away before them were the fires of death, to which they were going very steadily, with a tune on their lips, carrying rifles and shovels and iron rations, while the rain played a tattoo on their steel hats.

I went to a place a little outside of Arras on the west side. It was not quite dark because there was a kind of suffused light from the hidden moon so I could see the black mass of the cathedral city, the storm centre of this battle, and away behind me, to the left, the tall broken towers of Mount St. Eloi, white and ghostly, looking across to Vimy Ridge. The bombardment was now in full blast. All the British batteries, too many to count, were firing, a thousand gun flashes winking and blinking from hollows and hiding places.

All their shells were rushing through the sky as though flocks of great birds were in flight, and all were bursting over the German positions with long flames which rent the darkness and waved sword blades of quivering light along the ridges. The earth opened and great pools of red fire gushed out. Star shells burst magnificently, pouring down a golden rain.

Mines were exploded east and west of Arras and in the wide sweep from Vimy Ridge to Blangy southward, and voluminous clouds, all bright with the glory of infernal fire, rolled up to the sky. The wind blew strongly across, beating back the noise of the guns, but the air was all filled with the deep roar and slamming knocks of single heavies and the drumfire of the field guns.

The first attack was at 5:30. A few

minutes before 5:30 the guns almost ceased fire, so that there was a strange, solemn hush. We waited and our pulses beat faster than the second hands.

"They're away!" said a voice by my side. The bombardment broke out again with new and enormous effects of fire and sound. The enemy was shelling Arras heavily, and black shrapnel and high explosives came over from his lines, but the British gunfire was twenty times as great.

Around the whole sweep of his lines green lights rose. They were signals of distress and his men were calling for help. It was dawn now, but clouded and stormswept. A few airmen came out with the wind tearing at their wings, but they could see nothing in the mist and driven rain.

I went down to the outer ramparts of Arras. The eastern suburb of Blangy seemed already in British hands. On the higher ground beyond the British were fighting forward. I saw two waves of infantry advancing against the enemy's trenches. Protected by the barrage of field guns, they went in a slow, leisurely way, not hurried, although the enemy's shrapnel was searching for them.

"Grand fellows," said an officer lying next to me on the wet slope. "Oh, toppling!"

Fifteen minutes afterward some men came back. They were British wounded and German prisoners. I met the first of these walking wounded. Afterward they were met on the roadside by medical officers who patched them up there and then before they were taken to the field hospitals in the ambulances.

From these men wounded by shrapnel and machine gun bullets I heard the first news of the progress. They were bloody and exhausted, but they claimed success. * * *

Advance of Four Miles

The British swept the Germans out of Arras and went on stolidly through the enemy's trench system to Feuchy, in the marshes below the River Scarpe, four

miles east of Arras. The enemy was afraid of an attack, and in the night had withdrawn all but rearguard posts to trenches further back, where he resisted fiercely.

The enemy's trench system south of Arras was enormously strong, but the British bombardment had pounded it, and the infantry went through without much loss to the reserve support trench, and then on to a chain of posts in front of Harvest trench, which was strongly held, and, after heavy fighting with bombs and bayonets, to Observatory Ridge, from which for two years and a half the enemy looked down, directing the fire of his batteries against the French and British positions.

South of Tilloy there were two formidable positions, called the Harp and Telegraph Hill, the former being a fortress of trenches shaped like an Irish harp, the latter rising to a high mound. These were taken with the help of tanks, which advanced upon them in their leisurely way, climbed up the banks and over the parapets, sitting for a while to rest, and then waddling forward again, shaking machine gun bullets from their steel flanks and pouring a deadly fire into the enemy's position, and so mastering the ground.

North of the Scarpe—that is, north-east of Arras—the whole system of trenches was taken as far as the Maison Blanche Wood, and north again along Vimy Ridge the Canadians achieved a heroic success by gaining this high, dominating ground, which was the scene of some of the fiercest French battles in the first part of the war and which is a great wall defending Douai.

It was reckoned up to noon today that over 3,000 prisoners had been taken. They were streaming down to the prisoners' camps and to the British who pass them on the roads they are the best proof of a victorious day. After the retreat from Bapaume and Péronne, this news should be a thunderbolt in Germany, tearing the scales from the blind and raising anew a cry for peace.

Seven Days' Fighting at Arras

THE well-kept secret of where the British proposed to make a new thrust in the Spring was suddenly disclosed on the morning of Easter Monday, April 9. It was an offensive along a front of forty-five miles, having for its immediate objective Lens at one end and St. Quentin at the other. This is the struggle which has become known as the battle of Arras, although at the end of seven days' fighting the scene has shifted considerably to the east of the city which has given its name to the battle. The Hindenburg line, on which the Germans were relying when they fell back from the Somme, was pierced within a week, leaving them in the awkward position of having to form a new defensive line without adequate preparation.

The bombardment of the German positions during the four days preceding the opening of the offensive on April 9 was as intense and as sustained as the artillery fire before and during the other great battles on the western front. Eyewitnesses even declare that it has been more concentrated and destructive than at the Somme and Verdun. The British guns were very numerous, of great calibre, and supplied with such vast quantities of ammunition that their "curtains of fire" were terrible realities.

Fierce Aerial Fighting

The battle of Arras has eclipsed all previous battles in aerial operations. During the four days before the battle began British airplanes literally swarmed in the sky, and the fighting in the air was on far the largest scale up to date. The German aviators were outnumbered many times over. Throughout the battle the British airplanes were constantly active despite the most unfavorable weather conditions, with snow, sleet, bitterly cold wind, and rain. The whole week's fighting was carried out, not in pleasant April sunshine, but in wintry weather which added its own gloom to the horrors of war.

The principal object of the aviators was to photograph the enemy's new positions, and, incidentally, to bombard strategic points behind the German front.

Other squadrons, protecting those whose business was reconnoitring and observation, also went up for fighting purposes only. Duels, skirmishes, and engagements of all kinds took place between the British and German airplanes for the mastery of the air. In the numerous fights that ensued, the British, according to their own reports, had twenty-eight machines missing, most of them shot down behind the enemy's lines. According to the German reports, the number of British airplanes destroyed was forty-four. On the other hand, the Germans lost fifteen airplanes and ten balloons, while the British drove to the ground thirty-one additional machines, which, according to Sir Douglas Haig's report on April 7, "must have been totally destroyed." That the British Flying Corps achieved its purpose was indicated by the statement that large tracts of the enemy's country for many miles in the rear had been photographed, over 1,700 photographs having been taken behind the lines.

The bombarding squadrons also were successful. Seventeen raids were carried out, and over eight tons of bombs were dropped on enemy aerodromes, ammunition depots, and railroads. The air fighting was wholly over enemy territory, and in one instance the British airmen penetrated fifty miles behind the German lines. The British established beyond question their supremacy in the air by reason of the much larger number of machines at their disposal and the greater dash and resourcefulness of their aviators.

Beginning of British Offensive

The British opened the battle on April 9 with a terrific offensive on a twelve-mile front north and south of Arras, penetrating the German positions to a depth of from two to three miles and capturing many important fortified points, including the famous Vimy Ridge, where the Canadians led the attack. In this first onset nearly 6,000 prisoners, mostly Bavarians, Württembergers, and Hamburgers, were taken, as well as large quantities of artillery and war material.

The line of advance extended from Givenchy-en-Gohelle, southwest of Lens, to Henin-sur-Cojeul, (the village of Henin on the Cojeul River,) southeast of Arras. All the fighting was against dominating positions on high ground, some of which had been held by the Germans for two years and were protected by wide belts of barbed wire.

The capture of Vimy Ridge was particularly important, because it protects the French coal fields lying to the eastward. Along the greater part of the front the advance of the British infantry was strenuously opposed. Near Arras the Germans made a determined stand. The famous redoubt known as the Harp was captured with virtually the whole German battalion defending it. Several "tanks" figured in this operation. Along the railroad running through the valley of the Scarpe the British made good progress, while on the Lens branch of the line they captured Maison Blanche Wood.

The first day of the battle ended with the British having accomplished their most successful day's work on the western front since the beginning of the war. The attack had hit the hinge of the recent German retreat from Arras to the Aisne and upset the plans of the German General Staff, who had expected the offensive to be renewed in the valley of the Somme. The capture of Vimy shifted the pivot of the whole German retreat and placed the enemy in a position of danger.

The second day of the battle, April 10, saw the British, despite heavy snowstorms and bitterly cold weather, continuing their advance along the greater part of the twelve-mile front from Givenchy to Henin, capturing many more prisoners and guns, with quantities of all kinds of war material. The infantry pushed forward as far as the outskirts of Monchy-le-Preux, five miles east of Arras, capturing a height protecting Monchy and threatening the entire German line south of the Arras-Cambrai road. Monchy was for a while the central point of interest in the whole world war.

Further north the British captured defenses on both sides of the Scarpe River.

They also took the remaining positions on the northern end of Vimy Ridge, thus clearing it entirely of the enemy, and progressed in the direction of Cambrai and St. Quentin. The northern pivot of the Hindenburg line was now turned. The artillery support for the British infantry attacks was so thorough that casualties were proportionately light. The British artillery also made a record for long-range firing. Aided by information from the aviators, the gunners were able to concentrate their fire on German reinforcements ten miles away and so prevent them from helping to counterattack.

The prisoners, who numbered 11,000 at the end of the second day, were penned up behind barbed wire fences till they could be sent rearward. British troops waiting their turn to go up to the front congregated outside the fences and chatted amicably with those Germans who could speak English, and gave them chocolate and cigarettes. One observer says that all animosity between the soldiers disappeared the moment they were no longer trying to kill one another.

Unusually cold weather for the time of year, with a heavy fall of snow, greatly impeded operations on the third day, April 11. Nevertheless, the British kept on pushing forward and captured the village and heights of Monchy-le-Preux and the neighboring hamlet of La Bergère. Cavalry and a "tank" contributed to the capture of Monchy, one of the key positions between the Scarpe and Sensée Rivers, which the Germans had strongly organized. Fierce fighting took place in the village streets. The Germans fired from the windows and rooftops of houses, and made every effort to hold this vital position. The British made satisfactory progress at other points. They repelled two vigorous counterattacks and pressed forward down the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge. The chief result at the end of the third day was that the British had been able to consolidate their gains and move forward their artillery.

Germans Beaten Off

On the fourth day of the battle, April 12, the British made substantial progress east of Arras, capturing the villages of

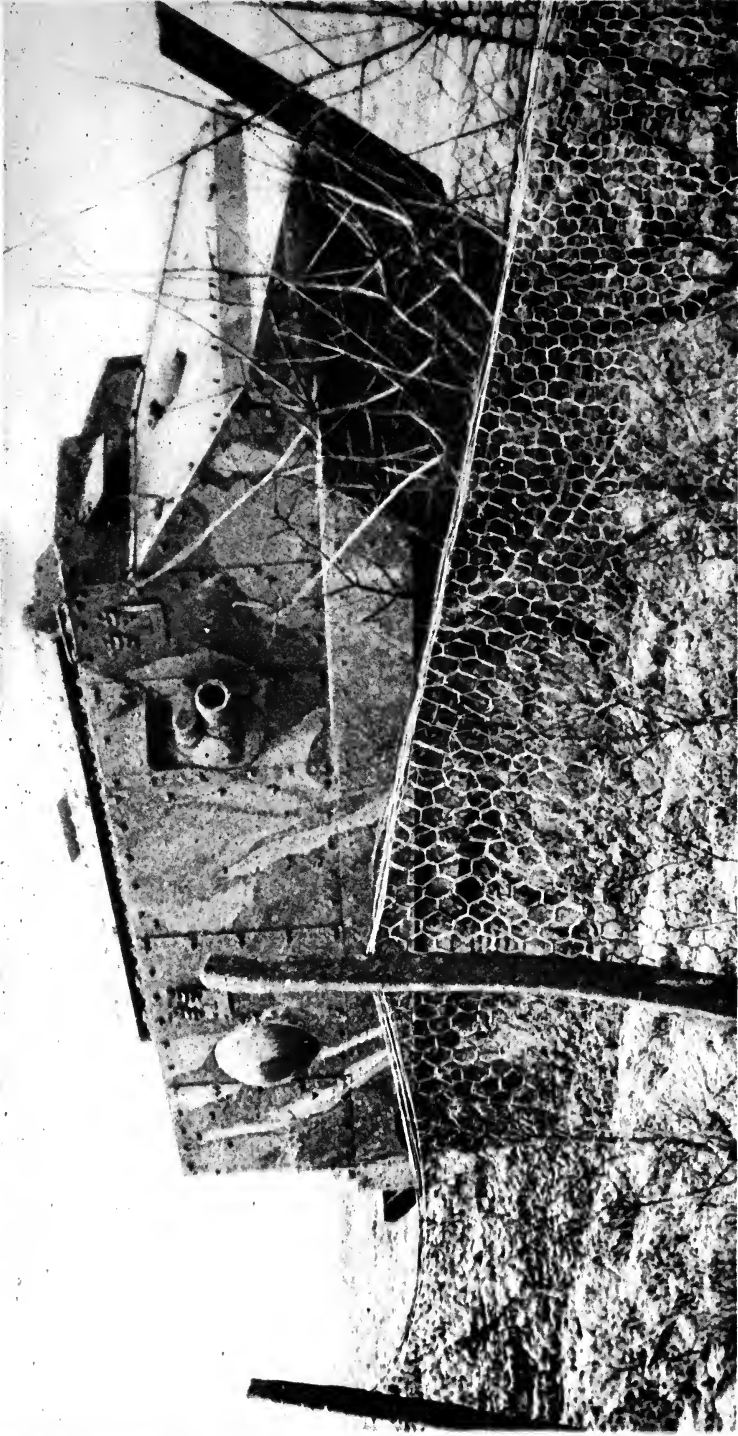
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ITS ADVISORY BOARD



This Council, Which Is Mobilizing the Nation's Resources, Consists of the Cabinet and a Civilian Advisory Board. Seated, Left to Right: Secretaries Houston, Daniels, Baker, Lane, and Wilson; Standing, Left to Right: Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary; Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of Committee on Supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, in Charge of Raw Materials; Daniel Willard, Transportation; Dr. F. H. Martin, Medicine and Sanitation; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Science and Research; Howard Coffin, Munitions, and W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council.

(© Harris & Ewing)

NEW FRENCH "TANK" USED IN ATTACK ON ST. QUENTIN



This New Model of "Land Dreadnought," an Improvement on the British Armored Battle Car, Has a Wire Cutter in Front

(Late national Film Service)

Wancourt and Heninel to the southeast, some positions north of the Scarpe River, and driving the Germans from their last foothold on Vimy Ridge to the northeast. The work of straightening the new line was continued by clearing the enemy out of a number of "pockets." Monchy remained the central point of the battle. There the British attack and the German defense converged. The German troops were ordered to stop the British advance at all costs, and it was not until large numbers of British field batteries were brought into play that the Germans were definitely beaten off.

On the fifth day, April 13, a new turn was given to the battle of Arras. By a sudden sweep northward from their new positions east of the city the British drove the Germans back on a twelve-mile front, capturing six villages and seriously threatening the important coal-mining centre of Lens. This new line of advance extended from the Scarpe River to Loos, north of Lens. The town of Vimy was captured, as well as Ancre, which, with Lieven, protects Lens from the southwest. The depth of the advance was about a mile. Sir Douglas Haig's bulletin at the end of the day's fighting reported that the number of guns captured during the five days' operations had reached 166, and the aggregate prisoners 13,000. But the most significant statement by the British Commander in Chief was that the British were "astride" the Hindenburg line, which the Germans had believed impregnable.

The Germans were now forced to fall back in the direction of an emergency auxiliary line from Drocourt to Quéant, endeavoring at the same time to complete the new defensive positions on which they were compelled to rely once the Hindenburg line failed them. On April 13 the British also attacked on a wide front west of Le Catelet, from Metz-en-Couture, south of the Bapaume-Cambrai railroad, to north of Hargicourt, a distance of about nine miles.

On the French section of the front during the first five days of the battle there was no attempt at an offensive, the chief business of the French being to keep the Germans occupied while the British were making their great thrust

at the Hindenburg line between Lens and St. Quentin. The French maintained a constant artillery fire between the Somme and the Aisne until the sixth day of the British drive. Then they launched a fierce offensive south of St. Quentin and, despite the desperate resistance by the Germans, succeeded in carrying several lines of trenches between the Somme and the railroad running from St. Quentin to the Oise. This was followed by a vigorous attack in co-operation with the British, who were advancing on the city from the northwest.

The battle of Arras had by the sixth day, April 14, really become the battle of Lens and St. Quentin. The Germans had now brought up large reinforcements to prevent the rolling up of the Hindenburg line, but the British pushed forward unchecked toward both Lens and St. Quentin. In the morning the town of Lievin, southwest of and adjoining Lens, was captured, with considerable quantities of war material. In the afternoon the British seized Cité St. Pierre, northwest of Lens, and advanced along the whole front from the Scarpe River to the south of Loos, and reached points two to three miles east of Vimy Ridge. South of the Scarpe attacks and counterattacks alternated all day. The British made further progress on a wide front north and south of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. At the southern end of the front the British fought their way forward south and east to within a few hundred yards of St. Quentin and carried the village of Fayet at the point of the bayonet. The French to the south of St. Quentin bombarded the German positions in front of the city and between the city and the Oise. At the end of the day's fighting the fall of both Lens and St. Quentin was imminent.

The battle raged with undiminished fury throughout the night and all next day, April 15, when between 4 and 5 in the morning the first British troops entered Lens. The occupation of the district around Lens marked the recovery for France of the country's most valuable coal fields. At the other end of the forty-five-mile line the British had practically won their way into the suburbs of St. Quentin, with the Germans making a stubborn last stand in the city itself.

The Canadians' Achievement On Vimy Ridge

TO the Canadians was given the honor of leading the attack on Vimy Ridge, where last year the French lost thousands of men in an attempt to hold that dominating height. Once before the British gained the crest of the ridge only to have to abandon it under a tremendous concentration of German guns. Throughout the Winter the Canadians held a footing on the ridge below the German lines, but early in the first day of the battle of Arras the Canadians were on top looking down on the plain of Douai. They carried the position with comparatively little fighting and few casualties, pushing from one line to the other in a rapid, methodical manner.

An observer who saw the Canadians set off at dawn to attack the German positions describes them as having gone away cheering and laughing through the mud, which made them look like scarecrows. They followed closely and warily the barrage of the British guns, the most concentrated artillery fire ever seen, and at the end of an hour had taken the first German trenches, including the whole front line system of defense above Neuville St. Vaast, by La Folie Farm and La Folie Wood, and up by Thelus, where they began to encounter serious resistance.

The Germans were entrenched in long, deep tunnels, but when the Canadians once reached the position with fixed bayonets the Germans were glad to surrender and escape from the British artillery fire that had been directed on them. Most of the Germans in the dugouts were made prisoner without even a show of fight. On Vimy Ridge alone the Canadians took more than 2,000 prisoners. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Canadians had occupied the whole of Vimy Ridge with the exception of a strongly fortified elevation on the left of Hill 145. Artillery fire which blew the barbed wire entanglements to pieces made the Canadian advance easier. One report described the top of the ridge as having been literally blown off by the

British big guns. Another dispatch, that of The Associated Press staff correspondent, dated April 10, says:

The Canadians did not for a moment underestimate the seriousness of the task before them in taking Vimy. They knew that the artillery had paved the way to success, but were frankly surprised when they saw what the guns had actually done. They found hundreds of Germans holding up their hands over the bodies of their fallen comrades and begging for something to eat. These men said they had been cut off for days from all supplies by the steadiness of the artillery fire. They could not retire, and no relief supply columns from the rear ever reached the neighborhood of where the shells had been falling in continuous showers.

Some of the stronger redoubts, manned by machine-gun detachments, in which were found men of the highest morale in the German Army, resisted for several hours. But, closing around them during the night, the Canadians silenced all resistance.

According to The Toronto Mail and Empire correspondent, Canadian artillery, as well as infantry, helped to take Vimy Ridge. On April 10 he wrote:

The Canadian artillery has played the strongest part which it has yet been called upon to do. The full story will probably show that the Canadian gunners, who have frequently earned special commendation in the final tests before proceeding to France, paved and maintained the way for the storming of the position, which, though much coveted, has hitherto been regarded as almost impregnable.

The military importance of this ridge has made it the centre of fierce struggles during the past two years, the Germans, the French, and the British all having heavy casualties at various times. This time, however, there is reason to believe that the Canadian losses will be moderate.

The capture of 2,000 prisoners by the Canadians is not surprising, as the whole ridge was honeycombed with dugouts, in which the Germans sheltered themselves.

Up to the present moment the great offensive had been held up just at the point below the Canadian lines, which fact caused Vimy Ridge to be styled the "hinge" of the enemy's retreat from the Somme, and the Canadians have been very impatient for the "hinge" to move. I also understand that Canadian cavalry enjoyed more scope in this action.

Anglo-Canadians are rejoicing at the good news, and Sir Robert Borden has sent a congratulatory message to General Byng, who commands the Canadian forces. The

entire press rings with the exploits of the Canadians, as it did at the battle of Ypres, but with more jubilation.

Further light is thrown on the work of the Canadians by the London correspondent of The Canadian Associated Press:

"Before midday one Canadian cage had 500 prisoners," said an informant reaching London today. "One of the first things which happened before daylight was the blowing up of an enemy ammunition dump on Vimy Ridge. The shock was momentarily paralyzing locally, but was a mere incident to what followed. The Canadians waited in the dark, with a cold rain pelting and a bitter wind driving over the desolate ground. The artillery had been pounding away for days, and every shell we sent over had its own particular spot to fall on, for the British airplanes had done wonderful scouting work in preparation for this.

"The scouting work and the artillery fire which followed made possible the results already achieved by our infantry. Our heavy guns were first brought there three days after Christmas. They were put in position in the morning and began firing the same afternoon. They have gone on ever since, so there is some idea of what is meant by artillery preparation.

"There is not the least doubt the results have given every satisfaction, not merely in a spectacular sense, which the mere civilian is able to appreciate, but in the more technical military sense. Competent sober estimates had reckoned that the Canadian divisions could not advance without losing a third of their strength, but this estimate has been entirely falsified. The casualty lists are heavy, but less heavy than any competent estimate imagined. The air service and artillery made this possible."

The Canadian press is able to vouch for the interesting fact that General Byng in the earlier stages of the war, and before he assumed the Canadian command, was in command of the English troops who were then holding the Vimy Ridge line.

At Vimy Ridge for the first time in history the Stars and Stripes appeared on a European battlefield. The story is told in an unofficial dispatch received at Ottawa from the Canadian Army Headquarters in Europe:

To a young Texan who came to Ontario to enlist and who is now lying wounded in the hospital belongs the honor of first carrying

the American flag into battle in the European war, into which the United States, as a belligerent, has just entered. He went up to the assault at Thelus carrying the Stars and Stripes on his bayonet and fell thus.

As soon as King George learned of the first day's fighting he sent the following message to Sir Douglas Haig:

The whole empire will rejoice at the news of yesterday's successful operations. Canada will be proud that the taking of the coveted Vimy Ridge has fallen to the lot of her troops. I heartily congratulate you and all who have taken part in this splendid achievement.

Hill 145 was the only position that gave the Canadians serious trouble. It was an earthen fortress of the first importance, with many underground galleries and concrete emplacements for machine guns. Although isolated on three sides from the German lines, the enemy was difficult to dislodge, and it was not until the night that the Canadians after heavy and costly fighting succeeded in occupying it. The Germans hurried up reinforcements in an attempt to recapture a hill known to the British as the Pimple so as to have a vantage point to retake Hill 145. But the Canadians, on Thursday morning, (April 12,) suddenly launched an attack, and, in spite of fierce machine-gun fire from the German positions, made themselves masters of the hill and occupied the woods through which the Germans delivered their counterattacks.

Thus already in the first week of the great British offensive the Canadians have established their place as an important factor in the battle of Arras, which is still in progress. They took nearly 4,000 prisoners and large quantities of guns and material during their exploits on Vimy Ridge, and have justified their choice for the vital task assigned to them. As the casualty lists indicate, not a few of the men in the Canadian regiments are citizens of the United States who went to Canada to enlist.

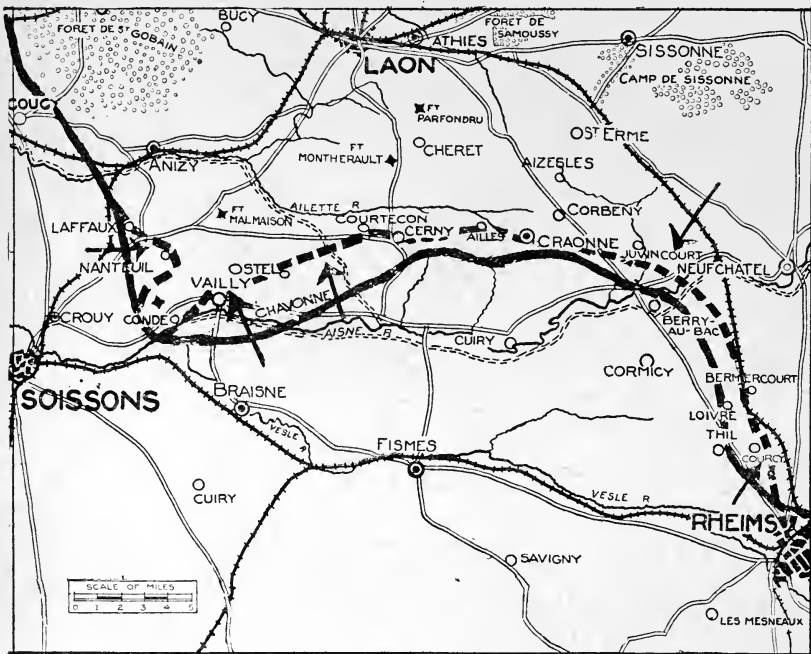


Great French Offensive Near Rheims

THE French on April 17 launched a new offensive which was regarded as the beginning of the most important advance they had made since the war began. For more than thirty months the historic City of Rheims had been a target for German guns, and the beautiful City of Soissons had been likewise in serious peril. The French line ran south from Arras, where it joined the British, to a

along a front of nearly forty miles. The advance on both sides of Rheims made that city a salient full of danger for the Germans, with a probability that they would be forced to withdraw much further from its neighborhood.

In the fighting, which was very bitter along the whole front from Flanders to Alsace, it was estimated that 4,000,000 men were engaged, 2,500,000 Allies and



MAP OF THE FRENCH LINE ON THE AISNE FRONT, APRIL 19, 1917

point on the River Oise near Compiègne, and then ran eastward, passing Soissons, Rheims, and Verdun, to a point almost opposite Metz, and about forty miles west of that famous German fortified city; at that point it ran due south again to St. Mihiel, and then due west, crossing the Moselle near the German border. The blow struck on April 17 was on an eleven-mile stretch east of Rheims, and on the front between Rheims and Soissons. The French troops proved irresistible, advancing from one to two miles

1,500,000 Germans. It was reported that in the battles of April 14, 15, 16, and 17 over 35,000 German prisoners had been taken by British and French together, and that the German casualties exceeded 150,000; more than 200 guns were captured and an immense amount of booty; fully 800 square miles of French territory were released.

These events seemed on the 20th to be only preliminary to even greater conflicts, perhaps the most critical of the war.

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

V.—The Submarine

This article is the fifth in a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—for the purpose of deducing the lessons furnished by the naval events of the European war.

SINCE the outbreak of hostilities the submarine has been a conspicuous naval weapon, and German science has developed it with characteristic energy, system, and thoroughness. Early in the war the more powerful allied navies practically swept the seas of all enemy merchant ships and contained the battle fleets of the Central Powers within comparatively narrow limits. Beyond these limits, except for a few raids on commerce by surface cruisers, the naval activities of both Germany and Austria have been restricted to the use of submarines.

Considering the disadvantages inherent in underwater navigation, the results attained have been truly astonishing. In the first days of the war one small German submarine sank three British armored cruisers in less than one hour; since then German and Austrian submarines are estimated to have sunk 230,000 tons* of naval vessels and 3,600,000 tons* of merchant shipping. On Oct. 7, 1916, the U-53 appeared in Newport Harbor, exchanged official calls, read the daily papers, sent dispatches, and departed a few hours after her arrival. The next day a submarine destroyed off Nantucket four British traders and one Dutch trader. A few months ago peaceful Funchal was suddenly bombarded by a German submarine.

The underwater mine layer has become an accomplished fact—it is disturbing to think of this huge mechanical fish secretly threading the ocean high-

ways, laying its engines of destruction. In addition to all these, Captain König has smilingly introduced to us the Deutschland, a successful underwater blockade runner.

With this evidence of accomplishments it is not surprising that the submarine has seized upon the imagination. Nor has Germany, in furthering her ends, failed to take full advantage of the mystery surrounding underwater attack. It has been part of the German war plan to prepare and circulate submarine propaganda designed to strengthen hopes at home, and at the same time break down morale in enemy countries. This has resulted in a somewhat confused perspective; but it is important that the United States should search out the facts, reason to logical conclusions, and take the true measure of the U-boat.

Arm of the Weaker Combatant

The outstanding characteristic of the submarine, as the name indicates, is its ability to navigate below the surface of the water. This enables it to evade the enemy, to make a surprise attack, and to escape by hiding. These faculties are manifestly suitable for the weaker belligerent to use against the stronger enemy. Navies that dominate, that have power to seek and destroy in the open, are not dependent upon abilities to evade and to hide. It is for this reason that allied submarines have found their chief opportunity to strike in sea areas controlled by the fleets of the Central Powers, the Baltic, Dardanelles, and other waters close to Teutonic bases, while German submarines have been active in all other ocean areas within the cruising radius of their U-boats. Since the Allies control practically all the high seas, the

*Even the approximate accuracy of these figures is questionable, because of conflicting reports and the difficulty in determining whether a ship was sunk by a mine or by a torpedo in the instances where neither was seen.

field of the U-boat has been large, while the activities of allied submarines have been confined to the relatively narrow coastal waters controlled by Germany, Austria, and Turkey.

Without depreciating the utility of the submarine, it may be truly said that if the Allies had not possessed a single one they would still, in all probability, have been able to enjoy the incalculable advantages that surface control of the seas has given them. The German submarines, moreover, have not proved effective against enemy battle fleets; and in order to facilitate their commerce-destroying operations they have found it necessary, because of inherent weaknesses, to adopt methods in violation of the laws of civilized warfare. Before going deeper into the uses and limitations of the submarine it might be well to touch briefly upon some of the rules governing its legitimate employment.

Rules of International Law

The purpose of rules regulating ocean-borne intercourse in times of peace and governing both belligerent and neutral conduct in time of war is to carry out practically the principles of the freedom of the seas, and it need hardly be added that these principles are identical with those grounding all rules of right conduct at sea and on shore; namely, principles of liberty, justice, and humanity.

As weapons and other conditions change, new situations arise which may require modifications in these rules; but both in time of peace and in time of war reason calls for a general concurrence of Governments before a modified or new rule can become operative; and any belligerent instituting methods in violation of previously established regulations assumes the burden of proof to show that new conditions compel new rules in order to carry out the never-changing principles of the freedom of the seas.

There is little room for confusion of thought on this point. Unfortunately, however, it is the experience of wartime practice that military necessity and the doctrine of "might makes right" twist these rules into a bewildering tangle. One belligerent breaks a rule and

attempts to justify his conduct. The enemy, as a matter of policy, turns a deaf ear to the arguments in justification, and, seeing only the broken rule, proceeds to retaliate by breaking another rule on the ground that military necessity forces him to resort to this act of reprisal. And so one act of reprisal leads to another until unconscionable degrees of lawlessness are reached.

It has been suggested as a possible solution obviating the difficulties of drawing up a set of good working rules to govern naval operations against commerce that one sweeping sanction of immunity might suffice by which all trade ships would be allowed to carry on their peaceful pursuits unmolested in time of war as in time of peace. The objection, however, to such a rule is, that when the world is divided between nations at peace and nations at war, this rule would satisfy peoples at peace and one side of the belligerents, but the other belligerents would find it discriminatory and would oppose it as an infringement upon their rights to use the seas in accordance with principles of equity and freedom.

To deny belligerents, moreover, their right to use the seas for suppressing enemy commerce and imposing economic pressure in order to hasten the settlement of their differences, would deprive the world of what is generally looked upon, when conducted according to the rules of civilized warfare, as a humane method of re-establishing conditions of peace. It may be added that those who aim at a world peace secured by a concert of power may reasonably assert that, while the freedom of the seas is a foundation principle on which to make a world peace secure, naval power, by instituting blockades, may at times prove a humane and effective means of compelling recalcitrant Governments to observe the provisions of this peace.

Certain Established Rules

During a war, the maritime interests of belligerents and neutrals are bound to conflict; and it is impossible to give either of them unlicensed use of the seas without restricting the freedom of the other. Hence a compromise is necessary,

and so long as nations recognize a state of war as involving conditions subject to law in which both belligerents and neutrals have rights, it is manifest that rules are required to define and guarantee these rights. It will not be attempted here to examine closely the many rules drawn to govern naval warfare, some of which were still subjects of controversy when the present war began; but, as an aid to the memory, a few of the recognized and established regulations affecting the use of the submarine will be briefly outlined:

1. A blockade to be binding must be effective; that is, it must be maintained by a force sufficient to render ingress to or egress from the enemy coast line dangerous.

2. A blockade must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts.

3. During the continuance of a state of blockade no vessels are allowed to enter or leave the blockaded place without consent of the blockading authority.

4. The prohibition of contraband trade with the attendant adjudging of penalties is a belligerent right. This right can only be exercised upon the high seas and the territorial waters of the belligerents and in accordance with the rules and usages of international law. (Contraband of war may be defined as articles destined for the enemy and capable of use as an assistance to the enemy in carrying on war either ashore or afloat.)

5. Lawfully commissioned public vessels of a belligerent nation may exercise the right of visiting and searching merchant ships upon the high seas, whatever be the ship, the cargo, or the destination. If the examination of ship's papers and search show fraud, contraband, an offense in respect of blockade, or enemy service, the vessel may be seized. Force may be used to overcome either resistance or flight, but condemnation follows forcible resistance alone. In exercising these rights belligerents must conform to the rules and usages of international law.

6. When a vessel in action surrenders, (usually indicated by hauling down the national flag or showing the white flag of truce,) firing must cease on the part of the victor. To continue an attack after knowledge of surrender, or to sink a vessel after submission, is a violation of the rules of civilized warfare only permissible in cases of treachery or renewal of the action.

7. Absolute contraband, including guns, ammunition, and the like, is liable to capture on the high seas or in the territorial waters of the belligerents if it is shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to the armed forces of the

enemy. It is immaterial whether the carriage of the goods is direct or entails transshipment or a subsequent transport by land. Also there must be a trial and judgment of a prize court of the captor having proper jurisdiction in regard to the goods involved, whether destroyed or not.

Policy of "War Areas"

At the beginning of the war Great Britain might have taken advantage of the well-established case of our legal blockade of the Confederate States. A summary of the steps by which this civil war blockade was made legally effective will be found in the article, "American Tactics in the Present War," in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for November, 1916.

Instead of proclaiming a legal blockade of Germany, Great Britain in an Admiralty order, Nov. 2, 1914, announced military areas in the North Sea, trusting to British command of the sea, which at that time seemed undisputed. This was an unfortunate move, for the possibilities of the submarine were not considered; and Germany was able to retaliate by declaring all waters about Great Britain and Ireland a "war zone," beginning Feb. 18, 1915.

Great Britain at once realized her mistake, and by an Order in Council proclaimed a blockade of Germany, March 1, 1915. But the harm had been done, and the pernicious war area had been evolved. On Jan. 27, 1917, the British Admiralty announced that the area in the North Sea had been enlarged. This was modified Feb. 13, 1917. On Jan. 31, 1917, Germany sent to the neutral nations the "barred zone" note announcing unrestricted submarine warfare beginning on Feb. 1, 1917.

Armed Merchantmen

Merchantmen have the right to arm for defense. A merchantman may repel an attack by any enemy ship, but only a man-of-war can attack men-of-war.

According to international law the character of a ship is determined by her employment; and it is an established right of merchant vessels that they may carry arms—for defense only—without necessarily altering their status before the law as traders engaged in legitimate

peaceful pursuits. This right is well established by precedent, and although prolific of complications, it has on the whole operated to sustain the principles of freedom of the seas. Its usefulness was conspicuous in the days of piracy; and the "long toms" on board our clipper ships proved strong arguments in suppressing lawlessness.

In the heat of war, moreover, belligerents are inclined to infringe the privileges of noncombatants, and experience has shown that the right of merchant vessels to arm for defense has tended to prevent belligerents from unlawful interference with peaceful traffic. The belligerent right to stop, visit, search, and capture merchantmen is a high sovereign power, and it seems reasonable to require that the vessels authorized to exercise it should possess potential strength. It would be a somewhat absurd condition, inviting abuse and irregularity, if rules were so framed as to permit a fast enemy motor boat, manned by three or four men armed with rifles, to stop, search, and capture an ocean liner, without allowing the liner to attempt lawfully either flight or resistance. On the other hand, a motor boat, submarine, or any other duly commissioned and authorized man-of-war has the right to employ force to overcome resistance or to prevent flight; and the merchantman has no redress for damage sustained during attempted flight or resistance. In the majority of cases, it is obvious that prudence will influence merchantmen to surrender promptly in the face of a respectably powerful man-of-war rather than forfeit immunity by attempting flight or resistance.

If an armed merchantman of a neutral country on friendly terms with the warring nations should resist by force a belligerent man-of-war, the neutral Government would properly discountenance the act as incompatible with the relations of amity existing between the two countries. If, however, neutral rights are violated to an intolerable degree a state of armed neutrality may supplant the relations of amity, and under these unusual conditions a Government has the right and may be in duty bound to pre-

serve its neutrality by using such force as the circumstances may require; but in this delicate situation care must be exercised that force is used only in defense of neutral rights.

Blockades and Submarines

From the beginning of the war submarines have helped to prevent a close blockade of the coasts of the Central Powers, and the inability on the part of the allied navies to institute a coast line blockade strictly in accordance with the established rules of international law has led to what is generally known as a distant blockade. The so-called Orders in Council regulating this distant blockade have lengthened the contraband lists and extended the doctrine of ultimate destination until Germany's commerce with non-contiguous countries has been practically cut off.

As the effectiveness of the blockade increased, military necessity demanded that Germany do something to counteract it. The only weapon her navy could use was the submarine. Underwater attack against the blockading battle fleets met with little success; but the unscrupulous use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer brought better results. The vigorous protest of neutrals against the violation of their rights caused Germany, for a time, to make an effort to comply with the rules and usages of international law; but this effort proved ineffectual. The vulnerability of the submarine, with the increasing efficacy of the ways and means developed to safeguard merchantmen from its attack, presented to the German Government the alternative either of suffering a curtailment of submarine effectiveness or of abandoning lawful methods. Germany's decision to take the latter course was announced to the world by official notification that within a war zone embracing large areas of the high seas her submarines would sink all ships, neutral or belligerent, without warning. It was further announced that a weekly neutral steamer here and there would be spared, provided Germany's orders respecting cargo and behavior were carefully observed.

In tracing the developments leading to

this decision it is interesting to follow the various measures of retaliation adopted by both sides and to note the part taken, either directly or indirectly, by the submarine; the creation of danger zones, the indiscriminate use of mines and torpedoes, the lengthened contraband lists—all the various successive moves by which the belligerents, actuated by the policy of military necessity, have trespassed more and more upon the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. But in spite of the scientific triumph of the modern U-boat, and notwithstanding the toll of shipping sacrificed, a careful study of all sides of the question seems to lead to the conclusion that in the end the submarine will not vindicate the expectations of those who hail it as a decisive factor of modern war. The submarine may be able to prevent a close blockade by the enemy; but it does not seem to be able either to break the grip of a distant blockade or to establish an effective submarine blockade as a countermeasure.

The Submarine's Limitations

Submarines are of many different types and sizes, which may be divided into two general classes: the smaller coast-defense submarine of moderate cruising capacities, and the larger sea-going submarine with greater fighting and cruising abilities. The first-mentioned class comprises the five-hundred-ton to eight-hundred-ton submarines, and includes the familiar E, F, G, H, K, and L boats of our navy. Germany uses these types chiefly in the North Sea, Baltic Sea, and other home waters. The other and more modern class includes the larger U-boats operating on the high seas.

The most recent of Germany's large submarines may be described as the fighting consorts of the Deutschland. Although little is known positively about them, the following approximate characteristics may be attributed: tonnage, 2,000; Diesel engines of 6,000 to 8,000 horse power, giving a surface speed of 18 to 20 knots and a submerged speed of 12 to 14 knots; a cruising radius at most economical speed of about 7,000 miles; and an armament of one or two small calibre (three inch or four inch)

guns in addition to about sixteen torpedoes.

These are formidable craft, capable of doing much damage, especially if operating from a secret base supplied and provisioned by ships like the Deutschland. But they have difficulties to overcome. The problems of submarine navigation have not all been satisfactorily solved. When submerged the speed is slow, making it necessary to rise to the surface in order to overtake even moderately fast freighters. It is then that the trader's guns for defense become dangerous.

Moreover, the distance the submarine can go below the surface, on a stretch is still comparatively short, probably 150 miles for the newest U-boats is an over-estimate. When the limit is reached the submarine either has to remain stopped or come to the surface to recharge her batteries. If the submarine is forced to keep below the surface, besides having a reduced speed, she cannot use her guns and therefore has to draw upon her limited supply of expensive torpedoes. Nor is it an altogether easy matter to manoeuvre a submarine by periscope so as to score a hit on an alert merchantman.

Advantages of Armed Ships

Suppose a submarine on the edge of the war zone, either stopped or cruising slowly on the surface looking for merchantmen. Smoke is sighted, say, at twenty-five or thirty thousand yards. The submarine would probably manoeuvre to get in the path of the quarry and then submerge at a range of about fifteen to twenty thousand yards before there were likelihood of her being sighted by the supposedly armed trader. If the merchantman should come straight on, to destroy her is comparatively easy; but if, instead of this, a zigzag, irregular course should be steered, the submarine would have to estimate the changes through her periscope and manoeuvre to keep ahead of the merchantman, with consequently more likelihood of being discovered and less likelihood of getting near enough for a sure shot. If the periscope should be seen by the trading vessel, she would probably open fire and turn away. Shots

splashing in front of a submarine's periscope would hamper her manoeuvring abilities and the chances of getting a hit in a stern-on target steering a zigzag course would, unless close aboard, hardly be worth expending a torpedo. To catch the trader, unless a slow one, the submarine would have to come to the surface and risk destruction by gun fire.

All these limitations contribute to make the submarine vulnerable and less effective. Although nets, aircraft, and the lighter submarine chasers will not be as competent against seagoing submarines as against the smaller coast submarines, both because of the greater size of the former and because of the rougher weather and sea conditions to be contended with, still they may do some good while more effectual methods are being developed. Undoubtedly the United States Navy will be of great help in solving this problem—but it would be improper at this time to discuss our navy's share in the game.

Until means of neutralizing the submarines are found they will take great toll from merchantmen. It is folly not to realize that they are destroying many vessels, and not to acknowledge that merchantmen run risks, especially under conditions of poor visibility at night, in fog, and in mist. Early dawn is also a critical time for the trader. But it is probable, as schemes of co-operation are developed between the submarine-hunting navies and the shipping they are trying to safeguard, that these dangers will be lessened.

Future of the Submarine

The question of the future of underwater craft is conjectural, but it is possible to make some tentative deductions from the trend along which development has so far proceeded.

The submarine is always asking for a greater cruising radius, more speed, better habitability, and more power. It is also reported that new designs call for an increased number of torpedoes, together with guns and armor protection for surface fighting. There is perhaps a new type of submarine under construction or possibly already afloat, some idea of

which might be had by conceiving a sort of submersible monitor of about 4,000 to 6,000 tons displacement, carrying a turret mounting two six-inch guns so attached to the hull as to present when firing only armor-protected parts above the water. A division of these submersible monitors, accompanied by a few Deutschlands fitted as troop-carrying and supply ships, might set out from a blockaded coast, steam to distant parts, and there seize, fortify, and hold with considerable tenacity an advance base from which to operate against commerce. Such an expedition might do a lot of damage unless met and defeated by the determined measures of an equally enterprising adversary.

The evolution of the submarine appears to be toward the submersible battleship; but the consensus of naval opinion at present seems to be that a super-submersible capable of navigating under the water and also strong enough to fight battleships on the surface involves an almost prohibitive cost, which would be out of proportion to the advantages gained. By increasing the tonnage of the submarine its mechanical difficulties are aggravated. On the other hand, the large tonnage of the surface battleship is like a reserve of wealth, which may be expended in any desirable way; if underwater attack is a serious menace to the battleship some of this tonnage can be drawn upon to supply suitable protection, such as a series of outer and inner bottoms so constructed and subdivided as to make the ship practically nonsinkable; or, if attack from the air is dangerous, reserve tonnage may be drawn upon for aero defense—and so on. In estimating the value of the submarine in wars to come it would appear safe, therefore, to assume that in future struggles for control of the seas the rôle of the submarine will always be secondary to that of surface ships.

Summary of Results

In making a brief survey of the naval activities of the war it is seen that the submarine has been of no great value to the superior navies controlling the seas, but has been practically the only effective

naval weapon of the inferior fleets. When used against the enemy battle squadrons it has influenced strategy and tactics and scored a few minor successes in sinking some of the older men-of-war, but generally speaking has produced no very important results. When used against merchant ships the submarine has been unable to attain effectiveness while complying with the rules and usages of international law, but by resorting to unscrupulous methods it has become a dangerous commerce destroyer; and the suppression of this evil must be one of the tasks of the navies at war with Germany.

The war has shown that the chief tactical value of the submarine is for defense, to hold the enemy at a distance. The fleet submarine has also demonstrated an offensive value which may be useful in attaining a tactical advantage. In addition,

it is not to be denied that the submarine has raised havoc with both neutral and belligerent commerce. But the submarine blockade has not proved effective, and the lawless methods of the U-boat have aroused a worldwide condemnation. The reactive effect of Germany's submarine war on commerce may easily prove so damaging as to more than counter-balance any temporary advantage gained.

It may be inferred, therefore, that the United States needs submarines both to help defend her coasts and to operate as a tactical subdivision of the fleet. A lesson also learned is that, although the submarine is not now, and probably never will be, a dominating factor in naval warfare, it should be squarely faced as a serious menace which to combat successfully under certain circumstances might demand our utmost ingenuity and energy.

Secret U-Boat Orders to German Newspapers

THE following document, which is believed to be authentic, indicates the method used by the German Government to obtain unanimous press support for the present submarine campaign:

General Command, Seventh Army Corps,
Dept. 11d., No. 1149.

Münster, February, 1917.

No. 545: NOTICE

TO NEWSPAPER AND EDITORIAL OFFICES, &C.
CONFIDENTIAL. NOT TO BE COPIED.
SECRET.

Newspapers are requested to act on the following advice when discussing unlimited "U" boat war:

1. Opinions regarding the usefulness of the measures and of the time chosen, after the decision has been made, would have the effect of weakness and lack of harmony, would encourage the enemy, and perhaps induce wavering neutrals to come in.

2. For the beginning of the concluding struggle absolute internal unison is essential. The determined approval of the entire people must ring out from the press.

3. It is a question, not of a movement of desperation—all the factors have been carefully weighed after conscientious technical naval preparation—but of the best and only means to a speedy, victorious ending of the war.

4. Toward America it is advisable to use the outward forms of friendliness. Unfriendliness would increase the danger of America coming in—the breaking off of diplomatic relations, even active participation, hangs in the balance. The attitude of the press must not increase this danger.

5. The navy, fully conscious of its power, enters into this new section of the war with firm confidence in the result. It is recommended that the phase be called unlimited, not ruthless, "U" boat war.

6. Material, personnel, and appliances are being increased and approved continually; trained reserves are ready.

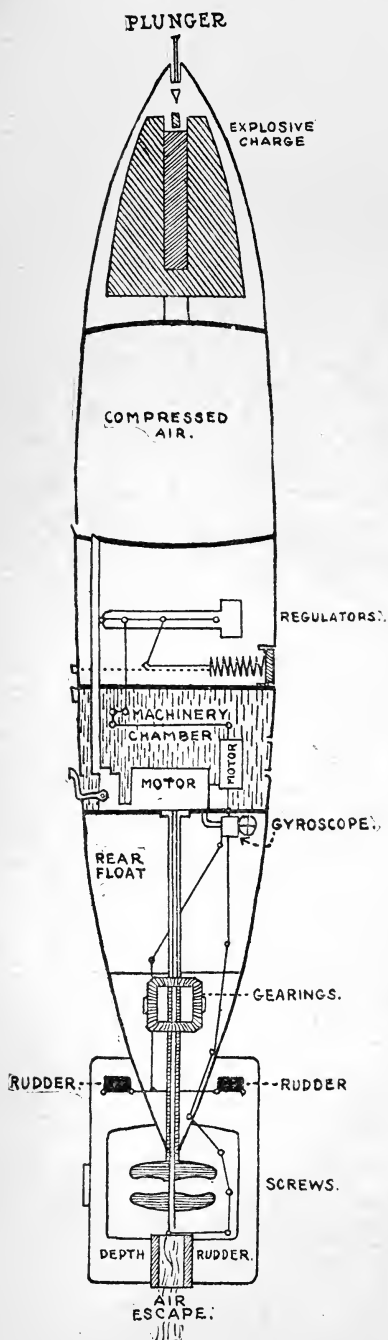
7. England's references to the perfection of her means of defense, which are intended to reassure the English people, are refuted by the good results of the last months.

8. Each result is now much more important, because the enemy's Mercantile Marine is already weakened, the material used up. Much colored personnel.

9. The psychological influence should not be underestimated. Fear amongst the enemy and neutrals leads to difficulties with the crews, and may induce neutrals to keep ships in harbor.

10. "U" boat war is now exclusively a part of the combined method of waging war, therefore a purely military matter.

A Submarine Torpedo: What It Is and How It Works



NEARLY all the belligerent powers are now manufacturing their own torpedoes, and the type of all is the same, differing only in details. A glance at the Whitehead torpedo, which is manufactured at Fiume, Austria, and which has long been the only one in use, will give a clear idea of the working of these engines of destruction. After being fired from a tube in the side of a torpedo boat or submarine, the torpedo travels under its own power until this is spent, or until it strikes an object and explodes. The vessel launching it must stop its engines in order to get any accuracy of aim.

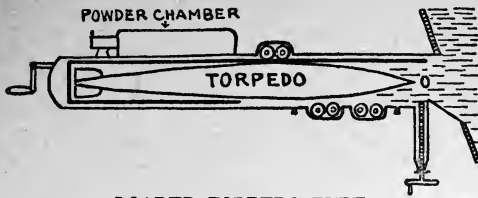
In its external appearance the torpedo is a spindle-shaped tube of sheet steel furnished with a "tail" that gives no clue to the wonderful mechanism inside it. The most powerful type in use measures 21 inches in diameter and about 20 feet long. It weighs 3,000 pounds. The cost of a torpedo is upward of \$1 a pound; even for one of medium size \$2,000 is a moderate price.

The torpedo contains its own motive power, which is compressed air. It is divided into compartments which screw into each other, and which may here be examined in the order in which they are placed.

The "charge cone" at the apex is filled with an explosive—usually moist guncotton—in which is placed a tube of dry guncotton furnished with a fulminating cap preceded by a plunger. When the plunger strikes a solid object it explodes the charge. The earlier model of torpedo contained fifteen or twenty pounds of guncotton, but the largest today contain more than 225 pounds of this or some other powerful explosive.

Behind the charge cone is the compressed-air chamber, with a capacity varying from 12,000 to 20,000 cubic inches and in direct communication with the motor. The air in it is usually compressed to 150 atmospheres. The machine

chamber contains the motor which operates the screws and the auxiliary motor that controls the depth rudder. While the other compartments of the torpedo are water tight, the machine chamber is



LOADED TORPEDO TUBE

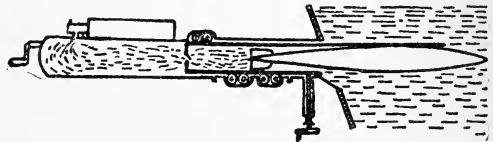
pierced with holes through which it is filled with sea water, thus keeping the motor cool. The rear cone, also called the rear float, contains a considerable quantity of ordinary air. Here is found the gyroscope—whose function is to keep the torpedo going straight in its original direction—with its auxiliary motor, the screw shafts, and a compartment for gearing.

The screws turn in opposite directions, the force being transmitted through two concentric shafts. These shafts are hollow; it is through their tubes that the compressed air escapes on emerging from the motor, producing the bubbles that betray the track of the torpedo on the surface of the water. This track, visible to the naked eye at 800 or 1,000 yards, can scarcely be seen 100 yards away if the sea is rough. The "tail" is formed by a frame, inside of which the screws and rudders move.

As the torpedo propels itself and guides itself by its own power, the firing of it has no other object than to launch it in the water in the right direction. The process differs according as the torpedo is fired from the surface or under water. Both methods are used in torpedo

boats and battleships. To fire the torpedo from the surface a cannon tube is used, charged with one-half to two-thirds of a pound of powder. This tube is usually installed on the deck, mounted on a truck that permits it to be aimed like an ordinary gun.

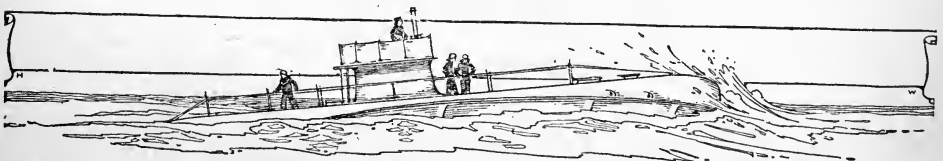
Firing under water is the only method that can be used by submarines. Every navy maintains secrecy regarding its apparatus for this purpose, but the machinery all belongs to one of two types—(1) a shuttle tube manipulated inside the ship, with the muzzle fitted into the hull; (2) a cradle fixed in the water at the side of the ship and containing the torpedo, which goes forth under the propulsion of its own screw after this has been started from the interior of the vessel. The Armstrong tube, which is



FIRING THE TORPEDO

represented in the accompanying diagrams, belongs to the former class.

The effects of a charge of 200 pounds of guncotton exploding against the side of a vessel are likely to vary according to the point struck, the depth below the surface, and the strength of the hull. The best torpedoes travel to a distance of six miles, with a speed of about twenty-five knots; by limiting the range to two or three miles a speed of thirty-five knots can be obtained, or about twenty yards a second. Within 500 or 1,000 yards there is a chance of hitting the target; at 2,000 yards the chances are meagre, and beyond 3,000 yards the probable lateral deviation is more than 150 meters.



British Foreign Policies and the Present War

By Thomas G. Frothingham

1878

"A free outlet for the undeveloped resources of Russia would have given England the trade of the world. England should have given Constantinople to Russia."

THE above was the comment of the writer's father on the terms of the Congress of Berlin, (1878.)

My father was of an old firm of Mediterranean merchants. This great sea from ancient days has been the pulsating heart of the commerce of the world, and in the seventies its merchants were wise beyond their generation.

These words have proved prophetic—and the results of England's mistake are far-reaching. Her conduct, which led to the Congress of Berlin, made Germany a dominating power in Europe and maintained the Turkish Empire. Both were intended to be buffers against imaginary Russian encroachments—and both are now vindictively fighting against England.

The Past in a New Light

England had emerged from her period of stress through the first half of the eighteenth century with the strongest national life of all the nations. From the adventurers of the Elizabethan times, through the stern assertion of the nation by Cromwell, and from the seafaring colonists of England, there had sprung a national growth unique in history. There were lapses under the indolent Stuarts, but the trend had been toward maritime and colonial supremacy. The last half of the eighteenth century saw England with the dominion of the seas and enlarged colonial possessions.

England strained her resources in the Napoleonic wars, but it is doubtful if her course was altogether wise. She came out of these wars with an apparent increase of prestige and power on the sea. But all her influence had been thrown to

revive the empires of Europe. Of these Prussia, Austria, and Russia were destined to have an evil effect on England's future, Prussia and Austria as enemies and Russia as an imaginary foe, against whom England has wasted her energies for a hundred years.

After the downfall of Napoleon there was for England a long time of great prosperity and increased power. England seemed to have gained all her ends, and, with her established command of the seas and consequent control of commerce, she seemed assured of the commercial supremacy of the world.

Unfounded Suspicion of Russia

But after the war of 1828-29 between Turkey and Russia, which resulted in the independence of Greece, (announced by Turkey in 1830,) there grew up in the British mind a great suspicion of Russia and hostility against Russian occupation of Constantinople. A more false position would have been hard for England to find. As the commercial clearing house of the world and the great common carrier, she would have been assured of Russia's trade, and the development of Russia would have opened great markets for English goods—but all England could see was the bogey of military Russia.

This unreasoning opposition to Russia became a mania with the English, and the resultant harm to England can only be measured by the present war.

It is hard to justify the attitude of the men who controlled the destinies of England. Instead of realizing that the opening of the Dardanelles to Russia meant a flood of wealth to England, Russia was pictured as an avalanche ready to overwhelm British interests in the Near and Far East.

All this was entirely at variance with the characteristics of the Slav. Yet the

"Eastern question" in British eyes became a question of anything to serve as a barrier against Russia. The relations between England and the French Empire became very cordial, and these two powers in the Crimean war (1854) saved the Turkish Empire from the onslaught of Nicholas I. of Russia and maintained Turkish rule over the outlet from the Black Sea.

In view of the lesson that England has received and her recent views, as given out by Balfour, it is really pathetic to realize that England went to war in 1854 to prevent the independence of Serbia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, the provisional occupation of Constantinople, and a Russian protectorate of the Christians of the Greek Church in the Turkish Empire! Yet such is the fact—and shutting up Russia in the Black Sea was actually regarded as a British triumph! The result of the war was to leave Russia crippled and constricted behind the barriers of the Dardanelles. All her vast commercial possibilities were lost to England. From this time on it was a repetition of the same story. All England's efforts were concentrated on trying to hem in Russia.

British Politics to Blame

No great democratic nation with the vitality of England would have been so blind to its real interests if there had not been some factor that befogged the public mind. This is found in the machinery of English politics. Members of Parliament are not elected for any definite term of office. The only limitation to the life of a Parliament is the seven-year provision of the Septennial act of 1716. Consequently, a Government is not placed in power for any term of office, nor is it dependent on representatives elected at stated times. On the contrary, the Ministry has tenure of office as long as it can command a majority of Parliament. This makes any Government a target for the Opposition, and the result has been a constant effort to raise a "question" on which the Ministry in office might be defeated. This system has led to the manufacture of issues, to the rise and fall of Ministers from artificially pumped up

"questions," and this accounts for the long tenure in office of such "statesmen" as Palmerston, Russell, Disraeli, and Salisbury. Almost all of England's mistakes in the Victorian period are branded with the names of these men—and all were acclaimed as victories at the time.

A constant stream of useless issues attracted the attention of the British public, and kept England from seeing the real stakes in the great game she was playing—her supremacy of the world through control of the sea and unrestricted commerce. If it had not been for the constant bickering over what were then considered the important politics of Parliament, the public mind of England would surely have grasped Great Britain's real interests abroad, of which the most important was freeing commerce for England's profit.

The "Eastern question" became a distorted fetich, to which were sacrificed England's treasures gained through her greatest era. Palmerston, Russell, Disraeli, and Salisbury were the high priests of this cult, and by catchwords and incantations deluded their followers to disaster.

German Growth Stimulated

With Russia shut in as a result of the Crimean war, there followed the most mistaken period of English history. The projects of Louis Napoleon were given full headway—and the aggrandizement of Prussia was unrestrained.

England encouraged Denmark to the breaking point in the Schleswig-Holstein question in 1864—and then left Denmark to lose both provinces, which were acquired by Prussia after the war of 1866.

All this greatly strengthened Prussia. A look at the map will show that these provinces made possible the great double naval base connected by the Kiel Canal, which has proved of such great value to Germany in the present war. Lord John Russell presided over this inexcusable foreign policy,* which made Prussia a

*Black is the ingratitude of mankind! There is no statue of Lord Russell, the great benefactor, the true founder of the German Navy, standing Unter den Linden in Berlin.—Lord Redesdale.

dangerous power in Europe, with a military equipment perfected in the war of 1866. Louis Napoleon dragged unprepared France into fighting this well-armed antagonist—and the victorious war of 1870 created a united Germany.

The impetus of the united strength of Germany evolved from the war of 1870 has never been understood by outside nations. For Germans the war of 1870 has been their text and their inspiration. The next generation of Germans modeled the life of Germany, military, civic, commercial, scientific, and social, on the efficiency of the war of 1870. This is the key to united Germany, and the fact that its States are united should not be any longer doubted.

Nor is it reasonable to think of Germany as merely ruled by a military caste. On the contrary, Germany has made itself a remorseless machine with a full belief in the efficiency of such a system. But the whole mechanism is interlocked with militarism, and if her armies fail to win victory, faith in the structure will disappear. Then there will be a new order in Germany.

With all this great potential national life, Germany emerged from the war of 1870 poor in financial resources. Germany had practically spent in advance the indemnity exacted from France. The French Nation made a wonderful revival from this tax and became prosperous at once, but Germany was hard pressed for funds for her development.

In the meantime Russia had recovered her strength, and the new revolt of the Balkan Slavs (1875-76) had again aroused her to action. The fearful toll of massacre taken by Turkey from Bulgaria caused a great sensation in England, but the Disraeli Government, in power at the time, set against this the "ambitions" of Russia, and England resumed her task as watchdog of the Turkish Empire in Constantinople.

Britain's Greatest Mistake

It is comment enough on the intelligence of British politics at the time to note that the overturn in Parliament, resulting in placing the Disraeli Ministry in power, came from "the question of university education in Ireland." From

this petty issue Disraeli and Salisbury were evolved as England's representatives in the Congress of Berlin, (1878,) the greatest of all England's mistakes in her history.

In the Russo-Turkish war, Russia had broken down the obstinate resistance of the Turks. Her victorious army was advancing on Constantinople, and it was evident at the end of 1877 that the Turks would not be able to save the city. With this victorious advance of the Russians came great alarm in misguided England, and there was a cry to save Constantinople. This was the outbreak of the "jingo" policy. The atrocities in Bulgaria were forgotten, and all who said that Turkey was not England's ward were ignored.

Disraeli fanned these fires to the utmost. Early in 1878 the neutral British Ambassador was recalled from Constantinople and a strong pro-Turk was substituted. The British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles and a war credit of £6,000,000 was asked of Parliament.

In the meantime Turkey had sued for peace, (Agreement of Adrianople, Jan. 31, 1878,) but England maintained her hostile attitude, and in the Peace of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) Russia did not make the occupation of Constantinople a condition. Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were freed from Turkey. Bulgaria remained tributary to the Porte, but received a Christian Prince.

These terms were unsatisfactory to England, and she still threatened war, having made a secret treaty (June 4) to protect Turkey against Russian conquest. For this England was to receive Cyprus, (occupied July 11, 1878.) Germany was secured as a mediator, and the representatives of the powers met at the Congress of Berlin, (June 13-July 13,) under the Presidency of Prince Bismarck—an ominous choice to preside over the settlement of Great Britain's destinies!

Errors of Berlin Congress

By the terms of the treaties drawn up at the Congress of Berlin the Balkan States received less territory than in the Peace of San Stefano. Russia was left still cut off from the Dardanelles. Ger-

LATIN-AMERICAN WAR LEADERS



DR. WENCESLAU BRAZ
President of Brazil



DR. LAURO MULLER
Brazilian Foreign Minister

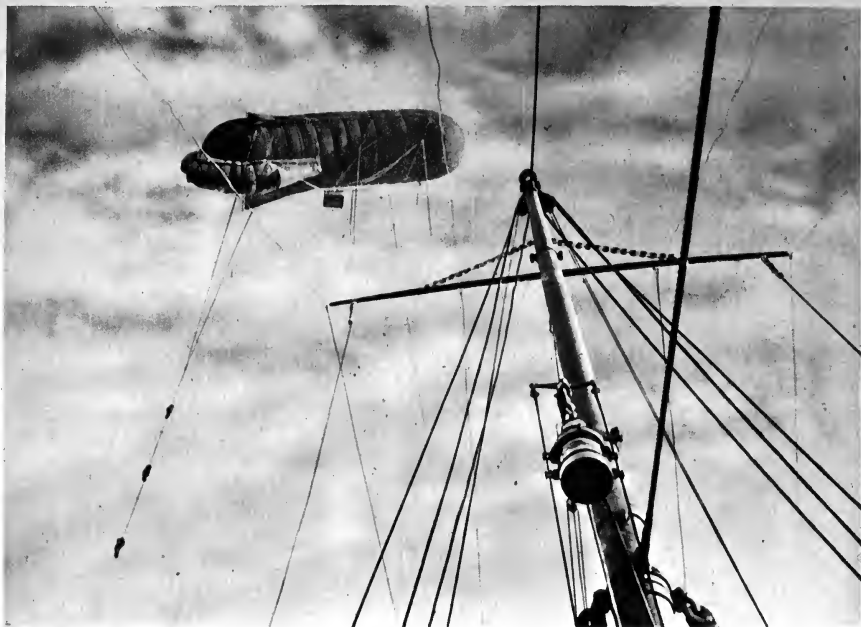


MARIO G. MENOICAL
President of Cuba



RAMON M. VALDES
President of Panama
(Photo Harris & Ewing)

HUNTING U-BOATS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN



A French Dirigible Watching for Submarines That Are Under Water, and Calling Destroyers by Wireless



A French Naval Seaplane Which Can Rise Into the Air and Destroy Submarines by Means of Special Bombs

(French Official War Record)

many, under the leadership of the great Bismarck, had become a dominant power. England had assumed guardianship of Turkey, and received Cyprus—a mess of pottage for the fairest inheritance in the world!

Yet all this was proclaimed as a British triumph.* Disraeli and Salisbury were pictured as conquerors. The fact that Germany and Austria made their alliance the next year (1879) was not noticed.

From this time on England and Germany drew closer together. English money was loaned to Germany for her pressing financial needs, and while England imagined she was building up a barrier against Russia, Bismarck was using these resources to build up an organized foreign trade. Before England realized her error much of her trade, even in her own colonies, had been taken away by Germany. Even in the late eighties British "statesmen" had not waked to the true situation—and at this time Salisbury ceded Heligoland to Germany!

This last disastrous gift to Germany was a fitting culmination of Salisbury's career. The fortified island and the Bight of Heligoland have given Germany a naval base that has done incalculable harm to England.

Beginning of Antagonism

In the nineties the commercial expansion of Germany, at the expense of England's foreign trade, began to alienate the English from Germany. The British merchants began to realize that English trade was the greatest sufferer from German competition, but this feeling was slow to spread through the nation. The Kaiser's indiscreet letter to Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid in South Africa was the thing that aroused British hostility to Germany. Great Britain at last awoke to the fact that Germany was not a "friendly nation."†

There was an immediate change in feeling toward the United States. The

bitterness over the Venezuela matter disappeared, and Great Britain chose the United States for a friend—a choice she should have made long before.

This change of heart on the part of Britain was strikingly shown in the Spanish-American war at Manila Bay, where the German fleet was threatening our fleet under Admiral Dewey, (1898.) The British Admiral intimated to the German Admiral that, in case of hostilities, the British would take the part of the Americans. From that time Great Britain and Germany drew further apart and open enmity replaced friendship.

Yet even then England did not see the light in regard to Russia. The next phase was the Russian "threat" in the Far East. This was the period that followed "Russia at the Gates of Herat." Again Russia was painted as an avalanche ready to overwhelm the British possessions. Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia were made so important that all other interests were forgotten, and England was ready to make use of any possible means to do harm to Russia.

The occasion for another British mistake grew out of the Russian lease in Manchuria. Port Arthur was thought a great military base, with a huge Russian army collecting for sinister designs. Consequently England largely financed the Japanese in their war against Russia—with the same obsession of trying to gain another buffer against Russia's imaginary military plans.

Then the curtain was drawn aside and revealed actual conditions—instead of the imaginary ones—and the war showed that Russia's "military preparations" had consisted in having no "great army" in the East, but in building the great open warm-water port of Dalny to let out her trade. This port was destroyed by Japan's victory—to England's immediate loss of trade. England has now realized that, in again cramping Russia, she has created another rival in the East, which has already hurt her trade and influence.

Created the War Situation

So it has continued to the present war. England is now confronted with a situation of her own making. She is clean of

*A volcanic triumph such as has rarely, if ever, been equaled in diplomacy.—Lord Redesdale.

†So called by Salisbury at the time of the cession of Heligoland.

blame in bringing on the war by any wrong acts or by any breach of faith. The events have shown plainly enough that the war is the act of Germany, and that her brutal invasion of France through Belgium had been planned for years in advance. Nothing can remove this stain from Germany, but the unnatural conditions that inexorably brought on the war were made by England.

England has shut in Russia—to England's own great loss. Her policies have made Germany a dominating power, and she has maintained the Turkish Empire. Both Germany and the Turkish Empire are now her deadly foes. She has built up Japan into a military power, and Japan is, at the best for England, only a half-hearted ally and a disturbing influence in Britain's Eastern colonies.

These disastrous results of British policies in the Victorian days of power and opportunity must be faced and no longer ignored. Great Britain is paying a fearful price for the mistakes of the era that should have sealed her dominion, and the nation is now fighting desperately to correct those mistakes.

Our sympathies and our friendship should be with Great Britain in this struggle. There are ties of kinship, and England has lately shown a most friendly feeling toward the United States. We should also remember that England stands for democracy against the autocracy of Germany. On the other hand, the unthinking comment that "England is fighting our war" only blurs the issue and arouses prejudice against Great Britain in many parts of our country. The truth is that England is fighting her own war—not ours. American friendship should be given to England, not demanded as a payment.

There is another very grave aspect of the question. Russia is now one of the Entente Allies, but it is evident that Great Britain, from her conduct toward Russia, has no hold on Russia from any point of view. How can there be any real feeling of friendliness for England in Russia?

France, with the exception of the misguided episode of Louis Napoleon, has

held a different course. France has shown a friendly feeling for Russia, and formed an early alliance with her. Consequently the feeling of Russia for France is a very different thing. France has played a chivalrous part in the great drama, and the strange religious spirit of Russia recognizes this. The only safety for the structure of the Entente Allies is through France. England must do the best she can to remedy her past mistakes, but France is the keystone of the allied arch.

The writer was brought up in a belief in France as the most serious nation on earth, and taught that in any crisis the spirit of France would rise to the occasion. This has proved more than true in the present war. The whole nation gave itself to the task of repelling the invader with a devotion so intense that it was silent. And it is only by degrees that this silent, unselfish strength has been appreciated in America. The wrongs of Belgium won a ready response from our country, but it has taken a longer time to realize the magnificent response of France in her ordeal. There was no propaganda or group of writers to urge the cause of France. Her glory has been told by her deeds, not by her words—and there is no measure to the admiration that Americans should give to France.

America in the War

Since writing the above the United States has been forced into this war by the hostility of Germany. Our position is very different from that of any other nation involved. The conditions that have brought on the war were not in any way made by us. We have not committed any hostile act. We have preserved a strict neutrality—and we have attempted to bring about peace between the warring groups. Our President has stated our aims and objects so plainly that there is no trace of selfishness in our entering the war.

After long patience we have been driven into a declaration of war by repeated hostile acts of Germany. These acts have been not only Germany's brutal defiance of humanity on the seas, but Ger-

many's proved attempts to incite Japan and Mexico to war with us, to disrupt our country and take away its territory. The Zimmermann note would be held a cause of war by any nation on earth. If ever a country was justified in entering a war, the United States is justified and in the right—and we should have faith that this right will prevail.

So clear is this, that it seems it must influence the German Nation. Already it is apparent that the President's wise distinction between the German people and the German autocracy is having an effect on the German public mind. The

sudden promises of future reforms, even by the Kaiser himself, seem to indicate this, and to give grounds for hope that the German people may throw down the evil structure they have built, and that a new Germany may offer peace and good-will to the world.

If this comes, the lesson of the results of artificial conditions in Europe must be remembered—that harsh and oppressive terms are not lasting, and that permanent conditions will never be found with religions ruled by hostile religions, nations dominated by other nations, races ruled by alien races.

Aerial Fighting on the French Front

Lord Northcliffe visited the western front in February and wrote of the splendid achievements of the allied flying corps, which counts many Americans among its membership:

Very rarely do the Germans venture over our lines, and one has to be very far forward nowadays to get a good view of a fight between the Allies and the enemy in the air. I have had that good fortune several times. Air fighting in 1914 bears as much resemblance to air fighting in 1917 as an old steam automobile to a six-cylinder of today. There is a perpetual match in speeding up between the enemy and the Allies. Four or five miles an hour extra pace means everything. It is not the increase of engine power to over 200 horse power that has brought about the change so much as the wonderful progress of the art of flying itself, and it is just here that the Anglo-Saxon and the Frenchman beat the slower-minded German. It is just this reason why the German soldiers' letters are so full of complaint about the overcautious German airman.

When Pégoud invented looping the loop people asked, "Why? What is the use of it?" Pégoud was a very considerable inventor as well as a flier, is the answer. Looping the loop is a useful manoeuvre, and it has been succeeded by that extraordinary development, the nose dive, in which the airman seems to fall like a stone for thousands of feet, till the spectator's hair rises from his head in horror. Suddenly the machine flattens out, scoots away, and you find that it is only a trick after all. I talked with one of our wounded boys—he was just 19—who had fallen 8,000 feet owing to his rudder wire connection being shot through. By a miracle his machine straightened itself out automatically within a hundred yards of the ground, and the boy is alive and will fly again. I asked him his sensations; he is probably the only man in the world alive who has fallen 8,000 feet—more than ten times the height of the Woolworth Building, New York City, 750 feet. He said that for a long time—what seemed like hours—he knew that he was falling, and falling at a tremendous speed, and then he lost consciousness, as in a dream, and found himself being picked out of the wreck of his machine by people who thought that he was dead.

At the beginning of an air fight there is manoeuvring for position and feinting as in boxing. There are, as a rule, two men in each machine—a pilot and an observer—except in the smaller types, in which the wings are clipped down to nothing to get extra speed and climbing power. Knowledge of engine and plane power, quickness of decision, and accuracy of shooting with the Lewis gun are essential to the pilot. His observer is provided with some form of pistol, and often with bombs.

The rival planes, like giant hawks, hover around, above, or below each other, till one more expert or more daring than the other manoeuvres his opponent into a position from which he has either got to fight or flee. The knockout blow is usually a sudden descent on the enemy, accompanied by accurate machine-gun fire. Sometimes it becomes a duel with Browning pistols, in which the men are so close that they can see each other's eyes. The thing is over before you realize it. One machine is off and away, and the other whirls and crashes down, down, down to earth.

Rasputin, Nemesis of the Czar

An Amazing Career Which Bore Directly on the Russian Revolution

THE extraordinary career of the charlatan priest, Rasputin, with his baneful influence at the Court of the Czar, was one of the contributing factors which made the Russian revolution such an instant success. The story of this impostor would be unbelievable if it were not vouched for by trustworthy witnesses. The full record of his criminal career, however, will not be unveiled until the war has ended and the new Government consents that the documents be published.

A trustworthy Russian, whose reliability is vouched for by the conservative London Post, related a brief history of Rasputin's abominable career to the editor, which was printed as follows in March, 1917:

Gregory (Grishka, pronounced Greeshka) Rasputin, aged 44 this year, was a native of Siberia, a common mujik of the village of Pokrovsky, in the district of Tjumen, in the Province of Tobolsk. Like his father, (who is still alive,) he was employed as a fisherman. Uneducated in every sense, he was, in the English sense, illiterate, though before his death he could write a labored and woefully ungrammatical scrawl. His speech to the end remained that of his class. His manners were disgusting even for a mujik; probably he exaggerated his shocking habits in order to emphasize his importance in society. As a young man he was reputed a drunkard, a thief, and a general rascal in his native village; a "shameless one" he was called, even by his fellow-mujiks. Indeed, the local tribunals still hold in solution, so to speak, two criminal charges against him of theft and of perjury, which were stopped by administrative order. For boon companion in his early days he had another drunkard and disorderly person, a small working market gardener, who is now a Bishop of the Pravoslavny Church.

"Rasputin" appears to be really a nickname; the man's real name was Novikh, and "Rasputin" (which may be Englished as "Ne'er-do-weel son") was tacked on to it by his fellow-villagers for good and sufficient reasons. The whole name sounds to Russian ears very much as to English ears would sound "Jacky Ne'erdoweelson Jones," or something else equally common sounding, plus the special nickname so thoroughly earned of "Rasputin." "Grishka" (the contemptuous diminutive of Gregory) is the name for him that has been on every Russian's lips for many years past, and figures in lampoons which were secretly circulated—for "Rasputin" could be neither printed without incurring very heavy penalties nor safely spoken aloud in society without risking some form of reprisals.

Russian "Holy Men"

It must be remembered that Russia, like India, is full of "holy men," and in Russia a proportion of these are arrant rascals, wandering up and down the land, leading a "gospel life" on endless pilgrimages to holy places, collecting money for nonexistent charities; a lazy, sensual life of secret self-indulgence in the most appalling vices, veiled by some striking outward acts of severe asceticism, such as going barefoot or half naked in snow and frost, or carrying massive fetters visibly about their persons.

Grishka, then, went on pilgrimage from holy place to holy place, and collected considerable sums of money for his own use. He built himself a good house in his village, bought a fish pond, and stood drink to his fellow-villagers, and endeavored to ingratiate himself with all men, but very particularly with all women, especially innocent girls who were also young and pretty. He had a wife several years older than himself, and at the time

of his death a boy and two girls, all three grown up, declared themselves from their likeness to him to be obviously his own children. In the big, new eleven-roomed house, built out of fraudulent "collectings" from pious millions on his pilgrimages, Grishka gave his wife three rooms, reserving the others for as many selected young women, his "disciples" and "devotees," or, in plain English, his mistresses. Here were practiced abominations, over which—as not infrequently is the case in Russia—was thrown a pseudo-religious cloak, in accordance with the sect-teaching of such immoral "holy men."

Abnormal Power Over Women

It was in this period of his life that Rasputin discovered his almost miraculous power over women. Doubtless, like the ordinary libertine, he had the gift of knowing instinctively the likely victim. Yet even allowing for this, one can only stand aghast at a power which seemed to have a compelling influence over the whole sex, from Princesses to peasants. Fathers and brothers in his village complained to the authorities about his many seductions of girls, and on many occasions he was severely beaten. He nearly got into serious trouble in the course of his pilgrimages for seducing nuns, and frequently was ignominiously kicked out of monasteries of the better class for his misbehavior. Nevertheless his reputation as a "Saint" was growing, and increased especially after visits to the capital, where he had found powerful protectors.

From this point onward his career, so far as it was associated with this power over women, became almost incredible. It is a fact that ladies bearing ancient historic names, wives and daughters of the great, began to seek Grishka out in his far-away Siberian village. He removed his court to Tjumen, some sixty miles away, and practiced his religious exercises, and taught that there was in him a portion of the Divine, with whom all that would be saved must be one in the flesh and in the spirit. Such methods of corruption are common enough in Russia; it was not in kind but in degree that Rasputin's practice of them was so astonishing. The creature was invited to dine

with the great—possessors of historic titles and high places in the world—who watched him eat with the fingers of both hands, like a primeval beast. Those fingers were often licked clean by hysterical devotees sitting beside him, guests of great historic houses and themselves of high rank or title, to whom the animal would hold out his hands with a curt command like that of an ancient Roman to his lowest slaves.

This part of the man's story sounds incredible, but it is true. There were even genuinely honest women who feared the creature, and in that fear suppressed a natural curiosity. They resolutely avoided all chances of meeting the man, who was making and unmaking Ministers of State and high dignitaries of the Pravoslavny Church; making and marring the fortunes of hundreds directly and of millions indirectly. As for men, his followers were of two classes. They were either those who gladly mortified the flesh in his "religious" exercises, or they belonged to the large class of place hunters and favor seekers.

The fascination of the man lay altogether in his eyes. Otherwise he looked simply a common mujik, with no beauty to distinguish him; a sturdy rogue, overgrown with a forest of dirty, unkempt hair, dirty in person (dirt is holiness in some countries) and disgusting in habits. His language oscillated between the stock-in-trade odds and ends of Scripture and mystic writ and the foulest vocabulary of Russian, which of all white men's tongues is the most powerful in the expression of love and affection and of abominable abuse. But the eyes of this satyr were remarkable—cold, steely gray, with that very rare power of expanding and contracting the pupils at will, regardless of the amount of light present. He possessed without doubt the very strong, natural hypnotic powers which seem always to go with that peculiarity. It was this that in the first place differentiated Grishka Rasputin from the hundreds of other "holy" rascals of erotic type known to history and in daily life in that unfathomable land of Russia.

In the rest of his wonderful career Rasputin was indebted to several aiding

circumstances, among them, as is now universally believed, the guiding hand of Germany. Grishka was the "obscure influence hostile to Russia" referred to in identical language by the United Nobility of Russia, the State Council, the State Duma, the United Zemstvos' organization; language, in fact, composing the single cry of the whole nation, which, save for three brief days soon after his death, dared not mention the dread name aloud. The high authorities sternly forbade, and the nation obeyed.

Into this story of the public status of Rasputin, as distinct from his personal character, there would enter, were it fully displayed, the question of his support by the Pravoslavny Church in Russia, the most powerful instrument of State governance. And with that would also have to be related the incidents leading up to the authority which Rasputin came to acquire with the Empress, through his pretensions—possibly backed by his hypnotic powers—to wield a miraculous influence over the life and well-being of the Grand Duke Alexis, the heir to the Russian throne. It will be enough to say that—however it came about—on several occasions when Rasputin was sent away or absented himself in ostentatious pique at some disfavor some ill did occur to the boy. And thus it was that Rasputin was given rooms at the palace at Tsarskoe Selo in the apartments occupied by Mme. Virubova, favorite Lady in Waiting to the Empress, and his personal safety was in charge of the special corps known as the "Palace Police," who are responsible for the safety of the sovereign.

Protected at Tsarskoe Selo

To the Empress, Rasputin was a saint, a divine agent, a miraculous guide. No stories about him were ever listened to; they were slanders due to jealousy of his exalted position, inventions of enemies, not of the saint himself but of the dynasty, and the like. Hence that influence which made and unmade Ministers of State and Bishops of the Pravoslavny Church, and dispensed patronage to thousands from highest to quite little people. A lady of birth is credited with having

been the mainspring of this venal conspiracy; but Rasputin himself, with all the shrewdness of the mujik, was unsparing of his enemies. Kokovtsov, Premier Minister of Russia, once succeeded in getting him banished from the Court; he returned, and Kokovtsov was dismissed with remarkable suddenness. The Adjunct Minister of the Interior, who controls the police of the empire, Dzhunkovsky, incurred his enmity, (knocked him down, it is said, for unparalleled impudence by word and gesture,) and Dzhunkovsky had to go. Samarin, barely appointed Procurator of the Holy Synod, showed plain intentions of cleansing the Pravoslavny Church from these malign influences and filthy practices, but was dismissed before he had time to act. Stürmer's was perhaps the worst of Rasputin's appointments, and it immediately led to rebellion throughout Turkestan.

The Murder on the Moyka

From this appointment of Stürmer dates the belief that Rasputin was manipulated from and in the interest of Berlin. But, like other "holy" rascals in Russia, he took from all and sundry and for every kind of service. Getting military appointments and exemptions from war service was a fruitful source of income to Rasputin. Frequently he would play the kindly benefactor, doing deeds of charity by assisting poor supplicants, and dipping heavily only into the pockets of the rich. In fact, there was neither limit nor bottom to the wickedness which he contrived to execute in every walk of life. Every man in Russia would gladly have seen Rasputin butchered any time these five years past, and many would have done the deed with their own hands if they could have come at him through the protective cordon (the same as for the sovereign) of the "Palace Police." In the end he was assassinated with their own hands by men of such rank as has not for over a hundred years in Russia taken an active part in like bloody deeds. Not since the murder of the Emperor Paul have persons of their rank who assassinated Rasputin thus imbrued their hands in blood.

Color was given to the story of Ras-

putin's assassination being a political murder by the presence at it of a member of the Right Party in the Duma, who took a leading part in the disposal of the corpse. He has been credited with engineering the affair, and in consequence has won an unprecedented popularity throughout Russia. Rasputin was invited on the night of Dec. 17 (30) by a gentleman in an automobile—a private car—who brought a note, said to be in the hand of a lady devotee of Grishka, and took him to the house on the Moyka of the young Prince Y., Count S. E. There a distinguished party was assembled. Y., it ought to be remarked, is heir to the richest patrimony in Russia. It is said that he can ride behind horses from end to end of European Russia and sleep on his own land every night. There were present, among others, the Grand Duke D. P. and two sons of the Grand Duke, who married the Emperor's sister. In the company, as has been said, was the Duma member whose activity at the front with his feeding points and other organizations has made his name a household word throughout the empire.

About 6 in the morning, when most of the party had dispersed and Rasputin was almost certainly beastly drunk, according to his later habit, a number of shots were fired in the house, and Rasputin was brought out bleeding, in volumes indicative of his alcoholized state, and put into a motor. Whether or not he was then dead seems uncertain; he certainly had mortal wounds in the side of his head and trunk. He was driven off some way and flung over a bridge. The Grand Dukes appear to have gone home, and Prince Y., having reported the whole affair to the Minister of Justice, attempted later to leave by train for the Caucasus or some other of his estates, but was stopped at the station. An abandoned motor soaking in blood was found miles out of town; it belonged to a Grand Duke.

Rasputin's Body Discovered

The entire police and detective force of the capital was afoot and raked through all the houses of ill-fame, gypsy singers' haunts, and, in fact, every con-

ceivable place else, until the finding of a bloodstained golosh brought them to a deserted part of one of Petrograd's smaller rivers. The ice, of course, was several feet thick, but it is the custom in Russia to cut openings where water is obtained and linen is rinsed by laundresses. Divers went down and found nothing; eventually the body was picked out near the bank. Orders had been given to break up the ice if necessary all the way to Kronstadt, but the body must be found. When it was discovered it was secretly interred at Tsarskoe Selo.

The Emperor meanwhile had arrived in haste from the front. For three days extremely guarded references to an "interesting murder" appeared in the press: alongside were printed seemingly inconsequent biographical notes about the chief actors in the tragedy. Officially, however, nothing whatever was allowed to appear beyond the statement of death ("ended his life," not said how!) and the fact that the body had been found. After these three days not even the most distant references were any longer possible. The Grand Duke D. P. took upon himself the whole responsibility, and Grand Dukes are above the law. Under these circumstances the officials found that murder was committed, but that "the evidence was insufficient," and so on.

The Grave of Rasputin

A correspondent of The Associated Press visited Tsarskoe Selo on March 27 and had an opportunity to see Rasputin's grave, from which the body had been removed and burned by the revolutionists. He found the spot on the edge of a ravine beyond a desolate and roadless plain covered with deep snow. His narrative continues:

"The grave is surrounded by an unfinished log chapel, which adherents of the monk, with the monetary assistance of the former Empress, planned to raise over Rasputin's remains. Beside the chapel nave are half a dozen tiny cells for pilgrims, and near the end is the ten-foot hole from which the revolutionaries disinterred the body.

"The chapel was filled with soldiers,

some of whom were inscribing ribald remarks on the log walls. One of the inscriptions reads: 'Here lay Rasputin; foulest of men, the shame of the Roman-off dynasty, the shame of the Russian Church.'

"As the correspondent was reading the inscriptions he heard loud shouts. Looking down into the grave, he saw a little brown Siberian soldier on his haunches, doing the Russian squat dance. The soldiers told the correspondent that Countess Hendrikoff, at the request of the former Empress, had offered a large sum to the guards if they would have the grave covered so as to prevent its further desecration.

"The superstitious belief that the health, and even the life, of Grand Duke Alexis, the young heir apparent, depended on the presence of Rasputin is explained in the following extraordinary manner by the Russky Slovo:

"Rasputin, according to the newspaper, stated in confidences to friends at convivial moments that he was able to fortify this superstition with the help of Mme. Virubova, lady in waiting to the Empress, and M. Badmaef, Court physi-

cian, until the Empress was absolutely convinced that the life of her son depended on the monk. Whenever Rasputin was absent for any length of time from the Court Mme. Virubova, according to the monk's story as given by the newspaper, obtained poisonous powders from the physician and contrived to place them in food brought to Alexis. The result was that during Rasputin's absences the delicate health of the young heir apparent grew steadily worse, until Rasputin was summoned back to the Court, when the powders were stopped and Alexis became immediately better.

"Rasputin always announced that forty days after his death Alexis would fall ill. This prophecy came true with startling accuracy, being caused, the newspaper declares, by Mme. Virubova administering another powder to the little Grand Duke in the hope of continuing the tradition of Rasputin's influence over the imperial family and preparing the way for a successor to him."

Mme. Virubova was placed under arrest by the Revolutionary Government early in April and confined at the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Russia's First Month of Freedom

THE record of the Russian Provisional Government in the first month showed steady and consistent progress along the path it had struck out on its sudden accession to power after the overthrow of the old régime. On the one hand, it went ahead rapidly with the work of introducing internal reforms and cleaning out the abuses of the old system; on the other, it set itself sternly to the task of bringing the organization of its military strength to the highest possible point of efficiency for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Central Powers.

The ability of the men in control of the Government was partly explained in a statement made by the Minister of Justice, Kerensky, to an American correspondent. "Our aim is," he said, "to use talent wherever we can find it." The

Russians themselves never doubted their capacity for self-government once they were given the chance. "We knew what we could do," Premier Lvoff declared on March 21. "We have gone ahead and done it, and now, a week after the revolution began, the whole country is in smooth running order. The bureaucratic obstacle is gone, the new Russia is before us. The future is so brilliant I hardly dare to look into it."

As the days succeeded it became more and more apparent that public opinion in Russia was overwhelmingly in favor of a republican form of government similar to that of the United States, with perhaps a greater measure of local autonomy. The sentiment in the large cities was republican from the very start. Not only were the extreme radicals in favor of a republic, but even the Constitutional

Democratic Party, of which Milukoff is the leader. The Central Committee and the Parliamentary representatives of this party, at Petrograd, voted in favor of a republican form of government; and meetings of peasant communities also declared themselves unanimously for a republic.

On March 21 the Government ordered that the ex-Czar and Czarina be imprisoned in Tsarskoe Selo. The same day Dr. Milukoff, the Foreign Minister, stated that nothing stood in the way of a new commercial treaty between Russia and the United States, now that Russia was on the point of granting full and equal rights to the Jews.

Recognized by the United States

The next day, the American Ambassador, David R. Francis, accompanied by his entire staff, went to the Marinsky Palace to convey the formal recognition by the United States of the new Russian Government. America was thus the first country to welcome Russia into the family of free nations. Addressing the Council of Ministers, Ambassador Francis said:

I have the honor, as the Ambassador and representative of the Government of the United States accredited to Russia, to state, in accordance with instructions, that the Government of the United States has recognized the new Government of Russia, and I, as Ambassador of the United States, will be pleased to continue intercourse with Russia through the medium of the new Government.

May the cordial relations existing between the two countries continue to obtain. May they prove mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

Professor Milukoff, Foreign Minister, replied for the Council of Ministers, saying:

Permit me, in the name of the Provisional Government, to answer the act of recognition by the United States. You have been able to follow for yourself the events which have established the new order of affairs for free Russia. I have been more than once in your country and may bear witness that the ideals which are represented by the Provisional Government are the same as underlie the existence of your own country. I hope that this great change which has come to Russia will do much to bring us closer together than we have ever been before.

I must tell your Excellency that during the last few days I have received many congratulations from prominent men in your country,

assuring me that the public opinion of the United States is in sympathy with us. Permit me to thank you. We are proud to be recognized first by a country whose ideals we cherish.

On March 23 Great Britain, France, and Italy also extended formal recognition of the Russian Provisional Government through their Ambassadors at Petrograd.

Former Czar a Prisoner

The former Czar Nicholas's arrival at Tsarskoe Selo the day after his arrest, in the custody of four members of the Duma, caused no stir. The crowd that had gathered at the station looked on silently, and even the residents of the Court village, whose livelihood depended upon the imperial patronage, remained cold and unmoved. Nicholas was turned over to the Tsarskoe Selo commander and taken to the Alexandrovsky Palace, where a strict guard was established. He and his wife are being kept under close surveillance. He is allowed to walk in the garden only twice daily and only in the presence of the palace commander, Kotzebue. For many days he was in close attendance on his son, who was very ill with measles. He took some recreation by shoveling snow. He wept occasionally, but was quite submissive. At church he was the first to kneel when a prayer was offered up for the new Government.

Along with Nicholas and Alexandra there were 200 other inmates, courtiers, and adherents of the old régime, who were held prisoner in the palace. These were subsequently transferred to the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in consequence of alleged plotting against the new Government, and the former Czar and Czarina were thus isolated.

Meanwhile the cleansing process was prosecuted with energy. Every day members of the Secret Police, the Black Hundreds, and spies were put out of harm's way. Up to March 25, 4,000 had been arrested and imprisoned in Petrograd alone. It was these elements that had created the counter-revolution in 1905, and their elimination freed the Government from a source of danger to the

stability of the new-won liberty and the effective prosecution of the war.

Reform Measures

Simultaneously with the internal reforms the War Office began vigorously pushing the work of military reorganization under the leadership of War Minister Gutzkov, and introduced measures of radical reform. Among those contemplated was the concentration of the supreme direction of the army in a war council consisting of the Ministers of War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs, who would be in constant touch with the Ministers of Railways and Agriculture, the last to give special advice and information in the matter of food supplies.

The Russian War Office renewed its youth. Under the old régime new ideas, dictated by the obvious necessities of the war and the bitter experience of all the Allies, had fallen for the most part on stony soil. Intrigue, inertia, and a score of other deadening influences presented insuperable barriers to effective reform. Now all the reserves of youth and intelligence have been enlisted, and reforms long overdue have been put into effect.

The removal of Grand Duke Nicholas from the post of Commander in Chief of the Russian armies was officially confirmed on March 28, and General M. V. Alexieff, Chief of the General Staff, was appointed his successor. All members of the imperial family and all officers friendly to the autocracy were likewise removed from army posts, and all the Grand Dukes were forbidden to leave the military district of Petrograd.

New Oath of Office

On March 28 all the Ministers of the Provisional Government took the following oath of office in the Senate:

In the capacity of a member of the Provisional Government created by the will of the people and at the instance of the Duma, I promise and swear before Almighty God and my conscience to serve faithfully and justly the people of the Russian State, sacredly guarding its liberty, rights, honor, and dignity, inviolably observing in all my acts and orders civil liberty and civic equality, and in all measures intrusted to me, suppressing any attempts, direct or indirect, toward the restoration of the old régime.

I swear to apply all my intelligence and

strength completely to fulfill all the obligations assumed by the Provisional Government before the eyes of the people. I swear to take all measures for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in the shortest possible time on the basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, to transfer to the hands of the Assembly all the authority provisionally exercised by me in conjunction with other members of the Government, and to bow before the people's will as expressed by that Assembly concerning the form of government and the fundamental laws of the Russian State.

May God help me in the fulfillment of this oath.

One of the most-hated features of the old bureaucratic Government was its system of raising revenue. The burden fell most heavily upon the peasants, who were taxed to the starvation point. As the Russian population is largely agricultural, the prosperity of the country depended chiefly upon the welfare of the peasants. Consequently, their oppression greatly retarded Russia's normal development. The new Government began to grapple with this problem at once.

Important Financial Program

Tereshchenko, the Minister of Finance, outlined his financial program on March 29 as follows:

The country is full of capital, which has grown out of the increased industrial activity since the beginning of the war, and my plan is to institute immediately a new system of taxes based on war profits. Since 1915 all industrial enterprises of the country have shown most remarkable increases in earnings and have issued millions of new shares. It is only proper that the Government should have a more adequate share in these profits.

In the past, revenues have been obtained only in a casual manner by the Ministry of Finance, and, although they far exceeded the financial loss to the Government occasioned by the suspension of the liquor traffic, they have not been properly or thoroughly applied to the resources of the country, which ought to contribute largely to the expenses of carrying on the war.

This new revenue will enable the country to meet at least the accumulating interest on outstanding loans. Russia will have to depend, of course, upon foreign loans, and, judging by the sympathy and support with which the new Government has been greeted by its allies and in the United States, there should be no difficulty in arranging a basis for a continuance of financial assistance abroad.

A not inconsiderable item of expense was saved by the elimination of the

"pocket money," so to speak, that the imperial family formerly drew from the State revenues. This amounted to no less than \$20,000,000 annually. On March 30 the Provisional Government, in compliance with a demand made by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, through the Socialist Cabinet member, Chkheidze, confiscated all the imperial lands and monasteries, which yield an annual revenue of 25,000,000 rubles. Three days before the Grand Dukes and Royal Princes had, of their own accord, given up their crown lands and other official property to the Government.

Despite the war, the economic organization of the country proceeded apace. The growth of the trade-union movement took on tremendous proportions. An eight-hour day was introduced in Petrograd, and a central board of arbitration appointed to settle trade disputes. The eight-hour day was also introduced in other cities and throughout the country. The fever of organization spread even to the peasants. They formed a council of peasants' Deputies modeled after the Council of Workmen and Soldiers.

Not to Claim Constantinople

That free Russia has no desire to annex Constantinople was the inference drawn from a statement made by the very influential Minister of Justice, Kerensky, that the Dardanelles should be "internationalized." This view was further strengthened in the declaration of Premier Lvoff on April 10:

"The new Government considers it its duty to make known to the world that the object of free Russia is not to dominate other nations and forcibly take away their territory. The object of independent Russia is a permanent peace and the rights of all nations to determine their own destiny."

On April 7 Kerensky declared that if the German people would follow the example of Russia and overthrow their monarch, "we offer the possibility of preliminary negotiations." He added, however: "We are not going to assist in making a separate peace." Kerensky's statement was in accord with an appeal adopted on March 28, at a meeting of

workmen's and soldiers' Deputies, addressed to the laborers of all countries, but mentioning especially the Central Powers, "to throw off the yoke of autocratic rule as the Russian people have overthrown the imperial autocrat and refuse to serve longer as an instrument in the hands of Kings, capitalists, and bankers."

A party of Russian radicals who arrived at Stockholm from Switzerland on April 13 were said to be planning a peace congress in Stockholm, and to have won the support of German radicals and some French Socialists. Lenin, a prominent Russian Socialist, who had lived in Switzerland, was their leader. The fact that their mission was synchronous with the German Socialist majority leader Scheidemann's alleged departure for Stockholm to meet envoys of the Russian Government, and that the Russian radicals were permitted to pass through Germany from Switzerland, was taken to mean that the plan had the backing of the German Government.

Poland and Finland Free

In its policy toward dependent nationalities the new Government announced that Poland was to receive complete independence with the right to determine its own form of government and its relation, if any, to Russia. The Polish Deputies thereupon surrendered their seats in the Duma. On March 29 the Provisional Government appointed a committee with Alexander Lednitsky, a Pole, as Chairman, to make the necessary arrangements for the separation of Poland from Russia and to determine the relation of the State to the Roman Catholic Church.

In Finland the Governor, Sein, was removed. On March 21 a manifesto was issued by the new Government completely restoring the Finnish Constitution and annulling all edicts and administrative rules and regulations. A liberal was appointed Governor, and the Finnish Diet was convened. On April 13 M. Kerensky, the Russian Minister of Justice, was present at the meeting of the Diet, and in a speech greeting the "free Finnish people" in the name of the Provisional Russian Government declared that Russia

would do everything in its power to make it certain that Finland should remain free forever.

The Speaker of the Diet, M. Talman, requested M. Kerensky to inform the Russian people of the Diet's gratitude for the fraternal greeting. He said that henceforth a complete agreement, on the basis of reciprocal confidence, would prevail between the two peoples.

To the Armenians, Kerensky expressed himself in favor of an autonomous Government for them under Russia's protection. The promised emancipation of the Jews became an accomplished fact on March 25, when, according to advices received at the Russian Embassy at Washington, absolute equality of the Jews was proclaimed by the new Government. Jews are permitted to reside wherever they please, they have access to all posts in the navy and army, and are unrestricted as to educational advantages and the owning of property. A number of Jews were made officers in the army, says a cable dispatch of April 12, the first city claiming that distinction being Odessa, and 250 Jewish students entered the military officers' school. On March 27 it was announced, according to telegrams to Russian correspondents at Copenhagen, that the Jewish advocates, Grusenberg and Winawer, were appointed members of the Russian Senate and of the Supreme Court. They were the first Jews who ever obtained a seat in a Russian tribunal.

On April 4 full religious liberty was proclaimed and all laws discriminating against any creed or religion repealed. Premier Lvoff promised a delegation of women on April 4 that women would be given the right to vote.

Return of Siberian Exiles

One of the most dramatic and picturesque events of the revolution was the return of the political exiles and prisoners from Siberia. A full hundred thousand of them were released, and their progress from the prisons, mines, and convict settlements across Siberia to Russia was one grand triumphal march. Everywhere they were met by wildly cheering crowds, fêted by reception committees, and called

upon to deliver speeches. So great was their haste to leave that many of them did not even wait to change their prison garb or have their chains struck off.

The most celebrated of the ex-exiles were two women, Catharine Breshkovskaya and Marie Spiridonova. Catharine Breshkovskaya is known as the grandmother of the revolution. She has grown old in Siberian prisons and exile. Forty-four years of her life were spent there. Escaping once, she braved the Russian authorities again, and, though by that time an old woman, she fought dauntlessly side by side with the younger generation in the new movement that led to the unsuccessful uprising in 1905. Again she was thrust into exile. When she reached Petrograd from Siberia the 1st of April, she was met at the railroad depot by a military band and representatives of the Government and carried through the streets. A similar reception was given her in Moscow on April 5. Here the soldiers and the reception committee carried her out into the street on their shoulders.

Equally popular was Marie Spiridonova, who, though still young, suffered a martyrdom perhaps even greater than Breshkovskaya's. She was tortured with a refinement of cruelty that is unprintable. One of the lesser harms done her was the disfiguring of her face for life. The two bureaucratic agents who inflicted the torture were later assassinated by revolutionists.

Signs of Unrest

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, after a prolonged session at Petrograd, adopted a resolution on April 16 affirming the necessity of its continuing to exercise influence and control over the Russian Provisional Government, and appealing to the whole democracy of Russia to rally around the council as the only organization capable of counteracting any reactionary move.

The resolution at the same time appealed to democracy to support the Provisional Government so long as it continued to develop the conquests of the revolution and abstained from any aspirations for territorial expansion.

On the same day a dispatch from Tash-

kent, Asiatic Russia, announced that General Alexei Kuropatkin, Governor General of Turkestan, his assistant, General Yerofeiff, and General Sivers, Chief of Staff, had been arrested by the Council of Soldiers' Delegates. General Buroff, commanding the First Siberian Brigade, and General Tsuomillen, commanding the local brigade, also were placed under arrest and confined to a guardroom. The officers are charged with distributing arms to Russians in various districts for defense against natives in the event of an attack. This action was held to be of a provocatory character. The Cossack guards of General Kuropatkin appeared at the meeting of the Soldiers' Delegates and announced that they would not defend him.

General Kuropatkin was in chief command of the Russian forces in Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese war and was for a while Commander in Chief of the Russian northern armies in the present war.

The news from Petrograd up to April 20, at which date this record closes, indicated a gradual subsidence of unrest and a tendency among the workmen to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government. Industries which had been closed since the outbreak were being reopened, the soldiers were becoming more amenable to discipline, and there were indications that the moderates would be able to keep the radical revolutionists in check; but the feeling of general unrest had by no means yet disappeared.

Warning of Russia's Revolution

Paul Milukoff's Address

THE following document, read in the Duma by Professor Milukoff on Feb. 28, a week before the outbreak of the revolution, contained a warning that has become historic in the light of what followed:

We are nearing a point in our conduct of the war when the supreme effort of the nation will be required in order to secure victory. We are at a moment of crisis in the great war. The military resources of the enemy are nearing exhaustion; his morale is getting lower; and just at the moment when we ought to develop the highest power of resistance and endurance, we are beginning to see the consequences of the inactivity of our Government in organizing the nation for the supreme effort.

We might be told that the Government alone is not responsible for the faults of our machinery of war; that our past, our whole history, are the causes of our backwardness. To this I say most emphatically, No. The Government and the Government alone is responsible for it. The Government concentrated all its efforts on the internal war. At a moment when the whole nation is straining to get ahead and demands of the Government a clear road to victory, the Government is drawing it back. The nation is united in its supreme effort against the external foe; but the Government returns to the old internal war in order to insure its own safety.

Every day voices from all parts of the country are reaching us, addressed to the Duma. The people in the provinces tell us: "Act boldly and act instantly; the country is with you." These voices enable me, even in the present dark state of affairs, to retain my hope, to refrain from any pessimism, and I warn you not to be led into pessimism. In England and France the people have found themselves; the same may already be said about Russia.

When the nation finds that, in spite of all its sacrifices, its destinies are being endangered by a clique of incompetent and corrupt rulers, then the people become a nation of citizens; they become determined to take their case into their own hands. Gentlemen, we are approaching that point. In everything we see around us, we hear the echo of the patriotic anxiety which fills our own hearts. It is in this alarm and not in silence and reconciliation that I see a promise of salvation for the country. You know well that I can say no more from this tribune. You know that this alarm is well-founded, and you know that the Duma alone is not in a position to remove the causes of this alarm; but I firmly believe in the active patriotism of the nation.

I believe that the people will not allow its forces to be flouted in the present critical struggle, and I believe that when once the popular idea that Russia cannot conquer with the present Government ripens in the mind of the nation, the nation will triumph in spite of the Government.

German Raiders in the Atlantic

Twenty-six Merchant Ships Captured by the Möwe in a Second Expedition

THE German auxiliary cruiser Möwe, (Seagull,) commanded by Count zu Dohna-Schlodien—the same sea raider that had captured the Appam and fourteen other merchant ships a year before—stole out through the Kiel Canal and the North Sea late in November, 1916, and added a still more destructive chapter to its record. The British Admiralty got the first inkling of the depredator on Dec. 2 and sent out a general warning on Dec. 8, but, though several vessels were known to be missing, the operations of the raider continued to be shrouded in mystery.

The true state of affairs came to the public on Jan. 16, 1917, when the captured Japanese steamer Hudson Maru landed at Pernambuco, Brazil, with 287 men taken from six ships that had been sunk at various points between the Azores and the Brazilian coast. On Dec. 31 the captured British steamer Yarowdale had arrived at Swinemünde, Germany, with 469 prisoners taken from one Norwegian and seven British ships in the South Atlantic, but the German Government did not announce the fact until Jan. 19. Even then the name of the sea raider remained in doubt. Finally, on March 22 a Berlin dispatch announced the recent return of the Möwe from a second successful raid among enemy shipping. The Möwe herself had brought in 593 prisoners, including fifty-seven Americans from the crew of the British horse transport Esmeraldas.

The total number of ships sunk or taken as prizes by the Möwe on this raid was at least twenty-six, aggregating 125,000 tonnage, and carrying to the bottom many millions of dollars' worth of foodstuffs, munitions, and general cargo. The property loss was estimated at between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000. The total number of prisoners landed by the Möwe and the two prize ships not sunk was 1,389. A few lives were reported

lost. Fifty-nine of the men on the Yarowdale were American sailors, some of whom had been employed on armed British merchantmen. These the German Government was inclined to hold as war prisoners, on the ground that all armed ships are warships; but this threatened cause of international controversy disappeared when the Americans were released on March 9 and returned by way of Switzerland. They filed charges to the effect that they had been roughly treated and half starved in Germany.

List of the Victims

The vessels reported captured by the Möwe were the following:

Voltaire, British steamer, with crew of 93 men, sunk on Nov. 21.

Pallbjörb, Norwegian steamer, bound from America to France with a cargo of food.

Mount Temple, British steamer with 7.5-centimeter gun, 9,792 tons gross, with provisions, parcels, and horses.

Duchess of Cornwall, British sailing ship of 152 tons, with fish.

King George, British steamer of 3,852 tons gross, with explosives, provisions, and parcels.

Cambrian Range, British steamer of 4,200 tons gross, with wheat and parcels.

Georgic, British steamer with 12-centimeter gun, 10,000 tons gross, with wheat, meat, and horses.

Yarowdale, British steamer of 4,600 tons gross, with ammunition, provisions, and war materials.

St. Theodore, British steamer of 5,000 tons gross, with coal.

Dramatist, British steamer of 5,400 tons gross, with ammunition and fruit.

Nantes, French sailing ship of 2,600 tons gross, with saltpeter.

Ansières, French sailing ship of 3,100 tons gross, with wheat.

Hudson Maru, Japanese steamer of 3,800 tons gross, with parcels.

Radnorshire, British steamer, with 12-centimeter gun, 4,300 tons gross, with coffee and cocoa.

Minieh, British steamer of 3,800 tons gross, (listed at 2,890 tons gross,) with coal.

Netherby Hall, British steamer of 4,400 tons gross, with rice and parcels.

Jean, Canadian sailing ship of 2,115 tons gross, with sugar.

Staut, Norwegian sailing ship of 1,200 tons gross, with whale oil.

Brecknockshire, British steamer, with 12-centimeter gun, of 8,400 tons gross, with coal.

French Prince, British steamer of 4,800 tons gross, with coal.

Katherine, British steamer of 2,900 tons gross, with wheat.

Rhodanthe, British steamer of 3,000 tons gross, in ballast.

Esmeraldas, British steamer of 4,680 tons gross, in ballast.

Otaki, British steamer of 7,400 tons gross, (listed at 9,575 tons gross,) with 12-centimeter guns, in ballast.

Demeter-ton, British steamer with 7.5-centimeter guns, 6,048 tons gross, with food.

Governor, British steamer, with 12-centimeter guns, of 5,500 tons gross, in ballast.

"The M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e} is a finely masked cruiser of 12,000 tons," said one of the released neutral sailors. "It is impossible to discover anything unusual about her before the rail drops down and the guns are uncovered. The M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e} is also carrying sails, which prevent any view of the deck. The cruiser is quite new and armed with four big guns and two smaller ones. She has four torpedo tubes."

German Official Statement

The following official statement was issued at Berlin under date of Jan. 19, 1917:

The English steamer Yarrowdale, of 4,600 tons, was brought into harbor on Dec. 31 as a prize by a prize crew of sixteen men. She had aboard 460 prisoners, namely, the crews of one Norwegian and seven English ships which were captured by one of our auxiliary cruisers in the Atlantic Ocean.

The cargoes of the captured vessels consisted principally of war material for our enemies from America and foodstuffs, including 6,000 tons of wheat, 2,000 tons of flour, and 1,900 horses. The Yarrowdale had on board 117 motor lorries, one motor car, 6,300 cases of rifle cartridges, 30,000 rolls of barbed wire, and 3,300 tons of steel bars, besides a large quantity of meat, bacon, and sausages.

Of the vessels sunk three of the British were armed. Among the crews of the captured vessels are 103 subjects of neutral States, who, as well as enemy subjects, have been removed as prisoners of war in so far as they had taken pay on armed enemy vessels. The commander of the prize crew is Deputy Officer Badewitz.

The bringing in of the Yarrowdale has been kept secret up to this time for military reasons, which, in view of the British Admiralty statement of Jan. 17, were no longer operative.

When Lieutenant Badewitz was asked how he succeeded in bringing the Yarrowdale through the North Atlantic and the North Sea with a crew of only sixteen men and with more than 400 prisoners on board, he replied:

"For such an action you need only to exercise coolness and determined, blunt carelessness, especially if you have to deal with Englishmen. In addition you need to have a handful of smart boys like mine who have their hearts in the right place and revolvers in their pockets. Then you can fetch the devil from his own house. The discipline was first-rate. Whenever the order to go below was issued, the whole crowd of prisoners hurried to the lower decks, running like hares."

Lieutenant Badewitz said he and his officers never left the bridge of the Yarrowdale, and all preparations had been made to sink the ship at a moment's notice from the bridge. All on board, he said, knew that the vessel would be sunk in case of a mutiny. Explosive charges had been placed in the hold, with electric connections that would enable the vessel to be sent to the bottom by touching a button, and this would have been done rather than allow the vessel to be captured by British patrols.

Life on the M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e}

The crew of the Norwegian steamer Pallbj \ddot{o} rb gave this interesting account of their experiences:

"One day at the end of November the Pallbj \ddot{o} rb saw a large steamer approaching. The stranger changed her course and began manoeuvring in such a manner that the Norwegian thought the crew must have gone mad. Suddenly the vessel came toward the Norwegian steamer and when a few yards away let down her bulwarks, disclosing four large guns. At the same time a German flag was hoisted and an order given to the Pallbj \ddot{o} rb to stop. Thirty naval officers and sailors then boarded the Pallbj \ddot{o} rb, seized 500 boxes of food, and then sank her. The Captain protested, saying his ship did not carry contraband; but the German officers declared that they disregarded the contraband regulations.

"On board the M \ddot{o} w \ddot{e} was the crew of

ninety-three from the British steamer *Voltaire*, which was sunk on Nov. 21. On Dec. 6 a Newfoundland trawler was stopped and sunk while on a journey to Gibraltar with fish. The same evening the C. P. R. liner *Mount Temple*, with a cargo of 750 horses and 5,000 tons of merchandise, was stopped by seven shots. The steward and one sailor were killed, and another sailor had both his legs smashed. The crew, numbering 107, were taken on board. The *Mount Temple* was finally sunk by bombs, the horses struggling for life in the icy water.

"In the evening of Dec. 10 the large White Star liner *Georgic*, having on board 1,200 horses, was brought to a halt by shots. Great panic prevailed on board and fifty of the men jumped into the water without their clothes on, but only one of them was drowned. The vessel was then blown up by bombs. Hundreds of horses, swimming toward the *Möwe*, made desperate efforts to clamber on board, but the German sailors, standing with loaded revolvers, killed them as they reached the ship.

"On Dec. 11 the British steamer *Yarrowdale* was encountered. As there were already 500 men on board the *Möwe*, the Captain decided that his latest capture must go to Germany with his prisoners. For a whole day after leaving the *Möwe* the *Yarrowdale* was in communication with her by wireless. The *Yarrowdale* at last got the order to go northward, and the ship then made for the south coast of Iceland, Norway, the *Cattegat*, &c., and was compelled by storm to anchor near *Hveen Island*, in the sound, where a German patrol ship appeared. It was at this spot that two British sailors attempted to escape, but they were discovered. They offered violent resistance, and bit and scratched the enemy. The next day the *Yarrowdale* anchored in Swedish waters and a Swedish destroyer appeared. The 500 prisoners were commanded to go below. The Swedish officer came on board, but failed to find anything suspicious. Meanwhile the Germans stood with their revolvers leveled against the prisoners in the hold.

While the *Möwe* was still busy it was known that one or more auxiliary raiders

were at work in the same region. The captured British steamer *St. Theodore* was said to have been fitted out with guns from the *Möwe*, and there were rumors of a German raider named the *Venetia* assisting in the work of destruction. A circumstantial account of the sinking of the *Venetia* by the British cruiser *Glasgow* on Jan. 25 was told by an officer of that warship.

Exploits of the Seeadler

More tangible, however, was the news brought to Rio Janeiro on March 20 by the French bark *Cambronne*. A new raider, the *Seeadler*, (*Sea Eagle*), was at work in the South Atlantic and had already sunk eleven vessels. The *Cambronne*, one of the *Seeadler's* victims, brought 277 men from the crews of other captured vessels in addition to her own crew of twenty-two. She had encountered the raider on March 7 at a point two-thirds of the way across to the African coast, and had been commanded, after receiving the refugees on board, to proceed to Brazil, a voyage of twenty-two days.

The *Seeadler* had left Germany on Dec. 22, escorted by a submarine. The commander declared to his prisoners that the German Emperor and the Crown Prince alone knew of the expedition. The vessel's guns and two gasoline launches had been concealed in the hold while she was running the British blockade. On sighting a merchantman the raider would first hoist the Norwegian flag, which would be replaced by a German flag when her prey was within reach of her guns. The commander presented to the Captain of each ship he sank an engraved certificate setting forth the circumstances in which it had been destroyed. The prisoners all said they were well treated aboard and no loss of life had occurred. Five were Americans. The ships sunk, as reported by the American Consul General at Rio de Janeiro, were the British steamers *Lady Island*, *Gladys*, *Royal Hongar*, and sailing vessels *Pintors*, *British Yeoman*, *Terse*; Italian vessel *Buenos Aires*, and French vessels *Charles Gounod*, *Antoine*, *Rochefaucauld*, and *Dupliex*, all between January and March in the neighborhood of Madeira and Cape Verde Islands.

Democratic Progress in Germany

THE news of the Russian revolution was hardly known in Berlin before the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, appeared before the Prussian Diet, on March 14, and delivered a speech which startled the empire from end to end, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, April, 1917, Page 37.) "Woe to the statesman who cannot read the signs of the times!" were his words of warning. After the Chancellor's speech declaring that there must be reforms, the debate became tempestuous, the Socialists seizing the opportunity to attack Junkerism and demand the abolition of the Herrenhaus, the Prussian House of Lords. "We are no longer serfs," said Deputy Leinert, a Socialist, "whom the King can buy and sell or order to bleed and die at the word of command." Amid cheers Leinert spoke of the coming time when Junkerism would be swept off the earth. The speech of another Socialist, Adolf Hoffmann, provoked so much commotion that it was cut short, but before he was silenced he made the following remarks:

We shall refuse to vote for the budget. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg is merely the fig leaf of military absolutism. Militarism bears the responsibility for the bloodshed in Europe, and only when militarism and despotism are removed will the people breathe freely. Force of arms will not lead to a decision and peace. Distress, desperation, and general collapse will do it.

When both enemies are equally strong the threat of crushing is sheer nonsense. Germany, despite many successes, has not conquered. The German peace proposal with its tone of victory was bound to cause vexation and distrust. She should have communicated her peace terms and thereby dissipated her enemies' distrust.

The revolution in Russia should be a warning to our rulers. The German submarine warfare is opposed to the laws of humanity and international law.

The floodgates of democratic agitation were now open. Philipp Scheidemann, leader of the majority of the Socialist Party in the Reichstag, which had stood behind the Government since the beginning of the war, came out in an article in *Vorwärts* on March 19 with the bold statement, "The whole world sees among

our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians." There was a stormy scene in the Reichstag on March 22, when the Socialist Deputy Kunert charged the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor with having been the originators of the war. Another sign of which way the wind was blowing was the election to fill the seat in the lower house of the Prussian Diet which had been vacated by Liebknecht. Dr. Franz Mehring, a member of the anti-war Socialist minority, who at one time had been placed under "preventive arrest," was easily elected, though opposed by a representative of the Socialist majority. The ever-growing scarcity of food was a constant contributor to the popular discontent, and when it was announced that after April 15 the bread ration was to be reduced by one-fourth, it seemed that the breaking point would soon be reached.

But the Junkers, the Prussian Herrenhaus, were not to be easily moved even by the most solemn warnings. They declared against reform of the three-class system of voting for the Diet and all proposals whatever for increasing popular rights. The language of the noblemen who spoke on March 28 was reminiscent of the old days of the divine right of Kings. "My highest war aim," said Count von Roon, "is to maintain the Crown and the monarchy as high as the heavens." Others asserted they would stand by the "good old Prussia." That the power of the Junkers was still very great was shown by the fact that their opposition induced von Bethmann Hollweg to decide that political reform must be postponed till after the war. This decision he announced in the Reichstag on March 29, and instantly there were outbursts of indignation, not only by the Socialists, who are leading the fight for German democracy, but also by such moderates as the National Liberals. The Socialist leader Georg Ledebour made a historic speech, in which he said:

Kerensky [the new Russian Minister of

Justice and a Socialist] is now the most powerful man in Russia, yet he was lately only the leader of a small faction. We are few in the Reichstag, but behind us stands the industrial revolutionary population, true to democratic principles.

We regard a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany. History is now marching with seven-league boots. The German people, indeed, shows incredible patience. The Reichstag must have the right to a voice in the conclusion of alliances, peace treaties, and declarations of war. The Imperial Chancellor must be dismissed when the Reichstag demands it.

The speech was interrupted by shouts of "High Treason!" Gustav Noske, another Socialist, referred to the "deplorable events" at Hamburg, Magdeburg, and elsewhere, indicating that there had been food riots, the reports of which had been suppressed by the censorship. References to the Russian revolution were frequent, and more than one speaker reminded von Bethmann Hollweg of his words, "Woe to the statesman who cannot read the signs of the times." Finally, despite the Government's intention to postpone reform questions till after the war, the Reichstag adopted by 227 votes against 33 a resolution appointing a committee of twenty-eight members to consider the whole subject of constitutional reform.

The Kaiser, who had kept silent during all this agitation, was roused by President Wilson's message and the declaration of war which followed it, to come out openly in favor of reform. On April 7 it was announced that he had ordered the Imperial Chancellor to submit to him certain proposals for the reform of the Prussian electoral law, to be discussed and put into effect after the conclusion of peace. The text of the Kaiser's order follows:

Never before have the German people proved to be so firm as in this war. The knowledge that the Fatherland is fighting in bitter self-defense has exercised a wonderful reconciling power, and, despite all sacrifices on the battlefield and severe privations at home, their determination has remained imperturbable to stake their last for the victorious issue.

The national and social spirit have understood each other and become united, and have given us steadfast strength. Both of them realized what was built up in long years of peace and amid many internal struggles. This

was certainly worth fighting for. Brightly before my eyes stand the achievements of the entire nation in battle and distress. The events of this struggle for the existence of the empire introduce, with high solemnity, a new time.

It falls to you as the responsible Chancellor of the German Empire and First Minister of my Government in Prussia to assist in obtaining the fulfillment of the demands of this hour by right means and at the right time, and in this spirit shape our political life in order to make room for the free and joyful co-operation of all the members of our people.

The principles which you have developed in this respect have, as you know, my approval.

I feel conscious of remaining thereby on the road which my grandfather, the founder of the empire, as King of Prussia with military organization and as German Emperor with social reform, typically fulfilled as his monarchical obligations, thereby creating conditions by which the German people, in united and wrathful perseverance, will overcome this sanguinary time. The maintenance of the fighting force as a real people's army and the promotion of the social uplift of the people in all its classes was, from the beginning of my reign, my aim.

In this endeavor, while holding a just balance between the people and the monarchy to serve the welfare of the whole, I am resolved to begin building up our internal political, economic, and social life as soon as the war situation permits.

While millions of our fellow-countrymen are in the field, the conflict of opinions behind the front, which is unavoidable in such a far-reaching change of constitution, must be postponed in the highest interests of the Fatherland until the time of the homecoming of our warriors and when they themselves are able to join in the counsel and the voting on the progress of the new order.

Specifying the reforms that were necessary the Kaiser said:

Reform of the Prussian Diet and liberation of our entire inner political life are especially dear to my heart. For the reform of the electoral law of the lower house preparatory work already had been begun at my request at the outbreak of the war.

I charge you now to submit to me definite proposals of the Ministry of State, so that upon the return of our warriors this work, which is fundamental for the internal formation of Prussia, be carried out by legislation. In view of the gigantic deeds of the entire people there is, in my opinion, no more room in Prussia for election by the classes.

The bill will have to provide further for direct and secret election of Deputies. The merits of the upper house and its lasting significance for the State no King of Prussia will misjudge. The upper house will be better able to do justice to the gigantic demands of the coming time if it unites in its midst in more extended and more proportional

manner than hitherto from various classes and vocations of people men who are respected by their fellow-citizens.

The election of the twenty-eight mem-

bers to the Committee on Reforms was fixed for April 24, the date on which the Reichstag was to resume its sittings after the Easter recess.

Reply to the Dardanelles Report

THE report of the Special Parliamentary Commission on the Dardanelles Expedition, which had criticised Lord Kitchener, former Premier Asquith, and Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, was the subject of a vigorous attack in Parliament on March 28, 1917. Speeches were made by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, in which the fairness of the report was challenged and its political use severely rebuked. Mr. Asquith paid a glowing tribute to Lord Kitchener, who had been represented as "a solitary, taciturn autocrat," who took no counsel with any one and insisted on having everything his own way. This Mr. Asquith denied. Lord Kitchener was, indeed, a masterful man and a formidable personality, but the fact was that at the outbreak of war all the General Staff went to France and no soldiers of experience were left in the country. The Government, therefore, in all military matters was bound to defer to Lord Kitchener's unrivaled authority, and no man ever had a heavier burden to carry. Mr. Asquith also revealed the fact that, at the outbreak of war, Lord Kitchener was the only man he ever thought of asking to become Secretary of State for War.

Mr. Asquith, in replying to the criticism that there had been a delay of three weeks in sending reinforcements, said that the delay had been due, not to any vacillation or hesitation, but to two main considerations—first, that the Russian position was so bad at the time that Lord Kitchener feared the Germans might withdraw divisions from the eastern and send them to the western front, and, second, that both the British and French headquarters were putting the strongest pressure on him to dispatch the Twentieth Division to France. Those were "grave and weighty reasons," said Mr.

Asquith, and, he added, "it is so easy to be wise after the event." He held that the Commissioners had not given sufficient weight to these considerations when they passed their censure.

He dealt at some length with the criticisms of the report on his own neglect to summon a War Council between March 19 and May 14. His answer to this was that he had been in daily and hourly consultation with Lord Kitchener and Mr. Churchill, and that the operations were in the hands of the naval men on the spot. But there had been no fewer than thirteen meetings of the Cabinet in that period, and at several the Dardanelles operations had been discussed at length. As for the rôle of the experts at the War Council, Mr. Asquith declared that he had never known them to show the least reluctance to give their opinion, whether invited or uninvited, and though Lord Fisher was known to be averse to the Dardanelles operations, it was not on the ground that they were impracticable, but that his preference was for a different operation in a totally different sphere. Lord Fisher, said Mr. Asquith, was in a minority of one, but he explicitly agreed to undertake the naval operations.

According to Mr. Churchill, everybody on the War Council knew of Lord Fisher's objections, but knew also that they were not objections based on the impracticability of "forcing" the Dardanelles—a very different thing from "rushing" the Dardanelles, which no one ever contemplated. Lord Fisher, insisted Mr. Churchill, never objected to carrying out the operations until the Admiral on the spot changed his mind and advised that the naval attack should not be proceeded with. Mr. Churchill did not conceal his own desire to press the attack with the navy alone, but he was overruled, and then the fatal delays took place.

Toward the close of his speech Mr. Churchill intimated that if naval reinforcements had been furnished the result might have been different, as the Turkish ammunition was about exhausted at the time of the retirement. He likewise affirmed, in a detailed review of the proceedings of the War Council, that the plans for a purely naval attack had received the considered approval of all the naval authorities, including the Admirals on the spot, Sir Henry Jackson, Admiral Oliver, and the French Naval Staff, and that Lord Fisher himself had agreed to carry it out. He contended that this naval attempt to force the Dardanelles was not a rash enterprise foisted upon an unwilling Admiralty, but was the plan of the naval experts themselves.

Mr. Asquith by no means conceded that the expedition was a failure. On the contrary, he asserted that "it absolutely saved the position of Russia in the Caucasus; it prevented for months the defection of Bulgaria to the Central Powers; it kept at least 300,000 Turks immobile; and, what is more important, it cut off and annihilated a corps d'élite, the whole flower of the Turkish Army. The Turks have never recovered to this moment from the blow inflicted upon them,

and it is certainly one of the contributory causes of the favorable developments which we have happily witnessed in the events in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia."

Mr. Churchill, in his defense of the expedition, asked: "What was gained, not what might have been gained, by the naval attack? Was ever any demonstration in the history of the world more potent? The relief to the Grand Duke in the Caucasus was instantaneous. The whole attitude of Bulgaria was changed for the time in our favor. Greece had almost joined us. Lastly, there was Italy. During the progress of the naval attack those negotiations were begun which finally, in the hands of Mr. Asquith, who dealt for all the Allies, culminated in Italy's entrance into the war at the moment when her entrance was most needed and before she could be discouraged by the defeats of the Russians in Galicia, which began a few weeks later. These are the results of failure. Think what might have been the consequences of success. It is a torment to dwell upon them and to think how near was the naval attack to success. Was there even really a reasonably fair chance of its succeeding if it had been persevered in and pushed on?"

Writing War History in France

A contributor to *Le Temps* of Paris has placed on record the measures which self-conscious France is taking to aid the future historian. The article is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

INSTINCTIVELY we are watching ourselves live in these heroic days. We feel, indeed, that the passionate curiosity of future centuries will be concentrated upon our acts and movements; we have become conscious of the consideration and respect which coming generations will lavish upon the men and things of today. We are secretly flattered by the thought, and, without going so far as to strike a pose before the painters of history, we are beginning discreetly to prepare their palettes and brushes.

We throw furtive glances in the direc-

tion of the mirror that reflects our silhouettes, and try negligently to straighten our cravats. "We men of the middle ages," cries a foreseeing hero of a mediaeval operetta. "We witnesses of the great world cataclysm," already some of our contemporaries are thinking. And, flying the altruistic flag, they are working conscientiously for posterity. The explorers of the past, who later shall undertake a voyage around the great war, will bless the enlightened zeal of these men. They will find themselves in the presence of a fabulously rich mine of documents. We have recently mentioned

the interesting project of Messrs. Honorat and Alexandre Varenne, intended to bring together in one place complete collections of the newspapers and reviews that have appeared during the war. This plan, formulated after thirty months of war, might seem purely platonic: is it not too late to collect and classify all the fugitive papers scattered in the blast of the tempest? Not at all.

In the first year of the great conflict a wide-awake Minister of Public Instruction asked all the Mayors in France to gather carefully all printed documents relating to the war. He begged them particularly to "collect the newspapers," and explained the exceptional interest attaching to these "mirrors in which are reflected the successive moods of the nation" and the necessity of preserving "the least manifestations of public spirit and the slightest traces of emotion or serenity, as the case may be, with which the people receive administrative measures, or other war news, whether from France or from abroad. * * * At so important a time in our national history this country has assumed an attitude too profoundly honorable for one to neglect preserving proofs of it taken from life, day by day, which posterity must needs accept. On this score it is really desirable to save the whole contemporary product from oblivion."

A series of circulars developed and or-

ganized this noble undertaking. Not only are all our Mayors collecting the local newspapers, the public and private posters, the social and religious documents, the industrial pamphlets, the cartoons, postcards, and photographs of the war period, but in the smallest village of France the representative of the Institute has been invited to take notes methodically of all the events he witnesses. He is to gather up and preserve the "oral tradition" which, in our country districts, is usually the sole depository of the past. He will thus perpetuate remarks, anecdotes, and significant examples and traits, which will constitute an incomparable documentary treasury for those who shall wish to study the soul of France as it is today.

At this moment thousands of attentive pens, under these official orders, are blackening little pieces of paper measuring—our organizers think of everything—"fifteen centimeters by ten." France is an immense classification cabinet, in which these slips of paper are being tirelessly placed on file. They will form an admirable Golden Book of the mind and conscience of our nation.

There is a certain grandeur in this order for the mobilization of a nation's memory. Who will dare henceforth to speak of our lack of foresight? We are leaving nothing to chance. Our papers are in order. History may enter: she will find us waiting for her.

A Song of Sunrise

[On the Morning of the Russian Revolution]

By GEORGE E. WOODBERRY

To those who drink the golden mist
 Whereon the world's horizons rest,
 Who teach the peoples to resist
 The terrors of the human breast—
 By burning stake and prison camp
 They lead the march of man divine,
 Above whose head the sacred lamp
 Of liberty doth blaze and shine;
 O'er blood and tears and nameless woe
 They hail far off the dawning light;
 Through faith in them the nations go,
 Sun-smitten in the deepest night—
 Honor to them from East to West
 Be on the shouting earth today!
 Holy their memory! Sweet their rest!
 Who fill the skies with freedom's ray!

Arab Revolt Against Turkish Rule

Proclamation of the Ulema of Mecca Denouncing the "Janissaries" at Constantinople

THE Ulema of Mecca, the orthodox religious authorities in the holy city of the Moslems, has sent out a proclamation to the faithful which is reproduced herewith as one of the documents of the war. It marks yet another step in the growing revolt in Arabia, which threatens to deprive the Turkish Empire permanently of that historic realm and of the holy cities of Islam. The revolt began in June, 1916, with the rising of El Husein ibn Ali, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, against the rule of the Young Turks on account of their German alliance. He proclaimed Arabia's independence on June 27. In the next two months he and his followers captured all the principal cities on the Red Sea littoral and began to administer a region—desert, oases, and towns—of 24,000 square miles with a population of 3,000,000. Since then he has ruled an increasing section of Arabia under the title of King of the Hedjaz.

Early in September the French and British Governments dispatched a delegation of French Moslems to the Grand Sherif of Mecca for the purpose of congratulating him on his deliverance from Turkey, and of conveying to him a substantial sum of money to aid his revolt. To cover the expense of the expedition the French Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 29, 1916, for 3,500,000 francs, at the same time disclosing the fact that the French Government had furnished a vessel to enable the British and French Moslems to resume their pilgrimages to Mecca by way of Jeddah. Thousands of pilgrims took advantage of this free service, those in October alone numbering 30,000. Among these was Si Kaddor ben Ghabbit, the Moroccan adviser of the Sultan of Turkey. He found a new, hygienic Mecca, free of the assassins and robbers of former years, and declared on his return that the new Kingdom of Arabia was destined to revive the Mos-

lem world in all its former glory and power.

Since then the movement has spread to the interior of Arabia, and has been marked by extensive defections of native tribes from Turkish rule. Peace has been made between two powerful leaders of rival tribes, Emir Arab ar Rawleh, from near Damascus, and Hakim ibn Mahid-Hakim, Emir of the great Anzeh tribe in the vicinity of Aleppo. These two chiefs, formerly enemies, have united and agreed to raise a large troop of horsemen to fight the Turks. The importance of this step is indicated by the fact that the Anzeh and Shamr tribes together are said to number 4,000,000 souls.

It is also asserted that the Sheik Khazai Khan has sent a deputation to the Sherif—otherwise Suleiman I., King of the Hedjaz—announcing his co-operation in the revolt and his readiness to respond to a call for men and money. Thus a large portion of the Mohammedan world, which refused to respond to the Sultan's call for a holy war against the Entente, is now actively lining up against Turkey and the Central Powers.

On Dec. 2, 1916, the United States Government received the following communication from the new kingdom, whose capital is Mecca. It was signed by Fuad el Khatib, Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

In the name of justice and international law we enter a solemn protest to the civilized world against the band of Unionists and affiliates which inflicted all manner of cruelty on the women and children of the innocent population of Alawali and is now repeating its elaborate acts of cruelty even at Medina by sentencing the harmless people and those of Alawali that are still alive to death by hanging and to forced labor.

The echo of these atrocities has been brought to the men in charge of our Army of the West, whose vanguard is in touch with the enemy, by a delegation, comprising every class of the people, that came to them to appeal to the Arabian Government for

protection against such inhuman, heinous crimes.

The Arabian Government, which has shown every regard for the Turkish prisoners of El Taif, including the Vali, commanders, officers, and soldiers, in spite of the misdeeds committed by them and of their setting fire to the houses of Princes, notables, and inhabitants after plundering them, draws your attention to the matter so as to protect itself from blame for any retaliation it may be compelled to apply.

Orthodox Protest from Mecca

A long and important "Proclamation to the Faithful," issued by the Ulema or high priesthood of Mecca, reached the outside world in March, 1917. It adds religious sanction to the rebellion of the holy places against the rule of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople. The text in English is as follows:

We, the elders and lawyers of the House of God, are among those whom God has permitted to serve the faith and defend its truths. The world and its treasures, in comparison with truth, are not worth the wing of an insect, for there is no other purpose for man in this life except to prepare for eternity.

The Moslem soul rejoices in beholding the Grand "Kaaba" in the first streak of dawn and in the shadow of evening, and he is sanctified by dwelling in the land blessed by the Prophet of God, (the peace of God be upon him.) Can such a man allow his faith to be scorned or see evil befall the things that are holy? Even so it is with us who dwell in this holy place.

We have discerned the hearts of the usurpers of Osman's empire. We have learned their evil purpose with regard to our faith, we have beheld their crimes and wickedness in this our holy land, and our faith has shown us the path of salvation, and, in its name we have acted according to our duty to ourselves and the Moslems of the world.

Every Moslem who would consider this matter should seek its cause and ascertain the nature of evil against which we rose in arms, when we found words were of no avail.

As for us, we are absolutely certain that the secret committee of the Young Turk Party has notoriously disobeyed God. No words stayed their hand from crime, and no opposition prevented the evil consequences of their actions. Let no one think that we speak vain things. There stand the facts and events which every man by inquiry can ascertain for himself. We shall bring forth these facts and lay them before the Mohammedan world when necessity demands. Now we content ourselves with begging those of our brethren who oppose us to send some reliable person or persons to Constantinople, the capital of the Unionists, and there witness personally, as we have ourselves witnessed, Moslem women employed by the Government and ex-

posed in public places unveiled before men of strange nations. What do our true Moslem brethren who oppose us in haste think of this matter, an example of an evil that will greatly injure us if it increases and of which we publicly complain?

Would the obedience of people who do such a thing, (and it is the least of their crimes against Islam and Moslems,) be a true obedience or would it be disobedience to God? Never, by the God of the "Kaaba," never. To obey them is to disobey God. Far from it that any of the faithful should consent to this.

We endeavored to please God and avoid a rebellion so long as it was possible. We rebelled in order to please God, and He gave us victory and stood by us in support of His law and religion, and in accordance with a wisdom known to Him which would lead to the uplifting of this people. Every Moslem heart in the Ottoman Empire, even among the Turks in Anatolia and among the members of the Turkish royal family in the palaces, prays God for our success, and God always answers the prayers of the oppressed and the righteous. There is no doubt about it, that if the inhabitants of those countries which the Unionists have lost through their alliance with Germany in this war had revolted against those oppressors, just as we did, they would have no more been regarded as belligerents and would thus have saved their countries for themselves. But if things should continue as they are, no territory will remain for this empire.

If you keep this in mind and remember what the Indian paper *Mashrek* wrote on Sept. 12 and 19 on the subject of the disqualification of Beni Osman to be the Khalifas of Islam, you will understand that we have risen in order to avert these dangers and to put the Islamic rule on a firm foundation of true civilization according to the noble dictates of our religion. If our revolution were only to preserve the integrity of our country and to save it from what has befallen other Islamic countries, it is enough, and we are amply justified.

We call the attention of those who oppose us to the necessity of saving the other countries from the calamities into which their inhabitants have fallen and to deliver them from the destruction and ruin into which those criminal hands are dragging them, if any true religious enthusiasm is left at all. We have done what we ought to do. We have cleansed our country from the germs of atheism and evil. The best course for those Moslems who still side with and defend this notorious gang of Unionists, is to submit to the will of God before their tongues, hands, and feet give witness against them.

It is a great mistake to suppose that in rising against this party we are rising against a legitimate Khalifa possessing all the legal or, at least, some of the conditions qualifying him to be such.

What does the Mohammedan world say of

the Beni Osman who pretend to be Khalifas of Islam, while for many years they were like puppets in the hands of the Janissaries; tossed about, dethroned, and killed by them, in a manner contrary to the laws and doctrines established in the books of religion on the accession and dethronement of Khalifas—which facts are recorded in their history? History is now repeating itself. To those Janissaries, grandsons have appeared in these days who are repeating the acts enacted in the days of Abdul Aziz, Murad, and Abdul Hamid. The murder of Yussuf Izzedin, the Turkish heir apparent, is too recent to be forgotten.

Those who oppose us and side with the Beni Osman should do one of two things: (1) Consider the Janissaries and their grandsons as the final authority on the question of the Khalifat, which we do not think any reasonable man would do, because it is against the laws of religion; or (2) consider those Janissaries and their grandsons as void of authority on the Khalifat question, in which case we should ask them, "What is the Khalifat and what are its conditions?"

Therefore, it remains for those who oppose us to repent, to come to their senses and

unite with us in appealing to the Moslem world to use all effective measures for the strengthening of Islam and the restoring of its glory.

We want those who are present here to tell you who are far away that we shall confess before Almighty God, on the last day, that today we do not know of any Moslem ruler more righteous and fearing God than the son of His Prophet who is now on the throne of the Arab country. We do not know any one more zealous than he in religion, more observant of the law of God in words and deeds, and more capable of managing our affairs in such a way as would please God. The people of the Holy Land have proclaimed him their King simply because, in so doing, they would be serving their religion and country.

As to the question of the Khalifat, in spite of all that is known of the deplorable condition in which it is situated at the present moment, we have not interfered with it at all and it will remain as it is pending the final decision of the whole Mohammedan world.

Salams to all who hear what is said and believe the good in it. May God lead us all into the path of right.

Proclamation to the People of Bagdad

FOLLOWING is the official English text of the proclamation issued by General Sir Stanley Maude to the people of Bagdad Vilayet, when he captured the historic city on March 11, 1917:

1. In the name of my King, and in the name of the peoples over whom he rules, I address you as follows:

2. Our military operations have as their object the defeat of the enemy and the driving of him from these territories. In order to complete this task I am charged with absolute and supreme control of all regions in which British troops operate; but our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators.

3. Since the days of Halaka your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation, and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking, your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men, and squandered in distant places.

4. Since the days of Midhat, the Turks have talked of reforms, yet do not the ruins and wastes of today testify the vanity of those promises?

5. It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it is also the wish of the

great nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science, and art, and when Bagdad City was one of the wonders of the world.

6. Between your people and the dominions of my King there has been a close bond of interest. For 200 years have the merchants of Bagdad and Great Britain traded together in mutual profit and friendship. On the other hand, the Germans and Turks, who have despoiled you and yours, have for twenty years made Bagdad a centre of power from which to assail the power of the British and the allies of the British in Persia and Arabia. Therefore, the British Government cannot remain indifferent as to what takes place in your country now or in the future, for in duty to the interests of the British people and their allies, the British Government cannot risk that being done in Bagdad again which has been done by the Turks and Germans during the war.

7. But you people of Bagdad, whose commercial prosperity and whose safety from oppression and invasion must ever be a matter of the closest concern to the British Government, are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon you alien institutions. It is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realized, and that once again the people of Bagdad shall flourish, enjoying

their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and their racial ideals. In Hejaz the Arabs have expelled the Turks and Germans who oppressed them and proclaimed the Sherif Hussein as their King, and his Lordship rules in independence and freedom, and is the ally of the nations who are fighting against the power of Turkey and Germany; so, indeed, are the noble Arabs, the Lords of Koweit, Nejd, and Asir.

8. Many noble Arabs have perished in the cause of Arab freedom, at the hands of those alien rulers, the Turks, who oppressed them. It is the determination of the Government of Great Britain and the great powers allied to Great Britain, that these noble Arabs shall not have suffered in vain. It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness

and renown among the peoples of the earth, and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord.

9. O people of Bagdad, remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavored to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by your dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her allies, for there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment. Therefore, I am commanded to invite you, through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army, so that you may be united with your kinsmen in north, east, south, and west in realizing the aspirations of your race.

Italy's Military Progress in 1916

An Official Summary

THE report of the Italian Supreme Command for the period of September to December, 1916, contains this birdseye view of the actual results of the whole year's operations, under date of Dec. 26:

Looking back on the year which is drawing to its close, the Italian Army has reason for legitimate satisfaction and pride in all the efforts made, the difficulties overcome, and the victories achieved.

The development of its military power was effected in the Winter of 1915-16, thanks to the wonderful work of reorganization and production, in which the whole nation participated. In the Spring we sustained in the Trentino the powerful, long-prepared Austrian offensive, which the enemy with insolent effrontery styled a punitive expedition against our country. But after the first successes, which were due to the preponderance of material means collected, above all in artillery, the proposed invasion was quickly stopped and the enemy was counterattacked and forced to retire in haste into the mountains, leaving on the Alpine slopes the flower of his army and paying bitterly the price for his fallacious enterprise not only here but also on the plains of Galicia.

Our army did not rest after its wonderful effort. While maintaining a vigorous pressure on the Trentino front, in order to gain better positions and to deceive the enemy as to our intentions, a rapid retransfer of strong forces to the Julian front was made. In the first days of August began that irresistible offensive which, in two days only, caused the fall of the very strong fortress of Gorizia and

of the formidable system of defenses on the Carso to the west of the Vallone. Doberdò, San Michele, Sabotino—names recalling sanguinary struggles and slaughter—ceased to be for the Austro-Hungarian Army the symbols of a resistance vaunted insuperable, and became the emblems of brilliant Italian victories. The enemy's boastful assertions of having inexorably arrested our invasion on the front selected and desired by himself were refuted at one stroke.

From that day our advance on the Carso was developed constantly and irresistibly. It was interrupted by pauses indispensable for the preparation of the mechanical means of destruction without which the bravest attacks would lead only to the vain sacrifice of precious human lives.

Our constant and full success on the Julian front is witnessed by 42,000 prisoners, 60 guns, 200 machine guns, and the rich booty taken between the beginning of August and December.

Also on the rest of the front our indefatigable troops roused the admiration of all who saw them for their extraordinary efforts to overcome not only the forces of the enemy but also the difficulties of nature.

The coming year is looked forward to by our army with serenity and confidence. Our soldiers are supported by the unanimous approval of the nation, by faith in themselves and in the justice of their cause. They face willingly their hard and perilous life, under the guidance of their beloved sovereign, who from the first day of the war with a rare constancy has shared their fortunes. Our army is waiting in perfect readiness to renew the effort which will carry it to the fulfillment of the unflinching destiny of our people.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club.

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He is one of the experts who have chronicled the present war for *The Army and Navy Journal*. The article here presented is the third in a series which Major Dayton is writing for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

III.—The Great Battle of Ypres

IN the previous articles we have reviewed events of the Summer and early Autumn of 1914 in Belgium and France. Having followed the progress of the invading German armies across Belgium and down into the heart of France, we saw their scouts almost in the environs of Paris before the tide of war turned. Defeated on the Marne, the Germans retreated to the fortified lines above the Aisne, where they succeeded in halting the pursuit of French and British armies eager to keep up the drive. By the middle of October the manoeuvres by which each sought to win the control of the Channel coasts had resulted in a mutual extension of the battle lines until they confronted each other all the way from Westende, south of Ostend, through Belgium and France to the Swiss frontier. That situation was destined to continue for long and bloody years despite frequent efforts on both sides to break through.

In October and November the Germans made an enormous effort to smash a way through to Calais, and some of the hardest fighting of the whole war developed. The Allies, believing that Antwerp could hold out, had hoped to keep the Germans back of the Scheldt until the concentration of a strong Franco-British force between Ghent and Antwerp would provide the means for turning the German right flank and cutting the northern communications of the armies further south. The plan failed when Antwerp fell, and the French then endeavored to execute a flanking

manoeuvre by crossing the Lys and the Scheldt between Lille and Ghent.

La Bassée and Arras were important points south of Lille which were essential to the success of General Joffre's strategy. Both sides hurried every man who could be spared from the Aisne up to the northern battlefield, and new armies from home gave greatly needed reinforcement. As the campaign progressed, the turning movement was repulsed and the Allies found themselves involved in a desperate struggle to prevent the Germans from turning their flank and winning a way to the Channel ports.

First Battle of Ypres

A great battle opened on Oct. 12, 1914, and lasted until Nov. 20, on a front of about forty miles between Lille and the mouth of the Yser. The struggle reached its climax before Ypres, and the battle bears the name of that town. The casualties, Belgian, British, French, and German, probably exceeded 350,000.

General Foch's Tenth French Army had failed to turn the German right flank, and General French had successfully moved the whole British force from the Aisne to its new northern position. On Oct. 12 British divisions had crossed the Aire-Bethune canal and were systematically driving back the dismounted German cavalymen, who contested stubbornly every foot of the way. By the 17th General French's men reached the village of Herlies, in the hills between La Bassée and Armentières, and Aubers, another village in the same sector, was

taken—French cavalymen captured Fromelles. On the 18th, British attacks upon La Bassée failed. The Second Royal Irish captured Le Pilly, where they were surrounded and killed or captured almost to a man.

About this time strong German reinforcements reached the scene, and the British, under General Smith-Dorrien, relinquished the offensive, although they, too, were reinforced by the arrival of the



MARSHAL SIR JOHN FRENCH

first native Indian contingent, the Lahore Division, under General Watkis. Smith-Dorrien's corps of about 37,500 men had lost 10,000 men in August, 10,000 in September, and 5,000 up to the middle of October. Although the losses were in part replaced by drafts of fresh men, the corps was well-nigh exhausted by continual fighting, and suffered severely in the next few days, when the Germans attacked fiercely near Neuve Chapelle and Givenchy.

Between Oct. 12 and 29 Smith-Dorrien's (second) corps suffered additional casualties of 360 officers and 8,200 men. On the 29th they were temporarily relieved by Indian troops stiffened by

British brigades and batteries. Meanwhile Pulteney's (third) corps on the left was likewise heavily engaged in a series of battles along the River Lys, nearer to Armentières.

Late in October several new German corps came up in front of Ypres, and General Rawlinson led the British Seventh Division of veteran regular troops in an advance upon Menin, an important point southeast of Ypres. He met heavy resistance on the front and was strongly attacked on the left flank, but succeeded in regaining his original positions, although with severe losses. The arrival of General Haig's (first) corps rescued the famous Seventh Division from threatened destruction.

British in Grave Peril

General Haig's corps, just from the Aisne, was assigned by General French to a position north of the left flank of the Seventh Division. On Oct. 21, in a series of terrific attacks, some of the Germans penetrated the lines of the Twenty-first Brigade and found cover in woods behind the position. For several days after this the officers of the Second Yorkshire Regiment kept each alternate man facing the opposite direction to reply to rifle fire coming from both front and rear. On Oct. 22 and again on the 24th and 25th German storming columns smashed their way through the thin British lines, but were eventually held by reserves skillfully employed at critical moments.

As the British struggled to hold the sectors about Ypres the gallant Belgians held on successfully to their intrenched positions along Ypres Canal and the Yser River. On Oct. 29 the Germans made a tremendous attack upon the re-entering angles of the British salient in front of Ypres, on the north at Bixschoote, and on the south between Zandevoorde and Hollebeke. The head of the salient was at the crossroads at Gheluvelt, five miles east of Ypres, on the Ypres-Menin road, and early in the day the Germans forced one of the British divisions out of its trenches in this sector.

On the morning of the 30th the German artillery fire became unbearable and

many of the British trenches had to be abandoned. Sometimes a whole troop would be buried alive by the storm of high explosive shells, which fairly churned the earth along the British lines. Sir Douglas Haig was determined to hold the critical salient head at Gheluvelt, although the angle had grown even sharper when regiments north of the village were forced to fall back a mile to the ridge of Klein Zillebeke.

One after the other, regiments whose names have been part of British history for centuries were sent in to stop the Teuton rush along the Ypres-Menin road. The German Emperor urged the attack and had assured his officers that a victory at Ypres would end the war. There can be little question that it would have meant at least the destruction of the British expeditionary army then in France. In addition to the reverses north of Gheluvelt, General Haig's men on the south were driven out of Hollebeke and down on St. Eloi. Supports coming up were soon heavily engaged about Messines.

On Oct. 31, in early morning attacks along the centre of the battle line, two British brigades were driven back and the Coldstream Guards practically destroyed. The entire division in this sector was driven back to the woods beyond Hooge, and this retreat uncovered the flank of the Seventh Division. The Royal Scots Fusiliers, attempting to hold their trenches in the face of overwhelming forces, were completely cut off and annihilated. This battalion had brought over a thousand men to Flanders and mustered seventy when this day's work was done.

General Moussy's battalions from the Ninth French Corps rendered great aid at a critical moment near Klein Zillebeke, and later the French Sixteenth Corps gave greatly needed reinforcement.

Crisis of the Battle

Sir John French has since said that the crisis of the whole campaign was in the middle of the afternoon on this last day of October. The whole British

line had suffered terribly and was undoubtedly very near the breaking point.* Threatened disaster was averted by a magnificent charge by the Second Worcesters supported by the Second Oxford Light Infantry and the field artillery. This counterattack destroyed the German initiative along the line of direct attack on the highway, and by nightfall the British had regained several of the lost positions.

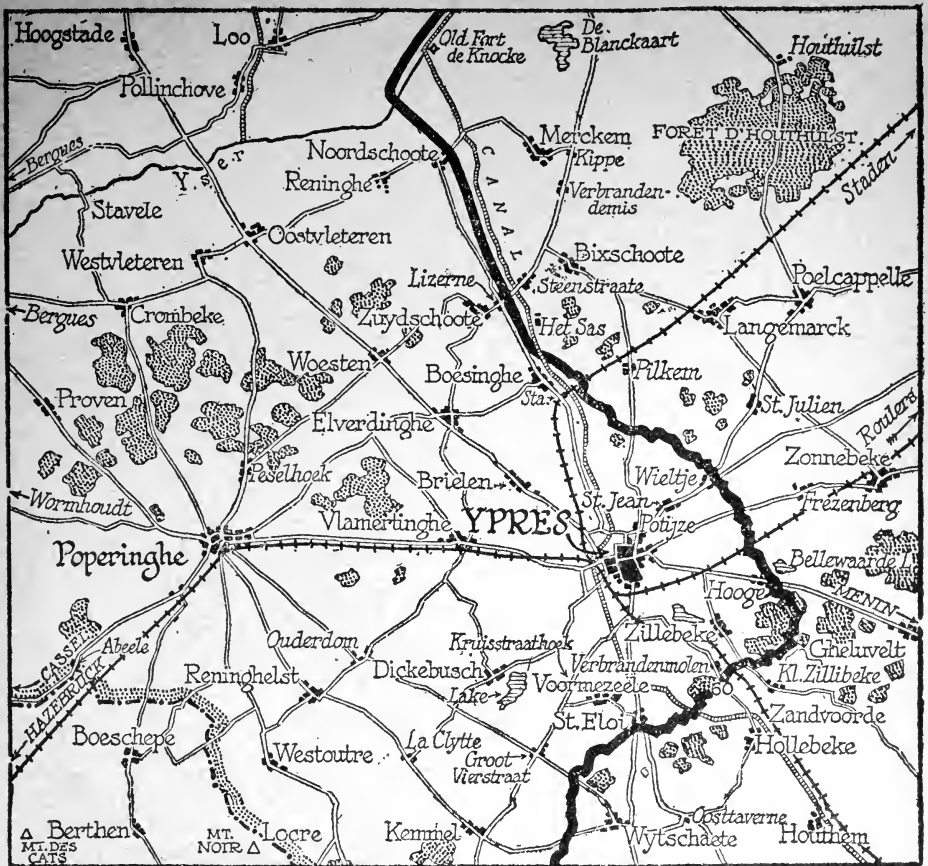
On Sunday, Nov. 1, considerable British and French reinforcements arrived, but a strong German assault won Hollebeke and Messines, which enabled the German gunners to shell Ypres. Wyt-schaete, too, was taken, but recaptured later. The Germans held Messines against continuous counterattacks. In the fighting up to this time the Seventh Division had been reduced from 400 officers and 12,000 men to about 3,000.

On Nov. 6, after a period of heavy artillery attacks, the German infantry attacked the Klein Zillebeke positions, and it required the utmost courage of both British and French to stem the rush. Generals Bulfin and Moussy were the commanders on this hard-fought field, where the honors fell to the British Household Cavalry. The day was won by the First and Second Life Guards and the Blues.

On Nov. 11 the First and Fourth Brigades of the Prussian Guards attacked under the eye of the Emperor and pierced the British lines on the Menin road at several places, but failed to drive the attack home.

While the British had been struggling through these long weeks to hold Ypres, General Dubois with the French Ninth Corps had performed prodigies of valor between Zonnebeke and Bixschoote. Helped by territorial divisions and de Mitry's Second Cavalry Corps, Dubois held Bixschoote against the most violent attacks of great German forces. Regi-

* It is related that the loss of Ypres seemed so imminent that the breech-blocks had actually been taken from the heavy guns to disable them before falling into German hands. Some of the field guns were being moved back from the town.



SCENE OF CLIMAX OF THE BATTLE OF YPRES. THE BLACK LINE INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT AS IT REMAINED FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS AFTERWARD

ment after regiment was hurled to destruction in the effort to win this place, which covered the British forces to the south. The Germans renewed their efforts against the British positions on Nov. 12 and again on the 17th, but by the 20th large French reinforcements came up, and as the Winter storms began the German assaults died down.

This great battle was distinguished by the heroic courage and magnificent professional skill of the finest troops the combatants possessed. New organizations, such as the London Scottish, won undying fame beside the most highly trained professional soldiers of the regular regiments. The Germans employed in the neighborhood of a million men to win the war in this their last great offensive on the western front, and among

that great host were included at least six corps of their first-line troops. Sir Henry Rawlinson's famous Seventh Division of British regulars held the salient in the line against odds estimated at 8 to 1. When finally withdrawn at the end of the battle this division had 44 officers left out of 400.

Battle of Neuve Chapelle

On Dec. 14, 1914, a combined attack by Scotch and French regiments was made upon positions southwest of Wyt-schaete and some small gains made. Earlier in this month the French under Maud'huy carried a fortified château at Vermelles, south of the Bethune-La Bassée Canal, and about the middle of December the Lahore Division of the Indian Army and the Meerut Division of

the same service won temporary successes, but later suffered dangerous reverses in the region of Neuve Chapelle, three miles northwest of La Bassée, and near Festubert, about the same distance west of that point.

A severe battle raged on Dec. 20 about Givenchy, a village in front of Festubert, where both Indian brigades and British regiments were soundly beaten. Sir John French sent strong reinforcements into the firing line, and on the 21st some of the lost ground was retaken. At noon on the 22d Sir Douglas Haig took command in the danger zone, and on that night and the following day the British position was re-established in the various places where the Indian troops had proved unable to withstand the evening's assaults. In the earlier stages of this battle the British forces showed less efficiency and stamina than on any other field in the war. The staff arrangements seem to have been imperfectly planned, and severe losses were due to poor leadership. Disaster threatened at Givenchy until Haig took command and, with British and French troops, saved the day.

The Winter of 1914-15

When the battles near La Bassée ended, the campaign in the north quieted down. To the south in the Argonne the Crown Prince was very active, and a number of minor battles were fought. The French held their own splendidly in this domain of minor tactics, where there was—and, indeed, has continued ever since—inconstant skirmishing which frequently developed into combats of considerable importance. General Sarrail at Verdun held his own, and did more, for gradually his intrenched positions were enlarged on the east front of the fortress in the direction of Metz.

The War in Serbia

Recalling the complete defeat of Austria's first invasion of Serbia in August, we will proceed to a further consideration of this theatre of the war. Austria lost 40,000 men killed and wounded, and 50 guns, in the first attempt at a punitive expedition into the region which had been the cause of the outbreak of the

war. The Russian campaign on the east had necessitated pulling every available soldier out of the Balkans for use on the frontiers of Poland and Galicia, and the Serbs undertook an attack aimed at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. On Sept. 14 the frontier position at Visegrad was captured, and a force which had crossed the Save at night took the town of Semlin on Sept. 6 and silenced batteries which had been bombarding Belgrade.

The Austrians gathered a new army along the Drina, and early in September crossed that river, but on the arrival of Serbian reinforcements were defeated and driven back. The battle continued for ten days, but by the 17th the Austrian attack was definitely repulsed.

Meanwhile the Serbs were unable to make much progress in their attempt on Serajevo, and by the end of October the Austrians resumed the attack, with Nish, to which the Serbian Court had retired, as the main objective. An Austrian army of about 300,000 men invaded Serbia in November and a hard-fought campaign followed among the mountain ridges of the interior, to which Crown Prince Alexander and General Putnik retired.

Early in December the Austrian commander, confident that his invasion was to be an easy victory, sent several corps back to assist in the effort against Russia in the Carpathians. The aged King Peter joined his army. On Dec. 3 and 4 a heavy battle was fought among the ridges of Rudnik and Maljen, and at Ushitza. By the morning of the 6th the Serbs had won a complete and astonishing victory. The Austrians were a routed and broken remnant of an army, hotly pursued all the way to the border by the hardy Serbian veterans. Forty thousand Austrian prisoners were taken, and their casualties were very heavy.

The Serbs recaptured the capital at Belgrade on Dec. 14-15, and the second Austrian attempt to invade the land had ended in complete and disastrous defeat.

The War in Africa

Within the period of Germany's commercial expansion which followed the victories of 1870 a wonderful scheme of foreign colonization had been developed

on the coasts of China, in Polynesia, and especially in Africa. In the Dark Continent vast regions became German colonies or protectorates, and of course this expansion was regarded most jealously by the other European nations, whose arms were already elbow deep in the African grab bag. Germany built roads and railroads, and had apparently started a movement which would in time have made great returns for the large sums spent in development.

On the Atlantic side, Togoland was located above the north shores of the Gulf of Guinea, while the much larger Cameroon lay on the east coast of the same gulf. Southwest Africa was an enormous territory west of the old Boer republic, now absorbed into British South Africa. On the Indian Ocean German East Africa was another huge protectorate whose northern frontier nearly touched the equator, while the southern border touched Mozambique well below the tenth parallel. This colony contained Mount Kilimanjaro, which was first surveyed by the German explorer von der Decken, and the greater part of Lake Victoria Nyanza. There are several good ports on the seacoast, and this colony was one with great possibilities both in mining and agriculture.

Early in August, 1914, a British cruiser captured Lome, the port of Togoland, and the small German garrison retreated into the interior. French and British expeditions invaded the colony from the Gold Coast and Dahomey, and by Aug. 27, after very little fighting, all Togoland had passed into possession of the Allies.

Late in August, Cameroon was invaded by a British column, which met a reverse on the 30th in an attack upon the forts on the Benue River. The British commander and a number of other officers were killed, and nearly half of the native force under their command was lost. Another column, which entered Cameroon from Calabar, after some initial successes was completely routed at Nsanapong in a night attack. The losses here were heavy. On Sept. 27 a mixed Anglo-French force captured the German port at Duala and another

coast town called Bonaberi. British warships from the mouth of the Cameroon River rendered great assistance. By October the Germans had been driven back into the wild interior and the Allies were in complete control of the coast and the rivers.

General Botha's Achievement

In the important colony of German Southwest Africa the Governor abandoned the coast stations early in August, 1914, and concentrated his defense in the interior at Windhoek. When the Parliament of British South Africa met on Sept. 8 skirmishing was in progress along the frontier, and General Botha announced a policy of active aggression against the Germans in the west. Fighting occurred at several places along the Orange River, and on Sept. 18 a British naval expedition captured the seaport at Suderitz Bay. In this colony the Germans had between 5,000 and 10,000 men, with considerable artillery. General Botha raised in the British colonies about 7,000 men, and by the end of September skirmishing was in progress at a number of frontier points. At Sandfontein a small British column was trapped, and after a hard fight the survivors surrendered.

Early in October a rebellion occurred in the northwest section of Cape Province, led by Colonel Maritz, who commanded the British forces in the region, but who had fought on the Boer side in the South African war. Martial law was declared in the British colonies, and in several engagements Maritz, who had a force of about 2,000 men, was completely defeated and driven out of the colony.

A much more serious rebellion developed in the old Orange Free State and the Western Transvaal under such renowned veterans of the Boer war as Generals de Wet and Beyers, assisted by a number of other veteran leaders in South African wars. At Pretoria the burghers rallied to the loyal Botha, who soon raised an army of more than 30,000 fighting men. On Oct. 27 Botha defeated and dispersed the rebels under Beyers and Kemp south of the town of Rustenberg. The defeated forces rallied, and at Lichtenburg defeated a force under

Colonel Alberts, which attempted to cut off the retreat, but after several reverses this section of the rebel army was finally defeated and dispersed by Colonel van der Venter on Nov. 8 at Sandfontein, sixty miles from Pretoria. Another part of the force defeated at Rustenberg had taken refuge in the Orange Free State, led by Beyers and Kemp, who were finally defeated near the junction of the Vaal and the Vet and dispersed toward the wild interior.

The old-time genius of South African fighting had deserted de Wet, and his campaign was short. On Nov. 7, at Doornberg, his force of about 2,000 defeated a Union column under Col. Cronje, and de Wet's son was killed. By Nov. 11 General Botha, having cleared up the Transvaal, began to close in on de Wet's forces and administered a severe defeat to them. After further reverses de Wet and a few faithful adherents were captured on Dec. 1 at Waterberg, a hundred miles west of Mafeking. By the end of December, after a number of engagements with scattered commandoes, the rebellion was practically stamped out. Beyers was drowned while attempting to swim the Vaal. De Wet and Muller were prisoners, and Kemp had escaped into German territory.

German East Africa

In East Africa the Germans had an army which numbered close to ten thousand, of whom perhaps 30 per cent. were white. In British East Africa and Uganda the British forces all told seem not to have exceeded 1,500. On Aug. 13, 1914, a British cruiser bombarded Dar-es-Salam and destroyed the harbor works, and on Lake Nyassa a British steamer attacked German vessels. In September several small battles were fought along the frontier between the German colony and Rhodesia to the south as well as on the frontier to the north bordering British East Africa. Important British reinforcements arrived from India with artillery in time to prevent a German attack upon the British railway from the sea at Mombasa across the colony to Lake Victoria Nyanza. In seven or eight engagements on the coast and along the northern frontier the Ger-

mans were uniformly beaten, and by October their campaign had run its course with only a few minor points occupied on the British side of the line.

The British were content to maintain a successful defense while awaiting further reinforcements promised from India for November. This new expeditionary force arrived on the East African coast on Nov. 1 and proceeded to attack the German port of Tanga, the terminus of the Maschi Railway. An attempt to storm the defenses on Nov. 4 met with a disastrous repulse, in which the British lost 800 men, and the expeditionary army withdrew to the north, where it became an army of observation along the frontier for the next few months.

The Japanese in China

Japan, having declared war upon Germany late in August, 1914, proceeded to capture Germany's well-fortified position at Tsing-tao on the China coast. The Japanese Army, with a peace strength of 250,000 and a war strength of 1,000,000, was, so to speak, at the door of this German post hopelessly remote from European assistance. The powerful Japanese Navy controlled the eastern sea and had doubled in strength since the Russian war. Several British warships co-operated in the attack upon Tsing-tao. The German garrison numbered 5,000 men, occupying an intrenched camp and modernized Brialmont forts with concrete and steel construction. Under naval convoy a strong Japanese force landed, and by the end of September had advanced along the peninsula to a point where their artillery dominated the German forts. A small British force from Wei-hai-Wei landed and co-operated with the Japanese in the reduction of the German fortifications. General Kamio, the Japanese commander, had a heavy siege train of 140 guns, including some 11-inch howitzers, which quite outclassed in range and weight anything possessed by the Germans. The Japanese warships joined in the bombardment, and fort after fort was crushed by heavy shell fire from both land and sea. The Germans finally surrendered on Nov. 10, 1914.

IN THE PATH OF THE GERMAN RETREAT



View of the Once Prosperous Town of Bapaume, Which the German Army Wrecked Before Evacuating It

(Official Press Bureau)



Public Square in Peronne, With Burned and Bombed Houses, and a Unique Message Left by the Departing Germans.

(Medem Photo Service)

RUINS LEFT BY GERMANS IN RETREAT



French Army Engineers at Work in Noyon Repairing Streets
Blown Up by the Departing Germans
(*Underwood & Underwood*)

German Vandalism During the Retreat in France

SINCE November the German military authorities had been preparing to withdraw from the most seriously threatened portions of their lines in France, and on Friday, March 16, 1917, the preparations were complete. The last batteries on the long front between Arras and Soissons were withdrawn that night, though rear guards remained in the trenches, making a show of activity until the following night, when they too withdrew, marching swiftly and silently into the darkness toward the north.

At 8:30 in the evening the last troops left Noyon. The inhabitants were fiercely ordered to remain in their cellars on pain of bombardment. On the morning of Sunday, the 18th, when they timidly emerged there was not a German to be seen. A few moments later a French cavalry patrol trotted cautiously to the edge of the town and was greeted with weeping and cheers by the inhabitants. After two and a half years of exile and slavery they were again in France!

The conduct of the German Army in retreat revealed the fact that it was under orders to devastate the abandoned territory, and the thoroughness with which it acted on these orders has left one of the most sensational records of "frightfulness" in the annals of the great war.

French Note of Protest

The French Government at once charged its representatives in all neutral countries to enter a protest against these "acts of barbarism and devastation." The text of this note, signed by Premier Ribot, is as follows:

The Government of the republic is now gathering the elements of protest which it intends sending to neutral Governments against acts of barbarism and devastation committed by the Germans in French territory which they are evacuating while retreating. At this time I ask you to make known to the Government to which you are accredited that we intend to denounce before

universal judgment the unqualifiable acts indulged in by the German authorities. No motive demanded by military necessities can justify the systematic devastation of public monuments, artistic and historical, as well as public property, accompanied by violence against persons. Cities and villages in their entirety have been pillaged, burned, and destroyed; private homes stripped of all furniture, which the enemy has carried off; fruit trees have been torn up or rendered useless for future production; streams and wells have been poisoned. The inhabitants, relatively few in number, who have not been removed have been left with a minimum of rations, while the enemy seized stocks supplied by the neutral revictualing commission which were destined for the civil population.

You will point out that this concerns not acts destined to hinder the operations of our armies, but of devastation having no connection with this object and having for its purpose the ruin for years to come of one of the most fertile regions of France.

The civilized world can only revolt against this conduct on the part of a nation which wanted to impose its culture on it, but which reveals itself once again as quite close to barbarism still, and, in a rage of disappointed ambition, tramples on the most sacred rights of humanity.

Pillage and Destruction

At the same time the French Government charged that safes had been robbed, notably at Péronne, where a branch of the Bank of France was pillaged and large amounts of stocks and bonds were taken by the departing troops. Press dispatches also stated that securities to the amount of \$3,600,000 were taken from the banks in Noyon. Premier Ribot, who is also Foreign Minister, instructed the representatives of France in neutral countries to warn bankers against having anything to do with these stolen securities, declaring that France and the Allies would not recognize as valid any transaction based upon negotiable paper which the Germans had seized in violation of The Hague Convention.

The region evacuated by the Germans was approximately forty miles long and twenty-five deep, or a total of 1,000

square miles, containing between 350 and 400 towns and villages, and a population of nearly 200,000 before the war. This whole section of the fairest lands in France is described by all eyewitnesses as a vast wreck, a heartrending chaos of burned villages and farms, blasted roads and bridges, felled fruit trees, polluted wells, and looted homes. Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, wrote on March 21:

"The Germans have spared nothing on the way of their retreat. They have destroyed every village in their abandonment with systematic and detailed destruction. Not only in Bapaume and Péronne have they blown up or burned all the houses which were untouched by shellfire, but in scores of villages they laid waste the cottages of poor peasants and all their little farms and all their orchards. At Bethonvillers this morning, to name only one village out of many, I saw how each house was marked with a white cross before it was gutted with fire. The cross of Christ was used to mark the work of the devil, for truly it has been the devil's work.

"Even if we grant that the destruction of houses in the wake of retreat is the recognized cruelty of war there are other things I have seen which are not pardonable, even under that damnable code of morality. In Bapaume and Péronne, in Roye and Nesle and Lianecourt, and all these places over a wide area the German soldiers not only blew out the fronts of houses, but with picks and axes smashed mirrors and furniture and picture frames. As a friend of mine said, a cheapjack would not give fourpence for anything left in Péronne, and that is strictly true also of Bapaume. There is nothing but filth in those two towns. Family portraits have been kicked into the gutters. Black bonnets of old women who once lived in those houses lie about the rubbish heaps and by some strange pitiful freak these are almost the only signs left of the inhabitants who lived here before the Germans wrecked their houses.

"The ruins of houses are bad to see when done deliberately, even when shell-

fire spared them in the war zone, but worse than that is the ruin of women and children and living flesh. I saw that ruin today in Roye and Nesle. I was at first rejoiced to see how the first inhabitants were liberated after being so long in hostile lines. I approached them with a queer sense of excitement, eager to stop with them, but instantly when I saw those women and children in the streets and staring at me out of windows I was struck with the chill of horror. The women's faces were dead faces, shallow and masklike and branded with the memory of great agonies. The children were white and thin, so thin that the cheekbones protruded and many of them seemed to me idiot children. Hunger and fear had been with them too long."

Wells Polluted by Order

Outside of the ruined cities, not only were all the bridges and cross roads blown up with mines—a legitimate military measure to hinder pursuit—but cottages and farmhouses that were once the homes of nearly 100,000 peasant farmers were rendered uninhabitable by means of specially prepared bombs. Written orders were captured which directed the blowing up of all houses, wells, and cellars, except those occupied by rearguards, and these were to be made uninhabitable upon leaving. Farming implements were gathered in heaps and burned, peasants' carts were hacked to pieces, all the spokes of the wheels being cut out, in some cases with infinite labor. Fruit trees everywhere were sawed off near the ground, or, if time pressed, were girdled so as to insure their death. Wherever a house was spared it was rendered filthy.

Every well also was rendered useless by pollution, so that the homeless people were compelled to get all their drinking water in barrels from outside the looted region. This pollution of the wells was also done under German official orders, as demonstrated by a written order found on the battlefield, dated March 14. It was addressed to the Second Squadron, Sixth German Cuirassiers,

Thirty-eighth Division, and gave instructions to this end.

The wife of the village doctor at Nesle, who had housed the German regimental staff, protested to a German Lieutenant against the willful destruction of her furniture. He appeared to regret what his men were doing, but said:

"I cannot do otherwise. It is by command."

A number of German doctors who lodged for months in one of the finest mansions of Roye summoned the aged mistress of the house on the morning of March 16 and said: "We are going, to give Roye back to the French. We hope they will like it." They then went through the house, firing revolvers at the mirrors and smashing furniture in the drawing-room and bedrooms. In many other houses the same scene was repeated, and pictures, clocks, and family papers were carried away.

In Péronne a famous avenue of shade trees was left prostrate, and scarcely a house was undamaged. Not a living human being remained. Péronne was a dead town, like Bapaume, like Ypres, like all the villages in the wake of the German retreat. The first correspondents who penetrated through the chaos to the Grande Place found a large board hung upon a shattered wall and bearing the ironic words: "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern." (Do not be annoyed, only be astonished.) It was the greeting of the departing Germans to the incoming Britons.

Coucy Castle, one of the most splendid remaining relics of the thirteenth century, was utterly blasted from the face of the earth. Nothing is left but a great pile of massive crumpled masonry and pulverized rock of what was one of the strongest and most historic castles of Europe.

So enraged were the French at this act of destruction that they refused to bombard the ruins, where the Germans had intrenched machine gunners. Instead infantry, unsupported by artillery, charged over a plain swept by German machine gun fire and wrenched the sacred spot from the enemy.

Before they left, the Germans boasted to the French inhabitants that thirty tons of explosives were used to destroy the castle. Pieces of its ancient masonry were spread over 10,000 square yards. Not a vestige remains of the great tower which Cardinal Mazarin's engineers vainly tried to blow up in the seventeenth century. Coucy Castle had been set aside as a historical museum.

Pitiful Streams of Fugitives

A correspondent who accompanied the French Army in its advance from Noyon, Chauny, and Tergnier, on March 21, wrote that the path of the retreating Germans was marked with the smoke of burning farms for fifteen miles. Along the road back from Tergnier and Noyon poured an unending stream of refugees from these blazing farms and villages. Nearly all were women—pitiful in their destitution, a few scant pieces of clothing saved and strapped on their backs, or pushing baby carriages, or wheelbarrows with tiny tots tucked therein. Younger children clung to their skirts or themselves toddled along under the weight of bundles.

"Their stories were all alike. For weeks before the retreat started the Germans herded all inhabitants before them from village to village. When the final movement came for the Germans to leave they sacked the houses. The soldiers carried off everything eatable and burned the villages before the eyes of the refugees. Then they departed, leaving the villagers homeless and foodless.

"A few hours later, when the Germans believed the French troops had arrived, they began shelling the villages they had pillaged and left, despite their knowledge of thousands of innocent civil inhabitants still there. Seven thousand women and children suffered this experience at Chauny alone. The village was under bombardment at the moment I arrived. The French Red Cross crews, with their litters, who had pushed forward afoot, were carrying off women and children wounded during the shell fire.

"The German retreat has been marked by insensate destruction. Aside from

the burning of farms and villages, the blowing up of church doors and altars and the like, the wanton destruction was carried to such an extent that I walked through twenty miles of farms and fields where every orchard tree had either been hewn down or—if the French arrived before this job of destruction could be completed—the trees were sufficiently hacked to insure their death.

"The Germans stripped every village of all metal. They tore tin gutters and plumbing from all houses, took off the metal roofs; pilfered the churches of clocks and bells. Not one escaped—from the cathedral at Noyon to the humblest of wayside churches.

"At Noyon, owing to the concentration of 10,000 women and children, the Germans promised to leave the American commission sufficient supplies to feed the refugees. Nevertheless, departing patrols sacked the American commission storehouses, carrying off all eatables. Then they dynamited the building and finally diverted water from the canal into the village. Part of the city was flooded and ruined in this fashion. The population of Noyon said they had not eaten a scrap of meat in eighteen months."

Took Away Many Captives

In leaving the evacuated territory the Germans carried with them all the able-bodied men and boys above 16 years, and all women and girls older than 15 years who were able to work. A French official communication mentions the taking of fifty women and girls from Noyon. On Feb. 17 they had removed 423 from Nesle. While taking away the fit population throughout the evacuated region, the invaders sent back hundreds of the aged and infirm from St. Quentin and other towns behind their new lines.

"Many of these French boys and old men," says an Associated Press correspondent, "had been compelled to work in the German trenches, where they said they also met many Belgians and Russians, the latter, of course, being prisoners of war. It was asserted that one of the reasons for the wholesale deportation of Belgians was the necessity for

this labor in constructing the new positions to which the Germans have fallen back. The Germans wished to spare the soldiers from this work and so employed these unwilling civilians and prisoners."

Village Priest's Narrative

In the ruined village of Voyennes, not far from the now demolished Fortress of Ham, a priest told of the spiritual agonies through which his people had passed, culminating in the sacking of their homes by the departing enemy.

"We could get no news for months except lies," he said. "We knew nothing of what was happening. Starvation crept closer upon us. We were surrounded by the fires of hell for fifty hours at a time. The roar of guns swept around us week after week, and month after month, and the sky blazed around us. We were afraid of the temper of the German officers.

"After the defeat on the Marne and after the battles of the Somme Germany was like a wounded tiger, fierce, desperate, cruel. Secretly, although our people kept brave faces, they feared what would happen if the Germans were forced to retreat. At last that happened, and after all we had endured the day of terror was hard to bear.

"From all the villages around, one by one, the people were driven out, the young women and men as old as 60 were taken away to work for Germany, and the orderly destruction began which ended with the cutting down of our little orchards and ruin everywhere.

"The commandant before that was a good man and a gentleman, afraid of God and his conscience. He said: 'I do not approve of these things; the world will have a right to call us barbarians.' He asked for forgiveness because he had to obey orders, and I gave it to him.

"An order came to take away all the bells of churches and all metal work. I had already put my church bells in the loft, and I showed them to him and said, 'There they are.' He was very sorry. This man was the only good German officer I have met, and it was because he had been fifteen years in America, and had married an American wife and es-

caped from the spell of his country's philosophy. Then he went away.

"Last Sunday a week ago, at this very house, when our people all were in their houses under strict orders and already the country was on fire with burning villages, a group of soldiers came outside there with cans of petroleum, which they put into the church. Then they set fire to it and watched my church burn in a great bonfire. That night the Germans went away through Voyennes, and early in the morning, up in my attic, looking through a pair of glasses, I saw four horsemen ride in. They were English soldiers, and our people rushed out to them. Our agony had ended."

Ambassador Sharp's Report

The full extent of this German ruthlessness was confirmed by Ambassador Sharp in a report made to the Washington Government after a journey of 100 miles through the devastated territory. The State Department made public the following summary of the document:

"A telegram from the American Ambassador at Paris, dated April 1, states that upon the invitation of the French Government he visited on March 31 many of the French towns recently retaken in the invaded territory. He was accompanied by one of the Military Attachés to the embassy. He found that the various reports circulated in France, which have appeared in American newspapers, in regard to the deplorable condition were in no way exaggerated.

"In the larger towns of Roye, Ham, and particularly in the attractive and thriving town of Chauny, destruction was complete. In many of the other smaller villages scarcely a house remains with roof intact. Throughout the reconquered territory there reigns a scene of desolation, and this is not only true where German military operations might possibly excuse destruction in the blow-

ing up of bridges, telegraphic and telephonic connections, railway lines, and the blocking of highways by felling trees which protected the German retreat, but towns were totally destroyed for no apparent military reasons.

"Fruit trees had either been cut down or exploded so as to ruin them completely; private houses along the country highway, including some of the most beautiful châteaux of great value, were completely gutted by explosives systematically planted or by fire. Blackened walls of what must have been manufacturing plants were to be seen in many towns, the salvage of which would scarcely pay for their removal. Agricultural implements in farms were destroyed, churches and cathedrals were reduced to a mass of ruins by fire or by explosives.

"At the town of Ham the mother of six children told him that her husband and two daughters, one 18 and the other 15 years of age, had been carried away by the Germans at the time of the evacuation. Upon remonstrating she had been told that as an alternative she might find their bodies in the canal in the rear of her house. She stated that out of the town's total population several hundred people had been compelled to accompany the Germans, nearly half of whom were girls and women over 15 years of age. A large number of French people, it is believed, in the evacuated towns and surrounding country were compelled to go with the Germans from the fact that few are now to be found there.

"He inspected on the trip more than 100 miles in the invaded territory and left with the conviction that never before in the history of the world had there been such a thorough destruction wrought by either a vanquished or victorious army."

[Continued on next page]



Germany's Defense of Destructive Policy

A HIGH German military authority at Berlin explained in a press interview on March 20 that the retirement to new lines was a strategic move to spoil the Allies' Winter preparations for a great Spring drive, and that the laying waste of the abandoned territory was a military measure.

"I regret exceedingly," he said, "that this move is forcing a great destruction of a beautiful part of France. Yet the destruction is not so great as the devastation inflicted by the British and the French on the Somme battlefield, and when the Entente refused our peace proposal it took the responsibility of this destruction upon itself. It is a war measure. We are compelled to take it to carry out a military plan to meet the big offensive the Entente had planned. We have destroyed nothing except out of military necessity. We have saved everything we could. We did not wish to destroy homes or other structures which offered no military advantage to the enemy, but we had to make a battlefield out of the territory we were giving up, for in it fighting will now take place, and we could leave nothing in the hands of the enemy. So we were forced to destroy roads, railroads, wells, buildings of value for military purposes, depots, even whole cities. It has been hard, too, for the French population, but that is the fault of their Government. All the men of military age we took back with us. The remainder we have turned over to their countrymen, and they are now in French hands.

"I know we will be accused again of barbarism, but we are fighting for our existence. We were compelled by the refusal of the Entente to make peace to defend ourselves against their promised offensive. We have done everything we could to avoid needless suffering, but what happens is their fault, not ours."

Allied Preparations Foiled

On the same day the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger's correspondent at the west front wrote a semi-official account treating the whole subject more fully in the same key.

"To their hunger war," he wrote, "the Entente forces intended to add a new offensive of which the hell of Verdun and the bloody horror of the Somme were to be only foretastes. Once more they wanted to try it; they felt it must succeed. Therefore they armed themselves anew. They set up new divisions after divisions, new batteries after batteries; heaped up ammunition on ammunition all Winter. America and Japan kept sending over their iron-freighted giant ships. Our foes gathered together all possible war material for their colossal army. They had the whole world in its service to be strong for the decisive struggle.

"Our enemies did more. For months past they had built and built. A thick network of railroads and roads was constructed from deep in their country to their positions. At one word of command fresh material from the depots in the hinterland and fresh masses of troops could pour through a thousand arteries to the fire front. And they supplemented these lines of approach by a system of tracks paralleling their lines.

"The idea was to give their front an almost unlimited inner mobility. For example, the troop masses that yesterday stood on the English left wing were to be able suddenly to appear today in the centre or south of the Somme and be thrown into battle there to our consternation. A network of communications at their back was to make it possible for them at any time in this second Somme battle, which was finally to break our wall in the Spring, to rapidly shift their forces and with completely surprising power to change the point of attack according to the conditions of battle. And not only the troops but artillery ammunition depots and war material depots were through this system of railways to receive unprecedented mobility.

"The working strength of millions of men in France, England, and overseas has for months had only one creative goal—to build the foundation for the crushing blow—and the thought that the enemy might be able to avert this fate

probably never occurred to them. The German highest leadership, which had no intention of leaving the initiative to the foe, thought otherwise, however.

"The aim of our leadership was to create a wholly new situation and thereby be spared the colossal bloodshed which an offensive against the enemy's Somme positions would have entailed. Our leadership found the way to render null and void all the preparations of our enemies, and which in front of the new rearward positions at the same time gave us a free, wide-open battleground.

"Our retreat from the old positions on the Ancre and the Somme has frustrated the whole of the planned great French and English Spring offensive against our centre. The enemy, advancing behind us, finds a zone which has been prepared by us as a battle glacis in front of our new positions.

"A Kingdom of Death"

"Every German who knows the character and sensibilities of our highest leaders knows that it was no easy decision for them to make the terrain, which for two and a half years we had carefully spared, now ruthlessly serviceable for military purposes. But here there were greater things at stake than considerations for part of a country which had refused us peace. Here the guiding principle for our military decisions could only be that which would bring us the greatest advantages, and for the enemy the most frightful disadvantage.

"Therefore, in the course of the last month great strips of France were converted by us into a dead land, which, ten, twelve to fifteen kilometers broad, stretches in front of the whole length of

our new positions and offers a ghastly wall of emptiness for every enemy who designs to get at them. No village, no hamlet, remains standing in this glacis—no street remains traversable; no bridge, no railway tracks, no railroad embankment, remains. Where once were woods, only stumps are left. The wells have been blown up; wires and cables destroyed. Like a vast band, a kingdom of death stretches before our new positions. And this is the terrain over which the enemy must now attack us.

"No cellar that might serve his troops for shelter remains from which he might build. All our own material was long ago removed, and all local sources from which they might be obtained have been annihilated. The giant trees lining the chaussées have been felled and lie across the roads, and the meadows were plowed up in the early rain; cannon that would attempt to pass here would be swallowed up.

"To be sure, this had to entail hardship for the once beautiful country and for its inhabitants. The men who are leading us through the last phase of the war to victory have done everything humanly possible to soften the lot of the inhabitants. Many of them, including all men and youths capable of working, were sent to the rear, for no man capable of carrying arms was to be allowed to swell the line of enemy forces.

"On the other hand, such women, children, and old men as desired to return to France were brought to a number of villages, including Noyon and Roye, lying beyond the devastated area, and which were spared by us as much as possible."

An Eyewitness in Devastated France

By Wythe Williams

War Correspondent of The New York Times

One of the most vivid and moving accounts of the German retreat in France was Mr. Williams's special cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES on March 27, 1917, the historical portions of which are here presented.

WHEN entering the reconquered territory, setting forth from Compiègne early in the morning, my first impression was of the enormous

strength of the positions the Germans had evacuated. It was my first sight of German trenches that had not suffered from shell fire, and to compare them

with the French lines was most interesting. There was a definite space of shell-marked cleavage between the former French lines and the first German outposts. After that came the German first-line trench and a marvelous system of communicating trenches back to their second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, to the twentieth line of formidable defense, known as the Hindenburg line.

Their main lines were of solid concrete. I would have sworn they were impregnable had I not such vivid proof of what happened to similar German trenches on the Somme after the battering of French artillery. Their communication trenches were a marvel of ingenuity—line after line of them running across the main lines and so connected that reinforcements or supplies could be rushed from half a dozen places to almost every main position. Between this and between every defensive trench line there is nothing but one unbroken mass of barbed wire. As far as the eye could see for a distance of miles after I entered what was German territory until a week ago there was one unending vista of rusted wire entanglements. There was something psychological about it. On the French side there are also complete systems of defensive lines that stretch all the way back to Paris, but they are not so visible—there are great open stretches of country between. On the German side it seemed that everything they did was to perfect a defense; that they realized a long time ago that an offensive on that front was impossible, and that against a French offensive they could only prepare to go back yard by yard as best they could.

Barbed Wire Ten Miles Deep

For a distance of probably ten miles this barrier of barbed wire extends in solid formation. Then come stretches of free country to where probably the tenth or eleventh defense line appears, and so on. It is behind this main area of entanglements that the systematic devastation begins. Leading directly back from what was the French front, the Germans only committed such destruction as any retreating army might do to keep off rearguard

attacks. Every road was blown to pieces—now, however, all filled and planked—every telegraph pole prone on the ground, and every rod of railway destroyed.

Beyond all this, however, lies Germany's everlasting shame and disgrace. Acts that had not the slightest military value were committed on every hand. The whole country lies waste and desolate beyond description, and not a German living today or in years to come can ever be clever or brilliant or logical or false enough to tell the reason why and have the world believe him. Ten thousand inhabitants of the country who were left behind are living witnesses that they existed these past years in a bondage worse than galley slaves. And if the testimony is not enough, let the German placards upon the remaining dead walls of these corpses of cities bear them out:

That every person above the age of twelve should always salute officers by politely removing their hats and bowing as they passed or suffer the penalty of imprisonment.

That they should live how and where their masters pleased, that their women should cook for them and wait upon them and serve them in any way desired.

That they might only walk certain streets at certain hours.

That they were forbidden to possess either money or food except at the German will.

The penalty in all these cases was death.

Lived Only by Outside Aid

I asked the same question a dozen times throughout the trip, how the civil population managed to live at all. Every time I received the same answer, which was:

"We would have starved except for the food sent by the American Relief Committee."

In reply to a question concerning the kinds of food received, I was shown empty tins that had contained American crackers and canned goods. When I asked what sort of meat, I received the invariable response:

"The Americans sent lots of things, but everything like that the Germans took for themselves."

This naturally led to questions concerning how the German soldiery fared,

and the unanimous response was that neither officers nor men fed any too well; that the pinch of hunger now afflicting the entire empire has fastened itself as well on the army.

As we approached the ruined villages * * * we saw what ghastly hand had been at work. The solid brick and stone walls of the houses were only shells concealing charred ruins. Not only one village is like that, nor a dozen, but every single one of the hundreds that have been liberated has been put to fire and sword, old men, old women, cripples, and children left to await the arrival of their own soldiery to care for them; their able-bodied men taken into bondage months ago, their young women and girls herded along with the retreating army to a slavery no one dares to think about without seeing red. And at every village the same message was left behind for the French soldiers when they arrived. Translated, it reads like this:

"You see what we have done here. Well, this is what is going to happen all the way back to the French frontier."

Is it any wonder that the French soldier telling me this said between clenched teeth:

"There is only one answer to that, my friend. Let them get down on their knees and pray when the French Army crosses the Rhine. We will be taking no prisoners on that day."

The Countryside Devastated

The aspect of the villages is sad enough, but the countryside is worse. I have seen so much of artillery destruction during this war that I confess I have been rather sated with ruins. A destroyed church, a house ripped clean to its foundations, is only another example of what I have seen dozens of times before. But a countryside that has so little left of it as that one I passed through is a sight that made me want to cry and fight at the same time. It has already been reported how orchards have been destroyed. I rather expected that this had happened just along the roads by which the army retreated. But with field glasses I could see far in on either side of every road for miles and miles; every

farm is burned, fields destroyed, every garden and every bush uprooted, every tree sawed off close to the bottom. It was a terrible sight, and seemed almost worse than the destruction of men. Those thousands of trees prone upon the earth, their branches waving in the wind, seemed undergoing death agonies before our eyes.

Everything gave its share to the blood lust of hate. Churches gave their organs for their copper, also the brass rails of their altars, even crucifixes upon ruined walls were stripped down and torn asunder.

We passed through the remnant of a place called Porquéricourt. An old woman came to a broken doorway. We stopped to talk with her. She smiled at sight of the French uniforms of our officers. She lived on a farm a mile away. The Germans had passed in the night and burned it so that she had come to Porquéricourt to hide in the cellar of a friend. Her husband and brother, both old men, had been killed by the Germans during the retreat, her two sons led off to slavery the year before. One of them had come back, but had been seized again only a few weeks before.

Her three daughters had been with her at the farm the night that the Germans retreated. They had fled with her to the house of her friend, from where they saw their own home of a lifetime in flames. The girls were 19, 21, and 24 years old. The Germans had found them in Porquéricourt and had taken them away. That was eight days before. She had heard nothing of them since. All other young women had likewise vanished that night when the Germans went away.

She told her story simply in a low, unflinching voice. But she sulked as she spoke of her daughters.

Cemetery Left Intact

We left just at nightfall. On the outskirts we came upon the only thing I can now remember in all that scene on all that day which the Germans did not destroy as they fled. It was a cemetery built by themselves for their soldier dead. It was magnificently made, upon a magnificent site, overlooking a great valley. The graveyards I have seen behind the

allied lines cannot compare with it. Instead of wooden crosses and painted names and dates it contained monuments and crosses of engraved marble, done in all the heavy but splendid style of modern Teuton art. The place was organized and carried out with all the perfection of detail and display in which Germany has proved herself. The monuments bore sonorous and lofty mottoes. On one, beneath a helmeted statue in white, was the inscription that there lay a Prince of the house of Mecklenburg, who had died for his country, and on either side, likewise marble, rested all that was mortal of simple German soldiers.

I walked down another path, and before a gigantic marble block I halted in surprise. The inscription read: "Here lie French warriors," and over the next grave was the inscription: "Here rests the body of a brave Frenchman." I asked myself what was I to think of these people who should show such respect to French dead and place them in the same place as their own. I knew the French did that in their graveyards, but here I was in a German graveyard, and I had been hating Germans all day. I had failed to find anything about them that was good or could be admired, but here in this graveyard, perhaps, after all I had found some of that spirit of Heine, Goethe, and Schiller.

I voiced my thought to a French Lieutenant who accompanied me. We were

standing by a large monument in the centre of the graveyard. It was a noble figure of a woman in a long robe. In one hand she carried a tablet, and from the other stretched out a wreath. I read the inscription on the tablet: "Friend and enemy in death united."

Silently we walked out of the place and stood in the road. A long line of motor camions was passing. I looked into the rear ends as they lumbered along. From them the faces of old women, crippled old men, and children peered out at us, all looking white and frightened in the dark. A miserable pile of bedding and a hamper of broken crockery and kitchenware was strapped outside one of them. From another dangled an old and broken baby buggy. Inside I could see a mother with her child at her breast. My companion said:

"They are inhabitants who can no longer remain; their homes are gone. We cannot feed them there; we are sending them to Paris."

He laughed bitterly and pointed back to the statue that loomed white through the darkness. He repeated the inscription on the tablet:

"Friend and enemy in death united." He said: "They had the nerve to put that up in France—but it's quite true."

I understood and I believed him. In death the Frenchman and the German may be united, but that is the only way it is ever likely to happen.

Military Results of Germany's Move

GENERAL VON HINDENBURG was present in person behind the old front in France as late as March 10 and arranged the details for the withdrawal to the new line of fortified defenses, which had been in preparation for months. The orders for devastation of the abandoned territory came through him. Judged purely from the viewpoint of military strategy, what are the advantages of the new situation for Germany?

The plans and preliminary stages of the retirement were successfully con-

cealed from the Allies for days and weeks, so that all the heavy guns were removed safely to their new positions and all the main bodies of troops and their supplies were out of danger when the move became known. The Germans, however, miscalculated as to the speed with which the enemy would be able to pursue the rearwards. The fact that they left five days' food with some of the inhabitants seems to give a measure of the time they had allowed for the arrival of French or British troops through the chaos they had cre-

ated. As a matter of fact the French, especially, performed marvels of swift engineering work, throwing temporary bridges over streams, building pathways around deep craters at crossroads, and deflecting their march through fields where necessary, almost with the speed of an ordinary march. Time after time they came upon the heels of the German rearguards before they were expected. Thus the military purpose of the desolation was a failure.

What the Germans Abandoned

All those who have looked upon the impregnable positions abandoned by the Germans, especially at Péronne, with Mont St. Quentin on its flank, agree that no new line can equal it in strength. Only dire necessity could have caused the evacuation of the vast barbed wire fortifications and marsh protection at that point. A British correspondent thus describes the abandoned defenses:

"Everywhere outside Bapaume and Péronne and Chaulnes and all those deserted places near the front lines one ugly thing stares one in the face—German barbed wire. It is heavier and stronger stuff than the British or French wire, with great crosspieces of iron. They used amazing quantities of it in great wide belts in the three lines of defense before these trench systems and in all sorts of odd places, by bridges and roads and villages, even far behind the trenches, to prevent any sudden rush of hostile infantry or to tear British cavalry to pieces should they break their lines and get through.

"The German trenches are deeply dug, and along the whole line from which they have now retreated they are provided with great concreted and timbered dug-outs leading into an elaborate system of tunneled galleries, perfectly proof from shell fire, and similar to those which I

described often enough in the Somme battlefields. But in addition to these trench systems, they made behind their lines a series of strong posts, cunningly concealed and commanding a wide field of fire, with dominating observation over the British side of the country."

The Hindenburg Line

A high military official at Berlin explained on March 20 that the new positions which the German Army was taking up were built with the aid of every possible device developed in two and a half years of trench warfare.

"The old positions," he said, "were the result of the breaking off of the unfinished offensive toward Paris. Many portions of our positions were held only with the greatest difficulty. The trenches were difficult to maintain and the artillery observation points, so important in this kind of warfare, were few. The new positions are laid out in the best possible locations, with the finest observation points and deep concrete shelters for the battery positions. While the enemy is coming up to them he will be in the greatest possible difficulties himself in the devastated battlefield."

To this a British correspondent, who has talked with German prisoners, replies that the people may be deceived by such statements, but not the German soldiers at the front. "They know they have left the strongest positions ever made in warfare by years of labor, and already the fictitious strength of the famous 'Hindenburg line,' called by the Germans themselves the 'Siegfried line,' has been exposed in its reality to the men who have to hold it."

The new German line has already been pierced at several points by both the British and French Armies in the first month of its fiery ordeal.



French Heroes of the Air

Daring Deeds at the Front

Victor Forbin recently contributed to *Les Annales* of Paris this romantic yet authentic sketch of the deeds of French military aviators

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

Mastery of the air over the trench lines in France is as necessary for victory as the capture of territory. During the months of the Somme battle the Allies succeeded in gaining almost complete control of the air, and their artillery fire was correspondingly successful, while that of the Germans was blinded. The Germans, however, reported the destruction of 1,002 enemy aircraft between the beginning of the war and Jan. 1, 1917. French military records show that 417 German machines were shot down in the year 1916, besides twenty-nine captive balloons. All figures aside, the fact remains that the Allies have long held a large degree of aerial supremacy, and in the opening days of the new Spring offensive, when their whole air fleet was mobilized to photograph the German positions, they came off with 1,700 photographs. It was a victory, even though it cost from a dozen to a score of airplanes and their brave crews every day until the task was accomplished. The article here presented gives an idea of the perilous nature of the task of these men.

THIS hasty sketch will deal only with the aviators who have won the honor of personal mention in the War Office bulletins. It would be impossible to speak of all our

of those aviators who have shot down a minimum of five enemy machines—airplanes, dirigibles, or captive balloons, [which the Germans call Drachen and the French sausages.] In the ranks of our "fifth arm" these laureates form a clearly defined group—they are called the "Aces of the War Office bulletins."

Philologists will be grateful to us for noting that this expressive word had been adopted by the sporting argot even before the war. In the boat-racing world the word "ace" was applied to oarsmen who pulled single shells. According to our esteemed contemporary, *Sporting*, it was during the Olympic games of 1908, held in London, that the term was applied for the first time in its present sense. M. Spitzer, who took part in these tournaments as trainer of a team, heard French runners cry, as they left the field where the American champions had just stupefied them with their swiftness, "Why, they're all aces!"

The team that counted such trumps among its cards was bound to win. And the word found favor. In all sports the champions became "aces."

It is indispensable to note that the official communiqué takes account only of enemy machines whose destruction is beyond question, whether they fall within our lines or have been seen to fall in flames within the enemy's lines. Our score sheets, therefore, are sincere, while



LIEUTENANT GYNERMER
WHO HAS SHOT DOWN MORE THAN THIRTY
GERMAN AIRCRAFT

(© International Film Service)

heroes of the air, both because they are too numerous and because the censor would forbid our printing most of their names. It should be remembered that the press is allowed to print only the names

those of Germany are erroneous. To illustrate this difference we will compare the record of our "Prince of aces," Lieutenant George Guynemer, with that of the most brilliant of the German aviators, Captain Boelcke, who was killed on Oct. 28, 1916, probably by a French or British aviator, although his compatriots, who had dubbed him "The Invincible," assert that he was the victim of an accident.

The communiqué credits Guynemer (in February, 1917) with the destruction of only thirty machines, though he has certainly shot down thirty-four, of which four fell so far from our lines that it was impossible to get material proof of their destruction. If it were permissible to add to these figures those of enemy machines which he put to flight after having visibly damaged them, the record of Guynemer would exceed forty.

Rival Records Compared

Boelcke is officially credited with forty machines, but the editor of *La Guerre Aérienne*, Jacques Mortane, has revealed several gross errors in the record of the celebrated aviator. For example, the German official communication of April 30, 1916, gives him his fortieth machine, whereas the pilot who steered it—the marshal of the camp, Viallet—returned safe and sound to his aerodrome. On March 19 and 20 of that year the German War Office bulletins credited Boelcke with three machines, designating the points in the French lines where they fell. Now, a French communiqué states clearly that in the course of that same month of March only one French airplane was shot down within our lines. Another fact must not be forgotten: Among the forty victories attributed officially to Boelcke eleven have not been mentioned in any bulletin. They are therefore open to suspicion.

At the moment of writing this article the "Aces of the War Office bulletins" number twenty-five, a figure which the coming days will modify, for there are numerous aviators with four victories to their credit who are watching impatiently for their fifth machine, a certificate

of public fame. Here is the list of the laureates up to Feb. 5, 1917:

Second Lieutenant Guynemer, 30 machines; Second Lieutenant Nungesser, 21; Lieutenant Heurteaux, 19; Adjudant Dorme, 17; Second Lieutenant Navarre, 12; Lieutenant Deullin, 10; Sergeant Chainat, 9; Second Lieutenants Chaput, Tarascon, Under Officer Sauvage, 8; Under Officer Viallet, 7; de la Tour, Lufbery, Sayaret, Flachaire, Jailler, Lose, de Bonnefoy, Bloch, Vitalis, Martin, Delorme, Gastin, Hauss, Madon, 5.

This list includes only the "aces" who are living and in active service. We will complete it with the names of Adjudant Maxime Lenoir, who was made prisoner when he shot down his eleventh machine; Second Lieutenant de Rochefort, who died of wounds after bringing down his sixth enemy; the deeply mourned Pégoud, who died on the field of honor after his sixth airplane; and Second Lieutenant Gilbert, who had scored five aerial victories when he was interned in Switzerland.

A comparison of this list with that of the German "aces" leads to some interesting observations. For example, one of the Germans, Kandulski, received the honor of mention by the War Office for one isolated victory. True, it was one of importance; the victim was Pégoud, whom Sergeant Ronserail avenged a few days later by bringing down Kandulski. Of the sixteen German aviators cited in the Berlin bulletins nine were killed in the year 1916, while the French phalanx lost only three units in that year.

Laureates of the Air

Space is lacking here to sketch the biographies of our francs-tireurs of the air, but a few lines may be given to note their status before the war. Of the twenty-five names on the list just given, the great majority were unknown, even in the sporting world, during the first ten months of the war. A few exceptions may be cited from memory: Second Lieutenant Jean Chaput had distinguished himself in the races of the Racing Club of France; Camp Marshal

Vitalis was a champion in pigeon-shooting contests; Second Lieutenant Nungesser had participated in boxing matches in America, after having taken lessons of Descamps, the instructor of Carpentier.

Sporting men are numerous in the phalanx of "aces." To the three names just mentioned we may add those of Adjutant Bloch, amateur football player; Sergeant Chainat, noted as a pugilist, and Adjutant Luffbery, an American expert in baseball, the national sport of his country.

All the arms—infantry, cavalry, artillery—have representatives on our list, and men of the most diverse social classes fraternize there—professional army officers, civil engineers, mechanics. The standing of those laureates of the air is dazzling; they have heroism and glory by the armful. Let us glance, to begin with, at the laurels of the "ace of aces," Guynemer, whom the councils of revision had removed from the army, and who had to ask five separate times for admission into the aviation corps—and was admitted then only through official protection. To baptize his stripes as a Corporal he shot down his first German airplane on July 19, 1915, destroyed two others in the next six days, and then in a single battle sent three enemy machines crashing to earth!

Guynemer has to his credit whole series of deeds that are epoch-making. In three weeks—from the 4th to the 23d of September, 1916—he added to his score seven machines, four of which figured in the official announcements. Indeed, Sept. 23 was a red-letter day in his eventful life, for on that day he attacked a squadron of enemy aircraft, drove one machine to earth, and set two others on fire in less than three minutes. Then a bursting shell damaged his machine, and he took a slide of 10,000 feet without receiving a scratch!

Two months later he added two fine double feats to his score. On Nov. 10 he shot down two aircraft; on the 23d, in an hour and a half, he found time to destroy two others at different points on the front, and to inflict serious damage upon a third.

Nungesser's Dramatic Record

The career of Nungesser is no less remarkable. Serving in a regiment of hussars, he conducted himself so valiantly that he won the Military Medal two weeks after the opening of the campaign. Then he entered the aviation corps and took part in numerous bombing expeditions. Finally he specialized in the pursuit of enemy machines, and on Nov. 28, 1915, made a brilliant début by bringing down a German airplane. The next month, while trying a new machine, he came crashing to the ground; with a fractured leg, a broken jaw, and a hole in his palate, he could say good-bye to aviation, if he survived at all. But he did survive, refused to be laid on the shelf, and begged to be allowed to take part in the defense of Verdun. He could no longer walk, except painfully, with the aid of canes. Now mark the intrepid work of the cripple! Think of his achievements in April, 1916. What a fine lesson in energy and endurance!

On April 1 Nungesser rejoined his squadron; on the 2d he burned a German "sausage"; on the 3d he attacked and brought down an airplane; on the 4th he attacked and shot down a double-motor machine with four passengers; on the 25th he brought down a machine that fell on the trenches near Verdun; on the 27th he accepted battle with six airplanes, shot down one of them, and put the others to flight.

In nine months—from April to December, 1916—he destroyed twenty enemy aircraft, which brought his total score of victories to twenty-one.

One of the most brilliant careers in the world of military aviation is that of Adjutant Dorme, whose comrades call him the Unbreakable, so impervious does he seem to the enemy's bullets. He began, however, with a fall that almost cost him his life. But he recovered and arrived at the front on July 6, 1916. On the 9th he shot down his first airplane, and his second on the 28th. In the following month he destroyed six and received the honors of public mention. By the end of Septem-

ber his official score had reached ten, and in October thirteen. But in reality he had, in those four months, put twenty-six enemy aircraft out of action.

Sub-Lieutenant Navarre, with his four aircraft brought down in eight hours, (April 4, 1916,) established a record which no one has thus far taken away from him. During that same month of April his record was increased by eight more official victories.

Chaput's Amazing Escape

Another record, less brilliant, perhaps, but certainly more sensational, and at the same time more scientific, belongs to Second Lieutenant Jean Chaput. As an engineer in the Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité, Chaput had just won his brevet as pilot at Nieuport when the war broke out. Thrown into aviation as a soldier-pilot, he was twice wounded in combats with the dreaded Fokkers, but soon got his revenge by shooting down his first Boche in June, 1915. Other victories succeeded this beginning. On March 18, 1916, above Montzéville, he joined battle with a machine much better armed and more powerful than his own. Suddenly, after an exchange of shots, the German dashed down upon him in order to crush him.

We learn from a friend of the aviator that a few days earlier, in talking with comrades, he had foreseen the case in which he might be forced to approach an enemy in order to "get inside of him," as the familiar phrase has it. He had declared that he would escape alive from such a dangerous approach. He had his plan. This plan, elaborated by the engineer, was put into practice by the aviator.

Putting his motor at full speed, Chaput threw himself into the meeting with the German, and then, at the moment of approach, moved his levers and manoeuvred his machine in such a manner that his screw tore into the enemy's fuselage, cutting off the rear end. The German pilot fell whirling with his machine, which burst into flame, while his passenger went crashing into the ground nearly two miles below. The conqueror got back to earth by volplaning on his

seriously damaged machine, and landed without injury, amid the cheers of hundreds of poilus who had witnessed his dazzling achievement.

The next month Chaput was attacked by a Fokker and brought it down with the fourth ball from his machine gun, whose bands jammed at that point. He burned a "sausage" at Douaumont, and then, in the space of five days, added four airplanes (two in the same day) to his score. He had just finished off his ninth official machine when a fight near Verdun almost put an end to his career. With his thigh fractured and a bullet through his shoulder, he yet had the superhuman courage to fly more than twenty-five miles in order to alight near an ambulance, where he knew he would find a skilled surgeon.

This sang froid, remarkable in a young man of 22 years grievously wounded, had its reward; a very rapid recovery soon enabled him to see the day when he could again fall upon the Boches.

Another Stirring Episode

We are sorry not to be able to give a few lines to each of our "aces"—to Adjutant Tarascon who, in spite of his artificial foot, has become one of the most dreaded chasers of the Boches; to Sergeant Sauvage, whose nineteen years have won him the sobriquet of the "Benjamin of the Aces"; to Adjutant Lufbery, the former chauffeur and American citizen who has carved a place for himself among the "aces" of France. But we may be allowed to close this too long article with a final anecdote.

A marshal of the aviation camp, Georges Flachaire, an electric engineer like Jean Chaput, is one of the most recent recruits to the glorious phalanx—his sixth enemy machine dates from Nov. 23 last. His comrades consider him a fine pilot. With Chaput he represents the scientific type of aviator.

Defying bad weather one day he departed on the chase, hiding himself in a sea of clouds to foil the vigilant scouts of the enemy, and emerged after an hour of flight to inspect the horizon. * * * (Censored) * * * When he came out

of it he perceived a peaceful village, and, convinced that he was over our lines, chose a meadow for his landing place. Maledictions! He discovers suddenly that he is in a cantonment of German artillery. Amid a volley of musketry he resumes his flight, foils the German gunners by executing those unforeseen pirouettes that are familiar to the scientific acrobat, takes refuge in the clouds amid a storm of shrapnel shells, and, after a flight by compass, rejoins his squadron.

Told by a French Artist

Henry Farré, the French "painter of aviators," in addition to making wonderful pictures of battles in the clouds, can tell good stories in connection with them. *Les Annales* prints the following account of a night bombardment, which M. Farré gathered from the heroes themselves, "Sergeant G. and Lieutenant de L.," who accomplished this perilous circuit. He puts the narrative into the mouth of the Lieutenant:

"Once outside the environs of Verdun, the departure was made in a normal way. The objective of our bombardment was at a considerable distance behind the lines. Ceaseless attacks were transforming the ground into one vast brazier. Verdun was burning. The smoke obscured the sky with great clouds, amid which the moon seemed to be playing hide-and-seek, too often hiding from our view the meanderings of the Meuse, which served as our guide. Nothing was lacking for our reception; everything was offered us in profusion—searchlights, shells, and incendiary bombs.

"In the midst of this cannonade our motor stops, then goes on, then stops again, and goes on more freely. I peer, I grope, for we dare not think of lighting our lamps, and it is impossible to learn what is the matter with the motor. The pilot turns and questions me. 'Ah, worse luck!' I shout; 'we must throw our bombs first, and then we'll turn back.' The machine was sinking with the diminishing speed of the motor. 'Certainly,' I was saying to myself, without thinking of the danger, 'the

bombardment will be all the more effective at close range.'

"We were at an elevation of 800 meters; the shells were bursting far above us, and the searchlights were seeking us still higher up. At last our bombs fall and we veer for the homeward course. Oh, anguish! Is the motor going to fail us completely? No; it is going again. We are thirty miles from Verdun; at this altitude we could never get there by planing. The pilot makes desperate efforts to keep the machine horizontal and thus prolong the descent.

"A ray of hope! The motor seems to have more force. I consult the altimeter; we are at 1,000 meters. Around us the shells accompany us, but we pay no attention to them, for we prefer anything rather than K. K. bread in a German prison. We are ascending a little. God be praised! We shall arrive, we are up 1,200 meters; but it is the maximum. I am beginning to wear out; my efforts are less and less effective; we are descending again.

"Verdun, which we see always in flames, is still far distant. We fall swiftly to 800 meters, then 600. We are doomed—it is K. K. bread this time without a doubt—we are right over the Boche lines—we distinctly hear the tac-tac of the machine guns and the irregular reports of the rifles. Shall we reach our lines? The altimeter shows 400. Verdun is now about three miles away.

"'Courage!' I cry to the pilot. 'We can get back; in any event, if we die, it will be among our own people. See—the flames of Verdun! If only we can glide as far as that!'

"We land at last, the motor, meanwhile, having stopped entirely. We have come down on the auxiliary ground, with the two front wheels dished, a few guy wires wrenched, and a few cracks in the machine. That is all the harm done, while we, in each other's arms, let the German sheels fall unheeded around us.

"'We've had a mighty close view of K. K. bread,' I remark; 'come, let us telephone our friends; they must be worried.'"

PRINCE GEORGE E. LVOFF



Premier of the Russian Provisional Government, and a
Leader in the Revolution That Overthrew the Romanoffs

(Central News Service)

PROFESSOR PAUL MILUKOFF



Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Whose Speeches in
the Duma Precipitated the Revolution

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The Zeppelin Raids and Their Effect On England

By Charles Stiénon

French Author and Publicist

[By arrangement with the Revue Bleue, Paris; translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

ON the fast express to Spain I recently met an Englishman of rank. In the course of conversation we came to discuss the frequent Zeppelin raids on England. I asked him what effect they would have on the people of Great Britain. "Oh, excellent! They arouse such anger that the enlistments increase by leaps and bounds on the days following." Our adversaries have committed few psychological errors comparable to this one, which promises to furnish a curious problem for the historians of the great war.

It is important to note at the outset that the Zeppelins were created to wage war—and that they have not done it. The military use of the enemy dirigibles has been almost nil. In August, 1914, these airships were far from the perfection which they have since attained. One can scarcely place to their credit any real military service except the bombardment of Antwerp. Since that moment they have never accomplished a more difficult exploit nor rendered a more valuable service to the German cause. Is this owing to their vulnerable nature, and to the effective guard of swift airplanes and anti-aircraft guns on our front? Probably. The German General Staff has always seen the deception which the non-utilization of these national monsters would produce in Germany. For the people of the belligerent nations see the war only on its external side. "Tanks," 420's, trains with blind windows, will stimulate their imagination on the romantic side more than many another element with a less extraordinary outer aspect but greater real importance.

From that moment our enemies con-

ceived the idea of using their Zeppelins for a "moral" purpose—and one less dangerous. It was, however, to an airplane that the honor was given of attacking Dover on Christmas Day, 1914, a raid without success. On that occasion our allies were able to realize the manifest insufficiency of their anti-aircraft defenses. Almost everywhere they had installed special guns whose mediocrity became evident.

First Zeppelin Raid

Three weeks afterward, on Jan. 19, 1915, Zeppelins for the first time flew over the soil of the British Isles. At Yarmouth they threw nine bombs, killing only nine persons. This raid, which could have no military aim, provoked a just indignation. In the United States a prominent newspaper asked whether it was "insanity or despair." At that time Germany had not yet generalized its system of terrorism. The effect in England was great. This first raid produced an immediate increase in voluntary recruiting. On Feb. 21 an airplane flew over Colchester, destroying a few houses, but without injuring anybody. At Braintree two soldiers found an unexploded bomb on the ground and, though the fuse was burning, they picked it up and threw it into a pond.

On April 14 a raid on the northeast coast, with no victims. Two days later an airplane threw bombs on the fields of Kent. It killed a crow and uprooted an apple tree. On April 30 and May 3 and 10 new incursions, absolutely ineffective. A curious fact, however, was observed. The siren sounded to warn the inhabitants actually attracted the enemy aircraft.

Meanwhile our adversaries did not con-

ceal the fact that London was their real objective, and that their operations thus far had been mere scouting expeditions. Yet the English technical services appeared not to be giving adequate attention to the city's defenses.

On May 17 a Zeppelin, after wandering leisurely over Ramsgate and Dover, was attacked by an English air squadron from Dunkerque, which succeeded in damaging it.

On May 31, 1915, at 10:23 P. M., the capital of the British Empire received its first bombs; the authorities had not even been warned. Six persons were killed in the East End. Public anger rose swiftly. Suspected German shops were demolished by the mob that gathered in the streets and committed mild depredations.

After that the Government forbade detailed accounts of the German raids. This policy of absolute secrecy, however, was an error, for the public immediately lost all confidence in the official bulletins, and believed, on the contrary, the most improbable tales. The happy and usual result of all censorships! Thus five deaths were announced one day when there were really twenty-four, a fact which was soon known and gave rise to exaggerations. In February, 1916, the press was again allowed to speak; the British censors thus gave proof of sound sense.

Fighting the Air Monsters

Meanwhile an extraordinary exploit had occurred to prove that it was possible to fight the Zeppelin. An aviator of 22 years, Second Lieut. Warneford, destroyed one of the great aircraft with six bombs on June 7, 1915. The hero received the Victoria Cross and the Legion of Honor, but was killed a few days later—on the 17th—in a stupid accident.

An attack of two airships on June 15 caused the death of fourteen persons and the wounding of thirteen. On Aug. 9, fourteen more deaths and fourteen wounded. One of these Zeppelins, which had already been damaged by shells, was destroyed near Dunkerque by an airplane attack. On Aug. 12, six dead and twenty-three wounded. The people, by coming out into the streets and gathering

in groups in public places, helped to cause these murderous results.

All accounts of these events agree in describing the English communities as very calm in the face of danger, and intensely interested. They regularly imagined that the enemy was hit by the anti-aircraft shrapnel, whose explosions in the sky produce curious optical illusions. "We must terrorize the English," say the German commentators. Yet fear is the last sentiment that our allies seem to have experienced. Recruiting was increased and more people rallied to the munition factories. Fear? "The eyes of the children whose laughter I hear in the playground as I write are the best answer to this threat." Thus wrote one witness.

The next raid, Aug. 17, killed ten persons and wounded thirty-six. From that time there began to be manifested, especially in *The Times*, a feeling that the Government was doing nothing against these enemy raids, and was, moreover, concealing the truth. When German airships reappeared over London on Sept. 7 and 8, the unrest became more marked. Several houses were destroyed and the guns obtained no result. The destruction and losses were important.

London Organizes Defenses

A veritable campaign was started on the spot to demand the measures indispensable to the safety of the capital. Admiral Sir Percy Scott, a retired artilleryman, was intrusted with the defense; but before he could obtain results, on Oct. 13 a new raid on London killed 56 persons and wounded 113. The guns and airplanes went into action, but accomplished nothing. Of course the enemy represented these expeditions as having a purely military object and as producing great results.

British opinion then began to demand reprisals, and the attitude of the people became more clearly characteristic. The Englishman's house has always been his castle. He regarded these raids as a new sort of violation of the rights of private domicile. The people were not afraid—far from that!—for their curiosity was often the cause of

deaths; but where the French people adopted an attitude of irony and skepticism in a like situation, the English took the matter more seriously.

The enemy airships continued their attacks, the details of which need not be continued here. In the night of Jan. 31, 1916, the invaders killed 59 more people and wounded 101. It would be wearisome to prolong this harrowing enumeration; but there is proof that on the day when our allies went seriously to work on the problem they obtained incontestable advantages over the pirates of the air.

In the first months of the war several Zeppelins had been shot down with ease. But times had changed. The first, rather slow machines, flying at a low altitude, had soon been succeeded by super-Zeppelins, veritable Titans of the air, which flew at great heights. Against them the guns of small calibre were powerless, while the heavy pieces could not be used effectively save during the few moments when the dirigible descended to hurl its bombs. A special means of pursuit was needed, which could follow the Zeppelins, Parsevals, and Schütte-Lanz dirigibles at great heights, and it existed in the airplane. This invention has been developed by the war to an unhoped-for degree of perfection.

After long and sometimes mortal experiences the English aviators were ready to chase the monster—in the early Summer of 1916. Add to this the fact that a special make of incendiary fuse-bombs—we cannot say more—facilitated the work to an extraordinary degree. The anti-aircraft guns also were increased in number, and the most painstaking precautions were adopted to defeat the adversary. And they were needed to overcome these air monsters, 227 meters long, bristling with cannons and machine guns, and carrying more than fifty bombs.

From May to July the enemy refrained from further attacks, but in July and August the raids multiplied, causing serious losses. On several occasions the hostile aircraft were pursued in vain by airplanes.

Great Raid of Sept. 2

One might be tempted to see in the raid of Aug. 24, 1916, a scouting operation preliminary to the great attack of Sept. 2. On the latter night thirteen dirigibles flew over English soil, and three reached London. The city had been warned, and the whole population was on foot awaiting the new spectacle. The necessary precautions had been taken to minimize the probable losses. The sky was divided into a certain number of sectors, swept by dozens of searchlights. There was a sound of distant cannonading, bombs burst in the sky, a Zeppelin emerged from the darkness—and suddenly all the searchlights were extinguished and the guns ceased fire!

A few seconds passed, and then suddenly a formidable mass of flame illumined the heavens and was seen falling swiftly, until the colossal conflagration came crashing to earth. What had happened? At the arrival of the Zeppelin the aviators had dashed to the pursuit. One of these, Lieutenant Robinson, after rising about 2,700 meters, saw the airship. At that moment, to avoid hindering or wounding him, the guns and searchlights paused. The dirigible was emitting torrents of smoke. It rose and then descended at great speed. Lieutenant Robinson rose 680 meters higher and charged at full speed against the enemy. At the right distance he fired his fuse-bombs and destroyed the Zeppelin, which, as seen later, was of the Schütte-Lanz type. The brave aviator, 21 years old, received the Victoria Cross, the supreme honor. Only the charred bodies of Captain Wilhelm Schramm and his Zeppelin crew of fifteen men were found. A military burial was accorded them.

Thus, after two years of war, our allies succeeded in defending their soil. One can understand what fury seized Germany when she saw her beautiful air cruisers destroyed by British guns and airplanes. This failure called for vengeance, and, on Dec. 24, twelve Zeppelins came across the North Sea to hover over England. Their reception was still

hotter than before. The first machine was brought crashing to earth with its crew in Essex. Lieutenants Sowrey and Brandon, following the tactics of their friend Robinson, had shot it down. This brought them the D. S. O., (Distinguished Service Order.) The second machine was hit by the artillery and came gently to earth on the Essex coast. The crew of twenty men destroyed it and surrendered to a British constable. The ten other airships had achieved the considerable result of killing 30 persons and wounding 110, most of them in London.

Invaders Suffer Heavily

On Oct. 1 came a new attack by ten airships, one of them reaching London, and the scene of Sept. 2 was repeated. Lieutenant Tempest, now also a D. S. O., shot down his Zeppelin while the crowds sang "God Save the King." The enemy craft fell to destruction in two pieces, with its chief, Captain Mathy, one of the most noted of the German aviation officers. In an interview a short time before he had ridiculed the English aviators. These experiences cooled the German ardor somewhat in regard to air raids.

It is extremely probable that the General Staff at Berlin had no desire to continue such costly experiences. But public opinion would not have tolerated this confession of defeat. So on Nov. 27 a new raid carefully avoided London, which was too well defended, and turned its bombs and shells against the north-east coast of Great Britain. One Zeppelin was demolished in a few seconds, and another was seriously damaged while flying over the Midlands; it succeeded, however, in repairing these injuries and reaching the sea. Nine miles from the shore, overtaken by four airplanes and a gunboat that shelled it, it plunged into the waves. Lieutenants Palling, Cadbury, and Fane were rewarded for this exploit. In the course of the same day an enemy airplane succeeded in attacking London. A few hours later French aviators shot down a machine carrying two officers with large-scale maps of the British metrop-

olis. Thus was the aggressor punished. Since then the German General Staff has renounced these "reconnoissances," which it found decidedly too far from being satisfactory.

German Errors of Psychology

The psychological errors of Germany can no longer be counted. Before the war she had expected internal revolts in the Entente countries, defections that have never materialized. She did not foresee entirely the support that the colonies have given to France, nor the organization of Britain's military power, nor the efforts of the British dominions. She has sought to establish her superiority over other nations by means of certain processes, of which the least one can say is that they have totally failed. The Germans have never deceived themselves more completely than on the subject of their magnificent air fleet. They believed that in war they would enjoy entire superiority in bombarding and air scouting. Since then they have had to acknowledge that these were illusions. Still, the German people, not being able to admit that their idol, Count Zeppelin, was self-deluded, thought to utilize the "genial creations of the inventor" as instruments of moral strategy. Colonel Feyler, in an imposing study, has shown all the labors which the General Staff lavished in magnifying his successes and in presenting them in such fashion as to influence the spirit of the German people.

The Central Empires knew how firmly the English held to their independence, and how much the inviolability of their soil was a question of honor with them. Hence followed this reasoning, from which, be it noted, all humanity is absent: "We wish to strike England; we cannot do it better than by striking her homes." This logic is correct, and the exasperation of the English has answered "Touched!" to the German boot. But the Berlin General Staff had formulated a second axiom, much more debatable than the other: "When the English, who have never been invaded, shall see the enemy in their country, they will be so agitated that the moral effect will be the depres-

sion of the nation; the more so, since we risk nothing."

Here the psychological sense of Germany was faulty. The raids not only failed to produce the expected moral effect, but proved to be the lash that woke the sleeping horse.

When Englishmen saw their women, children, and old men disemboweled by German bombs, they enlisted to fight the Germans all the more angrily as they saw more clearly what their enemies were capable of doing. Besides, the final clause in the German theory also proved itself inexact, since from September to

December, 1916, five Zeppelins were shot down.

The influence of this German mistake upon British recruiting can scarcely be exaggerated. We owe the British armies in France partly to our adversaries. Thus at Charleroi Marshal French had about five divisions in August, 1914. One year later he had forty-one divisions, divided into three armies; and on Jan. 1, 1916, Marshal Sir Douglas Haig had two million men! Does Germany know how many of these soldiers took up arms because of the indignation aroused in their hearts by the Zeppelin murders?

List of Zeppelin Raids Against England

THE total number of Zeppelin raids over the British Isles since the beginning of the war, according to the best available data, is forty-one, including the belated attempt of March 16, 1917, which was apparently organized after the death of Count Zeppelin to prove that the German hopes once based upon his invention still lived. For several months the raids had been discontinued, owing to the increasing frequency with which the balloons had been destroyed in October and November.

On Aug. 22, 1916, Major Baird, representative of the Aerial Board in the House of Commons, announced that there had been thirty-four raids on England, in ten of which no casualties were suffered, while in the remainder the number of killed was 334 civilians and 50 military men. In the next three months five of the great aircraft were destroyed in England alone, two of them on Nov. 28 during the raid on the midland counties. At the end of November an authoritative list showed that a total of thirty-eight German Zeppelins had been lost on all fronts since the beginning of the war, seven of which fell in England and four in the North Sea. Then one of the raiders of March 16-17 was shot down in France. Many of the earlier ones were destroyed by allied aviators in France and by bombs dropped on Zeppelin sheds in Belgium.

The list of recorded raids on England is as follows:

- 1915
- Jan. 19, 20—Yarmouth, Cromer, Sheringham, King's Lynn.
 April 14, 15—Blyth, Bedlington, Morpeath, Cramlington, Wallsend, Hebburn.
 April 15, 16—Maldon, Heybridge, Southwold, Lowestoft, Burnham, Yarmouth.
 April 29, 30—Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Whitton.
 May 9, 10—Southend, Westcliffe, Mouth of the Thames.
 May 16, 17—Ramsgate, Folkestone.
 May 31, June 1—London.
 June 4, 5—Mouth of the Humber, Harwich.
 June 6, 7—Hull, Grimsby.
 June 15, 16—Shields, Elswick-on-Tyne.
 Aug. 9, 10—London, Mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Humber.
 Aug. 12, 13—Harwich.
 Aug. 17, 18—London, Woodbridge, Ipswich.
 Sept. 7, 8—London.
 Sept. 8, 9—London, Norwich, Middlesborough.
 Sept. 11, 12—London.
 Sept. 13, 14—Southend.
 Oct. 13, 14—London and suburbs, Ipswich.
- 1916
- Jan. 31, Feb. 1—Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham, Humber, Yarmouth.
 March 5, 6—Hull.
 March 31, April 1—London, Enfield, Waltham Abbey, Stowmarket, Lowestoft, Cambridge, Humber.
 April 1, 2—Mouth of Tees, Middlesborough, Sunderland.
 April 2, 3—London, Edinburgh, Newcastle.
 April 3, 4—Great Yarmouth.
 April 5, 8—Whitby, Hull, Leeds.
 April 24, 25—Cambridge, Norwich, Lincoln, Winterton, Ipswich, Norwich, Harwich.

April 25, 26—London, Colchester, Ramsgate.
 May 2, 3—Middlesboro, Stockton, Sunderland,
 Hartlepool, Mouth of Tees, Firth of Forth.
 July 28, 29—Lincoln, Grimsby, Immingham,
 Hull, Norwich.
 July 31, Aug. 1—London, Mouth of Thames,
 eastern counties.
 Aug. 2, 3—London, Harwich, Norwich, Lowe-
 stoft, Winterton.
 Aug. 8, 9—Mouth of Tyne, Sunderland, Har-
 tlepool, Middlesborough, Whitby, Hull,
 Grimsby, Mouth of Humber, King's
 Lynn, eastern counties.
 Aug. 24—London.
 Aug. 24, 25—London, Harwich, Folkestone,
 Dover.
 Sept. 2, 3—London, Yarmouth, Harwich,
 southeastern counties, Humber.
 Sept. 23, 24—London, Humber, central coun-
 ties, (Nottingham, Sheffield.)
 Sept. 25, 26—Portsmouth, fortified places at
 the mouth of the Thames, York, Leeds,
 Lincoln, Derby.
 Oct. 1, 2—London, Humber.
 Oct. 9, 10—Near London.
 Nov. 27, 28—Midland counties.
 1917.

March 16, 17—Coast of Kent.

As a pendant to the foregoing article comes the following from the Bulletin des Armées:

The death of Count Zeppelin on March 8 has not diminished the blind faith of the German people in his apparatus. On March 11 the Cologne Gazette said: "We will soon prove to the English that the work of our immortal Zeppelin still

lives." This threat was carried into effect: In the night of March 16-17 an air raid was attempted on the English coast. According to the British war bulletins the enemy threw bombs on the northeast corner of the County of Kent. The explosives did no material damage.

A few hours later three Zeppelins were sighted in France, undoubtedly the same ones that had bombarded the English coast. About 4 o'clock in the morning they passed over Rouen; two of them regained the German lines. The third flew over the neighborhood of Paris and then turned north. About 5:30 it was passing over Compiègne at a height of 3,500 yards, when it was hit by a shell from our anti-aircraft batteries. It instantly burst into flame, remained a few minutes in the air, and then crashed to earth at the corner of the Rue de Paris and the Boulevard Gambetta. It struck a garden wall and broke in two.

Before falling the men had thrown out their bombs, which fell in the fields; most of them did not burst. There was no victim among the people, no damage to property where the airship fell. The crew of fifteen men had been burned to death—except a few who had thrown themselves overboard and had been killed in the fall. Once more a Zeppelin raid had ended in a bloody reverse.

Terrible Realities of War

A Gunner's Story

A British artillery officer on the Somme wrote this impressive description after traversing the scene of a successful advance:

FOUR villages on our immediate front fell—two of them after desperate and bloody fighting, the other two with comparative ease. When we first arrived there we looked on the remains of ruined villages and a field of desolation and ugliness as far as the eye could see.

On arriving at our old observation point we made our way over to the old Hun stronghold. We started our journey down our old trenches, but these, though now empty, were in a filthy condition—we had recently had a lot of rain—and as

the enemy had now no direct observation on us we left these and proceeded across the open. The ground here was completely pitted with shell holes of all sizes. Hardly a square inch of ground that had not been disturbed. One literally stepped out of one into another, (many of them filled with water from the previous night's rain.) It was here that one saw the grim realities of war—the human remains lying among the wreckage of the battlefield; khaki or gray clad forms wherever one turned one's head, some un-

mercifully torn and shattered beyond recognition, others like waxwork figures in attitudes which showed their last set purpose before they were struck down. Others might well have been only sleeping, though their mud-begrimed faces told the truth, and all that ghastly color of the rain-sodden yellow clay on which they lay.

The whole place was nauseating. The smell of powder and stench of putrefaction pervaded everything. The atmosphere was too still and heavy for those foul smells to disperse. Our troops were then well beyond the village, but the Hun gave it no rest, and shells were still dropping all about the place.

From here we made our way to the spot where some two weeks before I had seen through my glasses our men held up by machine-gun fire. Some infantry had now established themselves there, and a few men were standing by the entrance drinking tea from a dixie. The roof, which was some four or five feet thick and made of reinforced concrete, showed signs of our fire, but had been but little damaged, though all around had been broken and smashed. Four dead Germans lay just outside among the wreckage, a fifth on a stretcher was uttering most awful groans, and, though attended by our men, was beyond all human aid, and was soon to be numbered with his lifeless comrades, while a sixth sat by nursing an arm he had recently had dressed, looking a picture of abject misery, as he gazed vacantly on that fearful field in front of him.

Inside the dugout showed signs of its previous occupation. The German litter had not as yet been cleared away—an old waterproof sheet, a blanket or two, and one or two old Hun coats lay among the rubbish. Two or three officers lay curled

up in odd corners trying to get a little rest, while a few orderlies and telephonists squatted about the place among their instruments and the tangle of wires with which they are always surrounded. The men spoke in subdued tones, and a stillness pervaded the chamber, which was interrupted only by a small kitten, which wandered about playfully toying with everything that came within its reach—wires, bits of surgical dressing, and old beef tins. Having obtained what information we required here, we set out toward our new front line away in front of the village.

I have seen villages that have been smashed beyond recognition, but this one surpassed all. It was literally razed to the ground. Not a wall was left standing. It was impossible to try to locate one's position by roads and buildings. They simply didn't exist. It was one huge rubbish heap, one mass of wreckage—broken masonry and brickwork and shattered and charred timber. We made our way along a newly trodden track through the débris—it evidently followed what was once a sunken road, for the wreckage was piled up high on either side of us, affording us a little shelter from occasional shells which were being indiscriminately dropped about the place. Turning a sudden corner, we came upon a sight I shall never forget. The stench became overpowering. Along the track in front of us lay, not one, but scores of gray-clad figures. I think they must have been caught unexpectedly in our artillery barrage, but I did not stop to examine the nature of their wounds. The spectacle was too horrible. We left the sunken track at this point, and went forward across the open. Such was the state of this Hun stronghold on the day following its fall.



Amazing Effects of Shell Shock On Soldiers' Nerves

By W. R. Houston, A. M., M. D.

Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University of Georgia

Dr. Houston, an eminent neurologist, spent several months in French war hospitals studying the effects of shell shock upon the nervous systems of wounded soldiers. The results of his observations have been condensed by him into this noteworthy article.

THE beautiful City of Lyons, lying at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, has been made the "Hospital City of France." More than thirty-five thousand sick and wounded are cared for there. A thousand of these are assigned to the Neurological Centre and housed in the handsome buildings of the Nouvelle Lycée, the new boys' college at the entrance to the park. In each of the twenty medical districts into which France is divided there is a similar hospital for men who have suffered damage to the nervous system. The Centre Neurologique at Lyons is, however, the largest of these centres, and for certain reasons the most interesting.

To the neurologist, the care and study of this unprecedented wealth of material is of high value in broadening and refining his knowledge of the function and structure of the nervous system; yet of still greater interest and offering still greater possibilities for the enlargement of our comprehension of the nature of nervous diseases are those cases, comprising more than two-thirds of the patients in the institution, who are grouped under the name of the hysterical.

When the entire manhood of a nation is mustered into battle, it follows that the nervously frail, the men of unstable equilibrium, must go, too. The shocks and sudden emotional strains of civil life have made a certain number hysterical. It might be expected that under the stress of warfare many would break. The number of such cases arising in the course of war is far greater than in time of peace, but, after all, they form but a small fraction of the total number of nervous cases in the neurological centres.

We have considered them, however, less because of their intrinsic interest than for comparison with another class of cases—the commotionnés, that very large and novel group of cases, comprising several thousand admissions to the neurological hospitals of France, which the French physicians named cerebral commotion, the English shell shock.

In the accounts of the great bombardments we have all read of men who were found dead in the trenches, unwounded. Death had resulted from air concussion in the zone contiguous to the exploding shell. The concussion is more intense and the danger greater if the shell explodes in a closed space, as in the deep chambered trenches of the western front.

Countless Internal Wounds

Most of our commotion cases were injured in the trenches. Often they were hurled some distance, dashed against a wall, and buried alive. If an examination is made of the bodies of these dead, or of those who have survived a few days before death, it is found that there has taken place an intimate tearing of the finer structures throughout the body. The lungs are torn; there are abundant hemorrhages in the pleura and stomach. The blood vessels in the brain are ruptured, and minute hemorrhages are found throughout.

Many are killed outright, but most survive. Even these survivors bleed in many cases from the ears, the lungs, the stomach, the bladder, and bowels. There are sometimes hemorrhages into the retina and under the conjunctivae. The normally clear cerebro-spinal fluid is found blood tinged. Even after blood is no longer found the fluid is often discov-

ered to be under high pressure, the white cells and globulins that indicate damage to the meninges continue to be found in it for months.

The patients seldom regain memory of the beginning of their accidents. At most they recall the whistling sound that preceded the arrival of the shell. In certain cases there will be found only a more or less transient clouding of consciousness, or a very painful sensation of having been beaten on the head. Usually the patient is unable to walk, and as he is carried on the stretcher every movement is painful. The limbs are inert, the head drops on the shoulder. Even when sitting he collapses if not supported. Any movements made are maladroit and imprecise. The sphincters are relaxed; almost all arrive at the aid stations soiled with excrements. Later they may have retention, but in the beginning the contrary is the rule.

The facial expression is typical—comparable to that seen in the cerebral type of infantile paralysis—the corners of the mouth droop, the tongue is paretic, the lids droop, and the eyeballs are without motion. The pupils are dilated, almost always unequal.

In all cases is found the sign of Babinski—irritation of the foot sole, provoking an obvious and prompt elevation of the great toe and a fanlike spreading of the other toes—an unequivocal indication of damage to the motor pathways leading from the brain; and, as further indication of this damage, the tendinous reflexes are generally strongly exaggerated. Kernig's sign of cortical irritation is present.

In cases of moderate severity we observe a rapid retrocession of symptoms. Within twenty-four hours the mental cloudiness tends to disappear, the expression of the face changes, the strabismus diminishes and disappears, the reflexes approach normal.

In severe cases, however, and sometimes from milder ones, there develop a series of most bizarre clinical pictures. It is the general nervous system that is most often and most strikingly affected. As the patient emerges from his clouding of consciousness, he seems to be in a

state of confusion. His memory is weakened. He has lost in power of voluntary attention. He has hallucinations. These psychopathic states may persist for days or months, and are accompanied almost always by persistent nightmares of fire and battle that startle and disturb the rest.

It is at this stage extraordinarily difficult to disentangle symptoms that are due to gross organic injury from those that would be reckoned hysterical. Very frequently there are convulsive attacks that seem frankly similar to that described above; occasionally a case that resembles true Jacksonian epilepsy.

Sight and Hearing Affected

There is often deafness associated with injury to the ears; again, deafness is present with ears apparently normal. Sometimes the deafness is associated with vertigo such as suggests damage to the inner ear.

As to the sight, we encounter every degree of disability, from slight cloudiness of vision and narrowing of the visual field to complete blindness. In a considerable number of cases these troubles are due to damage done the retina. In a larger number, however, so far as examination can determine, they are purely subjective. These troubles of sight and hearing are almost never isolated. They are found associated with an assemblage of other symptoms referable to the nervous system.

Much more frequent than the troubles of the special senses are the paralyses—paralysis of a single member, of both legs, or of a lateral half of the body. Some of these paralyses are obviously due to hemorrhage within the brain, others are a flaccid paralysis with loss of sensation. In all the characteristics that are accessible to investigation most resemble hysterical paralysis, and the greater number are associated with contraction of the muscles.

The foot will be drawn into the position of a clubfoot and firmly fixed there. The hand is tightly clenched, and the wrist and elbow bent. The contracted muscles of half the body may draw the trunk and head to one side. The neck may be fixed

as a wry neck. A very frequent deformity is the bent back. A peculiar circumstance is the violent fit of coughing that is induced by any attempt to straighten the bent back, either in bed or against the wall.

The vocal cords may be paralyzed and the tongue incapable of being protruded, so that the patient is entirely mute, unable to make the slightest sound, to whistle or to blow, or even to imitate the movements of the lips in speech. His breathing muscles are contracted so that he cannot draw a long breath. In milder cases there is a stammering to the degree of almost complete unintelligibility.

A muscular trouble, often of the most striking and startling sort, is the shaking and trembling. This may be a fine tremor, such as we have in Graves's disease, and Graves's disease is a complication that is superadded to the picture in a large percentage of cases, or a very coarse, irregular shaking and jerking of the head, arms, legs, in contortions that make walking or any co-ordinated movement nearly or quite impossible.

Pitiful Motion Pictures

A remarkable series of moving pictures, which are already to be seen in this country, was made of these patients at Lyons. Large groups illustrating each of the contractures and paralyses were marched past the camera, but the most striking groups were the tremblers and the bent backs, and when, as constantly happens, many physicians come to see the astonishing and almost incredible cases that are found in this neurological hospital, the profound pity that these patients excite is inevitably mixed with laughter at the sight of the poor fellows with wildly inco-ordinate movements, struggling to maintain their balance as they totter across the stage of the exhibition hall or shuffle along with feet in constant motion, like a novice at skating, and the back bent forward from the hips almost at right angles.

Upon these troubles of movement there are always superimposed troubles of sensibility. In the paralyses with contraction, and especially in the flaccid paralyses, all the modes of sensibility, superficial and deep, including the sensibility to

electric currents and the sensibility of the bones to vibration, are affected, and often to an extreme degree. Some of the patients have inflicted burns on themselves accidentally without knowing it. In others the joints can be twisted to an extreme degree without causing the least pain or sensation.

In opposition to these anaesthesias or hypoaesthesias there is found extreme sensitiveness to pain. Sometimes the patient cannot endure the least touch or the least movement of the limbs.

Purely Physical Causes

Are these patients hysterical in the sense of any of the theories of hysteria that we have mentioned—these deaf, these mutes, these palsied, trembling men with agonized or deadened members? Was it a mental picture or a buried idea or a suggestion from the physician that developed these phenomena?

In the language of Dr. Sollier, the eminent neurologist who is at the head of the hospital at Lyons:

In the true commotion case, we find ourselves in the presence of hysteria in the raw, of the elementary hysteria, in which the physical element is absolutely preponderant, whereas, in the ordinary traumatic hysteria, the somatic phenomena and the psychological phenomena are almost on the same level, and in the commonplace hysteria of civil practice the psychologic element tends to take dominant importance.

When we envisage the similarity of the pictures presented by ordinary hysteria and the nervous phenomena that result from shell shock, we are forced to conclude that their nature is identical. Shell shock thus demonstrates to us that hysteria may be provoked by causes purely physical, and we are led to conclude that the purely psychological theories are inexact, since they do not apply to all the cases. Since it is undeniable, on the other hand, that hysteria can be provoked by emotional and moral causes, we must conclude that there exists an entire gamut of forces—physical, mechanical, organic, and psychic—that may lead to the same clinical results.

Such are the views that are upheld by Dr. Sollier, who in numerous forcible publications had sustained before the war his physiological theory of hysteria. In his treatise on hysteria, published in 1914, he maintained that hysteria was essentially a sleep of portions of the brain, a dulling or numbing (engourdissement) of certain cerebral centres;

that the disassociation of personality resulted from the unequal wakefulness of different portions of the brain; that the attacks were disorderly expressions of a sudden movement toward reawakening.

We must remember that a thought is not, for the individual that harbors it at least, a disembodied concept, but that with every thought there must be a physical change, a movement of matter and energy in the molecular structure of brain cells. Modern psychology concerns itself more and more with the attempt to conceive the physical processes in the brain that accompany thought. Especially in the study of the emotions (and it is the emotional side of ideation with which we are chiefly concerned in hysteria) has emphasis been laid on its physical aspect.

Our American psychologist, William James, lent his astute support to the view that emotion was rather the conscious appreciation of a series of physical changes that resulted from the presence of an idea; that we felt fear because the heart stood still, the hair stood on end, the knees shook at sight of the ghost, rather than that the emotion of fear brought about these physical changes.

We are obliged, if the facts of the development of our commotion cases have been faithfully observed and accurately recorded, to shift from the formerly conventional viewpoint of the essential nature of hysteria and to place the emphasis on its physical and its physiological aspects.

Dr. Babinski and his followers, with their rather narrow definition of hysteria as a malady provoked by suggestion and curable by persuasion, have been led to assert that these grand hysterias of shell shock are not hysteria, and to erect a new and heretofore unheard of classification in which to place them, so far will the attachment of a scientist to a favorite theory carry him. The cases that we see in the military hospitals of France were not produced by suggestion, nor are they amenable to persuasion.

These theoretical considerations, however, are by no means without their practical importance. Even before the earliest publication, in 1895, of his views, Dr.

Sollier contended that by his so-called method of cerebral reawakening he was able to cure by physical and mechanical means many hysterical conditions that proved refractory to suggestion, and it was largely these therapeutic successes that led to the crystallization and development of his idea of hysteria.

Sollier's Method of Cure

Dr. Sollier is a large and vigorous man both morally and physically, a man whom one would fancy inclined by temperament to snatch his patients back to health rather than coax them back. His evident kindness and goodness to his men, however, give them courage to endure without question the rigors of the physical treatment to which they are submitted. The central idea of his treatment is that the cerebral centres must be awakened from their dormant state by physical measures addressed to the parts of the body corresponding to the cerebral involvement.

The treatment of one case, for instance, consisted in cold douches and showers for a general effect, but more particularly in twisting and manipulating the joints of the paralyzed limbs until pain, and even very severe pain, was induced. If bending the finger joints produces no pain, the wrist is manipulated; if the wrist is without sensation, the shoulder is manipulated. Sensibility returns to the anaesthetic areas through the pathway of pain induced in neighboring regions that are more sensitive.

In another case the treatment was to place the hands over the eyes, whereupon the patient would promptly fall into a hypnotic state and go through all the phases of the grand attack. As his struggles began to subside and he was sinking into a quiet sleep, he was ordered to wake up, to awaken his shoulders, awaken his back, awaken his limbs, awaken all over. He is regarded when apparently awake as a *vigilambule*, one who, while apparently awake, has large portions of his brain cortex asleep, and who for this reason is so easily and by such slight transition thrown into complete hypnotic slumber.

In addition to these treatments carried

out by the attending physicians, and by trained masseurs working under their direction, an interesting and indeed most inspiring part of the work for the restoration of these men is the systematic motor re-education carried out by the men themselves. Every morning from 8 until 9 o'clock, and again of an afternoon from 2 until 3, in the quadrangle of the Lycée the men are gathered at the sound of the bugle for drill.

Patients Treated in Groups

They are grouped in squads according to their several disabilities. The club-footed squad, the hemi-contracted squads, the contractures of the left arm, the contractures of the right arm, and so on. Each squad has its non-commissioned officer, who is himself convalescing from the same disorder, and the whole battalion is under the command of a Sergeant, who is partially recovered from severe organic and functional disturbances.

The apparatus employed in the exercises is of the simplest—a manual of arms carried out with a wooden pole, some board platforms for the exercises to be taken lying down, a few weights and pulleys. The intention is to bring the defective muscles into play through the unconscious influence of limitation; to strengthen the muscles which oppose those that are contracted; to give tone to the physique as well as to the morale of the men.

A physician passes from group to group encouraging and instructing the leaders, calling attention to stragglers that may be failing of the efforts demanded of them. The cheerful atmosphere of this scene, the sharp cries of command making a not unpleasing discord of sound; the emulation of the soldiers to attain the progress that they see others have made—all gives one the feeling that these men are cordially enlisted in the effort to overcome the handicaps under which they labor, and a large part of the success of the treatment in this institution is to be attributed to this community of effort.

It is too early to say whether the views which Dr. Sollier has advanced as to the nature of hysteria, his so-called physiological theory, will be generally accepted.

It is certain that his effort to place the emphasis on the physical and physiological aspects of this trouble has been tremendously favored by the large group of cases that have come to observation through the accidents of war.

When I first walked through his ward and looked with astonishment at the array of nervous phenomena presented, I began to wonder: Is this the result of the traditionally excitable and nervous French temperament? Would Englishmen or Germans or Russians exhibit such astonishing bizarreries of nervous function? I learned on asking the physicians of the Lyons hospitals, who were neurologists by profession, that in years of practice at the Salpêtrière, the famous Paris hospital for nervous diseases, they had only rarely encountered cases comparable to hundreds that we had in our hospital. I learned from consulting the literature that Englishmen and Germans were suffering the same nervous accidents as the French.

Some Unsolved Questions

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Dr. Sollier to prove that the sufferer from shell shock, as he emerged broken and bleeding from unconsciousness, might not, in his awakening intelligence, develop hysterical symptoms on a psychological basis, and that this elementary hysteria of molecular vibration might not have interwoven with it as a psychic state ideas associated with terror and dread, the most powerful of human emotions. His opponents, moreover, will ask him to explain the rarity of these commotional states in the numerous wounded that received physical injuries from projectiles that have exploded near them, patients exposed to the same displacements of air, and the same physical conditions—an embarrassing question to the partisan of the organic theory.

Some of the commotionnés tell us that they had often had large shells burst near them without experiencing anything more than the disturbance legitimate to such circumstances, a disturbance easily mastered and quite transient. Furthermore, as Dr. Sollier has himself pointed out, it is most unwise to return the pa-

tient when apparently quite cured to the firing line. The first explosion in his neighborhood will bring back a return of the old symptoms, sometimes with added violence, so that the recrudescence is apparently due less to the physical reopening of an old wound than to the re-presentation of remembered conditions.

Dr. Sollier's conceptions, however, gain valuable support from the success of his treatments when applied to the commotion cases, even though they be very severe, provided the patient is fortunate enough to be taken in hand early.

Sergeant B., for example, a robust and muscular man of 25, was in Fort Douaumont during a bombardment. He was thrown many yards by the explosion of a large shell; consciousness was lost for some time. At the first-aid station he had difficulty in breathing, and consciousness was only gradually restored. He was brought back at once to Lyons, where he was found to be in a state of general rigidity and hyperaesthesia. Even small movements of his limbs were painful. His heart was moderately dilated, pulse rather rapid, fibrillary tremor of the hands, slight goitre, and exophthalmus. When the treatments, which consisted in forced movements of his limbs, were undertaken, he would gradually become stuporous, cry out with pain, and at the close of the séance would almost lose consciousness and would dissolve into tears.

However, after a month of such treatment the stiffness and sensitiveness were rapidly disappearing from his members, he was able to stand erect and walk, and was obviously on the high road to recovery. Had he been treated merely by rest and care, he would probably have made no such progress.

Alongside of him other men, whose injuries had come about in the early months of war, and who in the early stages of their trouble were treated by the conventional methods, seemed to have crystallized in their disabilities. It appeared that after the deformities and tremors had become inveterate it was most difficult to eradicate them, even by the treatment of motor re-education, though this brought about slow and steady gains.

A Harrowing Summary

It was possible, then, in this hospital to find the same clinical pictures resulting from causes of every degree of potency—a slight and merely psychic trauma sufficing to induce the symptoms in the unstable, a violent physical trauma being needed in the well poised.

1. There were the highly neurotic subjects, who had never been near the front, but who on receiving the news from home of the death of a wife or being parted from a sweetheart had developed these terrible attacks and paralyses. These were few.

2. There was the somewhat larger group of cases similar to the first two cited, cases of tougher-fibred but still imaginative men, whom the emotional shocks of the campaign, combined with fatigue and long strain, had been able to bring to a grand hysteria.

3. A third group more stable than the last could be made hysterical only if, after being weakened by hunger, sleeplessness, and overwork, they were subjected to the shock of a violent explosion, though the same shock might have previously left them untouched.

4. Last, there were men, stalwart, tranquil, robust men, who had never known nervousness, neither personally nor in their families—unimaginative, stolid men, who, being suddenly hurled through the air, torn and lacerated in the finer structures of their bodies by an explosion, buried alive perhaps by falling earth, were, when they ultimately regained consciousness, transformed instantaneously into disorganized neurotics, exhibiting all the characteristics typical of the grand hysterics.

To see these strong men suddenly reduced from the flower and vigor of youth to doddering, palsied wrecks, quivering at a sound, dreading the visions of the night, mute or deaf, paralyzed or shaken by violent agitations, rent from time to time by convulsive seizures as though tormented by many devils—this wreckage of men's souls seemed to me to mirror more vividly the horror of war than any picture drawn from the carnage of the battlefield.

Curious German War Medals

"In Our Iron Time—1916"

George Macdonald, who a year ago described in *The Scotsman* some 500 German war medals struck during the first eighteen months of the war, has written this interesting account of later medals announced in a supplementary catalogue issued in Amsterdam.

A PATHETIC feature of the new sales catalogue of German war medals and "tokens" is the great increase in the number of specimens of paper money of small denominations, intended to supply a currency for prisoners' camps or for those portions of the allied countries which are in enemy occupation. It is strange, for instance, to encounter a group of notes, ranging in nominal value from 2 francs to 10 centimes, that belonged to an issue of 2,000,000 francs, guaranteed under date April 23, 1915, by a resolution of seventy communes in the region of the Somme and the Ancre. When one sees in the list such familiar names as Miramont, Irlès, Courcellettes, Thillois, and Warlencourt, one shudders to think of the appalling rate at which the securities, heritable and other, must have depreciated through the action of high explosives.

All the belligerents, except Japan and Portugal, have contributed their quota to the sum total of the war medals proper. Germany, however, has once again been far and away the most active. In a fair proportion of cases the underlying motive has obviously been a desire to honor individuals by associating them with some particular achievement or with some popular declaration of policy. The collection, in fact, constitutes a sort of national portrait gallery of all the German Admirals, German Generals, and German statesmen whom the events of the last three years have brought into prominence. A bust of von Tirpitz, for example, is backed by a plump figure of Germania "doing battle for the freedom of the seas," while both von Scheer and Hipper receive credit for their great "victory off the Skagerrak," which is said to have been won "not by chance but by sheer capacity." The military

laurels have been gathered mainly on the eastern front, and first and foremost by von Mackensen.

The big events of 1916 in the west are but rarely alluded to, although a huge iron medal with allegorical figures depicts "the horrors of the Somme," and a companion piece shows the scourge of war descending upon Verdun. Tit-bits from the Imperial Chancellor's Reichstag speech of June 5 are immortalized on unwieldy lumps of metal bearing his image and superscription, and royalties more or less considerable are, of course, sprinkled freely through the pages of the catalogue—so freely, indeed, that the Kaiser and the Crown Prince tend rather to be elbowed into the background.

A good deal of space is occupied by heroes of less exalted rank, like the aviators Boelcke and Immelmann. On the latter of these one enthusiastic medalist has conferred the title of "The Eagle of Lille." And it is interesting to observe that few even of the major happenings of the war have caught the German imagination in the way that the exploits of the *Möwe* and the voyage of the *Deutschland* appear to have done. The capture of the *Appam* could hardly have been more loudly celebrated if it had affected the naval situation as profoundly as did *Trafalgar*.

The tribute of medallion portraiture is paid not only to the raider's Captain, Count zu Dohna-Schlodien, but also to the officer who navigated the prize to the United States, Lieutenant Berg. So, too, with Captain König of the *Deutschland*, in immediate juxtaposition to whom we are astonished to find a much older Atlantic voyager—to wit, no less a person than Francis Drake himself. The first glance at his bust, dressed in correct Elizabethan costume, and identified beyond possibility of mistake by his name, sets one wondering whether Houston

Stewart Chamberlain has succeeded in proving that the Spanish Armada was defeated by Germans. But the real explanation is a veritable anti-climax; it is furnished by an inscription on the reverse, "Francis Drake was the name of a gallant man who three centuries ago sailed from England to America in command of a ship, and who when he returned from his distant travels brought with him the good things that we call potatoes. This useful vegetable we owe to the very same State that is today—1916—endeavoring to starve us out. Such is the irony of world history and of world politics."

The Drake Medal is not the only one on which the food difficulty is frankly alluded to. Another piece pillories the butchers who indulge in "profiteering," and threatens them with handcuffs and the knout. A third is directed against the bakers, two of whom are represented diligently sawing a log of wood in order to secure material for bread. That bronze is growing scarce is abundantly clear from the fact that it is not used for almost any of the recent medals, iron being the usual substitute. And gold, as might be expected, is altogether unknown. In this connection a small medal of iron is of special interest; it is issued by the Reichsbank, and presented to persons who hand gold ornaments over the counter. On the obverse is a kneeling woman, holding out a piece of jewelry, accompanied by the legend, "In our iron time, 1916." On the reverse is a branch of oak, and the couplet:

Gold I gave in hour of need,
Iron received as honour's meed.

Presumably the idea is that this should be transmitted as an heirloom. The same consideration for the future is plainly responsible for a medal having on the obverse a "Pickelhaube," or spiked helmet, resting on a shield, and on the reverse a mailed fist claspng a hand that is indubitably feminine, the two between them supporting a sword. The legend is, "Wedded in war time." The mention of "war weddings" inevitably suggests a search for the "war baby." And, sure enough, here he is on another medal, nestling inside an in-

verted "Pickelhaube," which reposes on a little pile of bombs. The inscription reads, "Born during the world war." The well-to-do can purchase either of the last two medals in silver.

The productions just described give us a quaint glimpse into the mentality of the great nation with whom our own is now locked in a life-and-death struggle.



A MUCH-SOUGHT-AFTER GERMAN MEDAL, STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE SUBMARINE BLOCKADE OF ENGLAND, FEB. 18, 1915. IT PROVIDES AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE FAMOUS PHRASE "GOTT STRAFE ENGLAND"

The definitely satiric medals are a more lurid illuminant. It is sometimes said that a boxer never feels thoroughly confident until he sees that his opponent is losing his temper. If the analogy holds good, a perusal of the catalogue should be comforting. In any case it provides a wholesome discipline in the way of seeing ourselves as others see us. The rest of the Allies escape almost scot-free, except for a few fierce thrusts at Italy or at individual Italians, like Gabriele d'Annunzio, who is represented as Judas Iscariot. It is for Britain that the vials of German wrath are reserved. And what vials they are! Humor, or at all events humor of the conscious variety, has taken to itself wings.

The catalogue contains nothing quite so shocking as the Lusitania medal. On the other hand, one cannot help observing that the author of that infamy, Karl Goetz, now appears to enjoy extraordinary popularity as a designer. A speci-

men of his handiwork, dealing with the loss of the Zeppelin L-19 in the North Sea, forms a highly instructive counterpart to the performance through which he first became notorious. On the obverse is the airship laboring heavily amid the waves; the crew have clustered on the upper portion of the envelope, and are looking over the angry waters to a trawler, the King Stephen, which is disappearing in the distance. The reverse is almost wholly occupied by the inscription, "Curse the British at sea! Curse your evil conscience," which is doubtless meant to express the feelings of the Zeppelin crew, (who are all represented as shaking their fists vigorously,) and by the descriptive sentence, "Shipwrecked men, imploring help, were left to drown, 2d February, 1916." Yet an-



GERMAN SILVER MEDAL INSCRIBED "NACH PARIS" ON ONE SIDE, WITH A PORTRAIT OF GENERAL VON KLUCK ON THE FACE, MADE IN ANTICIPATION OF THE FALL OF PARIS

other of Goetz's creations shows on the obverse a half-length portrait of Roger Casement, stripped to the waist and bound, with a lanky Highlander busily engaged in tying a rope round his neck; as caricatured in Germany, the British Army usually wears a kilt, a delicate compliment which Scotsmen will not be slow to appreciate. On the reverse a spider is hard at work weaving its web round a stout volume, which is labeled "English Law, 1351." The book itself is supported by a pleasing assortment

of mediaeval instruments of torture, from the midst of which there grins a skull with serpents issuing from its eyes. Across the field is the date of Casement's execution, "3d August, 1916," while round the margin is the doggerel verse:

Edward Third's dead hand
Fastens the noose round Ireland.

Another echo of the unhappy Irish rising presents us with a picture of Death, wearing the undress cap of a hussar and smoking a clay pipe, seated jauntily on the edge of a tomb inscribed "Home Rule. R. I. P." He is contemplating with apparent satisfaction a bunch of shamrock which he holds in his hand, and which is described in the rubric as "A posy of May flowers from the Emerald Isle." This medal is one of a group of six executed by a certain W. Eberbach. They are identical in size, and are clearly meant to be regarded as forming a sort of "danse macabre." In all of them the same repulsive figure is conspicuously "featured," as the cinema advertisements would have it. Thus on one he stands astride above the sinking Lusitania, gloating over her as she sinks beneath the waves, the accompanying legend being "Spite and heedless frivolity on board of the Lusitania." The reverse dedicates the medal "To Woodrow Wilson, the man who despised our warning. 1916."

It is far from agreeable to linger in such company. But the effrontery displayed in a third member of the series is so colossal that one cannot pass it by in silence. As in the case of all the others, Death dominates the field. This time he is seated with his back to the spectator, closely watching a passing liner, whose fate is plainly foretold by the mine which he holds in one hand and the torpedo which he grasps in the other. Above are the words, "England's greeting to the neutral ship Tubantia," the Tubantia being, of course, the fine Dutch steamer which was one of the first victims of Germany's campaign against neutrals. On the reverse is the unexceptionable sentiment, "The best of people can't live in peace if their wicked neighbor doesn't want them to." Britain or Germany—which of these was neighbor to him that fell among thieves?

The War Problems of Mothers

By the Countess of Warwick

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

MOTHERS of soldiers have been in evil plight from time immemorial, ever since the waging of the first wars in some forgotten era of which history takes no count, but in England their troubles in the past were never as they are today. Before 1914 we had a professional army for which men underwent long training; only in a few families did the service claim all the sons; as a rule there were some who chose a civil calling. The result was very satisfactory. Mothers had a sense of double security. In the first place, the risks of war could not reach all their loved ones; secondly, the ethics of war could not dominate the house.

Thinking women, whether educated or not, have always recognized in militarism the merciless enemy of feminism; it is a fight to a finish between the two, and neither side will abate its claims. While militarism is up, feminism is down, and when the latter ascends the former must go. I have known suffragists belonging to families that have a great military record, and some of them have hesitated to face the truth on account of personal family history, but there can be no two opinions about it. If women did not realize the whole truth earlier it was because the services claimed no more than a part of their family, and the war risks were comparatively small. In the past sixty years the last Transvaal war (1899-1902) has been the only really serious conflict, and that was little more than an affair of outposts by the side of the struggle that engages the world today.

If the responsible section of my sex has been betrayed by the love of gold lace, ribbons, stars, crosses, and other decorations into thinking too well of war through all the years of peace, the retribution, long though it lingered, has come at last. It has taken a double form. Some of our sons have gone to their

death, and this, indeed, is tragedy enough; but other of our sons have come back dead to the life that held them before they went away, and this in many instances is the worst tragedy of all. A mother's love for her son is something that no man can nearly understand; so many things enter into it beyond the reach of his perceptions. The thinking



COUNTESS OF WARWICK

woman looks to him to carry some at least of her ideals into the world; she molds him that he may be better, nobler, more useful to humanity than she herself ever hoped to be, even in dreams.

It is not easy to say how the mother of a lad who fulfills her ideals would decide if she could choose for him one of two fates—the first, to die in battle in the earliest flush of youth and idealism, returning to his Creator a soul unstained;

the second, to return from the war sound of limb, but with the feeling that our ends and aims are not shaped by any Divinity, that nothing matters, and that it is well to eat and drink and be merry today, because tomorrow the just and the unjust man will share a common grave, over which the dust of oblivion will soon be blowing. I can imagine no more terrible choice for any mother, but I cannot doubt what answer would spring to the lips of those who have kept their faith quite free from definitions, in spite of the bankruptcy of Church and of State. Happily, such an awful responsibility does not fall to any one.

Yet it will be the fate of innumerable mothers to welcome back to their homes, when war is over, sons whose finer susceptibilities and emotions have lost all their edge, boys who were in all save military eyes too young to be plunged into the inferno of strife, who, after growing careless of death, are now careless of life. Men go through their appointed task with unquenchable heroism, and there is no detailed story of a day's work that cannot thrill to the heart, but here in England, happily, we see nothing of the actualities; we read of cannon fodder, but do not realize what it actually means. We only know vaguely that every time the sun rises in the east so many hundreds, or even thousands, of lads and men look upon the dawn for the last time, and that by the hour when the west is reddening whatever their lives held of promise for the world at large is lost. Ours is the knowledge, but the actual sight of all the hideous welter upon which the pen forbears to dwell is the experience of our young sons. How many of us, not lacking in courage, could face with open eyes the sights with which our lads have grown familiar?

There is a certain esprit de corps among fighting men. They are jovial to the last, they have neither the time nor the mood to mourn, the normal values of life have passed entirely out of sight. Recklessness is the order of the hour, it strays from action to thought. Young officers have told me in all seriousness that we at home have no real idea of life

at all. To savor the true sense of it one must needs go to the trenches, or over the blackened sites of villages that once held a few hundred simple, harmless lives. "Perhaps God ruled over Europe once upon a time," said one, with a sudden burst of candor, "but I know He doesn't now. Even He could not claim to rule and be responsible for the things I've seen; and ours is no more than a few yards of line." Another assured me that when the army is finally disbanded, nobody will go to church. "There never could be any hypocrisy," he assured me, "equal to going to church after all one has seen.

"Yes, I did hear those rather pitiful stories about the angels at Mons, but they were supposed to have been seen when the war was a month old. If anybody tells of angels now, it is one of the forms of shell-shock. That does make some men pray and others curse, and some can't do the one or the other, and they go mad. But nothing really matters. We all do what we can, and the enemy does the same, and we'll win because, man for man, we're better, even if we're not as clever, and those who don't go west today will go tomorrow, or next week or next month, but most of us will get there before we see the Rhine." He went on to talk lightly of a revue that he had been taken to see three times on his brief leave. "I suppose it's rather a beastly thing," he said, "but we all laughed, and it doesn't matter much anyway."

I could dive deeper into the problem I have suggested rather than outlined here, but to do so would be to commit a breach of confidence. Suffice it that the responsible mothers of the young men who come home have a grave problem before them, the more grave because they cannot, save in a very few exceptional cases, solve it for themselves. All mothers have to remember that their sons grow up, and that of all the forcing processes in the world none is quite so drastic as war. The lads will have reached the time when they will turn for counsel, sympathy, and affection, not to their mothers, who would so willingly give them of their best, but

to the daughters of other mothers, who will become mothers in their turn. I do not think I have ever regretted more keenly the neglect of the education of girls in the middle and upper classes, the little provision there is in it by which they may save alive the soul of a man who is in danger of losing it.

It is one of the ironies of the times that the daughters whose education is in so many instances scarcely worthy the name, whose tastes are so often perverted by the empty life of pleasure that is the only life within their grasp, whose physique is injured by town life, badly ventilated rooms, ill-chosen food, fashionable clothes and the rest of the evil to which the daughters of wealthy parents are heir, should be asked to save the race. Yet, however great the irony of the situation, that situation exists. It must be faced. The battle of militarism against feminism will be resumed. Consciously or unconsciously, they will be combatants. They, and not the mothers who yearn for sons lost and sons worse than lost, must play their part, live awhile face to face with the grave prob-

lem, solve, trifle with or ignore it. War has loaded the dice for militarism. The times will gamble with these loaded dice for the bodies of a generation yet unborn, and all that many a lad will have to stand between him and the further disaster of perpetuating the evils of our day will be some young, fair, foolish head with eyes that a piece of braid or ribbon may be able to dazzle.

I am conscious of a clear conviction that feminists of every class and creed should unite to face this problem; any other success while such a work remains undone is the gain of the shadow and the loss of the substance. The girls of England whose attractions will rule the English world and decide the character of the next generation must be reached while there is yet time, and something of their responsibilities brought home to them. If they are going to disregard them and help to prolong the agonies of our failing civilization, let it not be said that they erred through ignorance or because there were none to teach them the truth about the part they are called upon to play.

British Women in War Service

THE British War Office issued, at the end of February, 1917, the following statement of the terms and conditions governing the employment of women with the British armies in France. Many thousands of women in England had long been awaiting official arrangements enabling them to volunteer for this service:

For twelve months, subject to termination earlier at the discretion of the Army Council upon one month's notice, except for misconduct or incompetence, when one week's notice will be given. The engagement may be renewed by mutual consent at the termination of the first period. A bonus of £5 will be paid to each woman, irrespective of grade, on renewal of the agreement for a second period.

There are five main categories of employment, viz.: (a) Clerical, typist, shorthand typist; (b) cooks, waitresses, and domestic staff; (c) motor transport service; (d) storehouse women, checkers, and un-

skilled labor; (e) telephone and postal services, and (f) in addition there will be certain miscellaneous services which do not fall within the above main classification.

(a) Ordinary clerical work and typists, 23s. to 27s. per week, according to efficiency; clerks employed on higher clerical and supervisory duties, 28s. to 32s. per week, according to efficiency; shorthand typists, 28s. to 32s. per week, according to efficiency. These rates of pay cover forty-two working hours per week, after which overtime will be paid at the rate of 7d. per hour for ordinary clerks and 9d. per hour for clerks employed on higher work and shorthand typists.

(b) Head cooks and waitresses, £40 per annum; cooks, waitresses, and housemaids, £26 per annum, with free board and lodging, together with 6d. per week for personal washing.

(c) Superintendents, first class, 52s. 6d. per week; superintendents, second class, 46s. per week; head drivers, 40s. per week; qualified driver-mechanics, 35s. per week; washers, 20s. per week. These above weekly rates in-

clude Sunday work when necessary, but if employed on Sunday a day's rest in lieu will be given. In addition, overtime will be allowed, except to superintendents, at the rate of 5d. per hour after eight and a half working hours per day.

(d) Storehouse women and unskilled labor, 20s. per week. Extra pay up to 2s. per week where special aptitude is required; leading hands, 22s. per week; checkers, 22s. to 24s. per week; assistant forewomen, 24s. per week; forewomen, 24s. to 30s. per week, according to number of staff supervised. These rates cover forty-eight working hours per week. Overtime, at time and a quarter for the first two hours per day; thereafter and on Sundays, time and a half.

(e) Telephone and postal services. Rates of pay are under consideration by the Postmaster General and will be announced later.

(f) Miscellaneous services. Special rates of pay, according to nature of employment, with a minimum of 20s. per week.

No woman under twenty or over forty years of age will be eligible for employment. A short form of agreement will be entered into. A medical examination by a woman doctor will be necessary. The period of preparation in England will include elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline. Free conveyance to and from France on appointment and termination of engagement will be provided. A fortnight's leave will be given

during each year's service. An allowance of £4 will be paid to provide uniform at the beginning of service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of six months. Similar grants will be made for the second year's service. Slightly different grants will be made in the case of the Motor Transport Section.

In all cases other than (b) cooks, waitresses, and domestic staff; (d) storehouse women and unskilled labor, and (f) miscellaneous services—a deduction not exceeding 14s. per week will be made to cover cost of board and lodging and washing on a regulated scale, which will be provided by the military authorities. In the case of (d) storehouse women and unskilled labor and (f) miscellaneous services, when the pay is less than 21s. per week, the deduction will not in any case exceed 13s. a week. The women will be accommodated, while in France, in hostels, under the care and supervision of lady superintendents. The above applies to France only. It must be understood that enrollment for service includes service at home as well as in France. Those who have a preference should declare it. Where preference for France is declared it will be satisfied if possible, and service in France may ultimately follow service begun at home. The conditions of service of the various classes of women workers at home will remain as at present.

To the First Gun

By ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON

[The liner St. Louis, the first American merchant ship to carry guns through the German submarine zone, sailed from New York on March 18, 1917]

Speak, silent, patient gun!
And let thy mighty voice
Proclaim the deed is done—
Made is the nobler choice;
To every waiting people run
And bid the world rejoice.

Tell them our heaving heart
Has found its smiting hand,
That craves to be a part
Of the divine command.
Speak, prove us more than ease or mart,
And vindicate the land.

Thine shall the glory be
To mark the sacred hour
That testifies the free
Will neither cringe nor cower.
God give thy voice divinity
That Right be armed with Power.

Thou art not lifeless steel
With but a number given,
But messenger of weal
Hot with the wrath of heaven.
Go earn the right to Honor's seal—
To have for Honor striven.

Lead us in holy ire
The path our fathers trod;
The music of thy fire
Shall thrill them through the sod.
The smoke of all thy righteous choir
Is incense unto God.

And when long Peace is found
And thou has earned thy rest,
And in thy cave of sound
The sparrow builds her nest,
By Liberty shalt thou be crowned
Of all thy comrades, best.

German Women as War Workers

By Caroline V. Kerr

The writer of this article has recently returned to the United States after having served for many years as Berlin correspondent of a New York newspaper. She is able, therefore, to furnish a first-hand report on the wartime activities of German women.

WHAT are the women of Germany doing today? Everything, from sitting in the civic councils to sweeping the snow from the streets. From the very outbreak of the great war it was plain to be seen that the women of Germany were filled with the determination to play their part in the great national epic, and to play it with fortitude and devotion. At no time have they swerved or faltered, and Dr. Delbrück, late Minister for Home Affairs, paid the women of Germany a well-deserved tribute when he declared in the Reichstag that "such intelligent cooperation and striking efficiency as that displayed by the women of the land since the beginning of the war could not be dispensed with when normal conditions were once more restored."

Not only are they engaged in the manifold phases of relief work such as obviously fall upon the womenfolk of a nation at war, but they have taken the places left vacant by the men on the farm and in the factory. The rapid readjustment of the German labor market was due to the fact that the number of female industrial workers was increased by half a million during the first eight months of the war. This new home army has been chiefly employed in the "war industries"—that is to say, in the metal and machine works or in the electrical and chemical plants. Fifty thousand women are employed in one large ammunition factory, and the manufacture of shells is almost

entirely in the hands of the women. Female labor is utilized, to a large extent, in the production of other war supplies which do not represent so striking a departure from normal activities. This is the case with the textile industries and the factories for ready-made clothing.

No one has been surprised to find German women developing great organizing gifts in dealing with the many ramifications of the Red Cross work, in operating a National League for Public Service, and in elaborating a well-nigh perfect system of municipal kitchens, but it was scarcely to be expected that they would so readily fall into line when it came to recruiting the ranks of the thousand and one small trades and vocations which go to

make up the everyday life of a big nation. They are serving with success as letter carriers, as messenger boys, as chauffeurs, as window cleaners, as "motor-men," as conductors on the street cars and subways, and one is reported as having joined the ancient and honorable guild of chimney-sweeps.

They are familiar figures on the streets where public works are in course of construction, and if you ask them who looks after their households in the meantime they cheerfully explain that they can rely upon the thoroughly organized system of municipal welfare work to care for them and their children.

Women have been included in the municipal councils of Berlin and other large cities, and no civic measure bear-



CROWN PRINCESS CECILIE
OF GERMANY

ing upon the subjects of alimentation and public welfare is carried out without their counsel and co-operation; in fact, a few women of extraordinary initiative and executive ability may be spoken of as ex-officio members of the German Home Office.

Frau Heyl's Enterprises

One of these is Frau Sophie Heyl, the woman who gave the impulse to the centralization of the national movement in household economics. Frau Heyl has received many orders for distinguished service, but no one of these is as gratifying to her as the unofficial title bestowed upon her of "The Hindenburg of the Kitchen."

She is verily a generalissimo in her line of work, and in the opening days of the war gave striking proofs of her gifts in this direction by mobilizing the housekeepers of the land and initiating them into the rôle they were expected to play in the great campaign then opening. Her ever-fertile brain evolved one scheme after another for meeting the unexpected economic situation, and the awakening of a national consciousness among the cooks and housewives of the empire was largely due to the efforts of this remarkable woman.

It was she who organized and financed the first relief kitchen for the "shame-faced poor," and it was due to her foresight that the meat and vegetables were concocted into the savory stew, known as "gulasch," millions of tins of which were sent to the soldiers in the trenches. More than that, her name became a household word throughout the land by means of the series of "War Cook Books," compiled at the request of the German Home Office and distributed gratis by the tens of thousands.

Frau Heyl has not confined her energies to household economics on a large scale, but, believing in the efficacy of small economies, has instituted potato-paring and cherry-pit campaigns. Such activities may seem ridiculously small to the outside world, but are not to be despised in a country now passing through the state of "commercial isolation," once foreseen by the great German philosopher, Fichte.

Public Service League

What Frau Heyl has accomplished in the field of household economics has been achieved along the broader lines of national welfare work by Dr. Gertrude Baumer, President of the National Council of German Women and of that remarkable war organization known as the National League of Public Service.

This organization represents a concentration of effort and a comprehensiveness of scope never before attempted by the women of any country. The war was scarcely a week old when the call went out from Berlin to the remotest corner of the empire summoning the women of Germany to the colors, and the result was the present far-reaching organization prepared to meet every exigency of the war relief and public welfare work.

Both Dr. Baumer and Frau Heyl attribute the phenomenal rapidity with which they were able to organize such large bodies of women, and direct their activities into channels of efficiency, to the much-decried "Prussian militarism," which they claim only means schooling and subordination of the individual to the well-being of the masses—in other words, discipline and organization.

Every town, village, and hamlet throughout Germany maintains a branch of the Public Service League, and these local organizations receive a weekly budget from the municipal treasuries and thus work hand in hand with the city authorities in disbursing the relief funds. Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be gained from the fact that in Berlin alone more than ten million marks are paid out every month to the soldiers' families, and practically all the applications for aid are handled by the league. In two months the Berlin relief committees distributed food certificates and bread and milk cards to a total amount of more than 130,000 marks.

Relief of the Needy

Some of the duties of the league are to look after the war widows and orphans, to feed the hungry, to clothe the destitute, to find work for the unemployed, to mediate between land-

lords and tenants, and in every possible way to come to the immediate and effective relief of all the needy classes of the population. One of the chief activities of the league at the beginning of the war was to care for the thousands and thousands of refugees from the devastated provinces of East Prussia who poured into Berlin and other cities of the interior and for months claimed the hospitality of their more fortunate compatriots living within the "safety zone." In addition to the funds appropriated by the city, the league is the constant recipient of voluntary contributions; in fact, its treasury is in no danger of being exhausted should the war continue indefinitely.

A fact of striking significance in connection with this organization was the sweeping away of all religious and party barriers. The League of Catholic Women as well as those of pronounced Social Democrat tenets allied themselves with the national movement, and a Swedish writer, in commenting upon this phenomenon, says that if "dismembered Germany was welded into an empire by the war of 1870-71, the war of 1914 may be said to have accomplished still more for the nation by bringing about an inner unification and creating an entirely new quality of national consciousness."

The basic principle underlying the activities of the league is to discourage charity and make every applicant for aid self-supporting. It is not possible to carry out this principle in all cases, but its general wisdom is incontestable. Living upon the charity of others soon becomes an incurable habit and is utterly destructive of all feelings of self-respect and personal responsibility.

Parallel with the work of the Public Service League is that of the so-called "Frauendank"—an endowment fund al-

ready amounting to many millions, designed as a special expression of gratitude from the women of Germany to their fallen heroes. The interest on this fund, which is splendidly invested, is to be supplied to the permanent support of the families thus left unprovided for.

It is the women who have also taken the lead in the national "Gold Offering." The official head of this work is the German Crown Princess, from whose various royal residences rich treasures

have been sent to swell the sacrifices laid upon the altar of the Fatherland.

There is no busier woman in the empire than the Crown Princess, as she must not only lend her name and influence to the manifold war organizations, but she is also called upon to represent the Empress at all public functions owing to the fact that the latter has withdrawn herself from active participation in the broader phases of the relief work and

confines herself to a few charities lying very near to her heart.

Thus it happens that the Crown Princess is daily claimed by some official duty or errand of mercy; now she makes the round of the military hospitals; now she is investigating the progress made at the lace school started under her aegis; now she is presiding at a bazaar, where her services are eagerly sought as a saleswoman; now she is acting as patroness at a charity concert, the least irksome of all her duties, as she is a thorough musician. She is particularly interested in the work being accomplished by the Crown Princess Hospital Train, the gift of the Schoenberg Borough of Greater Berlin and said to be the best-equipped hospital on wheels in Germany.

The active participation taken by the royal women of Germany in all phases



GRAND DUCHESS LOUISE OF BADEN

of the war relief work has been a great stimulus to the women of the land, who feel that the war has bridged the social chasm and united them in one common work, quite irrespective of caste distinctions. Here they meet on common ground and are all engaged in fulfilling their sacred duties as wives, mothers, and citizens.

Even the octogenarian Grand Duchess Louise of Baden does not allow her age to deter her from being present to welcome the German wounded soldiers when they first touch home soil at Constance on their way back from the prison camps of France.

Other Royal Women

The Queen of Bavaria is another royal woman whose heart and soul are in the relief work, and in the opening days of the war she personally presided over the sewing rooms established in one of the wings of her Munich palace.

Court society furnishes no more striking example of fidelity to a self-imposed task than Princess Henckel-Dommersmarck, the wife of Germany's largest coal magnate. Despite her years, this woman not only maintains but personally supervises a hospital of 200 beds. By 8 o'clock in the morning she has entered upon her round of daily executive duties, and 8 o'clock in the evening finds her still engaged in her work of mercy.

Baroness von Ihne, one of the beauties of German Court society, was one of the first to recognize the necessity of placing the work being done for the "war blind" on an organized basis, and her Home for the Blind was the first of many to undertake the systematic education of this most tragic class of war sufferers. Here again an endowment fund already reaching the millions insures permanent aid to the beneficiaries.

Another field of work to which German women have devoted themselves with great energy is gardening—not futile, amateur attempts to make things grow, but "war gardening" on a large and purposeful scale.

Baroness von Flotow is the head gardener at the Teltow Vegetable Fields near

Berlin, where 200 young women of gentle birth and breeding have braved wind and weather for two years in the execution of their volunteer task of cultivating 150 acres of land. This is only the largest of the "war gardens" which hang like a heavy green fringe around the skirts of Greater Berlin, now widening, now narrowing as the brick and mortar of the suburban settlements or the shining black ribbon of railway steel imposes an obstacle to their further progress.

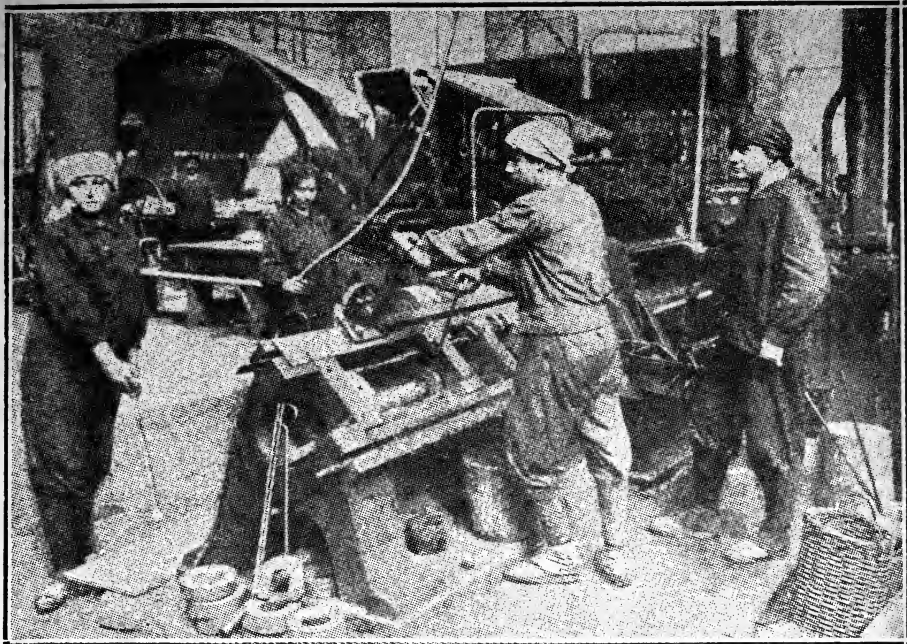
The fruits and vegetables grown in these war gardens are sold for minimum prices in the co-operative retail shops opened up by the housewives' unions, who are thus in a position to control the prices of foodstuffs.

Raising Sunflower Seeds

Nothing is deemed so insignificant as to be a negligible quantity in the general economic scheme. A case in point is furnished by the attention paid to the cultivation of the sunflower, strongly recommended to the gardening element by reason of the oil to be extracted from the seeds and the "sunflower cake" to be made from the residue and used as fodder.

Sunflower products form an important item in Russia's export trade, the revenue derived from the export of sunflower oil alone having brought the State the sum of 4,000,000 rubles a year. Germany is not rich in oil-producing plants, and before the war was obliged to import practically her entire supply of oils and fats. In thus encouraging the home production of an indispensable article hitherto bought in foreign countries, the Government has evidently taken as a precedent the present sugar beet industry, which owes its origin to the Continental blockade imposed by Napoleon I. in his wars with England. Forced back upon her own efforts to supply the nation's needs in this article, Germany then laid the foundation of one of her most highly developed national industries.

Naturally the question arises as to what this activity on the part of the women will lead to after the war. Dr. Gertrude Baumer answers this question at the close of her book on the "German



GERMAN WOMEN AT WORK IN A STATE GUN FACTORY

Woman in War Welfare Work." Here she says: "Thousands of women have been brought to a full realization of their duties as citizens in this hour of fate and will remain true to their awakened consciousness. The war has had a qualitative effect upon woman's work and endeavor by reason of the fact that the enormous and unprecedented problems created by the war have forced all sociological organizations to shake off their dilettantism and plant themselves upon the firm ground of scientific knowledge and systematized effort.

Moreover, the official recognition of the part played by the women in the communal and national work has already been shown by the appointment of women as members to the city councils and deputations, the full significance of

which will not be, can not be, estimated until after the war.

The German Nation will not be able to forget that the stern fight for existence behind the front was made possible only by the unremitting efforts of the women of the land, working hand in hand with the men and contributing cheerfully and intelligently to the economic upkeep of the nation. Even women who are not avowed suffragists think that universal suffrage will be one of the inevitable results of the war, for the reason that the law-givers of all the belligerent countries can no longer deny this crowning privilege to the wives and mothers who have worked so bravely, suffered so keenly, and endured so patiently through the long years of this cruel war.

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The War's Effects on Woman's Status

AUGUST WINNIC, NATIONAL SECRETARY
BUILDING TRADE UNION OF GERMANY

Women in all the belligerent countries of Europe have taken men's places in industrial life in unprecedented numbers. In Germany at the end of 1916 the number of women employed in industries covered by the sickness and death benefit societies numbered 4,793,472, or nearly one-half the persons included in the insurance system. This is a 33 per cent. increase since the beginning of the war. At the same time there were in England 3,219,000 women employed outside their own homes, of whom 766,000 had replaced men gone to war. About 500,000 of these had gone into munition plants. Cecil Harmsworth, head of the Woman's War Employment Commission, stated on Jan. 6, 1917, that his commission then had a trifle over 1,000,000 women doing men's work, and that they had saved England. In France similar conditions exist, and hundreds of thousands of women are making munitions at wages ranging from \$1.05 to \$2.15 a day. French schools are now taught almost exclusively by women, a radical change from the past, and one likely to remain after the war.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE world war is a revolution the extent and meaning of which will be fully apparent only to coming generations. Regarding the complex problems that, taken together, are called the woman question, the war has shown itself to be genuinely revolutionary, as it is fast ripening the new social and economic phenomena that have grown out of the peculiar needs of our period. The increasing prominence of woman in the life of Germany and her independent position both mentally and economically form a not unimportant peculiarity of our day. This is a phenomenon inseparably connected with the development and advance of capitalist administration, and, consequently, cannot be stopped by anything, although naturally it may be influenced.

Right here the war has given the wheel of time a powerful turn ahead. For nobody need imagine that with the return of peace everything in this matter will go back to its old form. On the contrary, there are many considerations that force us to the conclusion that, even after the war, women's labor will constitute a far more weighty factor in industry than it did before. It is also certain that this phenomenon cannot be restricted to Germany alone. After the war all Europe will be compelled to employ women to a greater extent in industry. Millions of men in the flower of their working lives are being eliminated from the industrial sphere, either through death

or permanent injury. Europe must find substitutes for them, if she doesn't want to lose her hard-pressed position of superiority in the world of industry, or, more correctly stated, if she wishes to regain it. Millions of the wives of the dead or crippled participants in the war need and seek industrial employment in order to earn a necessary addition to their pension allowances.

The surplus of women will increase, and, in line with this fact, there will be a rise in the number of women who must renounce the idea of marriage and make themselves economically independent. We must expect a sharper competition among the industrial States for the export markets, and this will involve an increased effort to lower the cost of production. These conditions will be present and their influence will be felt in all the industrial nations. Therefore this mighty transformation in the economic position of woman is not limited to Germany. It will be extended to all the belligerent countries, will spread from these to neutral lands, and, as a further consequence, will form the base of a new period in the history of woman.

The position of woman as to her public and private rights, as to her public and intellectual life, is closely bound up with her industrial position and activity. Woman's sphere of influence in the State and in society corresponds to her field of activity. Where woman's activity is

limited to the home and family, where she has no direct connection with the industrial life of the nation, there her legal and intellectual position is confined within narrow boundaries. Right here is verified Marx's declaration that society does not rest upon the law, but that the law rests upon society. Law is the legal expression of the actual social condition. Of course, like everything existing, it is ruled by the tendency to stand fast, and, consequently, it generally yields but hesitatingly, and often resistingly, to changes in conditions.

There is no question that the changes in the relation of women to industrial life that have taken place during the war have been extraordinarily great. Nevertheless, they would remain without any influence upon the legal and intellectual position of woman if they were merely of a transitory nature. Let us summarize the reasons that show that this cannot be the case:

1. The economic life of the belligerent countries the labor of women as a substitute for the men whom the war has taken from industrial life either through death or permanent injury.

2. The sharpened industrial competition to which Europe will see herself forced because of her loss of strength will necessarily develop—to the advantage of powerful industrial groups—a strong movement toward a lowering of the cost of production, which will be favored by woman's labor, as it is at present cheaper.

3. The disappearance of the fathers of families from industrial life through death or disability will compel a great many women to seek productive labor in order to increase their pension allowances from the public, so as to be able to maintain the family.

4. The diminished possibility of marriage will force more women than formerly to make themselves economically independent and enter industrial life for this purpose.

Quite aside from the question as to how greatly these conditions will affect matters, there is the problem of how this transformation is going to influence not only the legal and intellectual posi-

tion of woman, but also the entire economic and intellectual life of our people.

Up to the present there have been in Germany only weak currents of feminine opinion insisting upon a change in the present legal standing of women. One of these was composed of the most intellectually active women of the bourgeoisie, whose interest in public life had been aroused, but who lacked a field for its exercise. This current has often been called the "ladies' movement," with the intention of hinting in a deprecatory way that this was not so much an earnest effort for the attainment of equal rights as it was an interesting but harmless sport. The view thus expressed, however, was not quite fair. Even the women's movement of the bourgeoisie had its point of economic support in the circles under its influence. A growing number of women remained single and saw themselves forced by economic, and partly by psychological, reasons to take up a profession, which these women found as doctors, teachers, nurses, or as employes in commercial offices, or in the postal service, or in other lines.

In so far as the bourgeois woman's movement really was backed by numbers its adherents were recruited among these circles, and as a matter of course the leadership fell to the women who were the most fitted for it through education and liberty of movement. The second, and in numbers stronger, movement among the German women was that of the working women organized in the Socialist Party and the trade unions. This movement found support in masses that already amounted to some hundreds of thousands, but in comparison with the total numbers of the women of the working class its active followers were but few. * * *

Enough: It is beyond question that only through that direct participation by women in the economic life of the nation which is connected with economic independence is emphasis lent to the demand for broader rights, and that only then will the great mass of women take up this demand and earnestly support it. Consequently it is evident that an in-

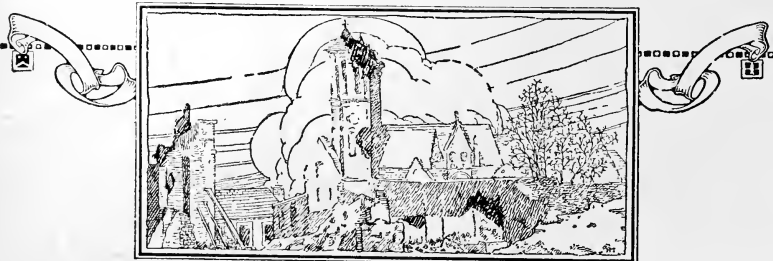
creasing participation by women in industrial labor will influence the legal position of woman in the sense of a broadening of her rights. This connection is due to the fact that the sphere of activity of woman in industry is closely related to the general conditions of the people's life. The wage-earning woman, first of all, has quite different economic interests from those of the housewife, whose activities are limited to the management of her home, the care of her family, and the rearing of her children. Of course the housewife also has economic interests, but between her and the basic economic conditions of life stands the man, to whom falls the main task of providing for the maintenance of life, and who is the first to have to contend with the handicaps and difficulties encountered in this work. Here in a certain sense the man forms a protecting shell for the woman and the family, keeping off the economic pressure from without, or at least lessening it. For this reason the contact of the housewife with the economic conditions of existence is less sharp. The case of the wage-earning woman is different. She lacks the protection of the man. She is entirely dependent upon herself. She senses her economic interests to a much greater degree and soon comes to the conclusion that she must take action herself if she wishes to better her conditions of labor.

Moreover, it is only a step from the field of economic interests to participation in politico-economic and purely political questions; this step, however, is very seldom taken deliberately, but simply forces itself upon the women's organizations. And the women's economic organizations will be something quite different in significance in the future. So long as the wage-earning

woman regards her industrial activity merely as a transition period to be followed by marriage she does not take the matter of defending her trade interests very seriously. Only the consciousness that her wage-earning labor forms the enduring base of her economic existence makes her receptive to the idea of a joint representation of interests through organization.

The basic principle—equal pay for equal work—has more than mere trade union significance. No matter what objections may be raised against it on the part of the employers it is indubitably justified when taken in connection with the nation's industrial and political life as a whole. But it can only be put into effect if woman is kept away from the kind of gainful labor in which she is not equal to man, therefore above all from work that makes especially heavy demands upon bone and muscle. The women in the mines, on railroad track and construction work, in foundries and rolling mills, &c., must remain a phenomenon of war that must end with the war. But even then limitless fields of activity are open to them. But one of the most necessary tasks of legislation is to define, after careful examination, which of the fields of industrial life shall be kept open to woman labor. For only thus may the unavoidable shocks to our economic machinery due to the entering of woman into the army of wage workers be materially lessened. * * *

The war has given the wheel of evolution a swift turn forward. The woman question has entered upon a new stage; its significance for the entire nation has grown mightily. The State and society must recognize the new nature of the woman question and come to an understanding with it.

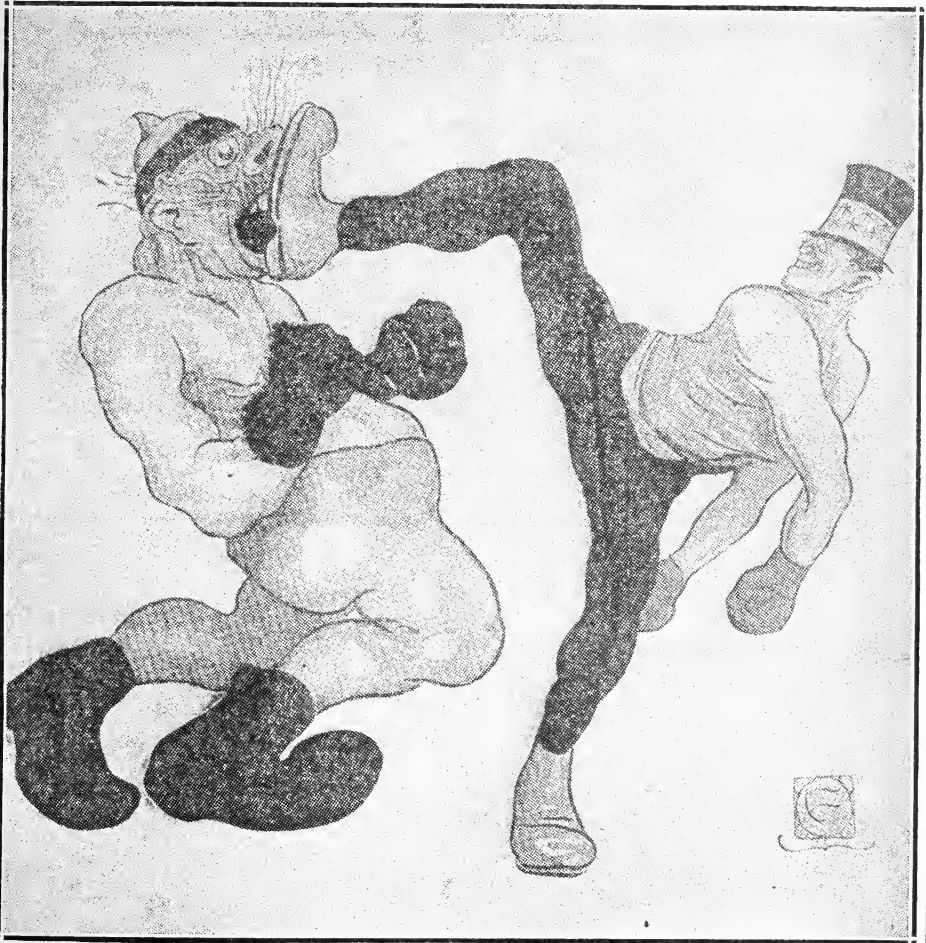


THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the existing blockade of Germany, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

An International Match



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

It began as boxing—and ends as football!

The Arm of the Law

Deep Sea Philosophy



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

“Donnerwetter! Caught, and I knew the bait was illegal!”



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

“Father Neptune, what do they mean by ‘freedom of the seas’?”

“They mean, my dear, that they must be free to send what they choose to the bottom.”

[English Cartoon]

Holland's Plight



—From *The National News*, London.

“Between the devil and the deep sea.”

[American Cartoon]

His Easter Egg



—From *The New York Times*.

Slow in hatching, but a healthy bird.

[Italian Cartoon]

The New Costume



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "And now—cut off my wings!"

[English Cartoon]

The Leper

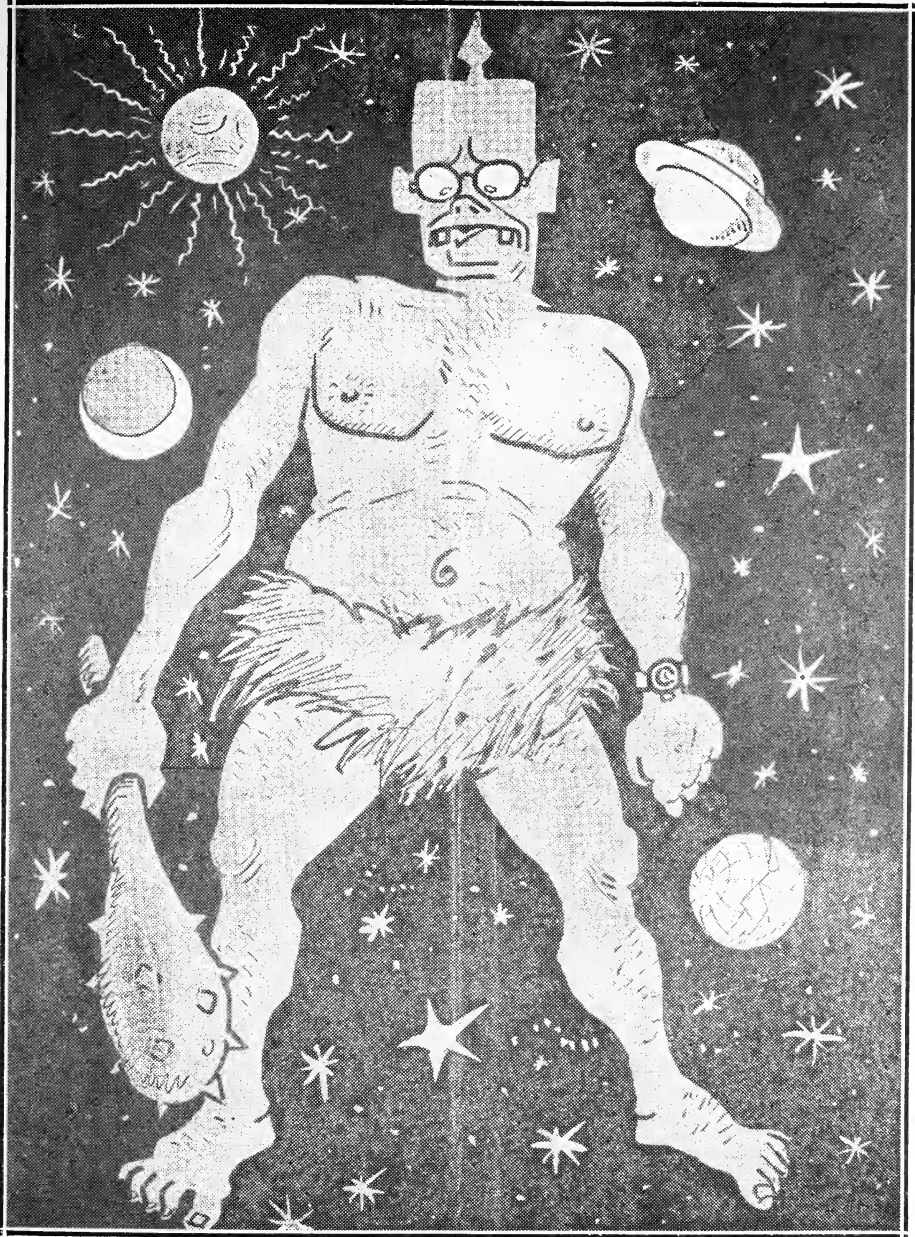


—From *Passing Show*, London.

Shunned by all the world.

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Sudden Fear



—From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

“Where is the good old ‘Gott’ I have called on always? Where is He? Have I slain Him also in error?”

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The American Crocodile



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

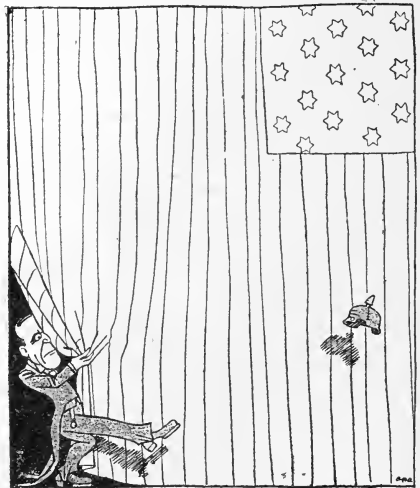
“My good rider gives me such good fodder that I like to please him. Therefore I howl about the Belgian deportations.”

[German Cartoon]
French Losses



“While England does the shouting, France loses the teeth.”

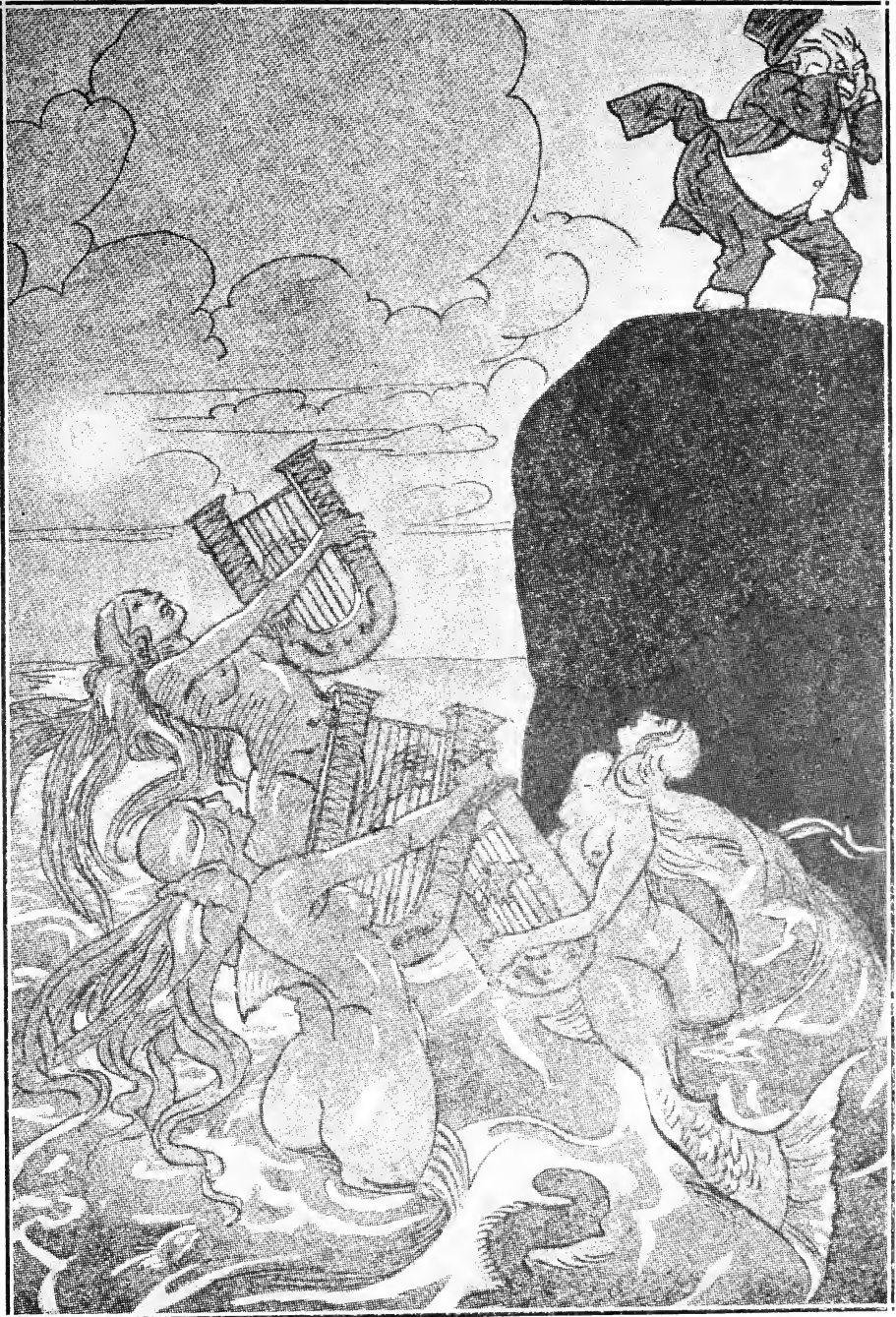
[Spanish Cartoon]
Better Late Than Never



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

President Wilson's final reply to Germany's submarine policy.

[Austrian Cartoon]
Besieging John Bull



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna.
The U-Maidens at Dover.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Woe of the World



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The militarist sees all the thin and puny hands of the starving peoples shape themselves into one mighty fist.

[English Cartoon]

The Harmony Three

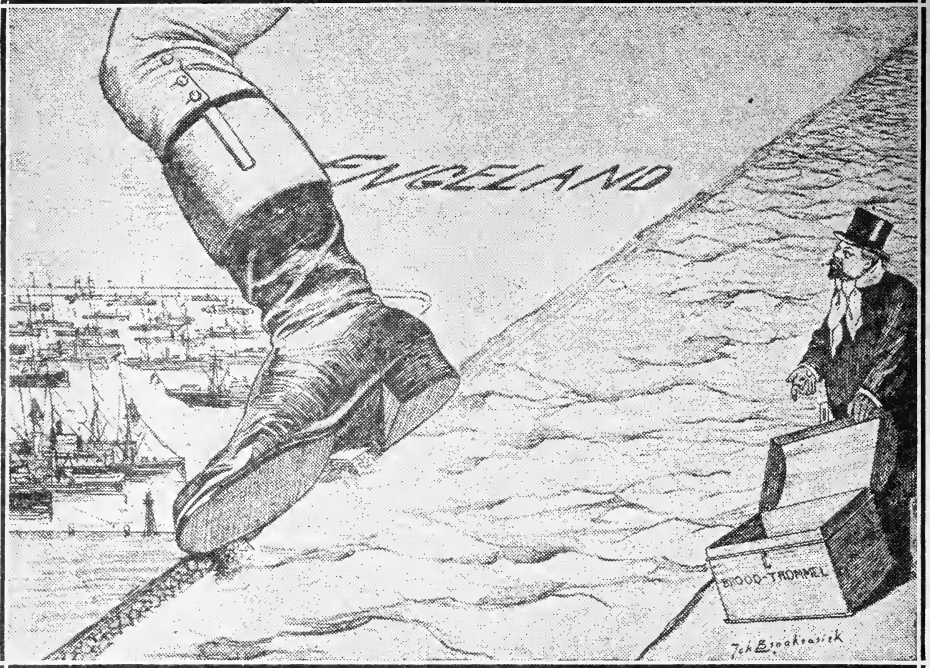


—From The Evening News, London.

A song of the German-Mexican-Japanese plan of alliance.

[Dutch Cartoon]

England Holds Up Dutch Shipping



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

The Dutch Minister shows the empty bread basket.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The American Prestidigitateur



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

“All without apparatus or double bottoms. See, ladies and gentlemen, one, two, three—the dove is a cannon!”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Pirate Emperor



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

KAISER: “Behold! I am Emperor of the seas! The submarine is my throne!”

DEATH: “I think you will find it your coffin.”

[American Cartoons]
 "You Lose"



—From The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

As It Looks to Poor Holland



—From The Grand Forks Herald.

More "Clever Strategy"



—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Strange Position of Holland



—From *Il Numero*, Turin.

Germany still creeping through for supplies

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Neutral

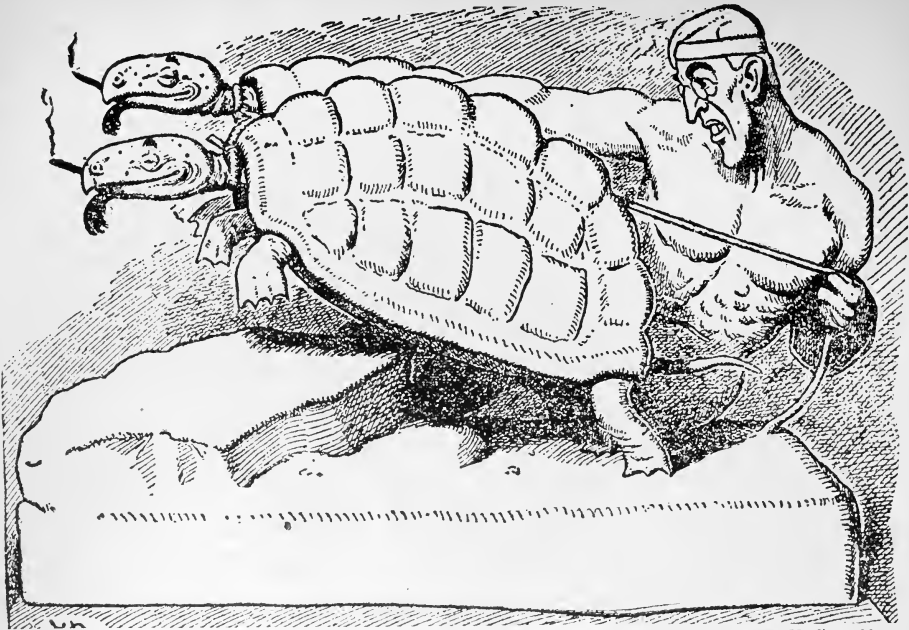


—From *Esquella*, Barcelona.

Playing a fandango while fellow-citizens perish.

[English Cartoons]

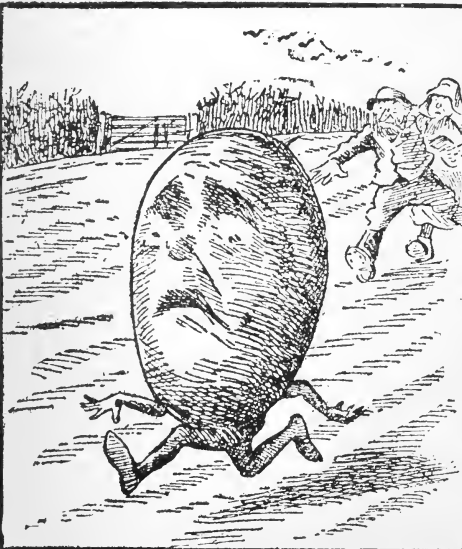
Straining at the Leash



—From *The Pall Mall Gazette*.

The dogs of war, United States of America.
[Published about the time of the Senate filibuster]

A Potato Drama



Despair.
The Last Potato.



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.
Safety.
Ha, ha! I am a Seed Potato!

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Europe's Progress Toward Bankruptcy



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The load is the debt and the imp is the interest. The load has grown from \$4,000,000,000 to \$80,000,000,000.

[American Cartoon] In Freedom's Name



—From The Baltimore American.
Helping to roll away the stone.

[American Cartoon] Into the Light



—From The Providence Journal.
The War's Greatest Work.

[Spanish Cartoon]

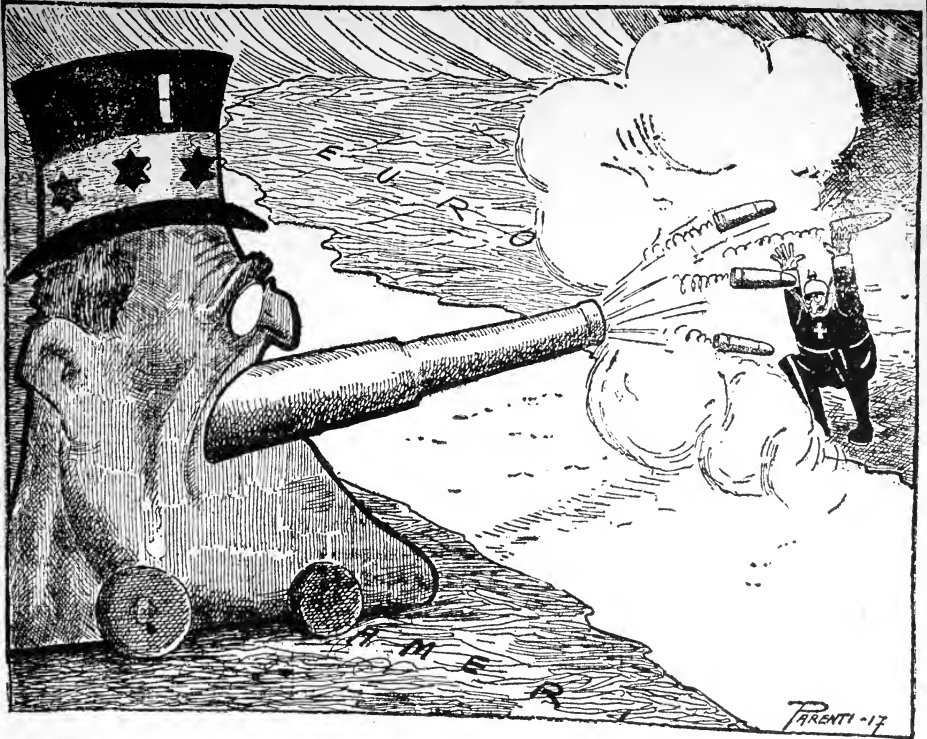
The Recompense



—From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

GERMANY: "In return for the kindness shown by you to my people I reward you with this note in regard to my unlimited submarine campaign."

[Italian Cartoon]
America's Latest Reply



—From Ill 420, Florence.

THE KAISER: "Donnerwetter! This is a new kind of American note!"

[American Cartoon]
More Trouble for Germany



—From The Portland Oregonian.

Now China's kicking the Kaiser's dog around.

[American Cartoon]
The Pariah



—From The New York Evening Post.
 "What has become of my friends?"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Intensive Submarine Warfare



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

NEPTUNE: "You can only put a good face on a bad position, John."

PERIOD XXXIII.

The President's Call to Arms—The New American Army—Visit of Noted Diplomats—The Battle of Arras Day by Day—The French Offensive on the Aisne—The Famous Fight for Vimy Ridge—Germany's Peace Discussion—Text of Chancellor's Address—Home Rule for Ireland—America and the League of Honor—French Praise for America's Action—German Opinion on America's Intervention—Factors in the Russian Revolution—Dramatic Naval Fight Off Dover—The Death Agony of a Submarine—Final Official Reports on Gallipoli—A Wonderful French War Museum—The Hand of God in Prussianism—German Crimes in the Somme Retreat—Pitiful Tales from Ruined Homes—Brand Whitlock on Belgian Deportations—German Reprisals on Prisoners—Under German Rule in France and Belgium.



THE CALL TO ARMS

President's Proclamation of Conscription Law Creating the National Army of the United States

Whereas, Congress has enacted and the President has on the 18th day of May, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, approved a law, which contains the following provisions:

SECTION 5.—That all male persons between the ages of 21 and 30, both inclusive, shall be subject to registration in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President: And upon proclamation by the President or other public notice given by him or by his direction stating the time and place of such registration it shall be the duty of all persons of the designated ages, except officers and enlisted men of the regular army, the navy, and the National Guard and Naval Militia while in the service of the United States, to present themselves for and submit to registration under the provisions of this act: And every such person shall be deemed to have notice of the requirements of this act upon the publication of said proclamation or other notice as aforesaid, given by the President or by his direction: And any person who shall willfully fail or refuse to present himself for registration or to submit thereto as herein provided shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction in the District Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, and shall thereupon be duly registered; provided that in the call of the docket precedence shall be given, in courts trying the same, to the trial of criminal proceedings under this act; provided, further, that persons shall be subject to registration as herein provided

who shall have attained their twenty-first birthday and who shall not have attained their thirty-first birthday on or before the day set for the registration; and all persons so registered shall be and remain subject to draft into the forces hereby authorized unless excepted or excused therefrom as in this act provided; provided, further, that in the case of temporary absence from actual place of legal residence of any person liable to registration as provided herein, such registration may be made by mail under regulations to be prescribed by the President.

SECTION 6.—That the President is hereby authorized to utilize the service of any or all departments and any or all officers or agents of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia and subdivisions thereof in the execution of this act, and all officers and agents of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and subdivisions thereof, and of the District of Columbia; and all persons designated or appointed under regulations prescribed by the President, whether such appointments are made by the President himself or by the Governor or other officer of any State or Territory to perform any duty in the execution of this act, are hereby required to perform such duty as the President shall order or direct, and all such officers and agents and persons so designated or appointed shall hereby have full authority for all acts done by them in the execution of this act by the direction of the President. Correspondence in the execution of this act may be carried in penalty envelopes, bearing the frank of the War Department. Any person charged, as herein provided, with the duty of carrying into effect any of the provisions of this act or the regulations made or directions given thereunder who shall fail or

neglect to perform such duty, and any person charged with such duty or having and exercising any authority under said act, regulations, or directions, who shall knowingly make or be a party to the making of any false or incorrect registration, physical examination, exemption, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, and any person who shall make or be a party to the making of any false statement or certificate as to the fitness or liability of himself or any other person for service under the provisions of this act, or regulations made by the President thereunder, or otherwise evades or aids another to evade the requirements of this act or of said regulations, or who, in any manner, shall fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him in the execution of this act, shall, if not subject to military law, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction in the District Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, or, if subject to military law, shall be tried by court-martial and suffer such punishment as a court-martial may direct.

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do call upon the Governor of each of the several States and Territories, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and all officers and agents of the several States and Territories, of the District of Columbia, and of the counties and municipalities therein, to perform certain duties in the execution of the foregoing law, which duties will be communicated to them directly in regulations of even date herewith.

And I do further proclaim and give notice to all persons subject to registration in the several States and in the District of Columbia, in accordance with the above law,

that the time and place of such registration shall be between 7 A. M. and 7 P. M. on the fifth day of June, 1917, at the registration place in the precinct wherein they have their permanent homes. Those who shall have attained their twenty-first birthday and who shall not have attained their thirty-first birthday on or before the day here named are required to register, excepting only officers and enlisted men of the regular army, the navy, the Marine Corps, and the National Guard and Navy Militia, while in the service of the United States, and officers in the Officers' Reserve Corps and enlisted men in the Enlisted Reserve Corps while in active service. In the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico a day for registration will be named in a later proclamation.

And I do charge those who through sickness shall be unable to present themselves for registration that they apply on or before the day of registration to the County Clerk of the county where they may be for instructions as to how they may be registered by agent. Those who expect to be absent on the day named from the counties in which they have their permanent homes may register by mail, but their mailed registration cards must reach the places in which they have their per-

manent homes by the day named herein. They should apply as soon as practicable to the County Clerk of the county wherein they may be for instructions as to how they may accomplish their registration by mail. In case such persons as, through sickness or absence, may be unable to present themselves personally for registration shall be sojourning in cities of over 30,000 population, they shall apply to the City Clerk of the city wherein they may be sojourning rather than to the Clerk of the county. The Clerks of counties and of cities of over 30,000 population in which numerous applications from the sick and from nonresidents are expected are authorized to establish such agencies and to employ and deputize such clerical force as may be necessary to accommodate these applications.

The power against which we are arrayed has sought to impose its will upon the world by force. To this end it has increased armament until it has changed the face of war. In the sense in which we have been wont to think of armies, there are no armies in this struggle, there are entire nations armed. Thus, the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is France than the men beneath the battle

flags. It must be so with us. It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation.

Thus at this end our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this cannot be if each man pursues a private purpose. All must pursue one purpose. The nation needs all men; but it needs each man not in the field that will most please him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. Thus, though a sharpshooter pleases to operate a trip-hammer for the forging of great guns and an expert machinist desires to march with the flag, the nation is being served only when the sharpshooter marches and the machinist remains at his levers.

The whole nation must be a team, in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end, Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him.

The significance of this cannot be overstated. It is a new thing in our history and a landmark in our progress. It is a new manner of accepting and vitalizing our duty to give ourselves with thoughtful de-

votion to the common purpose of us all. It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass. It is no more a choosing of those who shall march with the colors than it is a selection of those who shall serve an equally necessary and devoted purpose in the industries that lie behind the battle line.

The day here named is the time upon which all shall present themselves for assignment to their tasks. It is for that reason destined to be remembered as one of the most conspicuous moments in our history. It is nothing less than the day upon which the manhood of the country shall step forward in one solid rank in defense of the ideals to which this nation is consecrated. It is important to those ideals no less than to the pride of this generation in manifesting its devotion to them, that there be no gaps in the ranks.

It is essential that the day be approached in thoughtful apprehension of its significance, and that we accord to it the honor and the meaning that it deserves. Our industrial need prescribes that it be not made a technical holiday, but the stern sacrifice that is before us urges that it be carried in all our hearts as a great day of patriotic devotion and obligation, when the duty shall lie upon every man, whether he is himself to be registered or not, to see to it that the name of every male person of the designated ages is written on these lists of honor.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this 18th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

By the President:



ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

The New American Army

Operation of the Selective Draft Law and Formation of the Nation's Military Forces

CONGRESS passed the bill May 18 authorizing the formation of the new army by conscription—after a month's earnest debate. The measure provides for increasing the regular army to 287,000 men and the National Guard to 625,000. It further adopts for the United States the theory and system of compulsory service—which constitutes a revolutionary change—and provides a system of selective drafts between the ages of 21 and 30 years where-by men may be taken by the Government.

The President is authorized to take 500,000 at once and 500,000 later, in addition to the regular army and National Guard increases. In all, this legislation provides an army of approximately 2,000,000 to be raised in the first year following the passage of the law. The vote in the Senate was 81 to 8 and in the House 397 to 24.

President Wilson signed the measure the day it passed, and at once issued the proclamation printed in the preceding pages, calling the nation to arms. In this proclamation he defined the workings of the law, and fixed June 5 as the day for registration. This day is to be made the occasion of great patriotic demonstrations throughout the country.

About 10,000,000 men between 21 and 30, inclusive, are expected to be registered. After the registration and exemptions have been completed, those declared to be eligible for drafting will have their names placed in jury wheels and 500,000 will be drafted for Federal service in the formation of the new national army. It is expected that the second call for 500,000 men will follow within a few weeks. The new army will be completed as follows:

The regular army will be recruited to the maximum war strength of 287,000 men by voluntary enlistment or, as a last resort, by selective enrollment.

The National Guard will be recruited to the

maximum war strength of 625,000 men by voluntary enlistment or, as a last resort, by selective enrollment.

The first additional force of 500,000 men will be raised by selective enrollment.

The new army will be mobilized in 16 divisions of 28,000 men each, distributed among the States as follows:

First—Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

Second—Lower New York State and Long Island.

Third—Upper New York State and Northern Pennsylvania.

Fourth—Southern Pennsylvania.

Fifth—Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and District of Columbia.

Sixth—Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Seventh—Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Eighth—Ohio and West Virginia.

Ninth—Indiana and Kentucky.

Tenth—Wisconsin and Michigan.

Eleventh—Illinois.

Twelfth—Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Thirteenth—North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa.

Fourteenth—Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri.

Fifteenth—Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Sixteenth—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, California, Nevada, and Utah.

National Guard Called Out

Coincident with the proclamation, President Wilson issued orders for the mobilization of the entire National Guard, which will immediately be drafted into the Federal service; 60,000 of this force out of a total of 160,000 were drafted into the Federal service prior to May 15. New National Guard units will be expanded to a total of 400,000, to be known as the National Guard Army, consisting of sixteen divisions.

All men taken into the army will serve for the period of the war.

Although local units will be kept intact, so far as possible, the regular army, National Guard, and enrolled men will be welded into a homogeneous army, with

officers appointed and assigned by the President.

Enlisted men will receive pay of \$30 a month, an increase of \$15, and the pay of the other grades is increased.

Recruits of the regular army will go into training at once. The National Guard units will be in training, it is expected, by July 1, and the 500,000 enrolled men by Sept. 1.

There was a prolonged conflict over a provision authorizing the formation of four divisions of volunteers at the pleasure of the President, which was intended to authorize former President Roosevelt to head this volunteer army; it was finally incorporated into the bill. Announcement was made on May 19, however, that the President had decided not to avail himself of the authority to organize volunteer divisions. He announced at the same time that a division of the United States regulars would be sent to France at the earliest date practicable, to be commanded by Major Gen. John J. Pershing, who had been in command of the expedition to Mexico. The Secretary of the Navy announced May 19 that 2,600 marines would accompany the Pershing expedition.

Training Camps Established

Officers' training camps were opened on May 15 as follows:

First—Troops from all New England States, Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.

Second—New York Congressional Districts 1 to 26, (including Long Island, New York City, and a strip north of the city,) Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.

Third—Remainder of New York State and Pennsylvania Congressional Districts 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 25, and 28, Madison Barracks, N. Y.

Fourth—Remainder of Pennsylvania State, including Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Fort Niagara, N. Y.

Fifth—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and District of Columbia, Fort Myer, Va.

Sixth—North and South Carolina and Tennessee, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., near Chattanooga, Tenn.

Seventh—Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, Fort McPherson, Ga., near Atlanta.

Eighth—Ohio and West Virginia, Fort Benjamin Harrison, near Indianapolis.

Ninth—Indiana and Kentucky, Fort Benjamin Harrison.

Tenth—Illinois, Fort Sheridan, near Chicago.

Eleventh—Michigan and Wisconsin, Fort Sheridan.

Twelfth—Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, Fort Logan H. Root, Ark., near Little Rock.

Thirteenth—Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska, Fort Snelling, Minn., near St. Paul.

Fourteenth—Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado, Fort Riley, Kan.

Fifteenth—Oklahoma and Texas, Leon Springs, Texas, near San Antonio.

Sixteenth—Montana, Idaho, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico, Presidio, San Francisco.

In addition there will be two separate cavalry divisions which probably will be situated in the Southwest, near the Mexican border. Officers for the cavalry divisions will be trained at all of the sixteen officers' training camps, which will open with 40,000 prospective officers under training.

Each infantry division consists of nine full regiments of infantry, three regiments of field artillery, one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of engineers, one division hospital, and four camp infirmaries. The total strength of the sixteen is 15,022 officers and 439,792 men.

The two cavalry divisions combined will have 1,214 officers and 32,062 fighting men, including mounted engineers and horse artillery units, and each will have also its divisional hospital and camp infirmaries.

The proportion of coast artillery troops to be provided out of the first 500,000 will be 666 officers and 20,000 men, with requisite medical troops.

Supplementing these tactical units will be: Sixteen regiments of heavy field artillery, strength, 768 officers and 21,104 men; eight aero squadrons, or one new squadron to each two new infantry divisions; eight balloon companies, ten field hospitals, ten ambulance companies, twenty-two field bakeries, six telephone battalions, sixteen pack companies, six ammunition trains, and six supply trains.

Provisions of Conscription Bill

Under the provisions of the conscription measure men without dependent wives or children are required to serve unless exempted on some other ground. Unmarried men with dependents, on the other hand, are not required to serve. Unmarried men belonging to exempted

classes under regulations to be prescribed by the President also may be exempted, even if they have no dependents.

The President himself is the final authority on all questions of exemption or discharge. The law authorizes him to appoint a local board for each county or similar subdivision and a local board for each 30,000 population in cities of 30,000 or more. These local boards will consist of three or more persons, none of them to be connected with the military establishment. The members of these boards will be chosen from local authorities or other citizens of the subdivision in which the board has jurisdiction.

Local boards have power to hear and determine, subject to review by district boards to be appointed for each Federal judicial district, all questions of exemption and all questions of including individuals or classes in the selective draft or of discharging them from it.

In densely populated judicial districts, as in New York City, more than one board will be appointed to revise the findings of local boards in each district when appeals are taken.

The entire scheme is to localize the exemption boards and boards of review as much as possible, officials feeling that in this way, and by keeping military men off the boards, the minimum of friction will result.

The district boards, also appointed

solely by the President, have authority to review on appeal, affirm, modify, or reverse the decision of local boards, as to any individual or any class of individuals. Those not satisfied with the decision of the Board of Review may appeal directly to the President. In appointing all boards, the President has absolute control at all times of the exemption machinery. The exemption work is a purely civil procedure. The army has no part in the matter until after all questions of exemption or discharge of individuals or classes have been finally disposed of and the new draft army is called to the colors.

The specific exemptions fixed by the bill include State and Federal officials of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, persons in the naval or military service, members of religious sects with conscientious scruples against war. The President is authorized to exclude from the draft or to draft for "partial military service only," county and municipal officers, Custom House clerks, persons employed by the United States in the transportation of the mails and certain other designated classes, together with "persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the military establishment or the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of the national interest during the emergency."

Mobilizing America's Resources

THE mobilizing of America's resources and the organizing of its man power for the war proceeded in earnest in May. In every direction new forms of co-operation in industry were established with the help of leading business men, technical experts, and men whose organizing abilities had been previously employed in private enterprise.

Committees to serve under Bernard M. Baruch, Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials of the Advisory Commission, and Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of the Committee of Supplies, were appointed by the Council of National De-

fense. These committees assisted in the co-ordination of industries. Judge Elbert H. Gary was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Steel, and among the members of the committee was Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Company. A. C. Bedford, President of the Standard Oil Company, was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Oil. Other committees to handle alcohol, aluminium, asbestos, magnesia, and roofing; brass, coal tar by-products, lumber, lead; mica, nickel, rubber, sulphur, wool, and zinc, were selected from the chief leaders in those lines.

The Commercial Economy Board of the Advisory Commission to promote efficiency, eliminate waste, and especially to assist commercial houses in releasing employes for Government service without dislocating business, proceeded with its work. A committee was appointed to increase output of coal and by co-operation with the Committees on Raw Materials and Transportation to accelerate the movement of coal to points where the need is greatest.

Medical men organized a board to work with the Council of National Defense.

The Women's Committee, presided over by Dr. Anna H. Shaw, endeavored to prevent overlapping by the numerous women's organizations, and to organize their work in an efficient manner.

Measures were undertaken to recruit for farm work boys between the age of 16 and the age of enlistment, of whom there are 5,000,000, with 2,000,000 estimated as idle. This was directed by the Department of Agriculture through the United States Boys' Working Reserve.

The leaders of capital and labor on May 15 met at Washington, and, putting aside all differences, agreed to co-operate. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor and Chairman of the Labor Committee of the Advisory Commission, invited a group of America's greatest industrial magnates to discuss methods of co-operation between employers and workers. Those who accepted included John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Emerson McMillan of New York, Daniel Guggenheim, Theodore Marburg of Baltimore, and Colgate Hoyt of New York. The meeting in the Labor Federation building at Washington was unprecedented. Mr. Rockefeller promised that he would do all he could to co-operate with labor. Similar pledges were received from other men representing great industrial interests, who were not present at the meeting. At its conclusion the

spokesmen of capital and labor went in a body to the White House, and were received by the President, who said that this was a most welcome visit, because it meant a most welcome thing—co-operation of the whole nation. The labor union leaders of America have also conferred with the British labor representatives who have been visiting Washington and learning how in England employers and workers have co-operated for the prosecution of the war.

The Government received invaluable assistance from the iron and steel producers, who formed a central organization and took charge of all orders for war munitions. All steel mills were classified according to tonnage, so as to make a proper distribution of the financial burden. The copper producers made an agreement with the Metals Committee of the National Defense Council to supply copper at the average market price for the last ten years, instead of the current market prices. Secretary of the Navy Daniels stated that his department is thereby saving \$850,000 in the cost of cartridge cases under contracts just awarded. The agreement was brought about by Bernard M. Baruch. Satisfactory arrangements were also made by the Navy Department with the petroleum interests to supply the navy's needs at reasonable cost. Judge Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, announced that the Government was to obtain the steel it required at lower prices. Other branches of trade and industry also acted on the principle that patriotism demands the subordination of profit-seeking to war needs.

The State Governments began to organize so as to help the National Government, New York in particular being well advanced with its scheme of defense work. Early in May a conference of Governors and State delegates was held at Washington and received explanations regarding the various projects of committees of the National Defense Council.



VISIT OF NOTED DIPLOMATS

Marshal Joffre and Ministers Balfour and Viviani
Welcomed by the United States

Text of Their Most Eloquent Speeches

THE entrance of the United States into the great conflict was immediately followed by a decision on the part of the British and French Governments each to send on one of its warships a high commission to convey the greetings and sense of appreciation of those Governments to this country, and also to discuss ways and means for securing the most effective co-operation of the United States.

The British Commission was headed by Arthur J. Balfour, Foreign Minister and former Premier; his personal staff included the Hon. Sir Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., G. C. B.; Ian Malcolm, M. P.; C. F. Dormer, and G. Butler. Sir Eric Drummond is a half-brother and heir presumptive of the Earl of Perth. Mr. Malcolm at different times was an attaché of the British Embassies in Berlin, Paris, and Petrograd, and during the war has been the British Red Cross officer in France, Switzerland, and Russia.

Other members of the party were Rear Admiral Dudley R. S. de Chair, K. C. B., M. V. O.; Fleet Paymaster Vincent Lawford, D. S. O., Admiralty; Major General George T. M. Bridges, C. M. G., D. S. O.; Captain H. H. Spender-Clay, M. P.; Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England. Admiral de Chair is one of the naval advisers of the British Foreign Office. General Bridges was the head of the military mission with the Belgian field army and served in both the Boer war and the present conflict. Captain Spender-Clay married the daughter of William Waldorf Astor. The commission also included the following:

War Office.—Colonel Goodwin, Colonel Langhorne, Major L. W. B. Rees, V. C., M. C., Royal Flying Corps, and Major C. E. Dansey.

Blockade Department Experts.—Lord Eustace Percy of the Foreign Office. A. A. Paton of the Foreign Office, F. P. Robinson of the

Board of Trade, S. McKenna of the War Trade Intelligence Department, and M. D. Peterson of the Foreign Trade Department, Foreign Office.

Wheat Commission.—A. A. Anderson, Chairman, and Mr. Vigor.

Munitions.—W. T. Layton, Director of Requirements and Statistics Branch, Secretariat of the Ministry of Munitions; C. T. Phillips, American and Transport Department, Ministry of Munitions; Captain Leeming, Mr. Amos.

Ordnance and Lines of Communication.—Captain Heron.

Supplies and Transports.—Major Puckle.

The French Commission was headed by former Premier Viviani, Minister of Justice; General Joffre, Marshal of France; Vice Admiral Chocheprat, Senior Vice Admiral of the French Navy, and Marquis de Chambrun, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a lineal descendant of Marquis de Lafayette. The party also included M. Simon, Inspector of Finance; M. Hovelacque, Inspector General of Public Instruction, and the personal staff of Marshal Joffre, comprising Lieut. Col. Fabry, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Remond, (artillery,) General Headquarters; Major Rerquim, Ministry of War; Lieutenant de Tossan, Tenth Army, and Surgeon Major Dreyfus of the Medical Corps. The other members of the party are Lieutenant A. J. A. K. Lindeboom of the Ministry of Marine, a specialist in sea transport, and Captain George E. Simon, Aid de Camp of Admiral Chocheprat.

Arrival of British Mission

The visit of these eminent men was meant to fulfill two separate functions, the one to express to the people of America the gratification of the allied Governments over our action, and the other to discuss practical ways and means with our Government to secure its most effective co-operation with the Allies.

The British Commissioners stole secretly away from England April 11 on a

fast ship, protected in every possible way from German spies, who might have sent out word to lurking submarines. The voyage was entirely uneventful, however, and the party arrived at Halifax April 20. Crossing to St. John, a special train took them to the little Canadian town of McAdam, just across the International Bridge, which Werner Horn, a former German officer, had attempted to blow up.

Meanwhile the American Reception Committee, headed by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State; Rear Admiral Fletcher, and Major Gen. Wood, slipped out of Washington April 15 under the impression that the British party had started two days earlier than it did. With a five-car special train standing with steam up, the committee waited anxiously from Monday until Friday afternoon, when the word came from Halifax which sent them on a night ride to the border. At 9 A. M. of the 21st they arrived at the little frontier town of Vanceboro, Me. The American officials, with the army and navy representatives in uniform, descended to a dingy and deserted station platform in a thick, cold mist. News of the distinguished guests' arrival soon brought a small gathering of railroad workers, farmers, and French Canadians, reinforced by a squad of youngsters who came marching up with three worn American flags.

To these modest surroundings the special train, which had gone on to McAdam, returned two hours later bearing Mr. Balfour and his party. As it drew across the bridge, Secretary Long and his party mounted the rear of the observation car and disappeared inside to welcome the commission formally to American soil.

Mr. Balfour's Statement

The party reached Washington on Sunday, April 22. While en route Mr. Balfour issued the following statement:

I have not come here to make speeches or indulge in interviews, but to do what I can to make co-operation easy and effective between those who are striving with all their power to bring about a lasting peace by the only means that can secure it, namely, a successful war.

On my own behalf let me express the deep gratification I feel at being connected in any capacity whatever with events which associate our countries in a common effort for a great ideal.

On behalf of my countrymen, let me express our gratitude for all that the citizens of the United States of America have done to mitigate the lot of those who, in the allied countries, have suffered from the cruelties of the most deliberately cruel of all wars. To name no others, the efforts of Mr. Gerard to alleviate the condition of British and other prisoners of war in Germany and the administrative genius which Mr. Hoover has ungrudgingly devoted to the relief of the unhappy Belgians and French in the territories still in enemy occupation, will never be forgotten, while an inexhaustible stream of charitable effort has supplied medical and nursing skill to the service of the wounded and the sick.

These are the memorable doing of a beneficent neutrality. But the days of neutrality are, I rejoice to think, at an end, and the first page is being turned in a new chapter in the history of mankind.

Your President, in a most apt and vivid phrase, has proclaimed that the world must be made safe for democracy. Democracies, wherever they are to be found, and not least the democracies of the British Empire, will hail the pronouncement as a happy augury.

That self-governing communities are not to be treated as negligible simply because they are small, that the ruthless domination of one unscrupulous power imperils the future of civilization and the liberties of mankind, are truths of political ethics which the bitter experiences of war are burning into the souls of all freedom-loving peoples. That this great people should have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into this mighty struggle, prepared for all the efforts and sacrifices that may be required to win success for this most righteous cause, is an event at once so happy and so momentous that only the historian of the future will be able, as I believe, to measure its true proportions.

At Washington the party was met in the station by Secretary of State Lansing and Colonel W. W. Harts, the President's Aid; Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department and Assistant Secretary of State; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and others. Escorted by two troops of cavalry, the visitors were taken to the private residence of Franklin MacVeagh, former Secretary of the Treasury, which had been placed at their disposal. The streets through which they passed were filled with welcoming crowds, and as they passed they were everywhere greeted with cheers and waving flags, the Stars

and Stripes and the union jack being freely intermingled.

Mr. Balfour first conferred with President Wilson on the morning of the 23d, and that night the President and Mrs. Wilson gave a dinner at the White House in honor of the party.

Seeking No Formal Alliance

On April 25 Mr. Balfour made his first important official declaration, in which he stated that the Entente Powers did not seek a formal alliance with the United States. Speaking to a group of newspaper correspondents, he said:

I do not suppose that it is possible for you—I am sure it would not be possible for me were I in your place—to realize in concrete detail all that the war means to those who have been engaged in it for now two years and a half. That is a feeling which comes, and can only come, by actual experience. We on the other side of the Atlantic have been living in an atmosphere of war since August, 1914, and you cannot move about the streets, you cannot go about your daily business, even if your affairs be disassociated with the war itself, without having evidences of the war brought to your notice every moment.

I arrived here on Sunday afternoon and went out in the evening after dark, and I was struck by a somewhat unusual feeling which at the first moment I did not analyze; and suddenly it came upon me that this was the first time for two years and a half or more when I had seen a properly lighted street. There is not a street in London, there is not a street in any city in the United Kingdom in which after dark the whole community is not wrapped in a gloom exceeding that which must have existed before the invention of gas or electric lighting. But that is a small matter, and I only mention it because it happened to strike me as one of my earliest experiences in this city.

Of course, the more tragic side of war is never, and cannot ever be, absent from our minds. I saw with great regret this morning in the newspapers that the son of Bonar Law, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, was wounded and missing in some of the operations now going on in Palestine, and I instinctively cast my mind back to the losses of this war in all circles, but as an illustration it seems to me impressive. I went over the melancholy list, and, if my memory serves me right, out of the small number of Cabinet Ministers, men of Cabinet rank who were serving the State when the war broke out in August, 1914, one has been killed in action, four at least have lost sons. That is the sort of things that have happened in quite a small and narrowly restricted class of men, but it is characteristic of what is happening throughout the whole country.

The condition of France in that respect is evidently even more full of sorrow and tragedy than our own, because we had not a great army, we had but a small army when war broke out, whereas the French Army was of the great Continental type, was on a war footing, and was, from the very inception of military operations, engaged in sanguinary conflict with the common enemy.

Tribute to General Joffre

We have today among us a mission from France. I doubt not—indeed, I am fully convinced—that they will receive a welcome not less warm, not less heartfelt, than that which you have so generously and encouragingly extended to us. That was and certainly will be increased by the reflection that one member of the mission is Marshal Joffre, who will go down through all time as the General in command of the allied forces at one of the most critical moments in the world's history.

I remember when I was here before there was a book which was given out in the schools called "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." I do not know whether they all quite deserve that title, but there can be no doubt or question whatever that, among the decisive battles of the world, the Battle of the Marne was the most decisive. It was a turning point in the history of mankind, and I rejoice that the hero of that event is today coming among us and will join us, the British Nation in laying before the people of the United States our gratitude for the sympathy which they have shown and are showing, and our warm confidence in the value of the assistance which they are affording the allied cause.

Gentlemen, I do not believe that the magnitude of that assistance can by any possibility be exaggerated. I am told that there are some doubting critics who seem to think that the object of the mission of France and Great Britain to this country is to inveigle the United States out of its traditional policy and to entangle it in formal alliances, secret or public, with European powers. I cannot imagine any rumor with less foundation, nor can I imagine a policy so utterly unnecessary.

Our confidence in the assistance which we are going to get from this community is not based upon such shallow considerations as those which arise out of formal treaties. No treaty could increase the undoubted confidence with which we look to the United States, who, having come into the war, are going to see the war through. * * * I feel perfectly certain that you will throw into it all your unequalled resources, all your powers of invention, of production, all your man power, all the resources of that country which has greater resources than any other country in the world, and, already having come to the decision, nothing will turn you from it but success crowning our joint efforts.

The vessel bearing the French High Commission was convoyed across the

Atlantic by French warships, and was met about a hundred miles at sea by American naval officers aboard a flotilla of our destroyers. The meeting was at night, and not a light was shown by either party; the vessels knew of each other's presence only by the phosphorescence kicked up by the propellers. At dawn the flotilla and its guests fell in by rendezvous with an American cruiser, which led the way to Hampton Roads, arriving there on April 24. Here the visitors were tendered the use of President Wilson's yacht, the *Mayflower*, which they at once boarded.

French Mission Welcomed

Meanwhile, every American ship in the harbor hoisted the French tricolor to the masthead, and the band of a warship played "The Star-Spangled Banner." Marshal Joffre and the military and naval members stood at salute until the last note had floated across the water, while the civilian members stood with bared heads. Immediately after came the French national anthem, which was saluted in a similar manner.

The ship bearing the mission dropped anchor off Fort Monroe, while the convoy steamed several miles further on. High army and navy officers greeted the visitors and accompanied them to Washington, where the *Mayflower* arrived soon after noon on April 25.

On the broad landing stage were assembled a company of marines and two troops of the Second Cavalry, with the Marine Band at hand to play appropriate music, all these military contingents in blue dress uniforms, with service facings. The members of the French Embassy Staff were there also.

As the yacht docked, Secretary Lansing, accompanied by Frank L. Polk, the Counselor of the State Department; William Phillips, the Assistant Secretary of State, and Colonel W. W. Harts, U. S. A., the President's aid, walked up the gangplank to extend a welcome to the French Commissioners in the nation's name. As Mr. Lansing reached the deck of the ship trumpeters gave him four flourishes, and the *Mayflower's* band played a few bars of a ceremonial

march. The greeting of the Secretary of State was first extended to M. Viviani, and then to Marshal Joffre, and was of an extremely cordial character. Only a few minutes were spent in exchanging felicitations, however, and then the whole party, French and American, came ashore, while the Marine Band played "The Marseillaise," the marines and troopers saluted, and the spectators applauded.

The trip through Washington to the residence of Henry White, former Ambassador to France, which was placed at their disposal, was one continuous ovation. The streets were lined with people, all of whom were carrying the French tricolor and the Stars and Stripes, and as the visitors passed they were greeted with enthusiastic cheers of welcome. Secretary Lansing issued this statement:

It is very gratifying to this Government and to the people that we should have as our guests such distinguished representatives of the French Republic as arrived this noon. In sending men who so fully represent the French Government and people we have the very best evidence of the spirit and feeling of France toward the United States. We can assure the French people that we reciprocate this spirit which induced them to send these Commissioners, and rejoice that the two great nations are battling side by side for the liberty of mankind.

Statement by M. Viviani

M. Viviani's first official statement was issued on the 26th, after he had paid his formal visit to President Wilson. It was addressed to the representatives of the press, as follows:

I am indeed happy to have been chosen to present the greetings of the French Republic to the illustrious man whose name is in every French mouth today, whose incomparable message is at this very hour being read and commented upon in all our schools as the most perfect charter of human rights and which so fully expresses the virtues of your race—long suffering patience before appealing to force; and force to avenge that long suffering patience when there can be no other means.

Since you are here to listen to me I ask you to repeat a thousandfold the expression of our deep gratitude for the enthusiastic reception the American people has granted us in Washington. It is not to us, but to our beloved and heroic France that reception was accorded. We were proud to be her children

in those unforgettable moments when we read in the radiance of the faces we saw the noble sincerity of your hearts. And I desire to thank also the press of the United States represented by you. I fully realize the ardent and disinterested help you have given by your tireless propaganda in the cause of right.

We have come to this land to salute the American people and its Government, to call to fresh vigor our lifelong friendship, sweet and cordial in the ordinary course of our lives, and which these tragic hours have raised to all the ardor of brotherly love—a brotherly love which in these last years of suffering has multiplied its most touching expressions. You have given help, not only in treasure, but also in every act of kindness and good-will. For us your children have shed their blood, and the names of your sacred dead are inscribed forever in our hearts. And it was with a full knowledge of the meaning of what you did that you acted. Your inexhaustible generosity was not the charity of the fortunate to the distressed—it was an affirmation of your conscience, a reasoned approval of your judgment.

Your fellow-countrymen knew that under the savage assault of a nation of prey which has made of war, to quote a famous saying, "its national industry," we were upholding with our incomparable allies, faithful and valiant to the death, with all those who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us on the firing line, the sons of indomitable England, a struggle for the violated rights of man, for that democratic spirit which the forces of autocracy were attempting to crush throughout the world. We are ready to carry that struggle on to the end.

And now, as President Wilson has said, the Republic of the United States rises in its strength as a champion of right and rallies to the side of France and her allies. Only our descendants, when time has removed them sufficiently far from present events, will be able to measure the full significance, the grandeur of a historic act which has sent a thrill through the whole world. From today on all the forces of freedom are let loose, and not only victory, of which we were already assured, is certain; the true meaning of victory is made manifest. It cannot be merely a fortunate military conclusion to this struggle—it will be the victory of morality and right, and will forever secure the existence of a world in which all our children shall draw free breath in full peace and undisturbed pursuit of their labors.

"France Day" in New York

April 26 was officially designated as France Day by Governor Whitman of New York in commemoration of the historic friendship between the United States and the French Republic, with particular significance as the accepted

anniversary of Lafayette's departure from France in 1777 to fight by the side of Washington.

From one end of New York City to the other the tricolor flew with the American flag to proclaim the union of the two republics in the war. Groups of children in their schoolrooms and of their elders in meeting halls sang the "Marseillaise" and applauded tributes in poetry and prose to Lafayette and France. Wreaths of flowers were piled high about the statue of Lafayette in Union Square, and Frenchmen were the guests of honor at luncheons and dinners. By order of Dr. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, President Wilson's war address to Congress was read in all the schools.

At Washington's Tomb

One of the most imposing and significant episodes during the sojourn of the distinguished guests was a visit by both commissions to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon on April 29. The two former Premiers of France and Great Britain, standing before the tomb of the first President, with the flags of the three great democracies floating together above it, spoke with deep emotion of the common fight for freedom in which all three were together engaged, while Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre, Marshal of France, laid on the marble sarcophagus with his own hands a bronze palm wound with the French tricolor. A card attached to a huge wreath of lilies placed beside the French palm bore the following words in Mr. Balfour's handwriting:

"Dedicated by the British Mission to the immortal memory of George Washington, soldier, statesman, patriot, who would have rejoiced to see the country of which he was by birth a citizen and the country his genius called into existence fighting side by side to save mankind from a military despotism."

An Eloquent Tribute

Mr. Viviani's speech on that occasion was a notable tribute in the following eloquent terms:

In this spot lies all that is mortal of a great hero. Close by this spot is the modest abode where Washington rested after the tre-

mendous labor of achieving for a nation its emancipation. In this spot meet the admiration of the whole world and the veneration of the American people. In this spot rise before us the glorious memories left by the soldiers of France led by Rochambeau and Lafayette. A descendant of the latter, my friend, M. de Chambrun, accompanies us. And I esteem it a supreme honor as well as a satisfaction for my conscience to be entitled to render this homage to our ancestors in the presence of my colleague and friend, Mr. Balfour, who so nobly represents his great nation. By thus coming to lay here the respectful tribute of every English mind, he shows, in this historic moment of communion which France has willed, what nations that live for liberty can do.

When we contemplate in the distant past the luminous presence of Washington; in nearer times the majestic figure of Abraham Lincoln; when we respectfully salute President Wilson, the worthy heir of these great memories, we at one glance measure the vast career of the American people. It is because the American people proclaimed and won for the nation the right to govern itself, it is because it proclaimed and won the equality of all men, that the free American public, at the hour marked by fate, has been enabled with commanding force to carry its action beyond the seas. It is because it was resolved to extend its action still further that Congress was enabled to obtain within the space of a few days the vote of conscription and to proclaim the necessity for a national army in the full splendor of civil peace.

In the name of France I salute the young army which will share in our common glory.

While paying this supreme tribute to the memory of Washington I do not diminish the effect of my words when I turn my thoughts to the memory of so many unnamed heroes. I ask you before this tomb to bow in earnest meditation and all the fervor of piety before all the soldiers of the allied nations who for nearly three years have been fighting under different flags for the same ideal. I beg you to address the homage of your hearts and souls to all the heroes, born to live in happiness, in the tranquil pursuit of their labors, in the enjoyment of all human affections, who went into battle with virile cheerfulness and gave themselves up, not to death alone, but to the eternal silence that closes over those whose sacrifice remains unnamed, in the full knowledge that save for those who loved them their names would disappear with their bodies. Their monument is in our hearts. Not the living alone greet us here; the ranks of the dead themselves rise to surround the soldiers of liberty.

At this solemn hour in the history of the world, while saluting from this sacred mound the final victory of justice, I send to the Republic of the United States the greetings of the French Republic.

Mr. Balfour, who followed M. Viviani, said:

My friend and colleague, M. Viviani, in phrases burning with emotion, and in eloquent language, not only has paid tribute to the hero who is buried here, but has brought our thoughts down to the present crisis, the greatest in the world's history. He has told us of the people of France, England, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Serbia who have sacrificed their lives for what they believe to be the cause of liberty. No spot on the face of the earth, where a speech in behalf of liberty might be made, could be more appropriate than the tomb of Washington.

Mr. Balfour concluded by reading the inscription on the card attached to the British wreath, which he himself had written.

Mr. Balfour was followed by Governor Stuart of Virginia, who spoke of the pride of his State in claiming Washington as its son, and expressed the appreciation of America at the honor that had been paid to her hero.

Marshal Joffre, as France's greatest soldier, added a tribute to the greatest soldier of the United States.

"In the French Army," he said, "all venerate the name and memory of Washington. I respectfully salute here the great soldier and lay upon his tomb the palm we offer our soldiers who have died for their country."

The bronze palm which is the symbol with which France honors her military heroes was laid on the sarcophagus by Marshal Joffre, assisted by Lieutenant de Tossan, his aid.

Mr. Balfour and General Bridges, Great Britain's chief army representative in the mission, placed the British wreath. The three flags of Great Britain, France and the United States rested on it. The French palm had on it only a wide band in the French national colors.

The earnestness and feeling with which the allied representatives spoke carried with it a full conviction of the reality of the symbolism which they sought to convey.

Visit to Senate Chamber

In the United States Senate Chamber May 1 Vice Premier Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and Ambassador Jusserand were granted the courtesies of the floor. A demonstration followed such as had not been witnessed in that Chamber since

MR. BALFOUR AND MR. LANSING



Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Minister and Head
of Diplomatic Mission to United States.
(Secretary Lansing on Right)

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

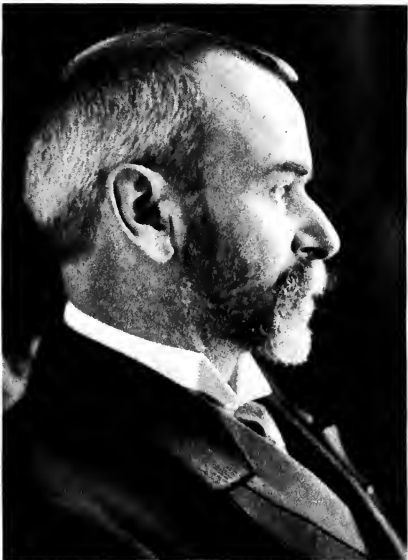
PROMINENT WAR AMBASSADORS



SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE
British Ambassador to
United States
(American Press Ass'n)



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



JULES JUSSERAND
French Ambassador to
United States
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



WILLIAM G. SHARP
American Ambassador to
France

Lafayette was the guest of the United States in 1822.

The visit was made by invitation. The French Mission reached Vice President Marshall's room shortly before 12:30 o'clock. The Vice President was notified, and he named Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, who has been the active leader of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, the ranking Republican of the committee, to usher the guests into the chamber.

The two Senators crossed the lobby to the Vice President's room and returned at once. M. Viviani entered with Mr. Hitchcock, Marshal Joffre with Mr. Lodge, and the French Ambassador with Admiral Chocheprat. The committee's return was not expected so soon, but grave salutes to Marshal Joffre by two bright-eyed little pages at the door, which the Marshal as gravely returned, gave the signal. The Senators clapped hands deafeningly and rose, the galleries shouted more deafeningly still and rose, leaning forward and waving, while members of the House standing at the back of the chamber surged forward.

The visitors shook hands with the Vice President and stood beside him, looking with evident pleasure at the wild scene before them. When the applause had lasted for several minutes Mr. Marshall tapped for order.

"The Senate of the United States," he said, "has had the pleasure and honor many times of receiving distinguished visitors to the Republic. It had the honor of receiving General Lafayette, and now, nearly a century later, it has the honor of welcoming the Vice Premier of the French Government and the Marshal of France."

"Mr. President," said Senator Martin of Virginia, the majority leader, "I move that the Senate now recess so that Senators may have the pleasure of greeting personally our distinguished guests."

The motion was carried by acclamation, and an informal reception began.

Viviani Addresses Senate

M. Viviani, during the reception, in which Representatives as well as Senators participated, was prevailed upon to make an address and spoke as follows:

Since I have been granted the supreme honor of speaking before the representatives of the American people, may I ask them first to allow me to thank this magnificent capital for the welcome it has accorded us? Accustomed as we are in our own free land to popular manifestations, and though we had been warned by your fellow-countrymen who live in Paris of the enthusiastic burning in your hearts, we are still full of the emotion raised by the sights that awaited us. I shall never cease to see the proud and stalwart men who saluted our passage; your women, whose grace adds fresh beauty to your city, their arms outstretched full of flowers, and your children hurrying to meet us at the call of their schoolmasters, as if our coming were looked upon as a lesson for them, all with one accord acclaiming, in our perishable persons, immortal France. And yet I predict there will be a yet grander manifestation the day when your illustrious President, relieved from the burden of power, will come among us bearing the salute of the Republic of the United States to a free Europe, whose foundations from end to end shall be based on right. It is with unspeakable emotion that we cross the threshold of this legislative palace where prudence and boldness meet, and that I, for the first time in the annals of America, though a foreigner, speak in this hall, which only a few days since resounded with the words of virile force.

You have set all the democracies of the world the most magnificent example. So soon as the common peril was made manifest to you, with simplicity and within a few short days you voted a formidable credit and proclaimed that a formidable army was to be raised. The commentary on his acts which President Wilson gave before acting, and which you made yours, remains in the history of free peoples the weightiest of lessons.

Doubtless you were resolved to avenge the insult offered your flag, which the whole world respected; doubtless through the thickness of these massive walls the mournful cry of all the victims which criminal hands hurled into the depths of the sea, has reached and stirred your souls; but it will be your honor in history that you also heard the cry of humanity, and invoked against autocracy the rights of democracies. And I can only wonder as I speak what, if they still have any power to think, are the thoughts of the autocrats who three years ago against us, three months ago against you, unchained this conflict.

Ah! doubtless they said among themselves that a democracy is an ideal Government, that it showers reforms on mankind, that it can in the domain of labor quicken all economic activities. And yet now we see the French Republic fighting in defense of its territory and the liberty of nations and opposing to the avalanche let loose by Prussian militarism the union of all its children who are still capable of striking many a weighty blow. And now we see England, far removed

like you from conscription, who has also, by virtue of a discipline all accept, raised from her soil millions of fighting men. And we see other nations accomplishing the same act; and that liberty not only inflames all hearts but co-ordinates and brings into being all needed efforts. And now we see all America rise and sharpen her weapons in the midst of peace for the common struggle.

Together we will carry on that struggle; and when by force we have at last imposed military victory, our labors will not be concluded. Our task will be—I quote the noble words of President Wilson—to organize the society of nations. I well know that our enemies, who have never seen before them anything but horizons of carnage, will never cease to jeer at so noble a dream. Such has always been the fate of ideas at their birth; and if thinkers and men of action had allowed themselves to be discouraged by skeptics mankind would still be in its infancy and we should still be slaves. After material victory we will win this moral victory. We will shatter the ponderous sword of militarism; we will establish guarantees for peace; and then we can disappear from the world's stage, since we shall leave at the cost of our common immolation the noblest heritage future generations can possess.

When he concluded, shouts of "Joffre!" "Joffre!" filled the Chamber, and the Marshal turned and said with a smile: "I do not speak English." Then raising his right hand, he called out, "Vivent les Etats-Unis!" With a military salute, he was gone.

Reception in the House

M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre visited the House of Representatives by invitation on May 3. Practically the entire membership of the House and the crowded galleries rose and applauded as the visitors were announced. Several children of members received kisses from the Marshal of France and the Vice Premier. When Miss Jeannette Rankin, woman member of the House, approached, M. Viviani and Admiral Chocheprat kissed her hand.

M. Viviani mounted the Speaker's rostrum and said:

Gentlemen: Once more my fellow-countrymen and I are admitted to the honor of being present at a sitting in a legislative chamber. May I be permitted to express our emotion at this solemn derogation against rules more than a century old, and, so far as I am concerned, may I say that as a Member of Parliament accustomed for twenty years to the passions and storms which sweep through political assemblies I appre-

ciate more than any one at this moment the supreme joy of being near this chair, which is in such a commanding position that, however feeble may be the voice that speaks thence, it is heard over the whole world?

Gentlemen, I will not thank you, not because our gratitude fails, but because words to express it fail. We feel that your sympathy and enthusiasm come not only from your hearts but from the jealousy which you have for your own honor. We have all felt that you were not merely fulfilling the obligation of international courtesy. Suddenly, in all its charming intimacy, the complexity of the American soul has been revealed to us. When one meets an American one is supposed to meet a practical man, merely a practical man, caring only for business, only interested in business. But when at certain hours in private life one studies the American soul one discovers at the same time how fresh and delicate it is; and when at certain moments of public life one considers the soul of the nation, then one sees all the force of the ideals that rise from it is so that this American people, in its perfect balance, is at once practical and sentimental, a realizer and a dreamer, and is always ready to place its practical qualities at the disposal of its puissant thoughts.

Intrusted with a mandate from a free people, we come among freemen to compare our ideas, exchange our views, to measure the whole extent of the problems raised by this war, and all the allied nations, simply because they repose on democratic institutions, through their Governments, meet in the same lofty region on equal terms, in full liberty.

I well know that at this very hour in the Central Empires there is an absolute monarchy which binds other peoples to its will by vassal links of steel. It has been said that this was a sign of strength; it is only an appearance of strength. In truth, only a few weeks ago, on the eve of the day when outraged America was about to rise in its force, on the morrow of the day when the Russian revolution, faithful to its alliance, called at once its soldiers to arms and its people to independence, this absolute monarch was seen to totter on the steps of his throne as he felt the first breath of the tempest pass over his crown. He bent toward his people in humiliation, and, in order to win their sympathy, borrowed from free peoples their highest institutions and promised his subjects universal suffrage.

The day before yesterday, in a public meeting at which I was present, I heard one of your greatest orators say with deep emotion: "It has been sworn on the tomb of Washington." And then I understood the full import of those words. If Washington could rise from his tomb, if from his sacred mound he could view the world as it now is—shrunk to smaller proportions by the lessening of material and moral distances and the mingling of every kind of communication be-

tween men—he would feel his labors were not yet concluded; and that, just as a man of superior and powerful mind owes a debt to all other men, so a superior and powerful nation owes a debt to other nations, and after establishing its own independence must aid others to maintain their independence or to conquer it. It is the mysterious logic of history which President Wilson so marvelously understood, thanks to a mind as vigorous as it is subtle, as capable of analysis as it is of synthesis, of minute observation followed by swift action.

It has been sworn on the tomb of Washington. It has been sworn on the tomb of our allied soldiers, fallen in a sacred cause. It has been sworn by the bedside of our wounded men. It has been sworn on the heads of our orphan children. It has been sworn on cradles and on tombs. It has been sworn!

Marshal Joffre in Chicago

The French Mission left Washington by special train on the 3d for a tour of the Middle Western States, and reached Chicago on the 4th. At a public reception Marshal Joffre delivered his first address, as follows:

My friends, I am proud to have in my hand the American flag, which is to the American people what the French flag is to the people of France, a symbol of liberty. I hold in my other hand the flag of France, who has given of her best, her stanchest, and her bravest, and which also stands for liberty. I had the honor to carry the French flag on the field of battle, and I am glad to join the flag of many battles to the flag that has never known defeat. With this flag I bring to you the salute of the French Army to the American people, our stanch ally in the common cause.

As he joined the two flags of red, white, and blue with the closing words, the whole assembly mounted the seats and cheered.

The mission was enthusiastically welcomed and hospitably entertained at Chicago, and thence proceeded to St. Louis. On May 6 at St. Louis 20,000 persons crowded into the Coliseum to welcome the visitors, and as many more stood outside, unable to obtain admission. From there they proceeded to Kansas City, where they were received with tumultuous enthusiasm. They returned to the East via Springfield, Ill., where they visited the tomb of Lincoln; a wreath was placed upon the sarcophagus by Marshal Joffre; here the Legislature was also addressed. At all towns through which they passed

large crowds assembled and greeted the visitors with shouts of welcome.

At Philadelphia they were elaborately entertained. Independence Hall was visited. General Joffre, receiving a Marshal's baton made from a piece of one of the Independence Hall rafters, said he held "a piece of real liberty, and wished to convey to the American people the greetings of the French Army and an expression of happiness in having the co-operation of Americans."

At Independence Hall M. Viviani said: "We do not feel in America as if we were far from home. The ideals and aims of America and of France are the same. It was in this holy place that freedom was first breathed from the mouths of men for the inspiration of every nation."

French Envoys in New York

The visitors reached New York City on the afternoon of May 9. The reception tendered them on their arrival was the most enthusiastic ever granted any man or group of men in the city's history. For two days and nights enormous crowds filled Fifth Avenue and Broadway and overflowed far back into adjoining streets. Flags, bunting, and illuminations appeared from one end of the city to the other, and the visitors passed for miles along Fifth Avenue amid a wonderful vista of the French tricolor, the British union jack and the American Stars and Stripes.

The New York Public Library and the Court of Honor in front of it were remarkable for the beauty of the decorations. The columns of plaster, surmounted by the American eagle standing on globes with wings outstretched, supported streamers of the dark blue of France and poles from which hung the flags of the three allies. In front of the library many pine trees gave a touch of color to the great marble building. Along the terrace and on either side of the entrance way were five great poles supporting streaming banners alternately displaying the rooster of France, the lion of Britain, and the American eagle. At night the scene was far more beautiful, with the great lines of the library out-

lined with indirect lighting and each column of the court standing clear in a blaze of golden illumination.

Address at City Hall

At the City Hall, where the formal reception was held on the evening of the mission's arrival, M. Viviani, in response to an address by Mayor Mitchel, replied as follows:

You were right when you dwelt on the wonderful spectacle which France has given to the world for three years. You were right when you said that the blood of France is flowing like water. From the open wounds of our soldiers has flowed the pure red blood of France. It has flooded our plains in the very spots where formerly our farmers and our workmen were living at peace.

And why does the invader pollute our soil? We are a pacific nation, as pacific as yourselves, but you have seen for yourselves how easy it was to remain faithful to dreams of universal peace. You cherished such dreams. You were a great people, with only one thought—humanity and justice. We were a free democracy and we had only one thought—universal right and humanity. But German aggression was thrust upon us. We were compelled to rise in arms, and now we fight—we fight for our territory, for our wealth, for our historical traditions—in order that the invader may not take another step on our sacred soil. France fights for the world—for justice, for humanity—and it is because she fights for that that at last the American people have risen to give France and her allies their moral and material aid.

Slavery Worse Than War

I fully understand how you faltered in the face of the awful duty that confronted you. For war has its dangers and its horrors, its moaning widows, its premature deaths, and casts a blight on the mothers of infants who are our hope and joy and who know only woe and calamity.

War is a horrible thing, but could there be anything more terrible for people than to live without honor or independence? Just as you were unwilling to allow your national honor to be humiliated under the insolent threats and mandates of Germany, we were unwilling to submit to break our oaths. When we look back into the events of the last three years, you have seen small peoples oppressed and great nations like Russia, England, France, and Italy rush to the defense of the rights of mankind in order to save from the wreck some portion of their national honor. You have felt the revolt of your consciences from the first hour when German aggression struck at your brothers, and it was then an easy matter for those who had witnessed the evolution of American feeling to foresee what would happen and what has actually happened since.

All America has risen in arms. We have just visited the Middle West. We have just seen what enthusiasm has arisen among the men, the women, and the children of these regions.

We have found everywhere, even in those very places where we had been told we would not find it, the virile resolution of a whole people acclaiming our message, and we find it here again in these streets of New York, this great city where millions of men surge like waves of the sea.

Democracy in Arms

I cannot do better in order to symbolize this union of the French and American people than to appear before you side by side with Marshal Joffre. It is indeed pleasing to me in this by no means foreign land, in this friendly land, bound by so many ties to France, to thank the French Army for the heroic manner it has fought, for the great deeds it has done. That army at the outset of the war had to give way materially before the most formidable onslaught that the history of man has ever recorded, but came back and hurled itself upon the invader. Yes, they threw themselves into the fray, those youths in their teens, their eyes aflame and their hearts, going into battle, going to death, but going for the country, for civilization, for mankind.

Our army is our nation in arms. It is democracy in arms for its honor and independence. You will say—you also—that you have seen that wonderful sight of democracy which has known how to organize its forces, how to marshal its strength. A democracy which has not awaited the hour of danger, which, like our own, had its army, its leaders, its chiefs, and which, thanks to what it had done, was able to hold its own.

As I was on my way here I heard the crowd acclaiming those who accompanied me, and who wear the uniform like Marshal Joffre, as the saviors of the world. Yes, the soldiers of the Marne are the saviors of the world. But if we had not had conscription, if there had not been the men to answer the call of mobilization, what would have befallen our country despite its courage, its enthusiasm, its valor? There, citizens, you have the great and grave legend taught by the war.

So long as there is in the world a war-like Germany, so long as there is a nation of prey, a country bent on oppression, on treachery and violence, so long will democracies be imperiled. If they would save the treasures of civilization and the heritage of mankind which are theirs they must meet the danger, they must be ready, they must arm themselves, but with the purpose never to place the sword at the service of aught but the right.

The home of Henry C. Frick on Fifth Avenue was placed at the service of the guests. On May 10 the whole city united

in demonstrations. The commission went in the morning to attend the unveiling of a statue of Lafayette in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, and later were entertained at luncheon by the Merchants' Association of New York. In the afternoon Columbia University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Marshal Joffre and Vice Premier Viviani, after which they visited Grant's Tomb. In the evening a reception was given in the Public Library by the French patriotic societies, and a great gala concert followed in the Metropolitan Opera House, where the audience contributed \$85,000 for Marshal Joffre's use in relief work. The Marshal's arrival in the Opera House at 11 o'clock at night, when the audience interrupted Paderewski's playing of a masterpiece to rise and cheer the victor of the Marne, marked the climax of a memorable and strenuous day for the visitors.

Balfour Visits Congress

Meanwhile at Washington the British Commissioners remained in daily conference with Cabinet officials. On May 5 Mr. Balfour, head of the commission, was invited to attend Congress. In the scene that followed two precedents of a century and a half were broken. It was the first time in American history that a British official had been invited to address the House of Representatives, and it was the first time that a President of the United States had sat in the gallery. The welcome to Mr. Balfour and his associates equaled, if it did not surpass, the demonstration which had greeted M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre earlier in the week.

The demonstration given to the President rivaled that which Mr. Balfour received. Unannounced, he slipped into the Executive Gallery. For several minutes no one on the floor saw Mr. Wilson, although he was sitting in the front row. Then suddenly a member on the floor discovered him, and a group rose, applauding. The whole House followed, and for several minutes the floor and galleries joined in hearty applause.

As the applause died down, Speaker Clark appointed a committee to escort the British Mission into the Chamber. At a few minutes after 12:30 o'clock

they appeared and the whole House rose to greet them while hearty applause swept the floor and the galleries. The ovation lasted several minutes, subsiding only to start with a new outburst of cheers and hand-clapping when the Speaker introduced Mr. Balfour. The British Minister was visibly affected by the warmth of his reception.

Through it all the President joined vigorously in the applause. When the speaker had finished and stood below the rostrum with General Bridges, Admiral de Chair, and the British Ambassador, shaking hands with the members as they filed past, Mr. Wilson again surprised those present by slipping downstairs quietly and passing down the line with the Congressmen.

Balfour's Address to the House

In his address before the House of Representatives Mr. Balfour said:

Will you permit me, on behalf of my friends and myself, to offer you my deepest and sincerest thanks for the rare and valued honor which you have done us by receiving us here today? We all feel the greatness of this honor, but I think to none of us can it come home so closely as to one who, like myself, has been for forty-three years in the service of a free assembly like your own.

I rejoice to think that a member, a very old member I am sorry to say, of the British House of Commons has been received here today by this great sister assembly with such kindness as you have shown to me and to my friends.

Ladies and gentlemen, these two assemblies are the greatest and the oldest of the free assemblies now governing great nations in the world. The history, indeed, of the two is very different. The beginnings of the British House of Commons go back to a dim historic past, and its full rights and status have only been conquered and permanently secured after centuries of political struggle.

Your fate has been a happier one. You were called into existence at a much later stage of social development. You came into being complete and perfected and all your powers determined and your place in the constitution secured beyond chance of revolution, but though the history of these two great assemblies is different, each of them represents the great democratic principle to which we look forward as the security for the future peace of the world. All of the free assemblies now to be found governing the great nations of the earth have been modeled either upon your practice or upon ours, or upon both combined.

Mr. Speaker, the compliment paid to the mission from Great Britain by such an as-

sembly and upon such an occasion is one not one of us is ever likely to forget; but there is something, after all, even deeper and more significant in the circumstances under which I now have the honor to address you than any which arise out of the interchange of courtesies, however sincere, between two great and friendly nations.

We all, I think, feel instinctively that this is one of the great moments in the history of the world, and that what is now happening on both sides of the Atlantic represents the drawing together of great and free peoples for mutual protection against the aggression of military despotism.

I am not one of those, none of you are among those, who are such bad democrats as to say that democracies make no mistakes. All free assemblies have made blunders, sometimes they have committed crimes. Why is it then that we look forward to the spirit of free institutions, and especially among our present enemies, as one of the greatest guarantees of the future peace of the world? I will say to you, gentlemen, how it seems to me.

It is quite true that the people and the representatives of the people may be betrayed by some momentary gust of passion into a policy which they ultimately deplore, but it is only a military despotism of the German type that can through generations, if need be, pursue steadily, remorselessly, unscrupulously, and appallingly the object of dominating the civilization of mankind. And, mark you, this evil, this menace, under which we are now suffering, is not one which diminishes with the growth of knowledge and progress of material civilization, but, on the contrary, it increases with them.

When I was young we used to flatter ourselves that progress inevitably meant peace, and that growth of knowledge was always accompanied as its natural fruit by the growth of good-will among the nations of the earth. Unhappily, we know better now, and we know there is such a thing in the world as a power which can with unvarying persistency focus all the resources of knowledge and of civilization into the one great task of making itself the moral and material master of the world. It is against that danger that we, the free peoples of Western civilization, have banded ourselves together.

British in New York

Mr. Balfour and the other members of the British Commission reached New York by special train Friday afternoon, May 11, and every step of their way from the Battery to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Astor, which had been placed at their service, lay through cheering crowds. The party was formally received at the City Hall by Mayor Mitchel and a delegation of distinguished

citizens. An enormous crowd was in attendance. The lawn at the entrance was filled with 2,000 schoolgirls, all clad in white middy blouses and dark blue skirts with red hair ribbons, and each with a flag. Behind this group was a column of Boy Scouts in mass and pyramid formations, all clad in khaki. Every available foot of space in the park and surrounding streets was filled with cheering people, among whom the flags of the United States, France, and Great Britain were freely intermingled.

Mr. Balfour was formally greeted by the Mayor, who was followed by Joseph H. Choate, former Ambassador to Great Britain. [Mr. Choate died suddenly three days later in his New York home.] In the course of his speech Mr. Choate said:

We hesitated, we doubted, we hung back, not from any lack of sympathy, not from any lack of enthusiasm, not because we did not know what was the right path; but how to take it and when to take it was always the question. I feared at one time that we might enter into it for some selfish purpose, for the punishment of aggressions against our individual, national, personal rights, for the destruction of American ships or of a few American lives, ample ground for war; but we waited, and it turns out now that we waited wisely, because we were able at last to enter into this great contest of the whole world for a noble and lofty purpose, such as never attracted nations before. We are entering into it under your lead, Sir, for the purpose of the vindication of human rights, for the vindication of free government throughout the world, for the establishment—by and by; soon, we hope; late, it may be—of a peace which shall endure and not a peace that shall be no peace at all.

Fortunately, we have now no room for choice. Under the guidance of the President, we stand pledged now before all the world to all the allies whom we have joined to carry into this contest all that we have, all that we hope for, and all that we ever aspire unto. We shall be in time to take part in that peace which shall forever stand and prevent any more such national outrages as commenced this war on the side of Germany. We have been only thirty days in the war, and already it has had a marvelous effect upon our own people. Before that there was apathy, there was indifference, there was indulgence in personal pursuits, in personal prosperity; but today every young man in America, and every old man, too, is asking: "What can I do best to serve my country?"

Mr. Balfour, in the course of his reply, said:

Those who had the good fortune to drive

through the streets of the city up to this hall, I am sure must have been astounded at the whole-hearted exhibition of enthusiasm which, from every street, from every window, from every house, made itself visible and audible to the spectators. Seldom have I seen a sight—and my experience, alas, is an old one—seldom, or never, have I seen a sight so deeply moving; never have I seen a sight which went more to the heart. If, on the other side of the Atlantic, where the stress and strain of battle seem sometimes hard to sustain, they could have one glimpse of the sympathies shown them in this vast and noble community, it would give them, if there be faint hearts—I have not heard of them on the other side—if faint hearts there be, they indeed would regain new strength, new courage, new enthusiasm, new resolution, and they would feel again, if they ever ceased to feel it, that firm determination to carry through at all sacrifices this great struggle to its appointed end, which, after all, is the very strength and nerve of the allied forces.

Dinner of Mayor's Committee

The climax of all these proceedings was the joint reception in New York on May 12 to both the French and English Commissions. It took the form of a dinner at the Waldorf tendered by the Mayor's Reception Committee, which was attended by 1,000 of New York City's leading men; in addition there were present the only two living ex-Presidents, Taft and Roosevelt, the Governor of New York, and other men distinguished in official and civic life.

Here again Mr. Choate delivered the principal address on the part of the city, following Mayor Mitchel. In the course of his speech Mr. Choate said:

America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf, America has learned what this war is about, what it is for—that it is for the establishment of freedom against slavery, for the vindication of free government against tyranny, and oppression and autocracy and all the other horrible names that you can apply to misgovernment. When it came to that there was but one question for America, and our President at Washington has solved it for us. Nobody can tell how far he saw ahead any more than we at this moment can tell how far we can see ahead.

Balfour on the War's Meaning

In his address Mr. Balfour said:

I have not come here authorized by my Government to set myself up or to set my friends up as instructors of the great Amer-

ican people. They know and you know how to manage your affairs, and do not require us to teach you. It may be, it probably is, the fact, that a study of the history of this war will show those who run and desire to read that there are certain mistakes which a great democracy, imperfectly prepared for war, may easily make. We shall be happy to describe these mistakes to you, if happily it will be your desire to learn the lesson from them. But I do not propose either now or at any other occasion to set myself up as an adviser or monitor on these great themes. It is enough that I proclaim my unalterable conviction that we have reached a moment in the world's history on which the future, not of this country, but of every country, not of its interests, but of every interest of civilization is trembling in the balance. At that critical moment it is my bounden duty to raise my voice and to appeal to all who will listen to me today in the great task which we have been bearing for two and a half years, and which you have cheerfully and generously determined to take the weight of upon your own shoulders. * * *

Why is it that the people of this great city have come forth instinctively—I was going to say by thousands; I feel inclined to say by millions—to show their enthusiasm for the cause you have taken up? It is because they instinctively feel what is the vital issue at stake, because they instinctively feel that it is neither desirable nor, were it desirable, possible for this great Republic to hold itself aloof from a world in suffering and not do its part to redeem mankind.

Surely it is a significant fact that here we are, the representatives of three great democracies, in the very heart of New York, to plead a common cause. What has brought us all together? What is the meaning of this unique gathering? What is the meaning of the multitude crowding your streets today and yesterday? It is a shallow view to suppose that each of these great nations has had a separate and different cause of controversy with the enemy—that Russia was dragged in because of Serbia, that France was dragged in because of Russia, that Great Britain was dragged in because of the violation of Belgian territory, and that the United States has been dragged in because of the piratical warfare of the German submarines.

All those causes are, each of them, and separately, no doubt a sufficient reason, but for a moment to consider this war carried on by the Allies as that of separate interests, separate causes of controversy, is an utterly inadequate and false view of the situation. These are but symptoms of the absolute necessity in which a civilized world finds itself, to deal with an imminent and overwhelming peril. What is that peril? What is it we feel that we have got to stop? I will tell you my view of it. It is the calculated and remorseless use of every civilized weapon to carry out the ends of pure barbarism. To us of English speech it seems

impossible, incredible, that a nation should clearly set itself to work and co-ordinate every means of science, every means that knowledge, that industry can provide, not for the bettering of its own people, but for the demolition of other peoples.

The history of the world is too full of the adventures of unscrupulous ambition. We know all through history of men who have endeavored, at the cost of others, to expand their own State. Within the last century, or a little more, we have seen men of genius trying to coerce the world. But this is not a case of a new Napoleon arising to carry out a new adventure. This is not a case of adventure, of a genius seeking to satisfy his ambition within the limits of his own country.

It is something far different and far more dangerous for mankind. It is the settled determination to use every means to put the whole world at her feet. We all know it is a commonplace that science has enormously expanded the means by which men can kill each other. Modern destruction is carried out as much in the laboratory of your universities as it is on the field of battle, but we have always believed, we have always hoped, that this increased power of destruction would be limited and controlled by the growing forces of humanity and civilization. We have been taught, not by Germany, but by those who rule Germany, by the military caste which controls Germany—we have been taught a different lesson, and we now know not merely that every scientific weapon will be put in force to make war more horrible than it was in barbarous times, but that even the rights of civilization, of trade, of commerce, even the intercommunication between different peoples, will be used for the same sinister object.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the danger we have to meet, and if at this moment the world is bathed in blood and tears from the highlands of distant Armenia down to the very fields of France, almost within sight of the Strait of Dover—if we have seen a reckless destruction of life, not merely of soldiers but of civilians; if we have seen peaceful communities dragged through the mire, ruined, outraged; if horror has been heaped upon horror, until really we almost get callous in reading our newspapers in the morning—if all these things are true, shall we not rise up and resist them?

Shall we who know what freedom is become the humble and obsequious servants of those who only know what power is? That will never be tolerated. The free nations of the earth are not thus to be crushed out of existence, and if any proof is required that that consummation is impossible, it is a gathering like this where the three great democracies of the West are joined together under circumstances unique in the whole history of the world.

And that fact should also give strength

and consolation to those who, feeling the magnitude of the issue at stake, are inclined to doubt how the contest will end. But we will fail unless all here who love liberty, and who are prepared to labor together, to fight together, to make our sacrifices in common—unless that happens we may be destroyed piecemeal and the civilization of the world may receive a wound from which it will not easily recover.

Viviani's Dinner Speech

M. Viviani's speech was one of impassioned and vivid eloquence. In part he said:

The Kultur of Germany is all very well so long as its interests are not crossed, but when they are it is like a wild beast. Germany did not know the spirit of England, of France, or of Russia. They said that England would not fight, that Englishmen would remain at home while the Continent of Europe was overrun, but they did not know the history of that country.

You in America cannot realize, cannot imagine the suffering and horror of what war has meant to France and her people. But you will arouse yourselves to the battle for liberty, justice, democracy, and humanity.

When the war is over and peace reigns in the world—and Germany is vanquished—history will say that the free peoples of the earth joined their powers and resources to make the world safe for justice, for good faith between nation and nation, and for humanity.

In the name of France and my companions I thank you all and the entire population of New York for the great ovation and welcome you have extended us. The soul of America is so great and noble that it is fitting that America should arise to fight for the cause of freedom and justice. It is the greatest honor of my life to have been here and see and realize the spirit of this sister republic. You may depend upon Joffre and myself to do all we can to aid you and inform you in all the details of the great task ahead of you. I see before me now the might and strength of Germany and realize that it must—that it will—be overthrown.

Following the dinner at the Waldorf Mr. Balfour was driven to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt. There he was presented with the diploma of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him on Thursday by Columbia University. The presentation was made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the university, who explained how the degree had been conferred.

In accepting, Mr. Balfour was deeply touched. He said afterward that he had

been thrilled as never before in his life by the reception in New York.

Address to Lawyers' Club

Earlier in the day M. Viviani was the guest of the lawyers of New York. On this occasion he delivered another of his important utterances, of which the following are among the significant passages:

It is not an abstract salute which the French Mission has brought to America. No, we are not here merely to exchange expressions of international friendship; we have not come merely for the purpose of shaking hands with you; we have not come here to salute you nor to become intoxicated by the clamorous acclamations which greet us in your streets. We have come here to penetrate your souls, to penetrate your hearts. Yes, this I say; we have come, however unworthy we may be of our mission, to show you the great soul of wounded France, of suffering France, of eternal France.

All the orators who have preceded me upon this platform have accorded me too much praise to permit me, with modesty, to surpass the height of their eulogy. You have shown the French, isolated at the beginning of the war, sleeping in muddy and bloody trenches, fighting night and day, constantly, not only for themselves, but for humanity. You have considered the French Army as the vanguard of all the armies of free men. Yes, indeed, that is true. For the last three years we have been fighting for liberty; we are flinging to the breeze under the fire of cannon the banner of universal democracy. May free men now rise and come to our side! For the honor of humanity let us not be alone in this fight!

Come to us, American brothers, whose hearts have been attached to ours since Lafayette, with his French soldiers, landed upon your soil and loaned the aid of his arms to American independence. It is not for France; it is not for you; it is not for England; it is not for Russia. No; it is not for the nations; it is for the whole world; it is for all humanity.

On May 11 Marshal Joffre visited West Point, reviewed the Cadet Corps, and was entertained by the staff. Previously the same day he visited Washington's Headquarters at Newburg, N. Y., where he was received by Governor Whitman. Here the Eagle of the Society of the Cincinnati was conferred on him. He had been elected an honorary member of this society. The only other foreigners who had thus been honored were Rochambeau and Lafayette.

From New York the French Mission

visited Boston, where they were enthusiastically received. M. Viviani proceeded to Ottawa.

Chamber of Commerce Speech

The New York Chamber of Commerce luncheon to Mr. Balfour and the English party was attended by more than 1,000 members and guests. In his address, after thanking the President, E. H. Outerbidge, for his kindly references to the bond between the United States and England, Mr. Balfour said the hope of his life had been that before he died "the union between the English-speaking, freedom-loving branches of the human race should be drawn far closer than in the past, and that all temporary causes of difference which may ever have separated the two great peoples would be seen in their true and just proportion, and that we should all realize, on whatever side of the Atlantic fortune had placed us, that the things wherein we have differed in the past sink into absolute insignificance when compared with those vital agreements which at all times, but never more than at such a time as the present, unite us in one great spiritual whole."

In alluding to the bonds between the English-speaking races, he said:

You have absorbed in your midst many admirable citizens drawn from all parts of Europe, whom American institutions and American ways of thought have molded and are molding into one great people. I rejoice to think it should be so. A similar process on a smaller scale is going on in the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. It is a good process, it is a noble process. Let us never forget that wherever be the place in which that great and beneficent process is going on, whether it be in Canada, whether it be in Australia, or whether on the largest scale of all it be in the United States of America, the spirit which the immigrant absorbs is the spirit in all these places largely due to a historic past in which your forefathers and my forefathers, gentlemen, all had their share.

In speaking of the Chairman's reference to the splendid work of the British fleet, Mr. Balfour said:

Does anybody think that if the sea power were transferred from British to German hands the historian of the future could say the same of the German fleet? By their fruits we know them. Deliberately brought into ex-

istence in the hope that it would break down that naval power which the German autocracy—not the German people, but the German autocracy—recognizes as one of the greatest bulwarks of freedom, and one of the most powerful defenses against world domination, knowing that instinctively they have been feverishly building for eighteen or twenty years in order that, if it might be so, they could destroy the country with which they had no quarrel, and no cause of quarrel, but which they regarded with an instinctive and unalterable jealousy. They have been disappointed. Their fleet remains safely in the harbor.

What puts out to sea is not the battleship or the battle cruiser; there is no successor of the great fleets of ancient times; but the submarine which, in their hands, finds its natural prey in the destruction of defenseless merchantmen and the butchery of defenseless women and children. I will do the German fleet the justice to say that I do not believe that this was its ideal when this war started, or when its ships were under construction. What I do say is that the use which the German governing classes are now making of this new weapon, while it will never decide the issue of this war, nevertheless indicates a menace to the future commerce of the world which must be absolutely stopped for the future. Under the old maritime laws, which the United States and Great Britain in particular have always recognized, fleets undoubtedly did interfere with the commerce of any enemy belligerents, and it is very difficult to see how that could or ought to be avoided until that happy time comes when war is neither on land nor sea permitted to interfere with private rights, or indeed permitted to go on at all.

Germans Made War Inhuman.

But, gentlemen, maritime warfare as it has been carried on by civilized nations in the past has been a human affair, carried out under recognized laws, under which as little injury was done to the neutral trader as was possible under the circumstances, compared to the abominations which are now insisted upon by the German staff. Huge tracts of ocean are marked out at the arbitrary will of one belligerent, and within these vast areas neutrals, peaceable traders, do not merely have their ships taken in, adjudged in the prize court, dealt with, and non-belligerent life carefully regarded, but they are sunk at sea, no examination, no knowledge of what is in the ship, no knowledge of the character of the crew, no knowledge of whether there are or are not passengers aboard, no knowledge of the goods which are being transported, of the place from which they came or the destination designed. That, gentlemen, is carrying out the methods of barbarism, and in a manner which would have been regarded as incredible even in Germany two years ago. It has been carried out by a Government which, when it thought

worth while for diplomatic reasons, was never wearied of talking of the freedom of the seas.

But it is a method of conducting warfare which in its indirect consequences, as well as its direct consequences, is of such a character that the civilized world must, when this war is over, take effectual precautions against its repetition. For, if not, it seems to me that, whenever two countries go to war, and whenever it suits the least scrupulous of the belligerents, not merely will a great wrong have been inflicted upon its opponent, but the commerce of the whole civilized world will be disorganized and destroyed. That is impossible to tolerate. And this Chamber has under its guardianship the interests of trade and commerce, and it is of all bodies the one most interested in seeing that, so long as wars are still permitted—and I hope that will not be long—maritime warfare shall be conducted under methods consistent with public law, consistent with ordinary humanity, consistent with those fundamental principles of morality which underlie—or ought to underlie—all law.

Problems After the War

When this tremendous conflict has drawn to its appointed close, and when, as I believe, victory shall have crowned our joint efforts, there will arise not merely between nations but within nations a series of problems which will tax all our statesmanship to deal with. I look forward to that time, not, indeed, wholly without anxiety, but in the main with hope and with confidence; and one of the reasons for that hope and one of the foundations of that confidence is to be found in the fact that your nation and my nation will have so much to do with the settlement of the questions.

I do not think anybody will accuse me of being insensible to the genius and to the accomplishments of other nations. I am one of those who believe that only in the multitude of different forms of culture can the completed movement of progress have all the variety in unity of which it is capable; and, while I admire other cultures, and while I recognize how absolutely all important they are to the future of mankind, I do think that among the English-speaking peoples is especially and peculiarly to be found a certain political moderation in all classes which gives one the surest hope of dealing in a reasonable, progressive spirit with social and political difficulties. And without that reasonable moderation interchanges are violent, and as they are violent reactions are violent also, and the smooth advance of humanity is seriously interfered with.

I believe that on this side of the Atlantic, and I hope on the other side of the Atlantic, if and when these great problems have actively to be dealt with, it will not be beyond the reach of your statesmanship, or of our own, to deal with them in such a manner that

we cannot merely look back upon this great war as the beginning of a time of improved international relations, of settled peace, of deliberate refusal to pour out oceans of blood to satisfy some notion of domination; but that in addition to those blessings the war, and what happens after the war, may prove to be the beginning of a revived civilization, which will be felt in all departments of human activity, which will not merely touch the material but also the spiritual side of mankind, and which will make the second decade of the twentieth century memorable in the history of mankind.

The Italian War Commission reached New York on May 10, headed by Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Maritime and Railway Transportation, with the following associates: General Gugliemotti, representing the Italian Army; Commander Vannutelli, representing the navy; Alvis Bragadini of the Transportation Department, G. Pardo of the Department of Industry and Commerce, and Gaetano Pietra of the Agricultural Department.

The Battle of Arras Day by Day

By Philip Gibbs

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle]

The progress of the great struggle in the region of Arras is here graphically described as seen from day to day by one of the most brilliant correspondents with the British armies in France. The battle of Arras began on April 9, 1917, and the story is here taken up where it broke off in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

[See Map on Page 422].

APRIL 23, 1917.—The battle of Arras has entered into its second phase; that is to say, into a struggle harder than the first day of the battle on April 9, when by a surprise, following great preparations, we gained great successes all along the line.

This morning shortly before 5 o'clock English, Welsh, and Scottish troops made new and strong assaults east of Arras upon the German line between Gavrelle, Guémappe, and Fontaine les Croisilles, which is the last switch line on this part of the front between the British and the main Hindenburg line. It has been hard fighting everywhere, for the enemy was no longer uncertain of the place where the British should attack him. As soon as the battle of Arras started it was clear to him that they should deliver their next blow when they had moved forward their guns upon this "Oppy line," as the British call it, which protects the Hindenburg position north and south of Vitry-en-Artois. His troops were told to expect the British attack at any moment and hold on at all costs of life.

To meet the British strength the enemy had brought up many new batteries, which were placed in front of the

Hindenburg line and close behind the Oppy line, and massed large numbers of machine guns in the villages, trenches, and emplacements, from which they could sweep the line of advance by direct and enfilade fire. These machine guns were thick in the ruins of Roeux, just north of the River Scarpe, in Pelves, just south of it, in two small woods called Bois du Sart and Bois de Vert, immediately facing Monchy, on the slope of the hill, and in and about the village of Guémappe, which we had assaulted and entered twice before.

Many German snipers, men of good marksmanship and tried courage, had been placed all about in shell holes with orders to pick off the British officers and men, and the enemy's gunners had registered all British positions so that they were ready to drop down a heavy barrage directly the British made a sign of attacking.

A Battle to the Death

It was only to be expected that this second phase of the battle of Arras should be extremely hard. For the British it is a battle to the death. Fighting is in progress at all points attained by the troops, and there is the ebb and flow of men—beaten back for a while

by the intensity of fire, but attacking again and getting forward.

At the outset of the attack, according to accounts given me by men who went over with the first waves, the enemy showed himself ready to meet it with fierce resistance. Last night was terribly cold, and the British troops lying out in shell holes or in shallow trenches dug a day or two ago suffered from this exposure. Some of the Scottish troops had fought in the first day's battles of Arras, and, with English troops, had gone forward to Monchy and into the storm centre of German fire. Some of the men I met today had been buried by German crumps and had been dug out again, and as they lay waiting for the hour of attack shells fell about them and the sky was aflame with the flashes of British bombs. The men craved for something hot to drink. But they nibbled dry biscuits and waited for the dawn, and hoped they would not be too numb when the light came to get up and walk.

The light came very pale over the earth, and with it the signal to attack. The bombardment had been steady all through the night and then broke into a hurricane of fire. As soon as the men left the trenches the gunners laid down a barrage in front of them and made a moving wall of shells ahead of them—a frightful thing to follow, but the safest if the men did not go too quickly or failed to distinguish between the line of German shells and the British. It is not easy to distinguish, for the men had hardly risen from the shell holes and ditches before the enemy's barrage started and all the ground about them was vomiting up fountains of mud and shell splinters. At the same time there came above all the noise of shellfire a furnace blast of machine guns. The machine gunners in Roeux and Pelves, in the two small woods in front of Monchy, and in the ground about Guémappe were slashing all the slopes and roads below Monchy on the hill. "It was the most awful machine-gun fire I have heard," said a young Scot this morning as he came back with a bullet in the hip.

Desperate Fighting at Monchy

April 24.—Fighting, harder and more stubborn on both sides, more desperate in resistance on the enemy's part than anything since the battles of the Somme, has been in progress east of Arras since the hour of attack yesterday morning. For the German Army they have been two days of dreadful sacrifice, for the British days of grim struggle, with many attacks and counterattacks which in the end have won and held important ground.

The village of Monchy dominates the present scene of battle, and is the key position above the Cambrai road, for which the enemy is fighting with full strength. His gunners made it one of their fixed targets yesterday and today and flung enormous high explosive shells at it, so that it is no longer the white village I saw last week, but a heap of broken walls and skeleton barns. Opposite lie the two woods of Bois Vert and the Bois du Sart on the slope of the opposite ridge, and it is from these woods that the enemy has come in his counterattacks. At 10 o'clock yesterday morning strong bodies of Rhinelanders left the cover of Bois Vert and, in spite of heavy losses from British machine-gun fire and field batteries, succeeded in driving back part of the British foremost line. Four thousand Germans of a fresh division gathered in the Bois du Sart for a further attempt to break the line, but they were seen by flying officers, and the British batteries filled the wood with gas shells so that great slaughter was done there. This body of men was literally shelled to death, and it was a human hell in that wood under the blue sky.

Like the Somme Battle

April 25.—The battle which is still in progress east of Arras is developing rather like the early days of the Somme battles, when the British fought stubbornly to gain or regain a few hundred yards of trenches in which the enemy resisted under cover of great-gun fire and to which he sent up strong bodies of supporting troops to drive the British out by counterattacks. The attack made by the Scottish troops yesterday afternoon and English troops at 3:30 this morning re-

established the line on this side of the two woods called Bois Vert and Bois du Sart, and on the further side of Guémappe. Parties of British troops who had been cut off, and were believed to be in the hands of the enemy, were recovered yesterday, having held out in the most gallant way in isolated positions. The British barrage preceding an infantry attack actually swept over them, and they gave themselves up for lost, but escaped from the British shells and German shells which burst all around them and seemed in competition for their lives.

A similar case happened with a party of Worcester men, recovered last night. They were cut off in a small copse, and lay quiet there for several days, surrounded by the enemy. They had rations with them, and lived on them until they were gone. They were then starving and suffering great agony for lack of water, but still would not surrender, and last night they were rewarded for their endurance by seeing the enemy retire before the advancing waves of English troops, the enemy suffering big losses, but replacing them each time by fresh battalions.

It is impossible to estimate the German losses during the last three days, but successive counterattacks were smashed by shell fire, machine-gun fire, and rifle fire, so that the ground was heaped with their dead. There have been no fewer than eight counterattacks already upon the village of Gavrelle, and not one of them reached the British front line, but they have been broken and dispersed. In the first counterattack upon the British line opposite Monchy between 2,000 and 3,000 Germans left Bois Vert, but after many hundreds had fallen they retired to reorganize. The second attack was in greater numbers and rolled back the British line for a time, but has now been forced to retire to its old position in the woods, which the British kept continually under an intense fire, so that the slaughter there must be great. The guns never cease their laboring night and day, shelling the enemy's infantry positions, batteries, lines of communication, railheads, and crossroads, so that no

troops may move except under the menace of death or mutilation.

Fierce Aerial Combats

April 26.—East of Arras, after three days of battle, the British hold good lines, with almost all the high and commanding positions south of Scarpe, and the enemy so far has made no further effort to recapture ground by sending out masses of men behind heavy curtain fire. He has paid a heavy price already in these endeavors, and is reorganizing and replacing his shattered divisions and carrying back his wounded to join that vast army of cripples, blind men, and nerve-broken men who in Germany are hideously eloquent of the truth and reveal the mockery of official history.

In the daily official reports a brief picture has been given of the battle which has raged in the skies while the earthmen have been struggling below. Truly during these last few days the air service has fought wonderfully. There have been hours when I have overheard the continual tattoo of the Lewis guns, and when the great sweep of the sky has been tracked out with white shrapnel clouds, following the British flying squadrons, engaged hotly with hostile machines.

British Daring in Raids

The British airmen go daily far back across the German lines, taking thousands of photos, engaging enemy squadrons so that they are held back from the line of battle, and dropping tons of explosives upon ammunition dumps, railheads, and transport. The boys (for they are absurdly young in average age) take all these deadly risks and do all this work of terror with the same spirit as did the young gentlemen of England who rode out with Sir John Chandos and Sir Walter Manny to seek combat with the French knights many hundred years ago along roads where the modern British men at arms go marching today. During this recent fighting one of them challenged a German albatross, who accepted fight, and for an hour they did every trick known to flying—stalling, banking, sideslipping, and looping—in order to get in the first shot. It was the German who tired first, though he

showed himself master of his machine. There are boys in the British air service who have killed six or seven Germans in single combat and a few who have accounted for many more and go off again for mornings, hunting men as if on a good adventure. Yet they know the risks and the fortune of war. They cannot have all the luck all the time. When their turn comes it is quick to the end, or if hit and left alive they do amazing things up there in the high skies to save the final crash.

During this battle of Arras the British airmen have made thousands of flights over the German lines, have engaged in hundreds of combats with hostile squadrons, and at the cost of their own lives in many cases have saved the British infantry great losses by keeping down the fire of the German batteries, destroying their kite balloons, signaling preparations for the German counterattacks, photographing the enemy's trenches and positions, and blinding his own power of observation to some extent, at least, by chasing his airplanes away from the lines on a day when the British infantry is not hard pressed. It is good to pay this tribute to the flying men, whose exploits are not much recorded, though they are always overheard and though the droning song of their engines is always the accompaniment of battle down below.

Capture of Arleux

April 29.—Yesterday the attack northward was delivered against the Oppy switch line, which the British broke by the capture of Arleux en Gohelle, which has fallen to the Canadians, and by successful assaults upon Oppy Village, from which the British troops afterward fell back for a few hundred yards owing to the intense enemy fire making a target of the village. English divisions have also swept across the northern and western slopes of Greenland Hill, which I already described as the dominating position above Roeux, and hold the ground in spite of the most resolute counterattacks and heavy shelling. Roeux itself has been entered by the British, and

their line now runs through the station there.

Further north the Canadians fought hard in Arleux Wood, and English troops, who had advanced up to Oppy, came against strong forces of the enemy, who came up from Neuvireuil and had to swing back a little upon a defensive line. South of the River Scarpe there was shellfire heavier than the British had yet encountered since the full height of the Somme battle, as heavy perhaps as that on July 1 at Gommecourt. The enemy has not only brought up new divisions, massing great reserves, but has dragged up many new batteries of heavy guns which are now firing ceaselessly day and night at long range.

At Lagnicourt I saw the corpses of the Germans who tried to capture the Australians' guns, and I was told that the first estimate of 1,500 men caught on their own wire by the British artillery and rifle fire was much below the number afterward reckoned. This German army is paying a fearful price for Hindenburg's strategic plans, but the men are fighting now as fiercely as ever they fought in this war, and this battle, now raging under a blue sky, is a most bloody episode of history.

Terrible Word Picture

April 30.—There has been but little time lately to describe the scenes of war or chronicle the small human episodes of this great battle between Lens and St. Quentin, with its storm centre at Arras, where men are fighting in mass, killing in mass, and dying sometimes in mass, as when German counterattacks were broken and destroyed at Gavrelle, Monchy, Guémappe, and Lagnicourt. The scene of battle changed during the last few days, because Spring has come at last and warm sunshine. It has made a tremendous difference to the look of things and sense of things.

More frightful now even than in the worst days of Winter is the way up to the front. In all that great stretch of desolation the British left behind the shell craters which were full of water, red water and green water, are now dried up and are hard, deep pits, scooped

out of the powdered earth from which all vitality is gone so that Spring brings no life to it. I thought, perhaps, that some of these shell-slashed woods would put out new shoots when Spring came, and I watched them curiously for any sign of rebirth. But there is no sign and their poor mutilated limbs, their broken and tattered trunks, stand naked and stark under the blue sky. Everything is dead, with a white, ghastly look in the brilliant sunshine except where here and there in a litter of timber and brickwork which marks the site of a French village a little bush is in bud or flowers blossom in a scrap heap which once was a garden.

All this is the background of the present battle, and through this vast stretch of barren country British battalions move slowly forward to take part in the battle when their turn comes, resting a night or two among the ruins where other men who work always behind the lines road-mending, wiring, on the supply column, at ammunition dumps, in casualty clearing stations, and railheads make their billets on the lee side of the broken walls or in holes dug deep by the enemy and reported safe for use. Dead horses lie on the roadsides or in great shell craters. I passed a row of these poor beasts as though all had fallen down and died together in a last comradeship. Dead Germans or bits of dead Germans lie in old trenches, and a few days ago I watched the bombardment of Lens close to the bones of a little Frenchman who had worn the red trousers of the old army when he fought down the slopes of Notre Dame de Lorette to the outskirts of Souchez. He seemed like a man of ancient history, and that red scrap of clothing belonged to an epoch long gone.

May Day in the Trenches

May 1.—May Day has been quiet along the British front, so far as infantry activity was concerned, although noisy enough with gunfire. It was a day of perfect weather, rich in sunshine under a cloudless sky, through which the British air squadrons went away this morning flying low, so that they were fine to see, with glistening wings and wires. Today as well as yesterday the enemy's chief

targets were Arleux, captured by the Canadians, and Guémappe, which fell to the Scottish troops, both of which places he tried to take back by repeated and violent counterattacks. He is still in a trench on the east side of Guémappe running down to a bit of ruin called Cavalry Farm, where there has been close fighting for several days since the great battle of April 23, when Guémappe was taken by the Scots.

Two hundred prisoners were taken in that first forward sweep, when the killed men advanced in long lines and went through and beyond the village of Guémappe with loud shouts and cheers. For nearly three hours the Scots were held up by the fire of German machine guns and artillery, and suffered many casualties, but they fought on, each little group of men acting with separate initiative, and it is to their great honor as soldiers that they destroyed every machine-gun post in front of them. They were checked again by machine-gun fire from many different directions and from the ruin called Cavalry immediately ahead of them. This was afterward cleared and many Germans lie dead there. Then between 11 and 12 in the morning the enemy developed his first counterattack. He massed great numbers of men in the valley below Guémappe, flung a great storm of shell on to the village and then sent forward his troops to work around it. It was then that these Scottish troops showed their fierce and stubborn fighting spirit. They tore rents in the lines of advancing Bavarians with Lewis guns and rifle and grenade fire, and the enemy's losses were so great that the supporting troops passed over lines of dead comrades.

Canadians Take Fresnoy

May 3.—Another day of close, fierce, difficult fighting is in progress, having begun early this morning in the darkness and going on down the long front in hot sunshine and dust and the smoke of innumerable shells. At many points the British troops succeeded splendidly, in spite of great resistance from fresh German regiments and intense artillery fire. The most important gains of the day were in the direction of the village of

Chérisy, where ground has been won by the English battalions, and in Bullecourt, where street fighting is in progress. This thrust at the enemy by Fontaine lez Croiselles, where he is still holding out in a narrow-pointed salient, which should be an utterly unendurable way to Chérisy, was taken rapidly without any serious check, although there was savage machine-gun fire. At Fontaine lez Croiselles the British troops found it very difficult to get forward, owing to the strength of the German defenses south of the wood and the barrage of heavy shellfire.

North of the river Scarpe there was great fighting around Roeux, Gavrelle, and Oppy. When the British advanced they were met by masses of Germans, and once more the line of battle had an ebb and flow and both sides passed over the dead and wounded in assault and retirement. Four times the old windmill beyond the village changed hands. Men were fighting here as if these bits of brick and wall were worth a King's ransom or a world's empire, and in a way they were worth it, for the windmill at Gavrelle is one point which will decide a battle or a series of battles upon which the fate of two empires is at stake.

In Oppy, above the cathedral, the Germans had been very businesslike. They knew this attack was coming. It was clear that it must come to them, and at night they worked hard to protect themselves. They made machine-gun emplacements not only in pits and trenches, but in branches of many trees, and wired themselves in with many twisted strands. A second Guards reserve, newly brought up, held the village and wood and a white château, with its empty windows and broken roofs, and kept below ground when the British gunfire stormed about them. So when the British attacked in that pale darkness of the night they found themselves at once in a hail of machine-gun bullets and later under shellfire which made fury about them. They penetrated into Oppy Wood, but, owing to the massed German troops, who counterattacked fiercely, they did not go far into the wood or lose themselves in a sure deathtrap. They were withdrawn to the

outskirts of Oppy, so that the British guns could get at the enemy and drive him below ground again.

To the northward the British stormed and won long trenches running up from Oppy to Arleux, and, most necessary for their further progress, linking up with the Canadians, who made a great and successful attack upon the village of Fresnoy, just south of Acheville. This was a very gallant feat, in the face of many difficulties of ground and savage fire. They completely surrounded the village and caught the garrison in a trap from which they had no escape. The prisoners escaped the British shellfire, but were nearly done to death by their own guns. I saw this incident this morning. They had been put in an inclosure next to the Canadian field dressing station, flying the Red Cross flag, when suddenly the German guns began shelling the area with 5.9s. They burst again and again during a half hour with tremendous crashes and smoke clouds.

Deadly Windmill Fight

May 4.—I told yesterday of the windmill at Gavrelle and said it changed hands four times. That figure has now doubled since yesterday morning. Eight times the Germans recaptured it and eight times lost it again. While the British hold it and look above its chaos of timbers and bricks and sandbags and rusty wire to those stretches of shelled earth where many hundred forms lie, other field-gray men are approaching from Fresnes Woods, shoulder to shoulder, until the British guns tear holes in their ranks and they crumble away under the machine-gun bullets. So it is at Oppy and Roeux, in this battleground north of the Scarpe. Picked troops have been chosen to hold the villages, and, although so far they have held them by counterattacks in great strength against the British advanced posts, they suffered losses which one cannot reckon but I know to be most bloody under the British bombardments.

In this fighting just north of Oppy the British took many prisoners yesterday.

I saw the prisoners made around the chemical works, whose bricks are pock-

EX-SENATOR ELIHU ROOT



Former Secretary of State. Who Heads the Advisory Commission Sent to Russia by the United States Government.

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

MICHAEL V. RODZIANKO



President of the Russian Duma, a Leader in the Revolution,
and a Potent Force in the Provisional Government

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

marked by the incessant patter of bullets from machine guns. There were a great many Poles among them, speaking a queer patois, and these men, though they fought according to order, loathe war and want to finish with it. They are tall, lean, swarthy fellows, unlike the blonde, square-shouldered Prussians brought down with them from Roeux. The Prussian machine gunners stood in a separate group and were a sturdy-looking crowd, not very dirty, in spite of their fighting, and looking well fed. Other prisoners, twenty of them, came in like earthmen or men buried and dug up again, which was their actual fate, although they did the digging with their own hands. Their dugouts blown in by the British shellfire and all the stairways and openings closed, they found themselves entombed. Horrible enough as it happens to the British, buried in shell craters or trenches with friends above to rescue them quickly if they have that luck, but most horrible for those men, cut off from the world in the battle which swept over them. For two days they used their spades, digging furiously till they were drenched with sweat and weak and parched with thirst. At last they broke up to daylight and surrendered to British soldiers, who were surprised to see them rise out of their tombs.

Some of the British wounded lying out on these battlefields must have been picked up by the Germans as the fighting swayed to and fro, but here and there a man lay where he fell and was recovered again by his comrades in a new advance just as parties of unwounded men held out or hid until the British line reached them again. One man had been lying out since April 23. He was brought in yesterday. He was an officer who had been hit in the stomach by a piece of shell and lay in a crater for five days, unconscious for a time and suffering in his conscious hours the agony of thirst, which is the greatest torture of all.

End of Fourth Week

May 7.—The battle of Arras has now lasted for a month, with successive shocks of attack and counterattack, and

for both sides the struggle has been a fiery ordeal, in which a great sum of human life has been burned and blasted. On the great day of April 9 the British losses were very light, as losses must be counted nowadays, and in comparison with the great gains. The enemy losses on that day were huge in prisoners, in killed and wounded, in guns, and in all material of war. Since then, after hours and even days of panic lest the British tide of men should break all barriers and overwhelm his Hindenburg line, the enemy has been able to rally, to rush up great reserves, and to replace his captured and battered guns by many new batteries. That has saved the Hindenburg line for a time at least, but has not reduced his daily toil of life and limb, for he has only been able to defend himself by counterattacking, and, although that is the best means of defense, according to the German textbooks, it has proved to be frightful in cost for the German soldiers. They succeeded in flinging back the British here and there by sheer weight of numbers when, after hard days' fighting, they lie exhausted in their advanced positions, but every time they have been swept by machine-gun fire and shrapnel, so that they have fallen in great numbers. To pretend that the British escaped scot free would be a silly lie. The casualty lists tell how many the British have lost.

In the battle of Arras there was individual courage, incredible almost in human nature, but what to me is more amazing is the general stolidity of all of them—this common valor of shop boys and cooks and farmers' lads and factory hands. To say they are always without fear would be ridiculous. They are often very much afraid, as all men must be when high explosives come out of the blue skies with frightful noises for abominable slaughter, but these lads are by some magic, which is in experience, steeled against ordinary apprehensiveness and against imaginative terror. A few days ago near Oppy I passed a group who had just been knocked out by a shell. It was a sight to turn one sick and cold, but a company

of boys came along on the way to the front line, where other shells were falling, and they paid very little heed to this group of men.

Night Scenes at Lens

May 8.—Last night and after daylight this morning the enemy's gunfire was very heavy southward from the neighborhood of Loos and Lens, and he launched a violent counterattack against the British line north of Fresnoy, captured a few days ago by the Canadians. Further south still, at Bullecourt, the Scots are fighting at close quarters, mainly with bombs, routing the enemy down trenches and out of the village, regained for a while in the backward and forward drives of this fierce struggle westward of Queant, where the Hindenburg line is most closely menaced. Elsewhere in the northern lines it was a night of small raids on both sides, and along all the front a night of great artillery. I watched this battle of guns from the old trenches looking across to Lens and giving a wide sweep of the battle front from the field of Loos to the ground below the sloping shoulder of Vimy Ridge.

This ground was the storm centre of the world's war last night just after dark, and before the coming of the moon lights rose from the German lines. The old devil was lighting his tapers round the witches' caldrons of fire. These rockets rose high, flung up like jugglers' balls, then falling slowly and going out. Some of them burned for a minute or more and the woods and trenches beneath them were illuminated with sharp white lights. One remained hanging high over Lens for more than five minutes like a great star. All through the night the battle of the guns went on and the sky was filled with the rush of the shells and the moon veiled his face from this horror which made hell on earth. But in a little wood a nightingale sang all through the night.

Germans Recapture Fresnoy

May 9.—The night bombardment I described yesterday was the preliminary of a strong morning attack against the

British position in and around Fresnoy. Upon this village and the neighboring ground the enemy concentrated everything he has in artillery which can be directed on this sector of the front, and, in addition to the ordinary high explosives and shrapnel, he flung a storm of gas shells wherever he thought the British had battery positions. Fresnoy itself had been a difficult place to hold since the Canadians took it so gallantly on May 3. Having Acheville to the north of it and Oppy to the south, it jutted like a square-walled bastion with exposed sides, along which at the time of capture the Canadians had to form defensive flanks. The enemy had marked it down for attack, and for several days made strong counterthrusts on each side of it in order to prevent British troops getting forward to straighten out the line. English troops had to bear the brunt of the German concentrated fury. The German Army Corps Staff evidently decided to attack with the greatest strength possible on a narrow front, which was already held by their best troops. For a time that village is lost, but one day sooner or later the British will take it back. These men do not reckon cost, even though it is their own life that pays.

Australians at Bullecourt

May 13.—While the British were fighting north and south of the Scarpe an attack was made yesterday morning by the English and Scots at Bullecourt, supported by the Australians on their flank. The English and Scottish troops advanced from the south and west and drove forward through the village, establishing themselves first on the road which runs through the centre of the ruins and then going forward again to a line at the extreme north of the village, from which they have pushed out posts. The place is a rabbit warren of tunnels, in which there may still be Germans holding out, cut off from all chance of escape. When the British got through, the enemy seemed to run up these tunnels, hoping to get away to Riencourt, but by this time the Australians had just come up and captured a crowd of them numbering two officers and over 180

men, bayonetting a number who refused to surrender and fought like tigers.

The history of this fighting at Bullecourt is, however, inseparably bound up with the Australian troops who broke through the Hindenburg line to the right of this village and held on to their positions with amazing and splendid courage, although they were utterly exposed on their left and subjected to at least a dozen counterattacks in considerable force, preceded and followed by severe shelling.

All Australian officers pay high and touching tribute to the work of their stretcher bearers, who were superb in courage and self-sacrifice. I have seen the ground they had to cross and I know the evil and peril of it, but they went forward with the infantry and day after day crossed this country in the open with their heavy burdens, never stopping to glance at the bursting shells on either side of them, regardless of their own lives so that they could save their comrades. Unfortunately, the enemy did not respect ambulances, although they could clearly see the sign of the Red Cross, but sniped them continually with shells and shrapnel bullets, as well as stretcher parties which had more faith in German chivalry and for that reason walked deliberately in the open, so that they could not be mistaken. The percentage of mortality among these men is rather higher than that of the infantry themselves.

Heroic Incidents at Roeux

May 15.—The account I have already given of the way in which Roeux was taken a few nights ago left out some episodes which should be told and remembered, for the winning of this place was the result of many weeks' most fierce and tragic fighting.

After dusk some British lost their way from the cemetery and wandered off the track into the ruined streets of Roeux. There were some Irishmen among them, bold and reckless fellows who are very quick to do the right things in a tight corner when, as they say, they are on their own. They searched some dugouts and hauled out, by good luck, a group of staff officers belonging to the 362d Regiment and a doctor.

The doctor found his position rather obscure. He remained in his dugout for some time, attending British wounded brought down to him, and, according to these men, labeled them for Berlin. It was quite a time before he realized that his patients were not German prisoners, but that he was a British prisoner.

May 16.—The enemy is still making violent efforts to gain back Roeux and the part which he recently lost of Bullecourt, two places where for four weeks men fought on both sides in a daily struggle so deadly that the ground thereabout is heaped with bodies.

Yesterday, as I wrote, all Roeux was in British hands—the chemical works beyond the station, where many prisoners were taken; the château, with its great dugouts and machine-gun emplacements; the cemetery from which a great tunnel runs westward to Mount Pleasant Wood, and the village of Roeux itself. The British established machine-gun posts in the edge of the old German emplacements, dug defensive trenches, and cleaned out the dugouts in which dead Germans lay. There can hardly have been a patch of ground between the shell craters and the rubbish heap of the houses and barns on which there was not a German corpse. Among them lay men of the British Army. Some day, when the nightmare of this war has passed and the enemy has gone back to his own place, some of the men now fighting will come to Roeux as to a sepulchre where the dust of heroes lies; for all this place is a graveyard, although no dead lie quiet there yet. Living men are fighting there again amid all that mortality. Today's fighting here began this story of blood all over again; it piled new dead on the old dead; it refilled the cup of agony which has overflowed around these heaps of brickwork and tattered timbers.

While the artillery protects the enemy's present line he is digging hard behind in order to safeguard any further retreat that may be forced upon him. Now that the old Hindenburg line is breached both at Bullecourt and Wan-

court up north he is trying to strengthen his new line of defense running down through Montigny, Drocourt, and Queant. To fall back on that would mean the abandonment of Lens and of the Oppy-Mericourt line and the ground about Fontaine lez Croiselles, and Chérisy, which is gravely menaced. His industry

on this back line is helped by forced labor and there is evidence that he is employing British prisoners of war under British shellfire on this work.

May 17.—The British troops today completed the capture of the village of Bullecourt, for which they have been fighting since May 3.

French Offensive On the Aisne

From April 16 to May 17, 1917

[See Map on Page 422]

A NEW battle of the Aisne has been in progress since April 16, when General Nivelle, the French Commander in Chief, launched a great offensive on a front of twenty-five miles between Soissons and Rheims. This was on the line to which the Germans fell back after the battle of the Marne and from which the Allies had been unable to drive them.

In expectation of a strong offensive in this region, the enemy had massed large numbers of men and many guns, the intense bombardment of the previous ten days having given them ample warning that the French were preparing an attack. The Germans fought with great desperation along the whole front, realizing that a successful French advance would isolate the important city of Laon, upon which the Hindenburg line depends, but, according to General Nivelle's report at the end of the first day's fighting, "everywhere the valor of our troops overcame the energetic defense of our adversary."

The German first-line positions along the entire front were captured, and at some places the second line also. Over 10,000 prisoners were taken, as well as a large quantity of war material. On the two succeeding days the offensive was continued with unabated vigor. By the end of the third day the total number of prisoners taken was 17,000, with 75 guns. In many places the Germans were forced to fall back in disorder. The French gained several important positions, including the villages of Chavonne,

Chivy, Ostel, and Braye-en-Laonnois. Further to the west, where the old German line stood on the south bank of the Aisne, the French delivered another attack, no less successful. The important town of Vailly was captured in its entirety, while a powerfully organized bridgehead between Vailly and Condé-sur-Aisne also fell into the hands of the attackers. At the same time the French struck a strong blow against the western leg of the German salient, which has its apex at Fort Condé on the Aisne, capturing the village of Nanteuil-le-Fosse. East of Craonne, in the forest of La Ville-au-Bois, the French surrounded a body of 1,300 Germans, who threw down their arms. Further to the east, where the French in their first onslaught captured the German second-line positions, the Germans delivered a counterattack, employing two divisions, or about 40,000 men. The attackers met a hail of artillery and machine-gun fire, and suffered heavy losses. At no point were they able to reach the French lines. Twenty-four guns and three large cannon with their shell dépôts were captured by the French in this region during the day's fighting, the guns being immediately turned against the enemy.

South of St. Quentin the Germans made two strong counterattacks. The first one failed completely, the second had only momentary success, as a French attack immediately afterward retook all positions, capturing or killing all the enemy who had penetrated the line.

To stem the French advance, Hinden-

burg threw twelve new German divisions, approximately 240,000 men, into the lines on the night of April 18, but next day the French pushed further ahead. The most desperate attempt made by the Germans on April 19 was between Juvincourt and Berry-au-Bac, the weakest point on the line. Here 30,000 of the best German troops were hurled forward in a furious counterattack, but were beaten off with heavy losses. The most important French gains were made at two widely separated points—at the angle of the new front east of Soissons and north of Vailly, where a sharp salient was developed, and just northwest of Auberive, in the Champagne, where the town of Moronvillers was threatened with capture.

Following up these successes in squeezing out the German salient, which had its point at Fort Condé, on the Oise, the French continued to press back the enemy in this sector on April 20 toward the Chemin des Dames, the road running along the crest of the heights north of the river. General Nivelle's troops occupied the village of Sancy, between Aizy and Nanteuil. They also made appreciable progress east of Laffaux. Immediately in front of the French in this sector is the fort of Malmaison, standing on a range of high hills and protecting the high road from Soissons to Laon. West of Craonne the Germans launched a heavy attack in the region of Ailles and Hurtebise Farm, employing large forces of troops. They met a withering fire from the French artillery and machine guns and fell back in disorder. In Champagne the French also made progress, capturing several important points of support in Moronvillers Wood. Here, also, the Germans attempted strong counterattacks, but without result.

On April 22 and 23 the Germans concentrated their energies to capture Mont Haut, the dominating position in Western Champagne, but without result. Meanwhile the French gained more ground at the western end of the Soissons-Rheims front. South of St. Quentin the artillery duel which had been in progress several days continued with vigor. April 25 was notable for strong

German attacks on the French positions at Hurtebise Farm, north of the Chemin des Dames, but the advantage remained with the French, who on April 27 gained further ground.

There was now some diminution of the intensity of the fighting. The French were in possession of the chief heights of Moronvillers. On April 30 they began another offensive on the left of the previous advance in Western Champagne. The fighting was particularly severe on the north slopes of Mont Haut, to the northeast of which the French pushed a salient reaching the approaches to the Nauroy-Moronvillers road. Artillery fighting of considerable violence continued along the Chemin des Dames, north of the Aisne, and in the region northwest of Rheims. By May 1 the French had taken well over 21,000 prisoners since the opening of the drive on April 16.

Scenes of Awful Combat

"One of the most awful parts of the battle line in France," wrote G. H. Perris, The London Daily Chronicle correspondent with the French Army, on May 14, "is the Chemin des Dames and the neighboring points of the Aisne heights, where mutual bombardments never cease and infantry fighting goes on continuously. Before a resistance of unprecedented obstinacy the French have slowly made good and slightly extended their hold upon the ridge, and every day makes its commanding views more useful to them. I suppose that in the whole extent of the war there could hardly be found a natural stronghold put to better defensive use than this has been. From the outset the German armies have been richly provided with machine guns. They are now employed upon a larger scale than ever, and in this rugged ground, with its ravines, cliffs, woods, and stone villages, they are peculiarly formidable. The chalk slopes are honeycombed with caverns and grottoes, natural and artificial, which the German engineers had furnished, enlarged and connected by tunnels. Here they awaited the end of the bombardment in comparative immunity, while the French had to approach from a valley 300 feet below by trenches that were nearly everywhere overlooked.

"It is true that when the barbed wire was completely broken and the chasseurs, zouaves, Moroccans, and other troops of assault were able to dash over No Man's Land, the caves proved to be traps and yielded up several thousands of prisoners. On the crest the Germans had pierced a number of tunnels through the chalk from the front to the back slopes of the hills. Sometimes, as above Chivy, they let the wave of the assault pass and then fired upon the French from behind. Sometimes there were bloody combats in the entries of these warrens and the tenants were shot down as they came out. There was at the head of the Chivy ravine a wide hole in the earth down which the Moroccans threw some grenades and then passed on. It turned out to be the entrance to a great tunnel which led by no fewer than 112 steps to another entrance on the back of the hillside. Apparently against the eventuality of assault the tunnel had been mined with five large charges. The grenades filled the place with smoke and threw the occupants into panic. Fearing that they would be blown up with their own explosives, they bolted upstairs to the back door, but by that time the Moroccans had discovered the second entry, and here they collected 200 frightened Boches as they emerged.

"Generally the German resistance was brave and determined. In one day near Cerny counterattacks were launched only to break like spume upon the extemporized French positions. They became daily stronger, but still thousands of graycoats were sent to the assault. In their attempts to recover the Cerny sugar factory (a heap of ruins, of course) they started from some specially wide communication trenches up which columns of grenadiers came four abreast. As soon as four were shot down another line stepped forward. Thousands and thousands of bombs were thrown, but the French mitrailleuses could not be passed."

The Capture of Craonne

The village of Craonne, several fortified points north and east of the village, and the German first-line positions on a front of two and a half miles northwest

of Rheims were captured by the French on May 4. Craonne, about nine miles southeast of Laon, stands upon an isolated height at the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames. It not only protects the entire plateau north of the Aisne, but defends also the lowlands between this height and Neufchatel. The Germans had been intrenched in this position since the first battle of the Aisne, and many French attacks had broken against the cliffs on which the village stands. Its capture by the French gave them an open road up the valley of the Miette, where more than two weeks previously they captured the enemy's second line south of Juvincourt. An advance up this corridor would outflank the entire German position depending on Laon as a centre. Such an advance would have been a hazardous operation so long as the Germans clung to Craonne. The corridor is protected on the east by the heights of Brimont.

Another brilliant victory was gained by the French on May 5 on the front north of the Aisne River at both ends of the Chemin des Dames. Over 4,300 prisoners were taken. On both sides of the Soissons-Laon road the French carried a salient in the Hindenburg line over a front of nearly four miles, extending from the Moisy farm (southeast of Vauxaillon) to a point north of Sancy, including the Laffaux Mill, which stands on a height at the intersection of the Soissons-Laon road with that running north to La Fère. The French line north of Nanteuil la Fosse and Sancy was pushed forward to the immediate vicinity of the Soissons road.

At the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames the French not only repulsed all German counterattacks, but cleared the entire plateau from east of the Cerny en Laonnois to a point east of Craonne, and pushed forward to the hills which dominate the valley of the Ailette River, south of Ailles, and the Vanclerc Forest. The Germans counterattacked more violently than at any time since the offensive began, throwing fresh troops into the battle at threatened points in fierce efforts to regain their lost positions. The fighting was especially prolonged and

violent around Craonne, where the French took prisoners from two fresh German divisions and maintained all their gains. The obstacles confronting the French armies were in many cases natural, and, it would seem, insurmountable, and the French accomplished magnificent exploits in scaling them in the face of the enemy, who had accumulated divisions and batteries.

Fighting Near Rheims

There was no diminution in the heavy German onslaughts in the neighborhood of Rheims, where the German positions between Beine and Sapigneul form a pronounced salient, which includes Fort Brimont and Forts Witry, Berru, and Nogent. After three days' more fighting the French gained further successes, capturing first-line trenches over a front of three-quarters of a mile northeast of Chevreux, near Craonne, and also a minor position northwest of Rheims.

In a determined effort to secure the initiative, the Germans on May 16 delivered a powerful attack on a front of two and a half miles northeast of Soissons, attempting to break through the French lines north and northwest of Laffaux

Mill, where the French seriously threatened the whole German position as far north as La Fère. So huge were the masses of troops thrown by the Germans against the French lines that at several points the French were driven back by sheer force of numbers, but counterattacks immediately organized enabled them to regain the lost ground.

On May 17 the German counterattacks still continued with extraordinary insistence, especially on the Chemin des Dames. A correspondent on that day summed up the situation in these words: "To the north of Laffaux village and the neighboring crossroads in particular the battle has gone on practically without intermission for a month. This district of sharp hills, wooded ravines, and limestone caverns is the corner at which the Siegfried line turns eastward. The French advance was desperately opposed from the first, and it has been possible to extend it only slightly, but the chief end has been very fully attained. The tide of the German assault swells up, splashes over a piece of trench here or there, is broken, and in its ebb leaves terrible human wreckage to mark one more failure."

The Famous Fight for Vimy Ridge

The story of the remarkable capture of Vimy Ridge by the Canadians, one of the outstanding episodes of the British offensive in France in April, 1917, is officially related as follows by the Canadian War Records Office:

A GAIN the Canadians have "acquired merit." In the capture of Vimy Ridge on April 9, as in the lesser action of Courcellette in September of last year, they have shown the same high qualities in victorious advance as they displayed in early days in desperate resistance on many stricken fields. At half-past 5 on Easter Monday morning the great attack was launched with terrible fire from our massed artillery and from many field guns in hidden advanced positions. Our "heavies" bom-

barded the enemy positions on and beyond the ridge, and trenches, dugouts, emplacements, and roads, which for long had been kept in a continual state of disrepair by our fire, were now smashed to uselessness. An intense barrage of shrapnel from our field guns, strengthened by the indirect fire of hundreds of machine guns, was laid along the front.

At the same moment the Canadian troops advanced in line, in three waves of attack. Flurries of snow drifted over the battlefield as the Canadians left their jumping-off trenches behind the rolling barrage. The light was sufficient for manoeuvring purposes and yet obscure enough to obstruct the range of vision and lessen the accuracy of fire of the German riflemen and machine-gunners.

The troops on the extreme left made a start under conditions as favorable as those in the centre and right, but they were soon confronted by a strong and constantly strengthening opposition. The advance of these troops was soon checked between its first and second lines of objectives by heavy fighting, which was more formidable against the centre of the line than against the flanks.

A dip in the ground caused a change of direction, which swung these troops off their central objectives. They reached their goals on the flanks, only to find themselves subjected to heavy, close-range fire of machine guns and rifles. To be enfiladed from the centre and the north was bad enough, but to add to the situation, caves, or a tunnel, in the hostile line over which we had already advanced now disgorged Germans, who promptly reoccupied their old front and opened fire on our rear. The enemy at these points fought with unusual vigor and resolution.

These troops on the extreme left fought all day against the Huns, and by 10 o'clock at night succeeded in disposing of the enemy in their rear and capturing the major portion of the enemy trenches in their centre. "The Pimple," in the north, still remained to the enemy, but by then snow was falling heavily and it was wisely decided to consolidate the hard-won gains and prepare for a counterattack rather than to undertake a further assault that night. "The Pimple" would keep for the morrow.

In the meantime the other troops fought forward to one line after another without serious check, but with many brisk encounters and not without casualties. Most of these were the result of shrapnel fire, only a small percentage were fatal, and the majority of the wounds were of a minor character.

On the German second line the troops drew breath and consolidated their gains. Our barrage was laid before them steady as a wall. Fresh troops came up and deployed into position. They waited for the barrage to lift at the ordained minute and lead them on. The enemy's artillery fire—their counterbarrage and

bombardment of our gun positions—was not strong as strength in such things is considered today. Prisoners were already hurrying to our rear in hundreds, pathetically and often ludicrously grateful to the fortunes of war that had saved them alive for capture. They surrendered promptly and willingly.

The barrage lifted, and the two divisions on the right followed it forward to the German third line. Here again they paused for a time, then advanced again, behind the ever-ready and unslackening barrage, for a distance of about 1,200 yards. This advance included the capture of several villages, Hill 140, a number of fortified woods, and several trenches and belts of wire. And still the enemy surrendered by hundreds and scuttled rearward to safety. Their resistance grew feebler, their hands more eager to relinquish their weapons and ascend high above their heads, at each stage of our advance.

At 10 o'clock snow fell heavily from black clouds sweeping low across the ridge. Half an hour later the snow ceased, the clouds thinned, and the sun shone fitfully over the shattered and clamorous battlefield. Word was received at the advanced headquarters that the British division on our immediate right was enjoying a degree of success in its operations equal to the Canadian success.

Events continued to develop with rapidity and precision. By 1 o'clock every point in the enemy's third line of our objectives had been reached and secured. By this time the troops on the right had consolidated their gains and advanced strong patrols. From their new positions they commanded a wide view of enemy territory to the eastward. They reported a massing of Germans on a road in the new field of vision, and our heavy guns immediately dealt with the matter. By noon one of the battalions of a division had received and dealt drastically with three counterattacks. Its front remained unshaken. Shortly after this the Canadian Corps was able to state that the prisoners already to hand numbered three battalion commanders, 15 other officers, and more than 2,000 noncommissioned

officers and men—with plenty more in sight—making for our “cages” as fast as their legs could carry them.

The final stage of the attack of the troops on the right was now made. They passed through the wide belts of enemy wire which fringed the plateau by way of wide gaps torn by our heavy artillery at fixed intervals. So they issued on the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge—the first allied troops to look down upon the level plain of Douai since the German occupation in 1914. They saw the villages of Farbus, Vimy, and Petit Vimy at their feet, and beyond these the hamlets of Willerval, Baillieu, Oppy, and Mericourt.

They pressed on to Farbus Wood and Goulot Wood, and possessed themselves of several hostile batteries and much ammunition.

By an early hour of the afternoon all our objectives, save those of the left of the attack, were in our possession, and the task of consolidating and strengthening our gains was well in hand. Throughout the day the most courageous and devoted co-operation was rendered to the Canadian Corps by a brigade and a squadron of the Royal Flying Corps.

The night saw all of Vimy Ridge, with the exception of a few trenches on Hill 145, secure in Canadian hands.

Last Inhabitants Driven From Rheims

The City of Rheims was evacuated by its civil population on Easter Sunday, when the last 17,000 inhabitants, who had withstood the German bombardment for two and one-half years, withdrew. Henry Wood describes this episode as follows:

BEFORE the German declaration of war Rheims was a prosperous city, with 117,000 inhabitants, and though about 100,000 of the population left by degrees, the remainder refused to go. They organized an underground cellar life, with schools and municipal, social, and business activities.

The enemy apparently chose Holy Week for the final destruction of the city. On Palm Sunday nearly 1,000 shells were thrown into the city, and the local authorities immediately suggested the final evacuation of the city, but the faithful 17,000 said, “Oh! but we have seen much worse than this in 1914.” On Holy Monday another thousand shells came. The faithful 17,000 began to look a little dubious, but cheered each other up heroically. But on Tuesday another thousand shells deluged the city, and the local authorities had some bills printed begging the people to flee; but the bombardment was so terrific that it was im-

possible to post the bills. On Wednesday there came still another thousand shells. The two newspapers of Rheims, which had never missed a single issue even under the severest bombardment, invited their readers at last to abandon their homes as they were abandoning their newspapers. Thursday saw another thousand shells hurled into Rheims and the authorities prepared more posters, this time ordering the population to flee immediately. The bombardment again prevented the posting of the bills and the 17,000 still refused to flee.

On Good Friday not only was the number of shells increased, but their size as well, and on Saturday were added shells filled with asphyxiating gas. It was then, and then only, the faithful 17,000 admitted their defeat.

They still hung out till Easter morning, however, and then, getting together their few possessions, and under a new deluge of shells, they went out, and Rheims remained a city without life and without breath.

The damage done to the remains of Rheims Cathedral during the bombardments of April and May was so serious that architects apprehend the complete collapse of the building.

Military Review of the Month

Period from April 18 to May 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

THE object of these reviews is two-fold—to give a résumé of recent fighting in the various theatres of military operations and to outline the general situation as it exists at the moment of writing. The second of these I will take up first, as it will bring into clearer view the objects on either side of the fighting, and to what extent those objects are being attained.

Germany has two chances of winning the war. The first is the submarine campaign. If this campaign is successful to the point that oversea communication between the New World and the Old is completely broken up German victory is almost certain to ensue. The second is a separate peace with Russia. This will not necessarily make Germany the winner, but it will greatly enhance Germany's chances and make victory a possibility. As to the first, it is practically impossible. The second is not impossible, but improbable. At the same time a situation exists in Russia which is not without an omen of ill for the Allies.

Ominous Conditions in Russia

The situation is one of chaos. Instead of liberty and an active struggle to defeat the most persistent foe to republican ideas, there is almost unbridled license and a complete breaking down of discipline in the military force. As one of the Russian leaders stated it, the people have had a sip from the cup of liberty, and it has intoxicated them. The ablest Generals, the greatest statesmen, have all left their posts, either through removal or resignation. Nicholas, Brusiloff, Rusky have gone, and there is no one apparently able to take their places. Discipline in the army has disappeared, the control of the officers over the men has gone with it, and no important order can be given unless ap-

proved by the soldiers themselves. The Russians and the Germans are fraternizing openly in No Man's Land, and there seems no means of breaking up this ruinous communication. The situation could not, in a military way, be very much worse.

It is not that Russia will make a separate peace. The probabilities are that she will not. While this still keeps Germany away from the Russian granaries, it nevertheless, in so far as military operations are concerned, gives Germany the same advantages that such a peace would bring. That is, it eliminates Russia from the war, at least for the current year, and thereby permits the Central Powers to concentrate in other quarters a large part of the forces which have been held on the eastern front by Russia's swift, hard offensive strokes. This is an element that has an important bearing on the fighting in France.

General Hindenburg's Plan

Let us turn back a little to the beginning of the great German retreat and outline the reasons given by Germany, or fairly implied as reasons therefor. The first was undoubtedly to gain time—to delay the attack of the Allies, which they felt sure would be launched. The almost inconceivable devastation left in their wake is sufficient proof of this. The second was to give their submarines an opportunity to destroy sufficient tonnage to give them the advantage in the land fighting. Finally, having accumulated during the Winter a certain reserve of new material through new levies, returns from the hospitals, and men released from manufacturing duties through the enslavement of the Belgians, their aim was to begin an offensive in a new field through open warfare, using this reserve for the purpose.

What this new reserve amounted to in

numbers we do not know. The normal yearly increment is approximately 500,000; it does not seem reasonable that the number from other sources could be greater. This would give the total reserve figure at about 1,000,000. It is apparent, however, from the statement as to the German plan—which statement comes from Berlin—that Germany planned to take the initiative which the Allies had held since the ending of the battle of Verdun. If she did not, indeed, there was but little sense in collecting this reserve which was formed largely by mortgaging the future. It was a stake with which to gamble, and therefore must have been intended to be used in an effort to accomplish some result through offensive operations initiated by Germany.

Plans That Have Failed

To what extent, then, do the operations of the last month indicate success in conformity with the German plan? The first part—to gain time—has proved a failure. They did not gain time because the British and French, knowing of the coming retirement, (I myself was advised of it from an authoritative source the first week in February,) had, before it began, prepared to strike elsewhere than on the Somme. The British preparation for the attack on Vimy Ridge was made in February, the French preparation for the attacks on Craonne and in Champagne somewhat later.

The second part of the plan, while in one sense partially successful, since many hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping have been sunk, has in reality been a ruinous failure, since it has thrown the resources of America into the balance against Germany. Nor has it even approached cutting England off from the New World. Indeed, Canada is sending troopships across weekly, and there is no record of any one of them ever having been sunk.

As for the third, its defeat has been most complete. Germany has been utterly unable to take the initiative or to use for this purpose the million men she had gathered at serious cost to her later operations. On the contrary, she has had to use this reserve to resist the ter-

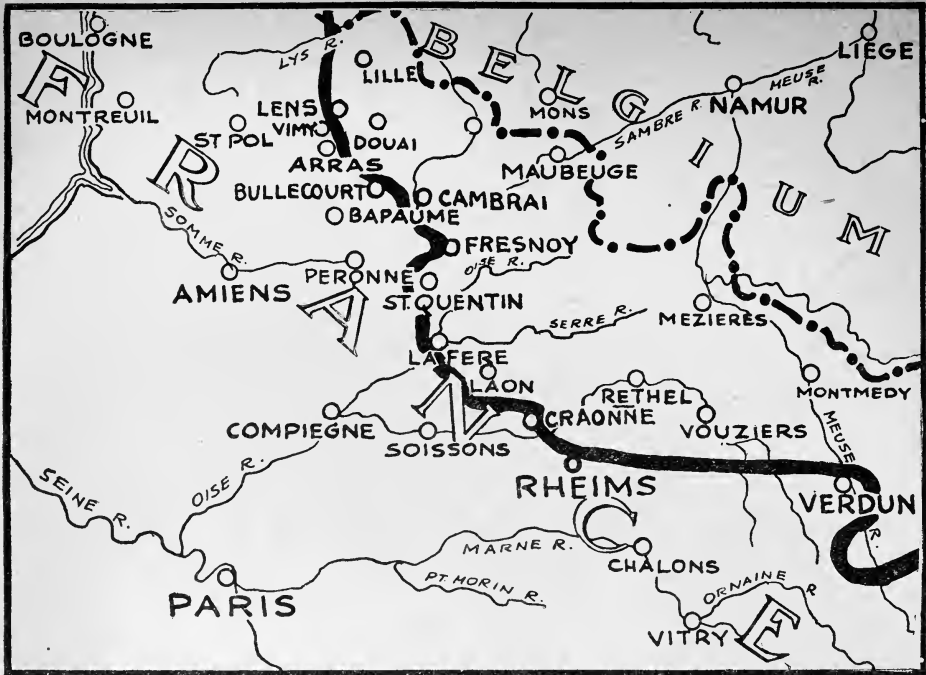
rific and unrelenting pressure which the British and French have applied to the two most vital sections of the German front. And even this does not seem to have been sufficient. Aside from throwing this reserve into action long before it was expected, she has had to call on the Russian front for additional men, and is using many divisions of them now. The Russian situation permits this to be done without present danger. It is another case of mortgaging the future because of the exigencies of the present. When Russia is ready to strike again the result will show how serious the damage is. We see, therefore, that in every particular the German plans have met with defeat.

Less Hopeful Elements

To this extent the situation is entirely favorable to the Allies. But it is a negative advantage. In reality the situation is not as hopeful as might appear from what has already been said. There is reason for a somewhat dubious feeling about any great success this year. The whole thing hinges on Russia, and we know what the Russian situation is. The only way a group of nations holding the advantage of interior lines can be beaten is by striking simultaneously at many points on the inclosing circle. And this cannot happen. Russia, we have seen, cannot attack. Any Italian attack will be met by Austrian reserves, drawn with impunity from the Russian front. Rumania is dependent upon Russian assistance and Russian supplies, and may consequently be classed with Russia as incapable of offensive action. The army in Saloniki, although spasmodically active, is really performing no other function than that of a holding force, neutralizing the army of Bulgaria. Only on the western front can effective fighting be done, and the forces on this front must bear the brunt of the entire German Army. This, then, is the situation with which the British and French are confronted, and which must be borne in mind in following the western fighting.

French Fighting on the Aisne

As for the actual fighting, it has been more severe than during any correspond-



BRITISH AND FRENCH BATTLE FRONTS NEAR ARRAS AND ON THE AISNE

ing period of the war. The first attack to be noted—it began as last month's review was going to press—was the French attack west of Rheims and in Champagne. The attack west of Rheims was against the southern pivot of the so-called "Hindenburg Line"—against the Laon position. It was leveled principally against the heights of the Aisne, where the allied attacks which followed the battle of the Marne broke down. From the Aisne, passing north toward Craonne, there is an abrupt limestone plateau, rising in a very difficult, heavily wooded country and terminating sharply at Craonne itself.

The first French rush, which was preceded by the usual terrific bombardment, carried Nivelle's men well up to this plateau and accounted for a great many guns and thousands of prisoners, many of the latter being caught in the limestone caves—some natural, some created by the Germans—with which the plateau is honeycombed. Following up this success, the French struck again and again until the plateau was taken and Craonne occupied. French lines were established

about three-quarters of a mile from the Ailette River, which they now parallel from Courtecon to Chevreux. The floor of this valley is now under complete domination by the French guns, which occupy the ridge that parallels the valley throughout.

Here the French have had to stop. The Germans have thrown into the fighting over 100,000 new troops in their efforts to hold back the French thrust, and have made the most furious counterattacks, particularly against the Craonne position. But the French have maintained their new positions entirely. Indeed, it was the terrain which has held the French back, more than the reserve material which the Germans have thrown into the battle. The truth of the matter is that both sides hold positions which are exceedingly strong defensively. Each holds a ridge paralleling the river—one on one side, one on the other. There is no object in the French pushing down to the river unless they can cross it and seize the heights on the other side. This promises to be a most difficult operation, and one accompanied by heavy losses;

and there is no indication that any such attempt is being considered. Indeed, it would seem that the French have reached the limit of possibilities here, and that this section of the line will wait for an attack to be made from the east, where the terrain is much more simple and less favorable for defense.

Between Rheims and Berry-au-Bac the country is open, gently rolling, without positions of any particular dominating value. The attack here almost entirely cleared the Aisne Canal north of Soivre and forced the Germans back to within a mile of the Suippes River. Here, too, the advance has halted and the French have had to withstand the heaviest of counter-movements. In the Champagne country east of Rheims, to which the French attack extended, there was also a decided gain in the early days of the fighting, but the advance stopped at the heights of Moronvillers. Against this section, too, the Germans have countered heavily, but everywhere the French lines have held. Division after division of the German reserves has been used up in these three sections of the line and withdrawn to recuperate and re-form.

On the British Front

All the British fighting of the month has been over the narrow front from Fresnoy to Queant. The ground gained has been unimportant, but the apparent plan of the British is important. It must be realized, first, that the western fighting still has with it the idea of attrition—of wearing the Germans down. This has

never been lost sight of by the allied General Staff since trench warfare developed. And it is toward this end that the fight in the west is directed. The idea of the British, then, seems to be to provoke the Germans to counter-attack rather than to gain ground themselves.

The percentage of men lost in such attacks is always greater than in the original attack. There are several reasons for this, chief of which is that counter-attacks, whether made to stop an advance or to recover lost ground, promise success only when made before the hostile infantry can consolidate the ground gained and settle down into new positions. The artillery, therefore, cannot be used to the same extent either to prepare for or to protect the infantry as it moves forward. The losses involved in such fighting are always excessive. Such attacks are justified only when important positions are at stake. Here is apparently the key to the fighting at Roeux, at Oppy, and at Bullecourt.

There are indications of activity both on the Saloniki and the Italian fronts, but such attacks as have been delivered are only in the preparatory stage. The Saloniki fighting has been confined to the Vardar Valley, on both sides of which the French and British have made slight advances. On the Italian front, about midway between Tolmino and Gorizia, a new crossing of the Isonzo has been forced and several heights on the eastern bank have been seized. In general, however, the engagement has been without definite result.

German Version of the Month's Fighting

April 18 to May 17, 1917

GERMAN accounts of the fighting on the western front during the month have maintained that the British and French attacks have been failures attended by appalling losses. "After a week of incomparably wrathful onslaught," wrote the correspondent of the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger on April 22, "the German front still stands unshaken, al-

though covered with bruises and pools of blood on the Aisne and in Champagne, a guarantee that, since the enemy did not succeed in the first two days of this gigantic battle, when their valor and vigor were fresh, in breaking the German lines, they will never succeed hereafter."

The German War Office report of April 23, the day on which the British

launched their second great assault since April 9, said that on the battlefield of Arras the new offensive had broken down without success under very heavy enemy losses, and the report of April 25, referring to the same day's fighting, added that the number of British dead and wounded lying in front of the German lines, according to aviators and men in the trenches, was unusually high. Only on the Cambrai-Arras road did the British gain ground.

The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger correspondent described this offensive as the most gigantic infantry effort ever made by the British. "British humanity in khaki," he wrote, "flooded the whole country in front of the German trenches at Loos and Arras. Between Hulluch and Lens they formed a living battering ram and thus succeeded in taking about a kilometer of the German first trench. But a German counterattack, following immediately, not only ejected them from the trench, but left every British soldier on the battlefield. The troops welcomed an infantry attack as relief from the rain of iron that the British artillery is pouring on them incessantly. The German soldiers who had for days been exposed to the hell of gunfire never lost their nerve one moment when the human sea of khaki threatened to swamp them. On the Aisne and in Champagne, too, a sanguinary struggle around the hills continues as bitterly as in the last eight days. Evidently the French have received fresh munitions and replaced their tired divisions by new formations."

British Failure Announced

The third attempt of the British to break through the German lines on the battlefield of Arras was, according to the Berlin official statement of April 28, another complete failure, involving heavy losses, and followed by a German counterattack ending in "a heavy defeat" for the British. The War Office report of the following day contained this account of the battle:

"A very heavy drum fire, which was begun before daybreak over the whole front from Lens as far as Queant, was the prelude to a battle by which the

British for the third time hoped to pierce the German lines near Arras. By midday the great battle was decided by a heavy defeat of the British. At dawn, on a front of about thirty kilometers, (eighteen miles,) British storming columns followed curtains of steel, dust, gas, and smoke, which had been advanced by degrees. The weight of the enemy thrust north of the Scarpe was directed against our positions from Achéville as far as Roeux, where the battle raged with extraordinary violence. The British forced their way into Arleux-en-Gohelle and Oppy and near Gavrelle and Roeux, occupied by us as advanced positions. They were met by a counterattack by our infantry. In a severe hand-to-hand struggle the enemy was defeated. At some points he was driven beyond our former lines, the whole of which, with the exception of Arleux-en-Gohelle, is again in our hands. South of the Scarpe, in the lowlands, a desperate battle also raged. In their wrecked positions our brave troops withstood the British charges, repeated several times. Here also the British attacks failed. On the wings of the battlefield enemy attacking waves broke down under destructive fire. The British losses were extraordinarily heavy. April 28 was a new day of honor. Our infantry, powerfully led and excellently supported by its sister and auxiliary arm, showed itself fully equal to its tasks."

Claim Heavy French Losses

The French preparations for a new attack at the end of April are described in the following dispatch, dated May 1, from the Berlin Mittagszeitung correspondent at the German headquarters:

"The great battle enters upon the fourth week and looks very much as though a new change of parts is about to take place. On April 9 the English began a great onslaught, on April 16 the French fell in line, while on April 23 the English carried out a second assault, which they followed with a third on the 28th. Now it is evidently the French turn again. The country around Artois is still vibrating with the fierce battle of the last eight days, and the artillery continues its chaotic noise, especially around

Oppy, which yesterday withstood the British onslaught four different times.

"On the Aisne and in Champagne the guns are roaring worse than ever today. As early as Saturday night one noticed at Berry-au-Bac, where I was at the time, the thunder of artillery and the flash and bang of exploding shells increasing in rapidity. Toward Sunday morning, of course, everything was prepared for a new onslaught. The French, however, did not think their artillery preparation sufficient, and continued the bombardment with all the more ferocity, since the German guns gave them tit for tat. Toward Monday morning the French developed a regular drumfire, which was mainly directed against the left wing of the Aisne front around Vauxaillon and against the line of Brayè-Craonne-Brimont.

"Observation and the testimony of prisoners tell an awful story of the overwhelming losses on the French side. Large detachments ceased to exist in the original form. The battlefields which the Germans have to cross in their counterattacks are full of the terrors of slaughter. There are countless bodies along the whole front which in view of the French inconsiderateness for the life of their own men are not to be wondered at. The Germans, too, mourn many dead heroes, but it is quite natural that the French, who have been trying the front now for three weeks, should have suffered many more losses. The Germans know that, and they know that, thanks to the splendid efficiency of their artillery and the untiring efforts of their flying squadrons, they shall have the upper hand to the end."

Gigantic British Effort

Meanwhile the British were once more on the offensive, and again, according to German accounts, with no real success. "At this last hour," wrote the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger correspondent on May 4, "the last waves of the hostile flood against the German walls east of Arras are receding. Another gigantic effort has spent itself without the desired effect of breaking through the German lines in even one single spot." He continued:

"Led by countless tanks, the British infantry rushed on as often as five times in some places. About noon on May 3 the most powerful of all the English onslaughts that brought them nearly one kilometer deep into the German lines near the village of Fresnoy broke down completely. At Oppy, where the field was literally covered with English bodies, they received a staggering blow and retired. In the valley of the Scarpe toward Roeux and in the direction of Pelves their onslaughts met a like fate in the fire of German sharpshooters and machine guns.

"Large, dense masses of troops operating against the German south flank succeeded in the first heat of the assault in piercing the line to Chérisy, which, however, was recovered by a counterattack. Having completely failed here, the British sought to gain a foothold at the village of Bullecourt, four kilometers east of Queant. Again they were defeated, but managed to occupy a short stretch of trenches, where they are now completely shut off from their connections. At 4:30 o'clock this morning (May 4) the British sent dense masses against Bullecourt. As far as we know by this time this attack was also successfully repulsed. All the enemy got for the thousands of dead and wounded sacrificed in this fourth battle is mostly a pile of walls and burned woodwork, where once stood a village of 200 inhabitants, and that after a bombardment that hardly ever had its equal, and after seventeen divisions spent their breath against narrow stretches of the German position.

"While this furor of attack on the Arras front seems subsiding, the valleys of the Aisne and Champagne are again shrouded in steam, dust, smoke, and the noise of battle. Since early dawn the French have been trying to rush the German position between the Aisne and Brimont. The night before their projectiles were raining on the Vauxaillon-Laffaux-Braye-Craonne line. Guns of all calibres seem to have joined in the hellish concert, and for a change the Germans now and then were treated to gas shells. Now the battle of human masses is again raging in those valleys. There is no doubting what it will be."

Fall of Craonne Not Announced

The German reports made no reference to the capture of Craonne. On the other hand, the War Office report of May 8 announced the recapture of Fresnoy. On May 11 it was stated that the mutual activity of the artilleries had increased to great violence on the whole Arras battle front and that local advances by the British at Fresnoy and Roeux and between Monchy and Chérisy remained unsuccessful. On May 13 it was admitted that the British had succeeded in forcing their way through the German lines at Roeux. One report read:

"The great attacks of the English have broken down. After very strong artillery preparation, which extended throughout the whole battlefield of Arras, from Lens to Queant, the English in the early morning attacked the lines between Gavrelle and the Scarpe, astride the Arras-Cambrai Road, and near Bullecourt. At Roeux they were successful in forcing an entry, but at all other points they were repulsed by our fire and hand-to-hand fighting, and sustained the heaviest losses. In the evening several fresh attacks were made on both sides of Monchy. These likewise broke down with sanguinary losses. The advantages which the English succeeded in obtaining at Bullecourt were again wrested from them by powerful counterthrusts of a Guard battalion."

The capture of La Neuville, on the Aisne front, was announced by the War Office on May 16. A later report said that rain and mist had rendered the fighting activity on the western front slight. On May 17 the German official statement admitted the loss of ground at Roeux, but announced the capture of 2,300 English prisoners and 2,700 Frenchmen since May 1. The British capture of Bullecourt was conceded.

Kaiser to the Crown Prince

Earlier in the struggle—on April 22—the German Kaiser sent the following telegram to the Crown Prince:

"The troops of all the German tribes under your command, with steel-hard determination and strongly led, have brought to failure the great French attempt to break through on the Aisne and in Champagne. Also there the infantry again had to bear the brunt, and, thanks to the indefatigable assistance of the artillery and other arms, has accomplished great things in death-defying perseverance and irresistible attack. Convey my thanks and those of the Fatherland to the leaders and men. The battle on the Aisne and in Champagne is not yet over, but all who fight and bleed there shall know that the whole of Germany will remember their deeds, and is at one with them to carry through the fight for existence to a victorious end. God grant it."

Germany's Peace Discussion

Chancellor's Address of May 15, 1917

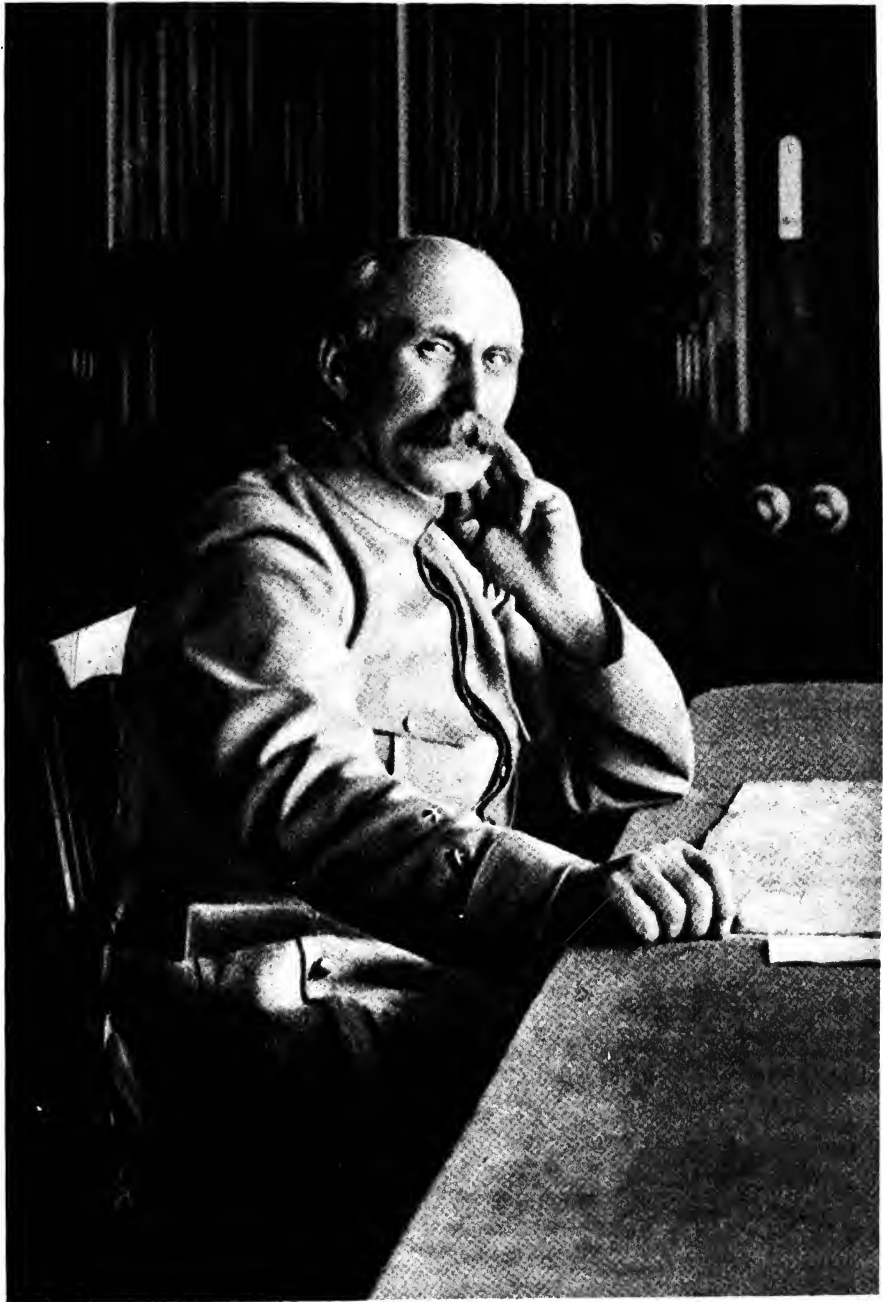
THE German Chancellor at a meeting of the Reichstag on May 15 delivered an address which had been anxiously awaited in the hope that it would be a definite proffer of peace; but it proved to be a disappointment in that regard. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg was preceded by Dr. Roesicke, Conservative and President of the German Farmers' Union, who said:

"While our brave troops maintain with streams of blood our territorial

gains, the Social Democratic Party urges the Imperial Chancellor to conclude a peace without any indemnity and without any annexation. The Imperial Government has met the Social Democratic demands to such an extraordinary extent that this party enjoys preferential treatment beyond that accorded to other parties, and the imperial word, 'I know no parties,' is rendered valueless.

"In a statement recently published in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung we see a far-reaching similarity with the

GENERAL HENRI P. PETAIN



**Newly Appointed Commander in Chief of All French Armies
Operating on the Western Front**

INTERIOR OF CHURCH AT ROYE



All That Remains of One of France's Most Ancient Churches
After the Passing of the German Army of Occupation

(Photo from Pictorial Press)

declaration of various party committees concerning our relations with Russia. The Austro-Hungarian Government has allowed to be issued through the press declarations which are not far removed from the views of the Social Democratic Party's resolution. Telegrams were exchanged between the Imperial Chancellor and Count Czernin [Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister] emphasizing the mutual agreement between the two countries. It can therefore be assumed that the Imperial Government met also in this case the Social Democratic wishes."

Herr Roesicke proceeded to denounce the Socialist aims as sinister and anti-national and as tending to a prolongation of the war, since, he said, the Entente based their hopes on German disunion.

"President Wilson," Herr Roesicke continued, "wants no peace with the Hohenzollerns, but the monarchy is too deeply rooted in German hearts for the malignity of the Entente or of President Wilson to be capable of destroying it."

He said the Germans acknowledged that Russia was keeping faith with her allies, while from Germany disloyalty to the Hohenzollerns was expected. Proceeding to denounce the Socialist aims and expressing doubt as to the Government's "will to victory," Herr Roesicke continued:

"The desire for renunciation of annexation and indemnity gives our enemies a charter to prolong the war without risking anything. A rejection of the renunciation proposals by the Reichstag will be a manifestation of our strength and of our will to secure an enduring peace which will safeguard Germany's future. The nation demands a clear reply."

Calls Annexationists Robbers

Philip Scheidemann, in introducing the Social Democratic interpellation, said:

"The party's decision does not demand immediate peace, but action by the Socialists of all countries. My Breslau utterance was to the effect that the Chancellor had stated he had nothing to do with the memorial which had incited

our enemies to agree with Herr Roesicke, that we must emerge from all obscurity, and that the Chancellor must say what he wanted.

"We adhere to the same point of view as contained in the demand of Aug. 4—the territorial integrity of Germany and her economic independence and development; but today we still refuse to oppress foreign peoples. On both sides the nations are being put off with the promise of an imminent final decision. It is our task to expose this playing with the life of peoples, and we cry to all Governments, 'It is enough!'

"We are convinced that the Central Powers will stand fast in repelling intentions of annihilation, but also that the wishes of the French, English, and German annexationists shall not be realized. Thus think the Socialists, and millions are with us.

"The supporters of conquest shout for increase of power, increase of territory, money, and raw material. That can only be wanted by a nationally organized gang of robbers. [This statement provoked a storm of indignation on the Right.] The drawing of the Kaiser into this agitation has as a result that abroad the Kaiser is made responsible for Pan-German madness and the outbreak of war, and that he is continually being insulted.

"Peace by agreement would be good fortune for Europe. Ninety-nine per cent. of all the peoples look with hope and longing to Stockholm. If France and Great Britain renounce annexation and Germany insists thereon, we shall have a revolution in the country."

There were prolonged shouts of indignation at this and cries of "Shame! Stand down!" The President called Herr Scheidemann to order, but Scheidemann continued:

"It has not gone so far as that yet; the enemy does not renounce annexation. A peace just to all parties should be concluded. I am firmly convinced that no peace can be concluded without an alteration of frontiers, and that must be arranged by mutual understanding. I am bitterly opposed to the slaughter of an-

other million men simply because certain Germans desire peace that would follow conquests. Long live peace! Long live Europe!"

Bethman Hollweg's Speech

The Chancellor replied to these attacks in the following terms:

"These interpellations demand from me a definite statement on the question of our war aims. To make such a statement at the present moment would not serve the country's interests. I must therefore decline to make it.

"Since the Winter of 1914-15 I have been pressed now from one side, now from the other, publicly to state our war aims, if possible with details. Every day they were demanded from me. To force me to speak an attempt was made to construe my silence regarding the program of the war aims of individual parties as agreement. Against that I must resolutely protest. On giving liberty for free discussion of war aims I had it expressly declared that the Government could not and would not participate in the conflict of views. I also protested against any positive conclusions whatever regarding the Government's attitude being drawn from the Government's silence.

"I now repeat this protest in the most conclusive form. What I was ever able to say about our war aims I say here in the Reichstag publicly. They were general principles—they could not be more—but they were clear enough to exclude identification such as was attempted with other programs. These fundamental lines have been adhered to up to today. They found further solemn expression in the peace offer made conjointly with our allies on Dec. 12, 1916.

"The supposition which has recently arisen that some differences of opinion existed on the peace question between us and our allies belongs to the realm of fable. I expressly affirm this now with certainty. I am at the same time also expressing the conviction that the leading statesmen of the powers which are our allies are with us.

"I thoroughly and fully understand the passionate interest of the people in

the war aims and peace conditions. I understand the call for clearness which today is addressed to me from the Right and the Left. But in the discussion of our war aims the only guiding line for me is the early and satisfactory conclusion of the war. Beyond that I cannot do or say anything.

Scornful Reference to Socialists

"If the general situation forces me to reserve, as is the case now, I shall keep this reserve, and no pressure either from Herr Scheidemann or Herr Roesicke will force me from my path. I shall not allow myself to be led astray by utterances with which Scheidemann, at a time when drumfire sounds on the Aisne and at Arras, believed he could spread among the people the possibility of a revolution. The German people will be with me in condemning such utterances, and also Roesicke's attempt to represent me as being under the influence of the Social Democrats.

"I am reproached for being in the hands of one party, but I am not in the hands of any party, either the Right or the Left. I am glad I can state that definitely. If I am in the hands of any one, I am in the hands of my people, whom alone I have to serve, and all of whose sons, fighting for the existence of the nation, are firmly ranged around the Kaiser, whom they trust and who trusts them. The Kaiser's word of August lives unaltered. Roesicke, who sets himself forward as a particular protector of this word, has received in the Kaiser's Easter message the assurance of the unaltered existence of the Kaiser's word.

"I trust that the reserve which I must exercise—it would be unscrupulous on my part did I not exercise it—will find support from the majority of the Reichstag, and also among the people. For a month past unparalleled battles have been waging on the west front. The entire people, with all its thoughts and sorrows and feelings, is with its sons up there, who with unexampled tenacity and defiance of death resist the daily renewed attacks of the English and French.

"Even today I see no readiness for peace on the part of England or France,

nothing of the abandonment of their excessive aims of conquest and economic destruction. Where, then, were the Governments who last Winter openly stood up before the world in order to terminate this insane slaughter of peoples? Were they in London or in Paris? The most recent utterances which I have heard from London declare that the war aims which were announced two years ago remain unaltered.

"Even Herr Scheidemann will not believe that I could meet this declaration with a *beau geste*. Does any one believe, in view of the state of mind of our western enemies, that they could be induced to conclude peace by a program of renunciation?"

"It comes to this. Shall I immediately give our western enemies an assurance which will enable them to prolong the war indefinitely without danger of losses to themselves? Shall I tell these enemies: 'Come what may, we shall under all circumstances be people who renounce; we shall not touch a hair of your head. But you want our lives—you can, without any risks, continue to try your luck?'"

"Shall I nail down the German Empire in all directions by a one-sided formula which only comprises one part of the total peace conditions and which renounces successes won by the blood of our sons and brothers and leaves all other matters in suspense?"

"No, I will not pursue such a policy. That would be the basest ingratitude toward the heroic deeds of our people at the front and at home. It would permanently press down our people, to the smallest worker, in their entire conditions of life. It would be equivalent to surrendering the future of the Fatherland."

"Or ought I, conversely, to set forth a program of conquest. I decline to do that. [Cries from the Right: "We are not demanding that."] If it has not been demanded, then we are of one opinion. I also decline to set forth a program of conquest. We did not go forth to war, and we stand in battle now against almost the whole world, not in order to make conquests, but ex-

clusively to secure our existence and to establish firmly the future of the nation. A program of conquest helps as little as a program of reconciliation to win victory and the war.

"On the contrary, I should thereby merely play the game of hostile rulers and make it easier for them further to delude their war-weary peoples into prolonging the war immeasurably. That, too, would be base ingratitude toward our warriors near Arras and the Aisne."

"As regards our eastern neighbor, Russia, I have already recently spoken. It appears as if new Russia had declined for herself these violent plans of conquest. Whether Russia will or can act in the same sense on her allies I am unable to estimate. Doubtless England, with the assistance of her allies, is employing all her efforts to keep Russia harnessed to England's war chariot and to traverse Russian wishes for the speedy restoration of the world's peace."

Proffer of Peace to Russia

"If, however, Russia wants to prevent further bloodshed and renounces all violent plans of conquest for herself, if she wishes to restore durable relations of peaceful life side by side with us, then surely it is a matter of course that we, as we share this wish, will not disturb the permanent relationship in the future and will not render its development impossible by demands which, indeed, do not accord with the freedom of nations and would deposit in the Russian Nation the germ of enmity. [Thunderous applause.]

"I doubt not that an agreement aiming exclusively at a mutual understanding could be attained which excludes every thought of oppression and which would leave behind no sting and no discord."

"Our military position has never been so good since the beginning of the war. The enemy in the west, despite his terrible losses, cannot break through. Our U-boats are operating with increasing success. I won't use any fine words about them—the deeds of our U-boat men speak for themselves. I think even the neutrals will recognize that."

"So far as compatible with our duty toward our own people, who come first, we take into account the interests of the neutral States. The concessions which we have made to them are not empty promises. That is the case in regard to our frontier neighbors. Holland and Scandinavia, as well as those States which, on account of their geographical position, are especially greatly exposed to enemy pressure. I am thinking in this connection especially of Spain, which, loyal to her noble traditions, is endeavoring under great difficulties to preserve her independent policy of neutrality. We thankfully recognize this attitude and have only one wish—that the Spanish people reap the reward of their strong, independent policy by further developing their power.

"Thus, time is on our side. With full confidence we can trust that we are approaching a satisfactory end. Then the time will come when we can negotiate with our enemies about our war aims, regarding which I am in full harmony with the supreme army command. Then we will attain a peace which will bring us liberty to rebuild what the war has destroyed in the unhampered development of our strength, so that from all the blood and all the sacrifices an empire, a people will rise again strong, independent, and unthreatened by its enemies, a bulwark of peace and labor."

A motion to end the debate was lost, after which the middle-of-the-road parties, made up of the Centrists, National Liberals, Progressive People's Party and German fraction presented a joint declaration approving the Chancellor's attitude.

Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party, spoke in behalf of the groups just mentioned, approving the Chancellor's attitude and declaring his resolute opposition to all enemy interference with Germany's domestic affairs. "If the enemy," he said, "is combating Prussian militarism and the Hohenzollerns in the illustrious person of the Emperor, it will only result in bringing his Majesty closer to the hearts of the German people."

A Republic Suggested

Georg Ledebour, an Independent Socialist, created a distinct stir by an allusion to a republic in his address following the Chancellor. He said:

"The Chancellor doubtless desires annexations both in the east and west. With the exception of extravagant visionaries, nobody believes that Germany can win a war of subjugation. The Russian Socialists have made an offer which opens up the possibility of peace. This is what the Chancellor forgets. It is true that a separate peace with Russia cannot be achieved, but the Russian Government can convert the Entente, and in this direction we ought to assist it.

"Herr Scheidemann must take up the cudgels against the Government if he does not want strong words, which do not shrink even from the announcement of a revolution, to be followed by deeds. We are convinced that events must happen in Germany as they have happened in Russia. That is what those in power are working for. We must soon introduce a republic in Germany, and we shall propose that the Constitution Committee take preparatory steps in that direction."



Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From April 19 Up to and Including May 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

A British Commission headed by Lord Balfour and a French Commission headed by René Viviani conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war.

Heavy loans, authorized by the Bond bill, were made to the Allies.

Military censorship was established over cables, telegraph lines, and telephone lines.

On May 16 announcement was made that a squadron of American torpedo boats, under the command of Rear Admiral Sims, had safely crossed the Atlantic and was aiding the British fleet in patrolling the seas.

The first hospital unit authorized by the United States Government arrived in England May 18.

The Army Conscription bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Wilson May 18. The President issued a proclamation fixing June 5 as the day for the registration of men between the ages of 21 and 30. Announcement was made that an expeditionary force of regular troops under Major Gen. Pershing would be sent to France at the earliest possible moment.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Dr. Karl Helfferich informed the Reichstag that more than 1,600,000 tons of shipping had been sunk by the Germans in February and March.

The British official announcement for the week ended April 29 showed that thirty-eight merchant ships of over 1,600 tons each had been sunk. The report for the week ended May 9 showed sixty-two vessels lost, but of smaller tonnage than in the three weeks preceding. In the week ended May 16 twenty-six vessels, eighteen of over 1,600 tons, were lost. Seventy-five Norwegian ships were sunk during April and more than 100 sailors lost their lives. Captain Persius estimated that the total tonnage of merchant craft destroyed by the Germans from the beginning of the war up to April 1 was 6,641,000.

The Belgian relief ship Kongsli was sunk, either by a mine or a torpedo.

Two British hospital ships, the Donegal and the Lanfranc, were sunk without warning and seventy-five men were killed, including some wounded German prisoners. Other British losses included the troopship Ballarat, the freighter Harpagus, and the transport Cameronia, on which 140 lives were lost. Ninety lives were lost

when the African steamer Abosso was torpedoed on April 24.

The list of American ships sunk included the schooners Woodward Abraham and Percy Birdsall, the oil tanker Vacuum, on which seventeen lives were lost; the unarmed steamer Hilonian, on which four persons were lost, and the Rockingham, with two persons killed. Germany disclaimed the sinking of the American tank steamer Healdton.

The Dutch fishing fleet was forced to suspend operations because of the constant torpedoing of vessels and because of Germany's failure to provide coal as she promised. Germany, in reprisal, announced that the Relief Commission would not be allowed to import fish for the population of Belgium and Northern France.

Argentina sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding satisfaction for the sinking of the sailing ship Monte Protegido. Germany apologized and offered an indemnity.

Guatemala severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

The President of Haiti sent a message to Congress demanding a declaration of war against Germany. The Congress, acting in accordance with the report of a special commission, decided against war, but a strong protest was sent to Germany against the drowning of five Haitian citizens on the French steamship Montreal, with the announcement that diplomatic relations would be severed unless reparation was made.

Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the United States.

The Chinese House of Representatives refused to pass a resolution declaring war on Germany.

Liberia severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

April 28—Increased activity of Russian guns near Lutsk and the Zlota Lipa, Marayuvka, and Putna Rivers.

May 5—Russian fire increases from Kovel to Stanislaw.

May 6—German offensive beaten back near Zolotschevsk.

May 18—Russians beat back German attacks in the region of Shelvov.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

April 19—French occupy Aizy, Jouy, Lafaux, and Fort de Condé, in the Vailly

- district, take several heights east of Moronvillers, and carry trench lines near Auberive.
- April 20—French occupy Sancy and drive Germans to heights dominated by Malmaison Fort; Germans announce abandonment of the bank of the River Aisne, between Condé and Soupir.
- April 21—French push forward toward ridge topped by the Chemin des Dames and make progress south of Juvincourt; British capture Gonnelleu, drawing their lines closer around Havrincourt Wood.
- April 22—British close in on Havrincourt Wood and take part of Trescault; Germans repulsed by French in attack on Mont Haut.
- April 23—French repulse German attacks in Belgium.
- April 24—British advance east of Monchy and between Monchy and the Sensée River; French improve their positions south of St. Quentin.
- April 25—British advance south of the Scarpe and extend their lines from Trescault to Bilhemion, south of the Bapaume-Cambrai Road.
- April 26—French beat off German counterattacks near the Chemin des Dames.
- April 28—British begin new attack north of the Scarpe, capture German positions on a two-mile front north and south of Arleux, push forward northeast of Gravelle, and gain ground north of Monchy.
- April 29—British capture German trenches south of Oppy on a front of half a mile.
- April 30—French make new attack in Champagne and capture trenches on both sides of Mont Carnillet.
- May 2—French in Champagne push forward south of Beire.
- May 3—British penetrate the Hindenburg line west of Queant, take Fresnoy, and part of Bullecourt.
- May 4—French capture Craonne and German first line trenches on a front of two and a half miles northwest of Rheims.
- May 5—French carry a salient in the Hindenburg line on both sides of the Soissons-Laon Road, on a front of nearly four miles, clear Craonne Plateau from east of Cerny-en-Laonnais to a point east of Craonne, and push forward to the hills dominating the valley of the Ailette River.
- May 6—French clear all but a small section of the Chemin des Dames; British repulse strong German counterattacks on their new positions near Bullecourt.
- May 8—Germans retake Fresnoy.
- May 9—British regain part of the ground lost at Fresnoy and repel attacks near Gavrelle; French capture first line of German trenches northeast of Chevreux and repulse attacks on the plateau of Chemin des Dames.
- May 11—Allies repulse German attacks against Lens and in the Cerny section.
- May 12—British troops enter Bullecourt and capture fortified works at Roeux and Cavalry Farm; French in Verdun region penetrate German line north of Bezonvaux.
- May 13—British advance their outposts north of Bullecourt and take part of Roeux Village.
- May 14—British capture the whole of Roeux and advance toward Oppy.
- May 15—Germans launch four massed attacks on new British positions in Bullecourt and penetrate first French line southwest of Filaine.
- May 16—British forced back temporarily at Roeux, but retake all positions; Germans strike hard northeast of Soissons, but are driven back by French counterattacks.
- May 17—British complete the capture of Bullecourt; French win ground east of Craonne and repulse attacks in Laffaux district; many villages near St. Quentin afire.
- May 18—Germans repulsed by French with grenades near Craonne; French penetrate German lines in Lorraine near Petoncourt.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- April 20—French recapture trenches lost April 18 near Trsvena Stena.
- April 22—Fighting renewed in the bend of the Cerna River and near Lake Doiran.
- April 23—Russians drive Teutons from advanced posts in Rumania and re-establish first lines.
- April 26—British take Bulgar trenches west of Lake Doiran on a 1,000-meter front.
- May 5—French and Venizelist troops in Macedonia occupy enemy positions in the region of Jumnica.
- May 9—Russian troops on the Rumanian front northwest of Senne break through Teuton positions and advance upon Jenawer.
- May 10—British take two miles of Bulgar trenches.
- May 12—Germans and Bulgarians gain a foothold on Srka di Legen, west of the Vardar heights; Venizelos troops carry an enemy work near Lymnitsa.
- May 16—British troops in Macedonia capture Kjudri, on the Struma front, and advance trenches on a wide front southwest of Ernekeoi.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- May 13—Italians begin terrific bombardment to destroy Austrian defenses on the Carso front.
- May 15—Italians take the offensive on the Isonzo front and make progress in the Plava area, on the slopes of Monte Cucco, and on the hills east of Gorizia and Vertobizza.
- May 16—Italians force a passage of the Isonzo River, capturing Bombrez, Zagora, and Zagomila.
- May 17—Italians cross the Isonzo River and take Mount Kuk; right wing takes Duino, on the way to Trieste.

May 18—British War Office announces that British heavy artillery batteries are co-operating with the Italians against the Austrians on the Julian front.

ASIA MINOR

April 20—British force a passage of the Shatt-el-Adhem and rout Turkish forces covering the Istabulat station.

April 23—Turks evacuate Istabulat.

April 24—British occupy Samara station.

April 30—Turks intrinch fifteen miles north of Samara.

May 2—Russians evacuate Mush.

May 12—Russians force their way across the Diala River at two points northwest of Bagdad.

AERIAL RECORD

The Germans reported that 362 French and British airplanes were brought down in April, but admitted the loss of only seventy-four of their own. In three days, April 23 to April 25, the Allies reported fifty-five German machines brought down and thirty-nine of their own lost. From May 1 to May 7 seventy-six German airplanes were brought down, according to a French report. A compilation from official sources showed 717 machines lost in April—369 German, 201 French and Belgian, and 147 British. The Germans bombarded Dunkirk, Nancy, and Belfort. In response for the bombardment of Châlons and Eprenay by the Germans, French aviators bombarded Treves, on the Saare River.

The British steamer Gena was torpedoed and sunk by a German seaplane off the coast of Suffolk. German airplanes dropped bombs northeast of London on May 7, killing one person and injuring two. The Zeppelin L-22 was brought down in the North Sea by a British naval battleplane. British aviators aided the attacking British monitors in a raid off Zeebrugge and photographed the entire Belgian coast, mapping the German defenses.

NAVAL RECORD

A Russian destroyer sank ten schooners in the Black Sea.

The Germans made several raids off the coast of England. On April 21 two German destroyers were sunk near Dover. Berlin reported a British outpost vessel destroyed and a scouting ship torpedoed. On April 27 German destroyers bombarded Ramsgate, but were driven off by land batteries after an attack in which a man and a woman were killed. British light cruisers and destroyers chased eleven German destroyers between the English and the Dutch coasts. One German torpedo boat was damaged.

German warships bombarded Calais, killing and wounding civilians. A French destroyer was sunk in a raid on Dunkirk.

A British torpedo-boat destroyer hit a mine on May 4. One officer and sixty-one men

were lost. A British mine sweeper was torpedoed and sunk May 5, with the loss of two officers and twenty men.

British warships, aided by an air fleet, bombarded Zeebrugge on May 12, destroying two submarine sheds and killing sixty-three persons.

The armed American steamer Mongolia fired on a German submarine in British waters on April 19 and damaged it.

American warships began operations in the North Sea, and Japanese warships arrived at Marseilles to combat submarines off the coast of France.

Fourteen British mine sweepers were sunk, the British light cruiser Dartmouth was torpedoed, and an Italian destroyer was sunk in a raid by Austrian light cruisers in the Adriatic Sea.

RUSSIA

On May 5 the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted a vote of confidence in the Provisional Government by a small majority. There followed, however, a period of bitter conflict between the council and the Government. Generals Korniloff, Brusiloff, and Gurko resigned from the army, but the last two withdrew their resignations after partial harmony was restored. General Guchkoff resigned as Minister of War. He was succeeded by A. F. Kerensky. Paul N. Milukoff resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Terechenko. On May 16 the Government, the Executive Committee of the Duma, and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates agreed on a basic program, including continuance of the war. A Coalition Cabinet, containing five representatives of the Socialist groups, was formed, with Prince Lvoff retained as Premier.

MISCELLANEOUS

Labor troubles and riots occurred in several cities in Germany because of food scarcity. The Constitution Committee of the Reichstag adopted several proposals to restrict the authority of the Emperor. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg in a speech to the Reichstag on May 15 announced Germany's willingness to make easy peace terms with Russia, but made no offer to the other Entente Allies.

A new Cabinet was formed in Greece by Alexander Zaimis.

General Pétain was appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front.

A new Cabinet was formed in Spain, with Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto as Premier. Announcement was made that strict neutrality would be maintained.

Brazil issued a proclamation of neutrality in respect to the war between the United States and Germany. Dr. Lauro Muller resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Nilo Pecanha was appointed to succeed him.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1917]

CONDUCT OF ENEMY ALIENS

THE conduct of the millions of Germans in the United States after the declaration of a state of war with their Fatherland, which was regarded with apprehension by many, proved a gratifying relief during the first six weeks after the war resolution was adopted. All Government officials were highly pleased over the success of the policy toward aliens which the President advocated in his war message to Congress, in which he declared that the generous spirit with which America entered the war, and the absence of vindictiveness on the part of the American people, could best be displayed by their kindly attitude toward Germans living in this country. According to a statement issued by the Department of Justice, it had been found necessary to arrest only 125 alien enemies under the President's proclamation. Attorney General Gregory said on May 7:

The foreign-born citizens of America as a class deserve the highest commendation and praise for the manner in which they have conducted themselves since the declaration of war against Germany. As regards law and order, they have in almost all instances stood with the Government, and have vindicated the President's oft-repeated assertion that he had no misgivings as to how foreign-born Americans would measure up to their responsibilities and duties in the event of a national crisis.

The number of arrests which the Government has been forced to make has been gratifyingly small. Agents of the Department of Justice have arrested only 125 alien enemies under the President's proclamation. About one-half of these are being held because it was decided that they would be dangerous to the Government if permitted to remain at large. The remainder of the alien enemies arrested since the declaration of war were taken into custody on charges of espionage or attempts to foment disloyalty or disorders.

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE WAR

CUBA is the first nation of Latin America to enter the war as the ally of the United States and the En-

tente Powers. Other Latin-American countries, taken alphabetically, stand as follows: Argentina—which has between two and three million citizens of Italian origin and a quarter million French, while the British and German colonies are about equal, some 70,000 each—is still formally neutral, having presented an ultimatum to Germany and received an apology. The next submarine outrage may lead to severed relations or war. In Buenos Aires, the capital, there have been enthusiastic war parades, numbering 100,000 men. Bolivia was the first South American country to indorse the protest of the United States; the army is "German trained, but French equipped and strongly pro-ally." Bolivia, which has no merchant marine, protested on principle.

Brazil, where a strong German element is balanced by a much larger but less closely organized Italian colony, has severed relations with Germany, but is not yet at war, although the new Foreign Minister, Senhor Milo Pecanha, who succeeded Lauro Muller, is strongly pro-ally and is said to be pledged to go to war. In Rio de Janeiro the German Club and the Grande Hotel Schmidt have been burned to ashes, German newspapers have stopped publication, and German flags have been hauled down. In Chile, it is stated, 70 per cent. of the population is strongly pro-ally; it is reported that the Chilean Minister to Germany has demanded his passports.

Guatemala has broken with Germany and has offered the use of her ports and railroads to the United States for war purposes. A German wireless plant has been dismantled. Dr. Lehmann, German Minister to Guatemala, was one of the leading figures in the futile plot to stir up revolutions in Central America to embarrass the United States. Nicaragua and Salvador have offered their harbors to the United States, while Panama has declared war, and, like Cuba, is now the ally of the United States and the En-

tente. Mexico's final decision is still uncertain.

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LORD CECIL AND GERMAN COLONIES

LORD ROBERT CECIL, speaking as Acting Foreign Secretary, in the absence of Arthur James Balfour, concerning the application of the non-annexation theory to Germany's former colonies in Africa, said that, while it was true that England had not taken these colonies in order to rescue the natives from German rule, but as a part of the war operations, nevertheless England, having rescued them, could hardly contemplate handing them over again to the tender mercies of their German tyrants. He then read an account of the shocking treatment suffered by the natives in both German East Africa and German West Africa, and said that if the Entente Powers won any measure of success in the war he would regard with horror the idea of returning natives who had been set free from a Government of that kind.

Corroboration of all that Lord Robert Cecil said comes from several independent sources—from the officers of the French armies which co-operated with the English in the capture of the Cameroon region; from the Belgian expeditionary force now operating in German East Africa in the direction of the Great Lakes, and from the Portuguese contingent, which has entered the same region from the south.

All evidence indicates that Germany has tried to rule her African colonies by the means which she applied in Belgium, in Poland, and in occupied France—enslavement, terrorism, and brutality. To pass over the habitual abuse of women of the native African races, who were treated as chattel slaves, there have been well-substantiated reports, published in detail in *l'illustration*, of the wholesale murder and mutilation of natives suspected of being favorable to France and England—or, rather, to the French and English armies that were approaching to liberate them—as well as the customary terrorism to compel natives to fight in Germany's African armies; for Ger-

many, from the outset, employed negro troops to fight against the French and English.

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BRITAIN'S VAST WAR EXPENSES

GREAT Britain's war budget for the fiscal year, as introduced May 2 by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, carried estimates of \$11,451,905,000 for expenditures. Mr. Law laid emphasis on the statement that Great Britain was paying a greater share of her war expenses from her income than were the other belligerents, the amount paid out of the revenue being 26 per cent. of the whole war expenditure. He said the total of Treasury bills outstanding was about two billion dollars—in exact figures, £463,000,000. He estimated the daily expenses of the war to Great Britain at \$31,175,000. The excess profits tax was raised from 60 to 80 per cent. Discussing the expenditures of the last year, Mr. Bonar Law said they had been £372,000,000 higher than the estimate. The increase was largely due to expenditures on munitions and advances to the Allies and dominions. The estimate for the Allies and dominions had been exceeded by £100,000,000.

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FIRST AMERICAN GUN FIRED

CAPTAIN RICE of the American steamship *Mongolia*, which arrived at Liverpool April 25, reported that the first gun of the war fired from an American ship was fired from the *Mongolia* April 19 at the periscope of a German submarine. He believed that the shell went true to the mark and sank the hostile craft. The periscope was sighted dead ahead on the last afternoon of the voyage. The Captain gave the order for full speed ahead with the intention of ramming the submarine. The periscope disappeared, and a few minutes later reappeared on the ship's broadside. The gunners fired at 1,000 yards. The submarine immediately disappeared and oil was seen on the water when it submerged. It was later reported that the periscope had been smashed and the commander killed, but the submarine was not sunk.

PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

A LARGE detachment of soldiers from Portugal are serving with the Entente Allies in France. These troops were landed at Brest early in March, 1917, and went at once to the front. They consist of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and occupy an independent sector under the command of General Tamagnani. Portugal also has an army in East Africa which, in co-operation with the English and Belgian forces, has practically occupied all the German territory there. Conquest was not the purpose of the Portuguese Government; traditional friendship with England and the natural sympathy of a Latin country with Italy and France led her to antagonize the Teutons. The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Soares, recently issued a statement which leaves the impression that Portugal would not have declared war, on its part, but would have maintained the attitude it took in the seizure of German ships in its harbors, if Germany had not chosen to force belligerency upon it. Fifty thousand Portuguese troops were reported in France in May.

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SOCIALIST PARTIES IN THE DUMA

WITH the Socialists participating more fully in the provisional Russian Government, it is important to distinguish between the different Socialist parties. Kerensky has been incorrectly described as the Socialist leader, whereas he is only the leader of one of the three distinct parties into which the Russian working class movement is divided. His party is the Group of Toil, which in the strictest sense is not a Socialist party, but a political organization of the mujiks, or peasants, whose traditions are those of the old Russian communism, and who, at the election for the first Duma, were greatly attracted by the semi-communist program of the Group of Toil. At that election the Group of Toil succeeded in returning 104 Deputies to the Duma, but its representation was subsequently cut down by the Czar's Government, and it was able to elect only ten Deputies to the Fourth

Duma. Kerensky was their leader, and his important position is due to the fact that the radical peasant movement is much greater than its Parliamentary representation indicates. In the reconstructed Cabinet the Group of Toil, or Social Populists, as they are also called, have three Ministers, including Kerensky. The second Socialist party is the Social Revolutionary Party, which has been more anarchistic in its aims and methods, and most closely connected with the terrorists and nihilists. The third party, the Social Democratic Labor Party, is the most representative of the industrial working class population and the counterpart of the real Socialist movement in other countries, for it is based upon the Marxian Socialist philosophy. All three Russian Socialist parties, however, have been recognized by the international congresses; and, though there are wide differences between the Social Democrats and the Group of Toil, and many minor differences within each party, they are united in their opposition to the property-owning and commercial classes.

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THE PERSONAL WEALTH OF NICHOLAS ROMANOFF

HIGHLY picturesque and irreconcilably divergent accounts of the wealth of the former Emperor of Russia have been going the rounds of the press since the Russian revolution on the Ides of March. They should all be regarded with skepticism, for the reason that the vast Crown demesne of Russia has always been regarded as the personal property of the Emperors; it has never been included in the general fiscal statistics of Russia, and no items concerning it have ever appeared in the Russian budget. It has been managed by a separate minister, under the immediate supervision of the ruler, and has been treated as a family estate.

Here are a few facts, which seem to be quite authentic: The Crown demesne of the Romanoffs includes over a million square miles—that is, over 640,000,000 acres—of rich arable land, pasture, and forest, besides many mines of gold, platinum, copper, iron, and so forth. The area of

the Russian Crown demesne, thus stated by the Statesman's Year Book, is, therefore, larger than the combined areas of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Austria; larger than the area of the United States east of the Mississippi. The Encyclopaedia Britannica makes itself responsible for the following details: In European Russia, the Crown demesne contains 400,000,000 acres, or 35 per cent. of the cultivated land, while 446,000,000 acres, or 38 per cent. is owned by peasants, the remainder being held by landowners and towns. In Poland, the Crown demesne includes 1,800,000 acres, much of it made up of confiscated estates.

These enormous Crown holdings become more intelligible, if we remember that the old Russia was, in fact, a patriarchal family, of which the Emperor was the patriarchal head, the source of all power and of all emoluments. The Crown lands paid for the maintenance of the numberless palaces, in Petrograd, Moscow, Tsarskoe-Selo, Gatchina, and elsewhere; for the expenses of the Emperor and his Court; for the numerous imperial family, of sixty or seventy members; and, further, large lots of land were given, in lieu of pensions, as a reward for services to the State. Between 1871 and 1881, 1,300,000 acres were thus distributed. * * *

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ONE THOUSAND DAYS OF WAR

APRIL 30, 1917, was the thousandth day of the European war. Two days later Herr Joseph Freidrich Naumann, a former Conservative member of the German Reichstag, was reported in an Amsterdam dispatch to have made in a lecture the following statement:

"Until now the war has caused us a loss of 1,300,000 dead. This, together with the decrease in birth, gives a reduction of 3,800,000. The surplus of females has increased from 800,000 to far as never since the Thirty Years' War." more than 2,000,000. The nation has bled

It is stated that this estimate did not include the losses in the offensive begun April 1, 1917, which, it is estimated, will exceed in April alone 200,000. If such is the case the total number of Germans

killed in the 1,000 days of war will not fall far short of 1,500,000, or 1,500 a day, about one in every minute of the twenty-four hours of each day in the thousand.

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THE United States Shipping Board on May 13 awarded to the Los Angeles Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company a contract to build eight steel ships of 8,000 tons each, to cost \$10,771,200. It is the first of momentous steps to rush ahead operations in all yards on a full-time basis. Other contracts already drafted and ready to be signed are to be awarded within a short time. The Shipping Board intends to build fully 1,000 such ships in the quickest time possible. For this purpose a fund of \$750,000,000 was provided by Congress.

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TURKEY BREAKS RELATIONS

THE Turkish Government on April 20 officially informed the American Embassy that diplomatic relations with the United States had been broken off. Abram I. Elkus, the American Ambassador, was ill with typhus fever at the time, and was compelled to remain at Constantinople for some weeks afterward; his staff remained with him. Armenian interests in Turkey were confided to the Swedish Minister. The American State Department on April 23 gave passports to Abdul Hak Hussein Bey, First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy, and other members of the staff. The Turkish Ambassador, A. Rustem Bey, was recalled by the Government early in the war on account of injudicious criticisms of the President. Robert College and the Bible House and its branches were closed, and Americans left the Turkish capital. On April 27 the Swedish Minister cabled that the American colleges at Constantinople would be permitted to continue their activities.

* * *

FRANCE'S NEW CHIEF COMMANDER

GENERAL PETAIN was appointed on May 15 Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front. General Nivelle was placed in command of a group of armies. General Foch, who played an important rôle

in the battles of the Marne and the Yser, succeeds General Pétain as Chief of Staff of the Ministry of War.

The transfers were approved on the recommendation of the Ministry of War. General Nivelle some time ago succeeded General Joffre in chief command along the western front. Recently a new military office was created, that of Chief of the General Staff, to which General Pétain was assigned, with authority to act as the principal adviser to the Minister of War upon all military movements. This made General Pétain the chief consultative authority at the Ministry of War in formulating movements, but without actual command of troops in the field, for which his experience appeared to qualify him.

General Pétain, in a statement on the day of his appointment, urged America to send as many men as possible as soon as they can be transported to France, to be put into immediate training under French commanders, but to maintain their autonomy as American units.

* * *

STRIKES IN GERMANY

DURING the last days of April and early in May a serious strike situation arose in Germany, but the news censorship was so strict that only meagre reports could be obtained, and the facts were not fully authenticated. On April 23 it was stated that the military authorities had taken control of the German weapon and munition factory at Berlin, and the workmen were ordered to return to work immediately; otherwise they would be mobilized as soldiers and compelled to work at soldiers' wages. This ended that strike.

Strikes were reported all over the empire, and included the great Krupp works and other great industrial plants. Field Marshal Hindenburg sent a message to General Groener, head of the munitions department, urging the striking workmen to resume their labors, in order that the military forces of the empire, especially on the western front, should not be seriously hampered. He said he recognized that the population had been hit hard by the reduction of the bread ration, but that undoubtedly the increase in meat

and the regular delivery of potatoes would compensate therefor. He added: "Every strike, however small, may be the means of an unjustifiable weakening of our defensive forces and is an inexcusable crime against the fighting forces, especially the men in the trenches, who bleed in consequence."

In reply to this the German Labor Federation issued an address stating that the fairer distribution of food would allay the discontent, but added

The chief causes for the prevailing spirit of unrest are the inadequacy of the food policy and a desire to obtain measures for providing for the complete requisition and just distribution of all available foodstuffs. Workers are aware, and the fact is undeniable, that large quantities of foodstuffs are still obtainable outside the rationing system, but at prices prohibitive to the workers. These foodstuffs are consumed mainly by people who are not compelled to place their full working capacities and service at the defense of the country. The desire to bring about a more equal distribution of foodstuffs has been the fundamental cause of these strikes.

The situation at one time grew menacing, according to all reports, but the firmness of the Government and the assurance of better food supplies finally quieted the workers, and the trouble subsided.

* * *

DEMOCRACY OR ANARCHY IN RUSSIA

WHILE Russia appears to have passed, for the moment, some of her more acute troubles, there is evidence that, for a long time to come, critical problems lie ahead of her. The recent establishment, for a few hours, of "an independent, autonomous republic" by the garrison of the military post at Schluesselburg may be merely laughable, the revolt of the Buriats was more serious, because the Buriats are only one among scores of smaller and alien nationalities over which swept the vast, perpetually expanding Russian Empire, until it covered a fifth of the land surface of the world.

In European Russia there are many of these smaller nations, of whom the Poles, the Finns, the Lithuanians are the most conspicuous; in the Caucasus, a dozen more, like the Armenians and Georgians and Circassians; in Turkestan,

many more; in Siberia, perhaps a score, each with its national life and tongue. Among these the Buriats are one of the most civilized; they are Mongolians, of the race that gave mediaeval history some of its greatest conquerors, men like Genghis and Kublai Khan, like Bati and Tamerlane, like Baber and Akbar the Magnificent, a family that made far wider conquests than the Caesars, famous also for high literary gifts and, in an epoch of bigotry, for deep religious toleration.

The Buriats are spread out on both sides of Lake Baikal, the great obstacle in the way of the trans-Siberian railroad. They have their comparatively high civilization, their books in Mongolian, largely translated from the Northern Buddhist scriptures of Tibet, their chief Lama, with papal headquarters at Goose Lake. They are rich, possessing large herds of excellent horses and cattle, they are able to dress themselves in silks during the Summer, and in rich furs in Winter. They, like nearly all Mongolian peoples, have an innate gift for agriculture, giving more attention to intensive fertilization than do the Russian Siberians themselves, and being large purchasers of the newest American agricultural machinery. Here, it would seem, is a real national unit, as definite as Serbia. They ask, now, for national autonomy; many other Siberian tribes may follow their example.

* * *

AMERICAN DESTROYERS AT WORK IN EUROPEAN WATERS

THE first contribution of American military power to the Entente Alliance against German aggression consisted of a flotilla of American torpedo-boat destroyers. The vessels reached England May 4, but no announcement was made of the fact until May 16. The squadron was placed under command of Rear Admiral Sims. Immediately on their arrival the American vessels began operations in the submarine zone. The British Admiralty announced that these swift fighting ships were rendering services of the greatest value to the allied cause. Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, commander of the British Grand Fleet,

sent the following message to Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commander of the United States Atlantic Fleet:

The Grand Fleet rejoices that the Atlantic Fleet will now share in preserving the liberties of the world and in maintaining the chivalry of the sea.

Admiral Mayo replied:

The United States Atlantic Fleet appreciates the message from the British fleet and welcomes opportunities for work with the British fleet for the freedom of the seas.

The fact is noted by commentators that the submarine toll, which reached high-water mark in the last week in April, showed a reduction after the American vessels reached the scene of operations.

* * *

BRITISH NAVY'S GENERAL STAFF

A GENERAL STAFF for the British Navy was announced May 15. It is headed by Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord, who will have the title of Chief of the Naval Staff. Vice Admiral Sir Henry Oliver, Chief of the Admiralty War Staff, is an additional member of the Board of the Admiralty, with the title of Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff. Rear Admiral Alexander L. Duff also became an additional member of the Board of the Admiralty, with the title of Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff. Rear Admiral Halsey, formerly Fourth Sea Lord, became Third Sea Lord, in succession to Vice Admiral Frederick C. Tudor, who was appointed Commander in Chief of the China station. Rear Admiral Tothill succeeded Rear Admiral Halsey as Fourth Sea Lord.

* * *

FIRST AMERICAN RED CROSS UNIT

THE first of six fully organized and equipped hospital units which the American Red Cross is sending to France arrived in England on May 17. The unit comprised about 300 persons, including twenty army medical officers, sixty nurses, and more than 200 other attachés. It is Base Hospital 4 of Cleveland, Ohio, commanded by Major Harry L. Gilchrist, Medical Corps, U. S. A., and is under the direction of Dr. George W. Crile.

This unit will be the first officially

sanctioned by the United States Government to carry the American flag to the battlefields of France since the United States entered the war. After a brief stay in England the unit will be sent to the Continent, where it will take charge of a base hospital behind the British front. The hospital will have accommodations for 500 patients and be fully equipped by the British Hospital Service.

* * *

AMERICAN ENGINEERS IN FRANCE

ANNOUNCEMENT was made May 7 by the War Department that orders had been given for the forming of nine regiments of army engineers, which were to be sent to France as quickly as possible for railroad work along the lines of military communications. There will be more than 1,000 men in each regiment, or nearly 10,000 in the expedition. Two regular army engineer officers—a Colonel and a Lieutenant Colonel—will be assigned to each regiment. The other officers will be chosen from the Engineer Officers' Reserve Corps, the mem-

bers of which have been commissioned, or who will be chosen in the near future.

* * *

DURING the first three weeks of May the United States Government loaned the Entente Allies \$670,000,000, divided as follows: Great Britain, \$325,000,000; France, \$100,000,000; Italy, \$100,000,000; Russia, \$100,000,000; Belgium, \$45,000,000. Loans will be made in regular installments to the Allies, and it is estimated that the aggregate will reach \$1,000,000,000 by June 15, 1917.

* * *

THE United States Government invited public subscriptions May 15 to \$2,000,000,000 of the \$5,000,000,000 loan authorized by Congress; interest, 3½ per cent., maturity thirty years, redeemable in fifteen years at the option of the Government. Denominations of bearer bonds are \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000; registered bonds \$100, \$500, \$1,000, \$5,000, \$10,000, \$50,000, \$100,000. The bonds have privilege of conversion to any bonds of higher interest if issued; they are exempt from all taxes except inheritance.

The Month's Submarine Depredations

From April 15 to May 13, 1917 .

THE destruction of merchant ships by German submarines in the last month has shown a serious increase, followed by a decrease, according to the figures published by the British Admiralty.

The last weekly report in the May issue of this magazine was for the seven days ended April 15. Since then the losses of British merchant ships have been these:

| | Over 1,600 Tons. | Under 1,600 Tons. | Fishing Ves- sels. |
|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Week ended April 22..... | 40 | 15 | 9 |
| Week ended April 29..... | 38 | 13 | 8 |
| Week ended May 6..... | 24 | 22 | 16 |
| Week ended May 13..... | 18 | 5 | 3 |
| Total for four weeks.. | 120 | 55 | 36 |

According to a British naval expert, the corrected figures for the nine preceding weeks, including all British merchant

ships sunk by mine or submarine, are as follows:

| Week ended | 1,600 Tons Gross or Over. | Under 1,600 Tons Gross. | Un- success- fully At- tacked. | Fishing Vessels Sunk. |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Feb. 24..... | 16 | 6 | 16 | 5 |
| March 4.... | 15 | 8 | 15 | 2 |
| March 11... 12 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 3 |
| March 18... 18 | 8 | 20 | 20 | 21 |
| March 25... 20 | 7 | 12 | 12 | 18 |
| April 1.... 17 | 14 | 20 | 20 | 3 |
| April 8.... 17 | 2 | 13 | 13 | 7 |
| April 15.... 17 | 9 | 12 | 12 | 11 |

As the British Admiralty does not give the aggregate tonnage of ships sunk, only approximate estimates can be formed. But if we can accept German official statements, the destruction of shipping since the new campaign began amounts to millions of tons. Dr. Karl Helfferich, Imperial Secretary of the Interior, speaking before the Reichstag Main Committee on April 28, said that the results of

the first two months (February and March) of the unrestricted submarine campaign was 1,600,000 tons sunk, one million tons being British. In the Reichstag on May 8, Dr. Pflieger, naval reporter of the Budget Committee, stated that when the complete figures for April were available they would show that the German submarines had destroyed at least 1,100,000 tons of shipping. Vice Admiral von Capelle, Minister of the Navy, who spoke after Dr. Pflieger, said that the results greatly exceeded the expectations of the German Admiralty, for during the three months of February, March, and April 2,800,000 tons had been sunk, the number of ships being 1,325. Details are lacking to show how Admiral von Capelle's figures for the number of ships are arrived at, since the British Admiralty reports only 275 British ships of over 1,600 tons and 130 of under 1,600 tons, a total of 405, sunk during the period between Feb. 1 and April 29, exclusive of fishing vessels and other minor craft.

A French official statement shows that the number of French merchantmen sunk during February, March, and April was 17. Norway lost 64 ships of unspecified tonnage during March and 75 during April, a total of 139. There are, of course, the losses of other Allies and neutrals to be taken into account, but some experts decline to accept the German figures.

Nevertheless, authoritative statements in the allied countries make it clear that the havoc wrought by the submarines is extremely serious. Lord Devonport, the British food controller, speaking in the House of Lords on April 25, said that British shipping was being depleted every day in large volume, and that it was at the moment "a wasting security." Herbert L. Samuel, a former Cabinet Minister, speaking in London on April 27, said that figures he had seen on the sinking of vessels showed that the situation was worse than official reports indicated. Admiral Lord Beresford, speaking in London on May 1, complained of the incompleteness of the official returns, and said that the losses were appalling. He was inclined, he added, to

risk the penalties of the Defense of the Realm act and tell the people the truth.

American official utterances have been equally alarming. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, addressing a joint meeting of the Council of National Defense and Governors of States in Washington on May 2, made the startling statement that in the previous week German submarines had destroyed 400,000 tons of shipping. Secretary of State Lansing, without being so specific, was no less emphatic in declaring that the seriousness of the submarine situation could not be exaggerated. Reports to the State Department gave a total of eighty vessels lost in one week, figures much higher than any contained in recent British announcements.

J. Bernard Walker, editor of *The Scientific American*, speaking at the annual meeting of the National Security League in New York on May 2, said that it was more than likely that Germany had on the ways and nearing completion not fewer than 500 submarines of the U-53 type and within six months should have about 700 submarines afloat, and in twelve months 1,200. Evidence at hand, he added, indicated that German shipyards had room to keep work on 530 submarines constantly under way.

According to an interview with a member of the crew of the German submarine U-58, printed in the *Amsterdam Telegraaf* on May 15, the Germans have about 325 submarines in operation and about 80 to 100 have been lost through British nets alone. When at sea the submarines assemble at a given point every morning and receive wireless instructions, presumably from Heligoland. There are about thirty-nine U-boats of the newest type, each carrying a crew of 56 men, and this fleet is supplemented by a secondary squadron marked with a C. The first-class boats have a speed calculated as sufficient to overtake any cargo boat. Two-thirds of their crews are experienced and one-third novices. The boats carry a fortnight's stores and have a maximum period of submergence of from eight to ten hours. Each is equipped with two periscopes and sometimes descends to from 30 to 50 meters.

The two most important American vessels lost have been the oil tanker Vacuum and the steamer Rockingham. The Vacuum was sunk on April 28 off the north coast of Ireland. Seventeen of the crew, including American naval gunners, died from exposure in the boats in which they left the sinking steamer. The loss of the Rockingham was reported on May 2. The vessel, valued at \$1,300,000 and carrying cargo worth nearly \$2,000,000, was sunk just before reaching Liverpool from the United States. Two members of the crew were killed. The others on board, including an officer and gunners of the United States Navy, were saved.

Estimates of Captain Persius

Captain L. Persius, a German naval critic, writing in the Berliner Tageblatt in the last week of April, estimated the total tonnage of merchant craft destroyed by the German Navy from the beginning of the war up to April 1 at 6,641,000. Of this total, he said, 6,000,000 tons were enemy shipping, and 4,998,500 tons are said to have been sunk before the opening of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1 this year. The total of 1,642,500 tons destroyed in February and March are itemized by Captain Persius as follows:

| FEBRUARY | | Tons. |
|------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 368 ships, including | | |
| 292 enemy vessels | 644,000 | |
| 76 neutral vessels | 137,500 | |
| MARCH | | |
| 435 ships, aggregating | 861,000 | |
| Total | 1,642,500 | |

Warships and auxiliary cruisers such as the Emden, Karlsruhe, and Möwe have accounted, according to Captain Persius, for between 400,000 and 500,000 tons of enemy and neutral shipping; but he explains that these figures are put completely into the shade even by individual achievements of certain submarine commanders. Three of these are credited with having accounted for more than 100 ships each, aggregating between 250,000 and 300,000 tons.

As evidence of how U-boat activities have developed during the war, Captain Persius gives the following figures of tonnage sunk by submarines:

| 1915 | | Tons. |
|------------------|---------|-------|
| January | 14,000 | |
| February | 27,000 | |
| March | 83,000 | |
| April | 33,000 | |
| 1916 | | |
| January-February | 238,000 | |
| March-April | 432,000 | |
| May-June | 219,000 | |
| July-August | 273,779 | |
| September | 254,600 | |
| October | 393,500 | |
| November | 408,500 | |
| December | 415,500 | |
| 1917 | | |
| January | 439,500 | |

Commenting on these figures, Captain Persius said:

"Unless countermeasures can be found, the shipping losses of our enemies will swell to still greater proportions. It remains to be seen what will be the consequences. So much, however, is already tolerably certain today—the naval supremacy of Great Britain will emerge from this war at least shattered."

The Sinking of Hospital Ships

THE British Admiralty issued a statement on April 23 announcing the sinking of the two hospital steamships Donegal and Lanfranc without warning by submarines; nineteen British and fifteen wounded German officers were drowned. In their statement the British authorities denied the German charge that hospital ships were employed to transport troops and military supplies.

The statement asserts that Germany was notified that under the rules of international law she had the right to visit and search any such suspicious craft, which she refused to do. Germany was notified that, if her course was persisted in, reprisals would follow, yet the British hospital ship Asturias was torpedoed without warning on the night of March 20. The ship was steaming with all

navigation lights burning and the proper Red Cross signs brilliantly illuminated. The cumulative evidence that she had been torpedoed and not mined was only accepted after it had been confirmed beyond all doubt and after exhaustive investigation. The loss of life on this occasion included a nursing sister and a stewardess. The German official wireless message of the 26th finally established the guilt of the German Government, who, having boasted of the deed, published on the 29th a further message, which said: "It would, moreover, be remarkable that the English in the case of the Asturias should have abstained from their customary procedure of using hospital ships for the transport of troops and munitions."

On the night of March 30-31 the hospital ship Gloucester Castle met with a similar fate. On this occasion the Berlin official wireless message again published a notification that she was torpedoed by a U-boat, thus removing any possible doubt in the matter. The British Government thereupon authorized prompt measures of reprisal, and on April 14 a large squadron of British and French airplanes bombarded the German town of Freiburg with satisfactory results.

In spite of the warnings conveyed to Germany that her barbarous attacks on hospital ships would result in such action on the part of Great Britain, the German Government published through a wireless message of April 16 an abusive protest which "categorically contested any justification" for this reprisal.

The markings agreed upon at The Hague Convention, which had hitherto guaranteed the immunity of hospital ships from attack, rendered them no longer inviolable. The custom of showing all navigating lights and illuminating the distinctive markings at night only afforded a better target for German submarines. It was therefore decided that sick and wounded, together with medical personnel and supplies, must in future be transported for their own safety in ships carrying no distinctive markings, and proceeding without lights in the same manner as ordinary mercantile traffic.

Notice was accordingly given to the German Government that the British Government had withdrawn certain vessels from the list of hospital ships published in accordance with international law.

During the recent fighting on the western front a large number of wounded German prisoners have fallen into British hands. These have had to be transported to England for treatment by the same means as the British wounded, and practically all ships transporting wounded are bound to carry a proportion of German wounded. These naturally share with British wounded equal risks from the attacks of German submarines.

Although Germany did not frame any formal allegation of the misuse of hospital ships against the Allies until the commencement of 1917, the British hospital ship Asturias was fired at and missed by a German submarine on Feb. 1, 1915, in broad daylight while flying the Red Cross flag. In the light of recent events it seems reasonable to suppose that the hospital ships Braemar Castle and Britannic were also torpedoed in November, 1916, although the evidence at the time was not considered conclusive.

After the case of the Gloucester Castle the British authorities made no further announcement that German prisoners would be conveyed on hospital ships, but the German Government followed their hint by removing a number of imprisoned French and British officers to camps at unfortified cities, which action was announced to be in reprisal for the course of the Allies in bombarding such cities and conveying German prisoners on hospital ships. [See also article on "German Reprisals," Page 547.]

The British Government let it be known that, on account of the danger in transporting the wounded, they would be kept at hospitals in France. In consequence several thousand new medical men were ordered to the French front, and preparations were made to send an increased number of hospital units from the United States. It was stated that the first American hospital unit after the war declaration sailed from New York May 12, headed by Dr. Creel of Cleveland, Ohio.

Home Rule for Ireland

Events Attending the British Government's New Proposal of an Irish Council

THE question of the government of Ireland became a prominent issue in America after the entrance of this country into the war. Irish societies in all parts of the country passed resolutions demanding home rule; a majority of the House of Representatives signed a cablegram to the British authorities joining in the appeal. In England the demand grew more insistent for some definite proposal of a settlement of the question, and the issue became more acute through the election to Parliament of Joseph McGuinness, Sinn Feiner, from the Cork district, who was chosen over a Nationalist while serving a three-year sentence in Lewes Prison for connection with the Dublin rebellion.

A Sinn Fein convention was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, under the Chairmanship of Count Plunkett. There was a large attendance of Catholic priests, and the lay delegates represented a considerable number of public boards as well as local political organizations.

At the instance of the Chairman, votes of honor were passed in memory of the men who "sacrificed their lives for Ireland's liberty and to those at present in prison and in exile for Ireland's cause." These resolutions having been passed, there was a loud call of three cheers for the Irish Republic, which met with a ready response.

Count Plunkett said he wished to refer to the men who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for the cause of Ireland. "I will not," he said—and there was wild enthusiasm—"insult the courage of these men by pleading for their release. We ask no favor of the enemy, but I must refer to a dishonor put upon these men by the enemy. These men, among the noblest who have ever fought for Ireland, are not only wearing the prison garb, but are treated as criminals, and in your name I demand that they be treated as prisoners of war." A wave of cheering swept through the hall

when Count Plunkett announced that any offer England had to make short of complete liberty would be treated with contempt by a free-souled nation. He asked his audience to stand up and affirm their adhesion to the following declaration:

1. That we proclaim Ireland to be a separate nation.
2. That we assert Ireland's right to freedom from all foreign control, denying the authority of any foreign Parliament to make laws for Ireland.
3. That we affirm the right of the Irish people to declare their will as law and enforce their decisions in their own land without let or hindrance from any other country.
4. That maintaining the status of Ireland as a distinct nation, we demand representation at the coming Peace Conference.
5. That it is the duty of nations taking part in the Peace Conference to guarantee the liberty of the nations calling for their intervention, releasing the small nations from the control of the greater powers.
6. That our claim for complete independence is founded on human right and the law of nations. We declare Ireland has never yielded to and has ever fought against foreign rule, and we hereby bind ourselves to use every means in our power to obtain complete liberty for our country.

A petition to the Government for absolute home rule was signed by three Irish Protestant Bishops.

Americans on Irish Issue

Expressions were obtained from a number of eminent Americans on the subject for publication in England. Former President Roosevelt wrote as follows:

I most earnestly hope that full home rule will be given to Ireland; home rule relatively to the empire, such as Texas or Maine or Oregon now enjoys relatively to the national Government at Washington. Of course, Ireland should remain part of the empire. I have no more sympathy with the irreconcilable extremists on one side of the question than on the other.

Similar views were expressed by Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, and Judge Alton B. Parker, former Democratic nominee for President. Cardinal Gibbons expressed himself in part as follows:

Supposing that each county were given its

choice as to whether it would come under the Home Rule Parliament in Dublin or not, the counties which voted themselves out would be in a fearfully anomalous position. They would not belong to England. They would not belong to Ireland. They would not be large enough to set up a Home Rule Parliament of their own. If they did they could only construct an artificial State, and such an artificial State cannot endure. * * *

I should like, if possible, to impress upon Irishmen in Ulster the lesson of our own civil war here in America. The minority felt that they were going to be forced, that the institution of domestic slavery, upon which they contended that their prosperity depended, was going to be destroyed by a triumphant majority, and that their rights and liberties would be taken away from them at the bidding of the Northern States. For this reason they set up a confederacy apart from the Union. Leaving apart the whole question of the long and bitter war which ensued, the commerce of the South was ruined simply because they had erected an artificial barrier between themselves and the North which lasted long after the war had ended, and which ruined every great Southern commercial centre. If the South had won its independence it would today be a ruined country. Only because in the end it was not able to leave the Union has it revived commercially, now that it is looked upon as an integral part of the country. * * *

The American civil war ought to teach all men a great lesson. Separate nationalities must be recognized, but no nation can be permanently divided. Since I have been asked, then, the only way I see out of the difficulty is the way of guarantees—a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin, and Ulstermen receiving whatever guarantees seems necessary to them for their protection. * * *

American Advice Resented

Frederic Harrison, the noted British historian and publicist, resented the advice of Americans in these words, in a public communication:

Our American friends, in our almost desperate crisis at home, repeat the unreal, untrue, and malicious taunts of our enemies within and without the United Kingdom when they tell us to give the Irish "nation" autonomy. Where is the Irish nation? Our very dilemma is that there are three sections of Irishmen, each repudiating, contradicting, and, if we let them, eager to fight each other.

"The Home Rule act!" cries one group, though they and all men of sense know that the act of 1914 is impracticable as it stands, and must in any case be revised under the urgent stress of war.

"No Dublin Parliament for us!" cries Ulster—Ulster, far the richest, most civilized, most vigorous element in Ireland, the only element which joins us in the war and is not openly malevolent.

And now a third factor breaks in with the cry: "Away with Redmond and his lot, traitors all! The independent republic! Down with British uniforms, officials, and laws!"

Our difficulty is, and has been for generations, to know which of these three groups we ought to regard as the strongest and most permanent. Which of them is the Irish nation? All three furiously claim to be the real Irish nation. * * *

Ireland has already 103 representatives in the House of Commons—vastly in excess of its due proportion. At Westminster the Nationalist members occupy as much time as all the rest. They complain of, obstruct, and vilify our Government in our sore need. Yet they still cry out for more parliamentary representation, and they use the excessive representation they have got in such treasonable ways as in any other country but ours would have them sent outside or to jail. These are the men whom our American mentors tell us we must "placate." They seem to think that if we only started the act of 1914 all would be smooth in Ireland; that 250,000 Irishmen would enlist the next day. It is far more likely that if we started the act and withdrew the strong hand Ireland in three months would be in a state of chaos, the three groups at open war. And as soon as the Sinn Fein recruits got arms in their hands they would turn them against us and proclaim the republic, as they did a year ago.

How can responsible statesmen abroad repeat that most false of all the Potsdam lies—that Ireland has been treated as Poland was by Russia or as the Czechs are by Austria—Austria, that will not open its Parliament at all, which has hanged 2,000 Bohemian patriots, to say nothing of the hecatombs of Serbians, Bosnians, and Rumanians?

Why, for two generations Britain has sacrificed her men and her own interests to do justice to Irish demands. Her purse, her policy, her Parliament, her Government have all been strained to meet Irish claims, to restore Irish welfare. Ireland has never been so wealthy, so prosperous, so hopeful as she is today.

When the war came Ireland was treated as being outside of it, as if it were a spoiled and unmanageable son who must not be crossed. It was allowed to rest and grow rich in sullen scorn of all that Britons and true Irishmen were bearing in the war—this to the eternal shame of the Irish name, which Britons and which history will never forget or excuse; to the eternal shame also of those besotted politicians who treated Ireland as a timid fool might treat a dangerous lunatic whom he was afraid to touch and hoped to coax.

The Government's Proposal

Premier Lloyd George on May 16 presented the Government's proposals regarding a settlement of the Irish question in the form of a letter to John

Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party. Following are the proposals of the Premier:

Firstly, the immediate application of the Home Rule act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six counties in the north and east of Ulster, such exclusions to be subject to reconsideration by Parliament at the end of five years, unless it is previously terminated by the action of the Council of Ireland, to be set up as hereinafter described.

Secondly, with a view to securing the largest possible measure of common action for the whole of Ireland, the bill would provide for a Council of Ireland, to be composed of two delegations consisting, on the one hand, of all members returning to Westminster from the excluded area, and, on the other, of a delegation equal in numbers from the Irish Parliament, this council to be summoned on the initiative of any six members. It would be empowered by a majority of the votes of each of the delegations to pass private bill legislation affecting both the included and excluded areas; to recommend to the Crown the extension to the included area, by an Order in Council, of any act of the Irish Parliament; to agree to the inclusion under the Home Rule act of the whole of Ireland, subject to the assent of a majority of the voters in the excluded areas, the powers to be vested in the Crown in that case to extend the act to all of Ireland by an Order in Council; to make recommendations on its own initiative upon the Irish question, including the amendment of the Home Rule act as finally passed. The President of this Council of Ireland would be elected by agreement between the delegations, or, in default of agreement, would be nominated by the Crown.

Thirdly, the letter says that the financial proposals of the Home Rule bill are unsatisfactory and should be reconsidered. Important objects, such as the development of Irish industries, improvement in town housing, and the furtherance of education, with increased pay for teachers, owing to the war conditions, it declares, cannot be dealt with under the bill without undue burden on the Irish taxpayers. It continues:

Fourthly, the Government would recommend that after the second reading of the bill embodying the above proposals, together with the Home Rule act, it should forthwith be considered by a conference to be constituted on the lines of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, though not consisting exclusively of members of Parliament, and meeting under the Chairmanship of some one commanding the same general confidence in

his impartiality and judgment as Mr. Speaker himself.

The Government feel that a proposal which provides for immediate home rule for the greater part of Ireland, while excluding that part of Ireland which objects to coming under the Home Rule act for a definite period, when Parliament will consider the matter afresh; which recognizes the profound sentiment existing in Ireland for the unity of the country by creating a common council to consider Irish affairs as a whole, and which, finally, sets up a representative conference to attempt to adjust the most difficult questions involved is as far as they can possibly go toward effecting a legislative settlement in the crisis of a great war. They are prepared to introduce a bill on these lines.

An Alternative Plan

In his letter the Premier writes that if the preceding proposition proves unacceptable there remains an alternative plan, which, though it has been sometimes seriously discussed, has never been authoritatively proposed—that of assembling a convention of Irishmen of all parties for the purpose of producing a scheme of Irish self-government.

"As you will remember," he continues, "the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was framed, despite most formidable difficulties and obstacles, by a convention representative of all the interests and parties in the country, and the Government believes that a similar expedient might in the last resort be found effectual in Ireland. Would it be too much to hope that Irishmen of all creeds and parties might meet together in convention for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for their country which would secure a just balance of all the opposing interests and finally compose the unhappy discords which have so long distracted Ireland and impeded its harmonious development? The Government are ready, in default of the adoption of the present proposals for home rule, to take the necessary steps for assembling such a convention."

It was announced by Mr. Redmond on May 17 that the Irish Nationalists rejected the first proposal of the Premier, but accepted the alternative proposition for the immediate calling of a convention to decide on a Government for Ireland.

The Background of Home Rule

THE situation that evoked the agitation for home rule was created by the Act of Union, signed by King George III. on Aug. 1, 1800, and which came into force on Jan. 1, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century. Ireland had had a Parliament since the thirteenth century, but it was the Parliament of the Anglo-Norman colony about Dublin. Twice, the powers of this Irish Parliament had been limited:

In 1494, by Poynings's law, (so-called from Sir Edward Poynings, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who secured its passage,) which enacted that "All acts intended to be passed by the Irish Parliament must first be submitted to the King of England and his Privy Council"; and in 1720, when an English act affirmed the right of the English Parliament to pass laws for Ireland, and deprived the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals.

These limitations were removed in 1782, and from this time until the Act of Union the Irish Parliament had its period of largest activity. This Irish Parliament, often called, from its most distinguished member, "Grattan's Parliament," consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Commons of 300 members, all of whom were Protestants. The laws barring Roman Catholics from Parliament, and from many civil and military activities, dated from the time of the Reformation, from the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. They were not directed against Irishmen, but against all Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland; and, in fact, through acts passed by the exclusively Protestant Irish Parliament, Roman Catholics had larger rights in Ireland than in England, including the franchise. The resolution enlarging these rights declared that "as men and Irishmen, as Christians and Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects."

Pitt, then Prime Minister of England, decided that a legislative union between England and Ireland was expedient, as

an earlier Act of Union had united the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707. It was necessary to pass this Act of Union through the Irish Parliament. This was done by means of rewards in cash and preferment, new peers being created to secure a majority in the Irish House of Lords. These were ordinary political expedients of the period; Guizot, by similar methods, governed France from 1840 to 1848.

Ireland Under the Union

In the combined Parliament at Westminster, which met on Jan. 22, 1801, Ireland was represented by 100 members, later increased to 103; 4 Bishops and 28 peers, elected from the body of the Irish peerage, represented Ireland in the House of Lords. No Roman Catholic could at that time sit in Parliament.

This system left at least two-thirds of Ireland unrepresented. A movement for "Catholic emancipation" was begun in Ireland, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, in 1823; this movement attained complete success in 1829, when a law was carried through Parliament by Sir Robert Peel and signed by George IV., which extended political equality to all Roman Catholics within the British Isles.

In 1785 the population of Ireland was about 2,850,000; by 1845, it had risen to about 8,300,000, this rapidly increasing population pressing dangerously upon the means of subsistence. Ireland relied too largely on the potato, and widespread potato disease caused a series of famines, culminating in 1847, still remembered in Ireland as "the black forty seven." England made extensive efforts to stem the famine, using the same means which have often been employed in India. In March, 1847, 734,000 persons were employed on relief works; later 3,000,000 cooked rations were distributed daily. But large numbers nevertheless died of starvation; much larger numbers emigrated, chiefly to the United States.

Ireland was originally divided into tribal areas, the land being held by mem-

bers of the tribes in communal tenure. But the chieftains gradually made themselves feudal owners, turning the tribesmen into tenants. Under the Stuart Kings numbers of these Irish chieftains were dispossessed; their lands, which were really tribal lands, passed, by purchase from the King, into the hands of English landlords. Further, large areas, chiefly in Ulster, were colonized by English and Scottish tenants, Protestants or Presbyterians; this applied especially to the lands of the O'Donnells and O'Neills, the Earldoms of Tyrconnell and Tyrone.

The tenure under which the Irish tenants held their land was, over large areas, a bad one; their leases ran for one year only. If they made improvements, draining, clearing, or building, these belonged, at the end of the year, to the landlord, who had the power to raise the rent to cover the enhanced value of the land, and generally used it. This system put a premium on improvidence and discouraged all improvements. Largely because of this, Irish tenants generally limited their farming to a single crop—potatoes—and, when this crop failed through disease, they were reduced to starvation.

Therefore "land agitation" in Ireland had two purposes: First, to improve the land tenure and the status of the tenant; second, to undo, as far as possible, the land confiscations of the Stuarts, and to restore the land to Irish owners. This double objective constituted the "land question" in Ireland.

Beginning of Land Purchase

One result of the three years' famine, which stopped the payment of all land rents over large areas, was to ruin many landlords, and so to curtail the resources of others that they were unable to improve their lands. English statesmen devised a plan which they hoped would introduce capital. This plan was embodied in the Encumbered Estates act of 1849, two years after the famine, providing for the establishment of a court to examine the affairs of heavily indebted Irish landlords. The courts were empowered to order the sale of such estates

to the value of £20,000,000, (\$100,000,000.) The estates thus sold were bought up by Irishmen who had made money in trade, who considered their new land merely as an investment, and tried to get the largest possible profit from it. The tenants were thus worse off than before. The new owners immediately increased all rents, sometimes two and three fold.

This led to the formation of the Tenants' League in the following year, 1850. It drew up a very moderate program, which included the following demands:

1. A fair valuation of the rent.
2. Security from eviction while rents were paid.
3. The right of a tenant to sell his interest in the land, representing the improvements he had made, to the incoming tenant.
4. A settlement of arrears of rent.

But this movement had little practical result. The first real relief was gained as a by-product of the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869. It had until then been the State Church, supported by tithes paid by all Ireland, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. This palpable injustice Gladstone determined to remove. All tithes were remitted, and a sustentation fund was established to provide the income previously drawn from tithes.

Even more important was the disposal of extensive Church lands. The tenants of these were allowed to become owners of them, by making a series of payments extending over a number of years, on the installment plan. More than six thousand tenants were thus able to buy their farms, and it is noteworthy that failures to pay the installments were practically nonexistent.

This principle of land purchase was destined to have a large and highly beneficent development in the following years.

Parnell and the Land League

The example of tenants thus becoming owners of their holdings, which were scattered throughout Ireland, was a strong stimulus to their neighbors to work for a like happy consummation. This widespread desire made possible the

foundation of the Land League, by Michael Davitt, in 1879. But it owed its success to the organizing genius of Charles Stewart Parnell. Its aims, practically the same as those of the earlier Tenants' League, were embodied in three catchwords: Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, Free Sale, which came to be known as "the three F's."

A fair rent was to be fixed by an impartial court; the tenant was to have security of tenure so long as he paid this rent; he was to have the right to sell to the incoming tenant his interest in the land, represented by the improvements he had made.

Parnell was a well-to-do landlord of English descent, a Protestant; the woes of the tenants therefore formed no part of his own experience. His object was not so much to relieve the tenants as to weaken the power of England and to work for complete independence. Speaking at Cincinnati on Feb. 23, 1880, he declared that the first thing necessary was to undermine England's power in Ireland by destroying the Irish landlords. Ireland might then work for independence. "And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

In this way the purely economic land question was bound up with political aims. And, for Parnell, the land question was merely the lever for his political purpose, which was to make Ireland a separate nation.

Daniel O'Connell had developed a new political instrument, which came to be called "constitutional agitation." He held mass meetings, and in this way brought pressure to bear on the Government, but carefully avoided the slightest infraction of law. He was arrested in October, 1843, and imprisoned, but three months later he was released by a decision of the House of Lords, which declared that his sentence was illegal; that he had broken no law.

Parnell heartily despised the moderate methods of O'Connell. He did not at-

tempt an armed rising, like that of 1798, not from any moral objection to rebellion, but for a purely practical reason: he said that Ireland, having no regular army, would be reduced to guerrilla warfare; but guerrilla warfare was impossible in Ireland, because Ireland has a wide central plain, with mountains along the rims, whereas guerrilla warfare requires a back country of hills. He was firmly convinced that an armed movement in Ireland was an impossibility for this reason.

Creation of the Boycott

With these views, he developed a practical method for the Land League, in which legal and illegal means were combined as expediency dictated. One of the most famous means, not strictly illegal, was the creation of the "boycott." In an attack on a Protestant landlord, a Captain Boycott, which Parnell made at Ennis on Sept. 18, 1880, Parnell urged the people of the neighborhood to punish him "by isolating him from his kind as if he were a leper of old." The boycott created by that phrase instantly became a powerful instrument, which was mercilessly used, both against landlords and against tenants who rented farms from which their former occupants had been evicted for non-payment of rent. By this means, and by agrarian outrages, which generally took the form of maiming cattle, the Land League established a reign of terror. In 1881, there were 4,439 agrarian outrages; in the first half of 1882, there were 2,597. On Jan. 28, 1882, Gladstone told the House of Commons that "with fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League." In the previous October, Gladstone had imprisoned Parnell and his chief lieutenants in Kilmainham Jail, at Dublin.

Gladstone tried to meet the Land League agitation in two ways—first, by removing real grievances; second, by endeavoring to stop outrages through the operation of a Coercion act, which gave him extraordinary authority to deal with agrarian crimes, such as cattle maiming.

His first object he sought to achieve by passing the Land act of 1881, which gave the Irish tenants "the three F's"—

a fair rent, settled by an impartial court; a fixed hold of the land, so long as this legal rent was paid; free sale, or the right, on leaving a farm, to receive from the incoming tenant the cash value of all improvements made, such as clearings, draining, and buildings.

Parnell opposed this law, refused to vote for it, walking out of the House of Commons with thirty-five of his followers, and did all in his power to keep the tenants from taking advantage of its remedies. But they ignored his advice, flocked to the land courts, and had their rents very generally lowered and fixed by law.

By May, 1882, Gladstone had tired of the task of meeting outrage by coercion. On May 2, 1882, he entered into an agreement with Parnell, then in Kilmainham Jail; this was called the Kilmainham treaty, and marks an important stage in Gladstone's conversion to home rule. As an immediate result of this agreement, agrarian outrages almost ceased; in the second six months of 1882 they were only 836, as against 2,597 in the first six months of that year, thus practically establishing the fact that they had been organized by the Land League, which was able to easily to stop them.

But another event occurred in Ireland, four days after the Kilmainham treaty, which for the time made home rule an impossibility. This was the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, whom Gladstone had sent to Ireland as the agent of his policy of conciliation, and of Thomas Burke, in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, on May 6, 1882. This murder so profoundly shocked England that to bring forward a home rule measure at that time was out of the question. It was postponed for four years.

Advocates of "Physical Force"

O'Connell believed in using means that were completely legal. Parnell used means both legal and illegal, but thought any armed effort to destroy English power in Ireland impracticable, because of the geographical character of the country.

But there have always been, in Ireland, men who have not agreed with either O'Connell or Parnell; who have

advocated illegal means, and have believed in the possibility of armed rebellion. These advocates of "physical force" have generally chosen a time when England was at war with one or another Continental power, and have tried not only to organize armed force in Ireland, but also to bring into Ireland the armies of England's Continental enemies.

Early instances are: The bringing of Spanish ships and soldiers to Ireland by James Fitzgerald in 1579, when Queen Elizabeth was at war with Philip II. of Spain; the landing at Kinsale of 4,000 Spaniards, as allies of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, in 1600; the sending of a French contingent by Louis XIV. to Ireland in 1689; a further force of 3,000 Frenchmen being sent in 1691; the landing of General Humbert with 1,000 Frenchmen at Killala, during the Irish rebellion of 1798.

These attempts at armed rebellion were prepared by secret societies, of which there has been a long series in Ireland, such as the "Whiteboys" of 1762, so called because they wore white shirts over their coats like the French Camisards; the "Right Boys" twenty-five years later; the "United Irishmen" who brought about the rebellion of 1798; the "Young Ireland" movement of 1848; the "Fenian" movement, from 1863 to 1868; the Sinn Feiners of 1916. They all had the same purpose, the establishment of a separate Irish nation, by open rebellion, leading to terrorism; they have all openly and frankly expressed their contempt for the advocates of "constitutional agitation," like Daniel O'Connell, or his successors, the Constitutionalist followers of John Redmond—the Irish Parliamentary Nationalists.

One of the gravest difficulties which beset the solution of the Irish problem is the existence of these two rival schools—the Constitutionalist, and the advocates of "physical force," for the reason that the physical force men, open enemies of the Constitutionalist, will flatly refuse to recognize any settlement made with the Constitutionalist, or will use any concessions made to the Constitutionalist simply as a stepping stone to their own

ulterior ends: complete separation and the establishment of "the Irish Republic." In this sense, a settlement of the Irish question made with the Constitutionists is no settlement, unless the physical force party can in some way be compelled to respect it:

Gladstone's First Bill

Gladstone's impulse toward home rule was cut short by one expression of the "physical force" movement: the Phoenix Park murders. In October he suppressed the Land League, whose place was taken by the National League, which is still in existence. In the Summer of 1885, Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives came into power, and introduced a second and much larger measure of land purchase, devoting \$25,000,000 to the work of turning Irish tenants into peasant proprietors. The general election of 1885 gave the following result: Liberals, 331; Conservatives, 249; Irish Nationalists, 86. If the Conservatives joined forces with the Nationalists, they would have 335 against Gladstone's 331. In these circumstances, Gladstone determined to form a working alliance with Parnell, and frame a Home Rule bill.

Gladstone's first "Government of Ireland bill" was launched in April, 1886. It proposed to form an Irish Parliament of two houses; the upper house was to consist of 28 Peers and 75 members elected for ten years; the lower house of 204 members, about double the existing number of Irish Members of Parliament. Irish Members of Parliament were to be excluded from the British Parliament at Westminster. On June 7, 1886, 93 Liberal Unionists joined with the Conservatives in voting against this bill, which was defeated in the House of Commons by 30 votes.

More Land Purchase

Gladstone had previously made a further effort to settle the land question by introducing a bill which further extended the operation of land purchase—the purchase of their farms by tenants, who repaid the Government by installments.

Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives returned to power in August, 1886; Lord

Salisbury's nephew, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. He suppressed the National League; and, by his steady administration of the Crimes act, gradually quieted Ireland. In 1891 he carried through Parliament a further Land Purchase act, which applied \$150,000,000 to the work of turning tenants into owners. These successive Land Purchase acts, culminating in Wyndham's (Conservative) Land Purchase act of 1903, have gone far to solve the Irish land question; once more it may be put on record that failures to pay the installments are practically unknown. The result of these measures throughout Ireland has been admirable.

Gladstone's Second Bill

Gladstone returned to power in August, 1892. In February, 1893, he introduced a second Home Rule bill, which proposed that eighty Irish members should be retained in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, though they were not to vote on measures expressly confined to Great Britain. Two main objections were made to this second home rule measure. The first, by the Conservatives, was that it not only gave Ireland the right to govern herself, but also the right to govern England and Scotland. The second, by the Irish Nationalists, that the financial provisions of the bill were such as "to keep Ireland in bondage." This meant, in practice, that Ireland might not build a separate tariff wall.

On Sept. 1, the bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 34; but it was thrown out by the House of Lords by a vote of 419 to 41. A few months later Gladstone resigned, his place being taken by Lord Rosebery, who was succeeded by Lord Salisbury in June, 1895. Ten years of Conservative Government followed, which were marked by the establishment of County Councils—small local Parliaments for each of the thirty-two counties of Ireland—in 1898, and by Wyndham's Land Purchase act, already mentioned, in 1903.

Asquith's Home Rule Act

The Liberals returned to power in 1905, Mr. Asquith becoming Prime Minister in 1908. He secured his parliamentary posi-

tion by making a working agreement with the Labor and Nationalist members. The Nationalists were to support his plan to disestablish the Anglican Church in Wales as Gladstone had disestablished it in Ireland in 1869, while he was to bring in a Home Rule bill. To insure its passage, it was necessary to destroy the practical veto power of the House of Lords. Asquith did this by means of the Parliament act of 1911, under which bills (other than money bills or a bill extending the maximum duration of Parliament) if passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and rejected each time (or not passed) by the House of Lords, may become law without their concurrence on the royal assent being signified, provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading in the first session of the House of Commons and the third reading in the third session.

The passage of this act cleared the way for the new Home Rule bill which was introduced in 1912.

Proposed Dublin Parliament

Gladstone's first Home Rule bill proposed to exclude the Irish members from Westminster. His second Home Rule bill proposed to retain 80 Irish members at Westminster, besides establishing a separate Irish Parliament at Dublin. Asquith made a compromise between these two plans, and proposed to retain only 42 Irish members at Westminster, the ground for their retention being that many Irish questions were reserved to be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament. These 42 Irish members at Westminster were to represent Belfast (4), Dublin (3), Cork (1), counties in Ulster (11), in Leinster (8), Munster (9), and Connaught (6).

The Dublin Parliament was to consist of two houses—a Senate of 40 members and a House of Commons of 164 members, who were to represent the following constituencies: Boroughs, Belfast (14), Dublin (11), Cork (4), Londonderry (2), Limerick (2), Waterford (1), and Dublin University (2); counties in Ulster (43), in Leinster (30), in Munster (30), and in Connaught (25).

Senators were to be drawn from the four provinces in the following numbers: Ulster (14), Leinster (11), Munster (9), and Connaught (6).

Under this third Home Rule bill, England would be able to exercise control over Ireland in three ways: First, through the Executive, the Lord Lieutenant being appointed by the Crown, which means in practice the Prime Minister of England, and in his turn selecting the members of the Dublin Cabinet, who must, however, either be members of the Dublin Parliament, or become members; secondly, through financial arrangements, chief of which is the provision that all Irish taxes are to be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, which shall pay to the Irish Exchequer a sum of \$2,500,000 yearly, to diminish to \$1,000,000 yearly, as an imperial contribution to Irish finances; and a sum equal to the proceeds of Irish taxes laid by the Dublin Parliament. Thirdly, through the reservation of a number of departments or subjects for decision by the Imperial Parliament. For example, the Dublin Parliament is expressly forbidden to transfer to the Roman Catholic Church the Protestant Cathedrals, which were Catholic until the Reformation, such as the cathedral at Armagh, Christchurch Cathedral, (founded by the Danes,) and St. Patrick's Cathedral, (founded by the Anglo-Normans,) in Dublin.

The arrangement proposed by Asquith's Home Rule bill is, therefore, comparable, not so much to the form of government of the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, as to that which exists, let us say, in New York State, which sends 43 members to Congress, (as compared with the 42 Irish members to be sent to Westminster,) with a Legislature at Albany consisting of a Senate of 51 members (compared with the 40 members of the Dublin Senate) and a lower house of 150 members, (compared with the 164 members of the lower house in the Dublin Parliament.) The restrictions as to taxation and reserved federal authority are comparable to those reserved to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

There are three sharply contrasted

parties in Ireland: (1) the Ulster Unionists; (2) the Constitutionalist Nationalists; (3) the successors and heirs of the "physical force" movements. Inevitably Asquith's plans for the government of Ireland make a different impression on each of these three parties.

To begin with, this third Home Rule bill is only moderately satisfactory to the Irish Constitutional Nationalists led by John Redmond, a former lieutenant of Parnell, who would like much larger powers.

It is denounced as wholly inadequate by the extremists, who do not try to conceal the fact that what they want is not this moderate home rule scheme, but complete independence, a separate Irish Republic. This view is strongly represented among Irish-Americans, who have, within the last few weeks, given very clear expression to their views.

The Unionists of Ulster, of whom Sir Edward Carson is the leader, strongly desire to remain in their present relation to the Imperial Parliament and as strongly object to being governed by a Dublin Parliament.

The objections of Protestant and industrial Ulster (including six out of the nine counties of Ulster) to the home rule plan may be summed up as follows:

First, they say openly that this supposed settlement will be no settlement, but will simply be used by the extremists as a basis of further operations against England, in furtherance of their avowed plan to form a completely independent Irish Republic—a plan openly announced even by Parnell when he was leader of the parliamentary party. The people of Ulster say that they will be sacrificed, not to a genuinely loyal plan of Irish Nationalism, but to this strategic outpost of armed rebellion. They say that Irish agitators have always had "two voices," one for England and another, more genuine, for extremists. This is their political objection.

Second, they object to the probable influence of the Vatican in Irish affairs. They have always held this objection; it

has been greatly strengthened by the pro-German, anti-French action and attitude of the Vatican in the world war. They assert that, lured by the bribe of "temporal power," which would mean the disruption of free Italy, the Vatican has secretly used its influence through the hierarchy and the religious orders in favor of Germany, for example, in Roman Catholic Canada, which has contributed only a corporal's guard to the allied armies, French Canada being notably priest-ridden. This illustrates the kind of political intrigue which Ulster Protestants have always apprehended.

Third, they object to the progressive Northeast being taxed to supply the deficiencies of the backward South and West. Belfast has a population of 386,947, (as against 304,802 for Dublin,) with large industries; her shipyards employed, even before the war, 22,000 men, with a weekly payroll of \$175,194; the same district produces four-fifths of the world's linen. The people of Ulster say that the South and West desire to include Ulster in the home rule plan, in order to be able to tax Ulster.

Fourth, they object on principle. Home rule is based on the principle of "government by consent of the governed." Ulster claims for herself the application of the same principle. Ulster has always been loyal to the Union, loyal to all imperial aims. She has resented, and prepared to resist, one thing only: the attempt to give her over into the hands of a hostile majority, who wish to coerce her. Ulster earnestly protests against all plans to force her out of the Union, which expresses her ideals of government and political justice. As an example of the separate treatment which she claims for herself, she cites such a precedent as that of West Virginia, which, refusing to leave the Union in 1861, separated from Virginia, and, in 1862, was made a separate State loyal to the Union, and has since greatly prospered under this arrangement.

These are, in part, the grounds of the claim that Ulster should be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule act.

The Entente's Greetings to America

Memorable Utterances of European Leaders on Entry of United States Into the War

THE entry of the United States into the war was formally celebrated in England on April 20. For the first time in history a flag other than the union jack was hoisted at the top of Victoria Tower at Westminster, where during the entire day the Stars and Stripes fluttered fraternally with the English flag above the Houses of Parliament. A solemn and stately service took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, attended by the King and Queen, and the most notable representatives of the British realm. Bishop Brent, an American Bishop, delivered the sermon, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction. In his sermon Bishop Brent said:

This, I venture to say, is not merely the beginning of a new era but of a new epoch. At this moment a great nation, well skilled in self-sacrifice, is standing by with deep sympathy and bidding godspeed to another great nation that is making its act of self-dedication to God. * * * This act of America has enabled her to find her soul. America, which stands for democracy, the cause of the plain people, must fight, must champion this cause at all costs.

Hall Caine's Winged Words

Hall Caine, the British novelist, wrote as follows regarding the celebration:

American Day in London was a great and memorable event. It was another sentinel on the hilltop of time, another beacon fire in the history of humanity. The two nations of Great Britain and America can never be divided again. There has been a national marriage between them, which only one judge can dissolve, and the name of that judge is Death. * * *

Two lessons, at least, must be learned from the service of Friday in St. Paul's Cathedral. The first is that the accepted idea of the American Nation as one that weighs and measures all conduct by material values in dollars and cents must henceforth be banished forever. Thrice already in its short history has it put that hoary old slander to shame, and now once again has it given the lie to it. The history of nations has perhaps no parallel to the high humanity, the splendid self-sacrifice, the complete disinterested-

ness that brought America into this war, with nothing to gain and everything to lose. It has broken forever with the triple monarchies of murder. To live at peace with crime was to be the accomplice of the criminal. Therefore, in the name of justice, of mercy, of religion, of human dignity, of all that makes man's life worth living and distinguishes it from the life of the brute, America, for all she is or ever can be, has drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. God helping her, she could do no other.

The second of the lessons we have to learn from the services of Friday is that, having made war in defense of the right, America will make peace the moment the wrong has been righted. No national bargains will weigh with her, no questions of territory, no problems of the balance of power, no calculations of profit and loss, no ancient treaties, no material covenants, no pledges that are the legacy of past European conflicts. Has justice been done? Is the safety of civilization assured? Has reparation been made, as far as reparation is possible, for the outrages that have disgraced the name of man, and for the sufferings that have knocked at the door of every heart in Christendom? These will be her only questions. Let us take heart and hope from them. They bring peace nearer.

It was not for nothing that the flags of Great Britain and America hung side by side under the chancel arch on Friday morning. At one moment the sun shot through the windows of the dome and lit them up with heavenly radiance. Was it only the exaltation of the moment that made us think invisible powers were giving us a sign that in the union of the nations which those emblems stood for lay the surest hope of the day when men will beat their swords into plowshares and know war no more? The United States of Great Britain and America! God grant the union celebrated in our old sanctuary may never be dissolved until that great day has dawned.

Jubilation in London

One of the unique events of the day was a luncheon for American wounded men who, after attending the services at St. Paul's, were guests of one of the American women's organizations. There were present seventy privates and thirty officers, all Americans, who were convalescent patients of hospitals near Lon-

don. They were accompanied by thirty nurses connected with the British and Canadian forces, all of whom were Americans. Ambassador Page presided. The roll of the men and women present showed that nearly forty States were represented, including every section of the Union.

Celebrations were held in many of the large cities of Great Britain in honor of America, and the Stars and Stripes were generously displayed from public and private buildings. At Manchester a special service was held at the Cathedral at noon. The Lord Mayor, who attended in state, was accompanied by members of the Council.

April 30 was "America Day" in Liverpool. A special town meeting of citizens was held at noon to celebrate the entrance of the United States into the war. It was preceded by a service of thanksgiving at St. Nicholas Church, attended by the Lord Mayor, city officials, the United States Consul, Consular representatives of all the allied powers, and leading citizens. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Liverpool.

Celebration in France

Paris celebrated "United States Day" on April 20 with exercises in the great hall of the Sorbonne, and on April 21 with a reception to Ambassador Sharp, a procession to Lafayette's statue, and exercises in the City Hall. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled from the Eiffel Tower, the City Hall, and other municipal buildings.

The celebration on the 20th was organized by the French Maritime League and was an imposing testimonial in honor of the United States. On the platform were Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine; Alexandre Millerand, President of the league; Mr. Sharp, American Ambassador; J. de Mello Machado, Brazilian Senator; M. Nail, Under Secretary of the French Merchant Marine; Ernest Lavisse, M. Lacour-Gayet, Jean Richepin, Admiral Fournier, and others. Raymond Poincaré, President of France, who presided over the ceremonies, was greeted on his entrance with the "Marseillaise" and the American national hymn. M. Millerand made an address saluting the

co-operation of the American fleet. He said in part:

Washington, Lincoln, Wilson—these are immortal types of the Presidency of a democracy—men who, conscious of their responsibilities, assume the duty of guiding the people at whose head they have the honor to be placed, thus realizing the indispensable harmony in human affairs between the principle of authority and the principle of liberty. Yes, history will assign to Mr. Wilson a place among the great statesmen of all time, for he has been able, in a memorable document, to make clear the ideal reasons why honor condemned neutrality and commanded war in order to assure to humanity the definitive blessing of peace. Near him appear the shadows of the victims whose sacrifice, by arousing the indignation of the civilized world, has rendered inevitable the explosion which we are today witnessing.

A unique feature of the ceremonies was furnished by Jean Richepin, member of the French Academy. Surrounded by armed sailors, the American and French flags were presented, and, in a voice vibrant with emotion, the poet recited "Le Baiser des Drapeaux," ("The Kiss of the Flags,") which he had composed for the occasion. While the audience was applauding the last stanzas the color bearers dipped the starry banner and the tricolor in a movement that stirred deep enthusiasm.

Mr. Sharp, the American Ambassador, presented the formal salute of the great Republic to France and her allies, adding:

As a man who feels himself to be American to the very roots of his being, who is filled with pride by the magnificent traditions of his country, and who has so often heard the heart of America beating, I know, with a certainty born of profound conviction, that in this great conflict France has been the lodestone that has drawn to itself the complete devotion and unqualified admiration of the American people.

Admiral Lacaze paid a stirring tribute to the sailors of the allied nations, especially to those obscure heroes, the sailors of the merchant fleet, who, exposed daily to the perils of German piracy, bring to their arduous task the highest courage and patriotic devotion.

Previous London Celebration

The first celebration of this kind occurred in London April 12; it was at a luncheon given by the American Club, at which important speeches were made

by Ambassador Walter H. Page and Premier Lloyd George. The keynote of the Ambassador's speech was in these words:

These are great days for the Republic. We have set out to help in an enterprise of saving the earth as a place worth living in. The clear, solemn call of the President and the voice of Congress, which is the voice of the people, are to us the high call of duty.

We come in answer only to the high call of duty, and not for any material reward, not for territory, not for indemnity or conquest, not for anything save the high duty to succor democracy when it is desperately as-

sailed. We come only for the ideal, that is, the republic.

Why else have we drawn into this grim Old World bloody struggle against our traditions and wishes? Why except that our standard of honor and our judgment of safety are the same as yours? Some of our differences are historical and fundamental, but most of them are superficial or manufactured by agitation. None of them need or can separate us in the further development of our national freedom.

The Premier's speech was at considerable length. The full text is given below under a separate subhead.

Lloyd George on America's Entrance Into the War

[The British Premier's Address at the American Club in London, April 12, 1917]

I AM in the happy position of being, I think, the first British Minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American Nation as comrades in arms. I am glad; I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation will bring to the succor of the alliance, but I rejoice as a democrat that the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

That was the note that ran through the great deliverance of President Wilson. It was echoed, Sir, in your resounding words today. The United States of America have the noble tradition, never broken, of having never engaged in war except for liberty. And this is the greatest struggle for liberty that they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recalls the wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandizement and conquest. No wonder when this great war started that there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the

people of the United States of America. There were those who thought perhaps that Kings were at their old tricks—and although they saw the gallant Republic of France fighting, they some of them perhaps regarded it as the poor victim of a conspiracy of monarchical swashbucklers. The fact that the United States of America has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty.

The Prussian Menace

They naturally did not know at first what we had endured in Europe for years from this military caste in Prussia. It never has reached the United States of America. Prussia was not a democracy. The Kaiser promises that it will be a democracy after the war. I think he is right. But Prussia not merely was not a democracy. Prussia was not a State; Prussia was an army. It had great industries that had been highly developed; a great educational system; it had its universities, it had developed its science.

All these were subordinate to the one great predominant purpose, the purpose of all—a conquering army which was to intimidate the world. The army was the

spear-point of Prussia; the rest was merely the haft. That was what we had to deal with in these old countries. It got on the nerves of Europe. They knew what it all meant. It was an army that in recent times had waged three wars, all of conquest, and the unceasing tramp of its legions through the streets of Prussia, on the parade grounds of Prussia, had got into the Prussian head. The Kaiser, when he witnessed on a grand scale his reviews, got drunk with the sound of it. He delivered the law to the world as if Potsdam was another Sinai, and he was uttering the law from the thunder clouds.

But make no mistake. Europe was uneasy. Europe was half intimidated. Europe was anxious. Europe was apprehensive. We knew the whole time what it meant. What we did not know was the moment it would come.

This is the menace, this is the apprehension from which Europe has suffered for over fifty years. It paralyzed the beneficent activity of all States, which ought to be devoted to concentrating on the well-being of their peoples. They had to think about this menace, which was there constantly as a cloud ready to burst over the land. No one can tell except Frenchmen what they endured from this tyranny, patiently, gallantly, with dignity, till the hour of deliverance came. The best energies of domestic science had been devoted to defending itself against the impending blow. France was like a nation which put up its right arm to ward off a blow, and could not give the whole of her strength to the great things which she was capable of. That great, bold, imaginative, fertile mind, which would otherwise have been clearing new paths for progress, was paralyzed.

That is the state of things we had to encounter. The most characteristic of Prussian institutions is the Hindenburg line. What is the Hindenburg line? The Hindenburg line is a line drawn in the territories of other people, with a warning that the inhabitants of those territories shall not cross it at the peril of their lives. That line has been drawn in Europe for fifty years.

You recollect what happened some years ago in France, when the French Foreign Minister was practically driven out of office by Prussian interference. Why? What had he done? He had done nothing which a Minister of an independent State had not the most absolute right to do. He had crossed the imaginary line drawn in French territory by Prussian despotism, and he had to leave. Europe, after enduring this for generations, made up its mind at last that the Hindenburg line must be drawn along the legitimate frontiers of Germany herself. There could be no other attitude than that for the emancipation of Europe and the world.

Hindenburg Line at Sea

It was hard at first for the people of America quite to appreciate that Germany had not interfered to the same extent with their freedom, if at all. But at last they endured the same experience as Europe had been subjected to. Americans were told that they were not to be allowed to cross and recross the Atlantic except at their peril. American ships were sunk without warning. American citizens were drowned, hardly with an apology—in fact, as a matter of German right. At first America could hardly believe it. They could not think it possible that any sane people should behave in that manner. And they tolerated it once, and they tolerated it twice, until it became clear that the Germans really meant it. Then America acted, and acted promptly.

The Hindenburg line was drawn along the shores of America, and the Americans were told they must not cross it. America said, "What is this?" Germany said, "This is our line, beyond which you must not go," and America said, "The place for that line is not the Atlantic, but on the Rhine—and we mean to help you to roll it up."

There are two great facts which clinch the argument that this is a great struggle for freedom. The first is the fact that America has come in. She would not have come in otherwise. The second is the Russian revolution. When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers

to America to fight for the freedom and independence of that land, France also was an autocracy in those days. But Frenchmen in America, once they were there—their aim was freedom, their atmosphere was freedom, their inspiration was freedom. They acquired a taste for freedom, and they took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, of Montenegro, of Bulgaria, and has fought for the freedom of Europe. They wanted to make their own country free, and they have done it. The Russian revolution is not merely the outcome of the struggle for freedom. It is a proof of the character of the struggle for liberty, and if the Russian people realize, as there is every evidence they are doing, that national discipline is not incompatible with national freedom—nay, that national discipline is essential to the security of national freedom—they will, indeed, become a free people.

I have been asking myself the question, Why did Germany, deliberately, in the third year of the war, provoke America to this declaration and to this action—deliberately, resolutely? It has been suggested that the reason was that there were certain elements in American life, and they were under the impression that they would make it impossible for the United States to declare war. That I can hardly believe. But the answer has been afforded by Marshal von Hindenburg himself, in the very remarkable interview which appeared in the press, I think, only this morning.

He depended clearly on one of two things. First, that the submarine campaign would have destroyed international shipping to such an extent that England would have been put out of business before America was ready. According to his computation, America cannot be ready for twelve months. He does not know America. In the alternative, that when America is ready, at the end of twelve months, with her army, she will have no ships to transport that army to the field of battle. In von Hindenburg's words, "America carries no weight." I suppose he means she has no ships to

carry weight. On that, undoubtedly they are reckoning.

Well, it is not wise always to assume that even when the German General Staff, which has miscalculated so often, makes a calculation it has no ground for it. It therefore behoves the whole of the Allies, Great Britain and America in particular, to see that that reckoning of von Hindenburg is as false as the one he made about his famous line, which we have broken already.

The Road to Victory

The road to victory, the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory is to be found in one word—ships; and a second word—ships; and a third word—ships. And with that quickness of apprehension which characterizes your nation, Mr. Chairman, I see that they fully realize that, and today I observe that they have already made arrangements to build one thousand 3,000-tonners for the Atlantic. I think that the German military advisers must already begin to realize that this is another of the tragic miscalculations which are going to lead them to disaster and to ruin. But you will pardon me for emphasizing that. We are a slow people in these islands—slow and blundering—but we get there. You get there sooner, and that is why I am glad to see you in.

But may I say that we have been in this business for three years? We have, as we generally do, tried every blunder. In golfing phraseology, we have got into every bunker. But we have got a good niblick. We are right out on the course. But may I respectfully suggest that it is worth America's while to study our blunders, so as to begin just where we are now and not where we were three years ago? That is an advantage. In war, time has as tragic a significance as it has in sickness. A step which, taken today, may lead to assured victory, taken tomorrow may barely avert disaster. All the Allies have discovered that. It was a new country for us all. It was trackless, mapless. We had to go by instinct. But we found the way, and I am so glad that you are sending your great naval and military experts

CANADIANS IN A VICTORIOUS CHARGE AT VIMY RIDGE

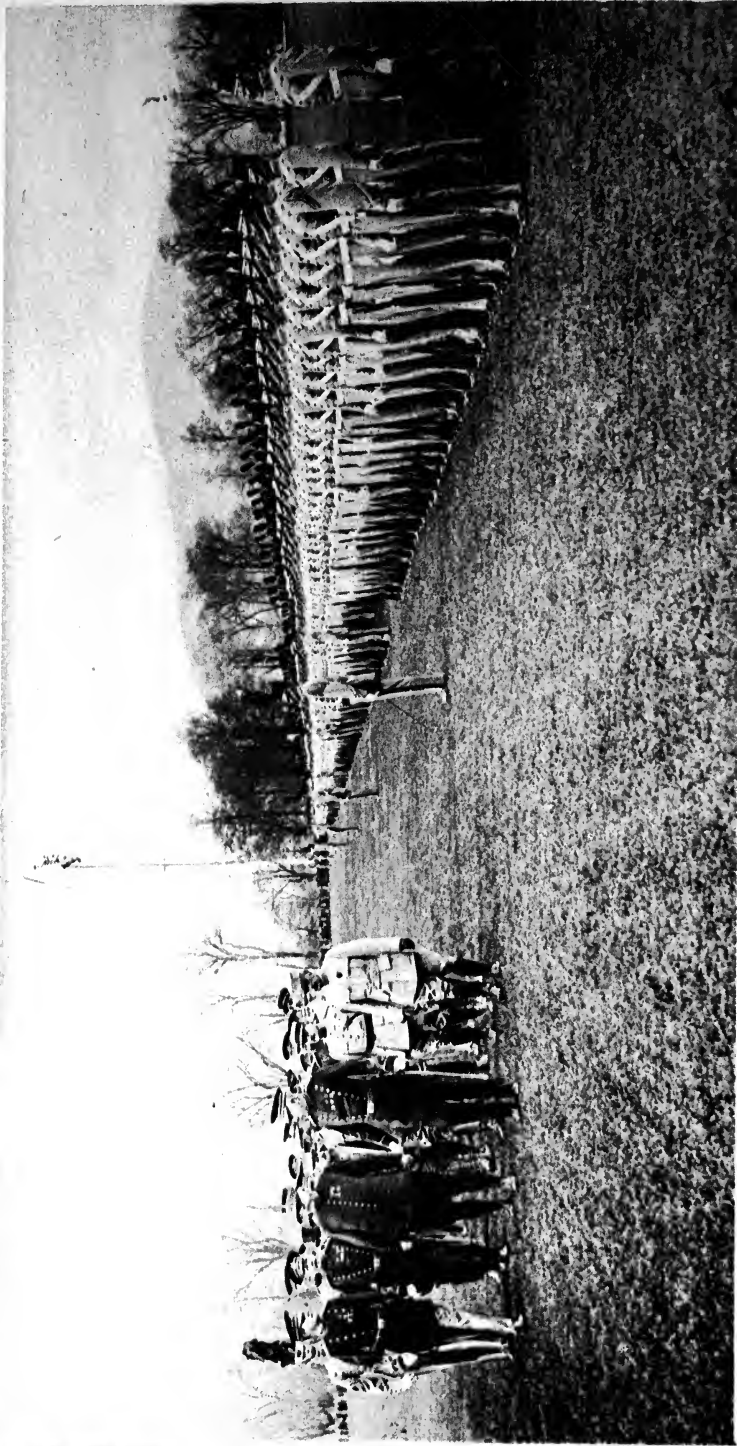


One of the Most Important Successes in the Great British Offensive East of Arras.



The Unarmed Men Near the Captured Trench Are Germans in the Act of Surrendering
(Photo American Press Association)

MARSHAL JOFFRE REVIEWING THE CADETS AT WEST POINT



The Victor of the Marne Pronounced the West Point Corps One of the Finest Bodies of Young Officers in the World

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

here, just to exchange experiences with men who have been through all the dreary, anxious crises of the last three years.

America has helped us even to win the battle of Arras. Do you know that these guns which destroyed the German trenches, shattered the barbed wire—I remember, with some friends of mine whom I see here, arranging to order the machines to make those guns from America. Not all of them—you got your share, but only a share, a glorious share. So that America has also had her training. She has been making guns, making ammunition, giving us machinery to prepare both; she has supplied us with steel, and she has got all that organization and she has got that wonderful facility, adaptability, and resourcefulness of the great people which inhabits that great continent. Ah! It was a bad day for military autocracy in Prussia when it challenged the great Republic of the West. We know what America can do, and we also know that now she is in it she will do it. She will wage an effective and successful war.

Establishing a Real Peace

There is something more important. She will insure a beneficent peace. I attach great importance—and I am the last man in the world, knowing for three years what our difficulties have been, what our anxieties have been, and what our fears have been—I am the last man to say that the succor which is given to us from America is not something in itself to rejoice in, and to rejoice in greatly. But I don't mind saying that I rejoice even more in the knowledge that America is going to win the right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations—the course of human life—for God knows how many ages. It would have been tragic for mankind if America had not been there, and there with all the influence, all the power, and the right which she has now won by flinging herself into this great struggle.

I can see peace coming now—not a peace which will be the beginning of war; not a peace which will be an endless

preparation for strife and bloodshed; but a real peace. The world is an old world. It has never had peace. It has been rocking and swaying like an ocean, and Europe—poor Europe!—has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began two-thirds of Europe were under autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. The democracy of France did not want war; the democracy of Italy hesitated long before they entered the war; the democracy of this country shrank from it—shrank and shuddered—and never would have entered the caldron had it not been for the invasion of Belgium. The democracies sought peace; strove for peace. If Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war. Strange things have happened in this war. There are stranger things to come, and they are coming rapidly.

There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill; but there are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. Those are the times we are living in now. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy; she is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. Today we are waging the most devastating war that the world has ever seen; tomorrow—perhaps not a distant tomorrow—war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes. This may be something like the fierce outburst of Winter which we are now witnessing before the complete triumph of the sun. It is written of those gallant men who won that victory on Monday—men from Canada, from Australia, and from this old country, which has proved that in spite of its age it is not decrepit—it is written of those gallant men that they attacked with the dawn—fit work for the dawn!—to drive out of forty miles of French soil those miscreants who had defiled it for three years. "They attacked with the dawn." Significant phrase!

The breaking up of the dark rule of the Turk, which for centuries has clouded the sunniest land in the world, the freeing of Russia from an oppression which

has covered it like a shroud for so long, the great declaration of President Wilson coming with the might of the great nation which he represents into the struggle for liberty are heralds of the dawn. "They attacked with the dawn," and

these men are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn, and soon Frenchmen and Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins, will march into the full light of a perfect day.

Eloquent Welcome From Lords and Commons

Lord Curzon's Speech and Others

Both Houses of Parliament passed resolutions on April 18, 1917, expressing profound appreciation of the action of the United States in joining the allied powers "and thus defending the high cause of freedom and the rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they have ever been imperiled." Earl Curzon, in moving this resolution before the House of Lords, said:

SINCE the beginning of the war one by one the independent nations of the earth have been drawn into its terrific and devastating orbit. The great powers who met the first shock of conflict on one side were France, Russia, and Great Britain, or, rather, I would prefer to substitute the phrase, British Empire, because from the first hour of war it was the whole of that empire that leaped to arms. It is the whole British Empire that on our side has been engaged, and will remain engaged to the end. Alongside of these allied powers were the minor but heroic and suffering States of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. At the other end of the world we received, and we continue to receive, loyal and valuable assistance from Japan. At a later date Italy was driven by considerations partly of honor, partly of political necessity, to enter this struggle. Again, a little later Rumania followed suit. Portugal, the most ancient of our allies, could not stand aloof, and at the present moment her soldiers are fighting alongside of our own in France and Flanders. In Greece many of the most patriotic sons of that country, under the leadership of the brave M. Venizelos, are also engaged in conjunction with our own troops in the trenches out-

side Saloniki. Elsewhere large parts of Arabia have arisen to throw off the detested yoke of the Turk.

Such has been the accumulation of forces that have gathered since the beginning of the war on the side of the Allies. In the same period I cannot recall any accretion that has been made to the forces of the powers of the German and Austrian Empires, except the inglorious and unnatural partnership of the Bulgarian and the Turk. But in the last fortnight, in the short time that has elapsed since we last met in this House, another and graver portent has occurred. There has entered into the war the greatest democracy in the world, whose twice-elected President, representing 100,000,000 of the most liberty-loving, the most peace-loving, the least aggressive of the peoples of the earth, has summoned his people to arms with a trumpet call that will ring through the ages, and will always be accounted one of the historic declarations of mankind.

The case of America in entering the war is widely differentiated from that of any of the other allied countries. All the other States whom I have mentioned were drawn into the war either at the beginning or at no very long date afterward. The great majority of them certainly have been engaged now for two years, if not for longer. But the case of America was different. For nearly three years that nation and her official head scrupulously and sedulously abstained from entering the war, exhibiting a patience and a forbearance which were perhaps not always quite understood, and which did not even excite universal satisfaction among some sections of her own people. But there are other

differences between the position of America and that of the other allied powers. All of them have had a direct and personal interest. The interest of the United States is secondary and remote. The majority of them were either inured to war by previous experience, or were not indisposed to war by political ambition. America during the last half century has had little experience of war and has no ambitions to gratify in the present case. We know how it has been expressed over and over again by the foremost statesman of America that her people have a constitutional aversion to war, and that they have a rooted dislike to be in any degree involved in the secular ambitions or quarrels of the Government.

Some of the nations who were fighting are, like ourselves, fighting for their continued national existence. No one can say that the national existence of America has been imperiled. Others, again, have entered the struggle, alas! because their territories have been overrun by the brutal foe. Not a single enemy has set foot, or is likely to set foot, on the soil of America. Some of them are fighting either to extend their boundaries or to recover possessions which they have lost or to satisfy claims of nationality. America requires no territory. She has nothing to recover because there is nothing of which she has been deprived. She has no lost tribes to gather again into her fold. If a nation so placed with those hereditary instincts and others that I have described, and after this long period of hesitation to which I have referred, is yet compelled to join the Allies, there must be some great and overwhelming reason for that fact. Yes, my Lords, there is. America has tardily but definitely entered the struggle because she sees that there is at stake a cause greater than the rights or liberty or the honor of any individual people. It is the rights of humanity that have been and are being cruelly outraged from day to day. It is the liberty of the whole world that is threatened. It is the honor of civilization that is at stake.

My Lords, the best part of half a century ago an American poet in circum-

stances of war thus gave expression to the sentiments of his fellow-countrymen:

Hark! I hear the tramp of thousands,
And of arméd men the hum;
Lo! a nation's hosts have gathered
Round the quick alarming drum—
Saying, "Come,
Freemen, come!

Ere your heritage be wasted," said the quick
alarming drum.

That is the call that has again sounded in the ears of Americans, and the call to which they have responded. It is the voice of freedom calling upon the freest people in the world. The entry of the United States into this war is a great event, not merely in the fortunes of the war or in the annals of the American people, but in the moral history of the human race. Not merely does this act invest the figure of America with a glory that will never fade, but it stamps the character of the struggle in which we are engaged as an uprising of the conscience of the world, as a combined effort to put an end to the rule of Satan on this earth, an effort which cannot be slackened or abated until that peril has been entirely and finally subdued. Each one of us may be proud to have lived in these times and to have witnessed this great landmark in the history of mankind.

As to the consequences of the entry of America into the war it is too early to speak. Its practical concrete effects may not be immediate, but that they must in the long run be tremendous and far-reaching no man can doubt. We may rest assured that, having drawn the sword, America will put the whole of her strength into the struggle. She is a nation that does nothing by halves; there is nothing small about the character and purpose of America, any more than there is about her territories and population. We may rest confident that she will spare nothing, either the splendid resources with which she has been endowed by nature, and which she has developed with the genius of her own people, or the vigorous energies of that people. She will not pause or stay until the peace of the world has again been built up on secure foundations and guarantees have

been secured for its maintenance in future.

There is only one other reflection that must occur to every one of us who has British blood in his veins; it is a great thought to us that at length, whatever there has been of pain in the association of America with ourselves has been finally obliterated and the two great English-speaking nations of the world stand side by side in this historic struggle. We rejoice that America is at last at our side, or shall I put it the other way and say that we rejoice we are at the side of America? We rejoice that the three flags—the Stars and Stripes, the tricolor, and the union jack—will float side by side both on the seas and in the trenches on the Continent. I shall only be expressing the wishes of your Lordships' House if I ask you this afternoon to join the House of Commons in sending to the American Government and the American people this message of congratulation and pride that we are, together with them, united at last in the greatest cause for which nations have ever suffered or individual human beings have willingly laid down their lives.

Lord Crewe's Tribute

Lord Curzon was followed by Lord Crewe, Lord Bryce, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in speeches of similar quality. The most significant portion of Lord Crewe's address is here reproduced:

We ourselves have never doubted from the first the rightness of our cause. If I may be allowed to conceive for a moment what is inconceivable, if it had been the fact that an attack had been made upon the two Central Powers, I am quite certain that no Government here would have involved us against them in war, even though it might have been argued that the most deep-seated cause of such an attack was to be found in the military aims and the general ambitions of Germany. The case of France and of Russia is, as we know, clear. But the origin of the issues of the war could not be, and could not be expected to be, so visible across the Atlantic as they were at home. It must be remembered that there were millions in America whose original pre-

possessions and sympathy were rather on the side of our enemies than of ourselves. It must be remembered, too, that unlimited money and some ingenuity—although it was in effect sometimes clumsy ingenuity—were exercised in America to distort the facts by enemy agents against us and our cause.

It must be remembered, too, that from quite an early stage in the war much material loss and a great deal more inconvenience was necessarily inflicted upon innocent citizens of the United States by our necessary action in the stoppage of cargoes not only to Germany but also to some neutral countries contiguous to Germany, and I cannot help saying in passing that if at the earlier stages of the war the Government of the day had followed some of the advice which has been given here—I am certain with the utmost feeling of patriotism—those measures that we took would have pressed harder still upon America and the other neutrals. The effect would have been not that America would have joined Germany, because that, I am convinced, she never would have done, but she might have been frozen, so to speak, into a position of permanent neutrality not too friendly to us from which she might never have parted until the close of the war. I say this as a tribute to the action of Lord Grey of Fallodon, Lord Robert Cecil, and Mr. Balfour in their conduct of the diplomatic relations with the United States which have now had so happy a result.

As the noble Earl pointed out, there was evidence both here and in the United States from time to time of some impatience that the merits of our cause were not more fully recognized there. It must be remembered that the right opinion had to permeate the vast masses of the population in no way directly interested; that in America the famous phrase is the government of the people by the people, and that it was necessary that President Wilson must remain silent so far as joining the Allies was concerned until he was able to speak, as he has now spoken, in the name of the whole Union.

I question if there ever has been a com-

munity which has so steadily pursued high ideals, which has so conscientiously been swayed by serious impulses, and which has been so uniformly dependent on moral sanctions as the United States of America. It has therefore been a positive attraction to America in reaching her resolution to join us in the war that she has nothing substantial to gain from the victory which we foresee—nothing to gain in the way of annexation, absorption, the establishment of a protectorate, or even penetration, that finest nuance of national acquisition. As the months went on not only were the horrors of war multiplied and the sacrifice of life became greater and greater, but the slender restraints which humanity and the custom of nations have in the past imposed on the conduct of the war were more and more defied and derided by Germany; and the moment came when America had to decide. Her clear decision has now been given. We can all rejoice with pride in the large measure of common ancestry we share, pride in the great traditions of free government of which we are the joint inheritors, that now the seal has been set of the detached and impartial judgment of America upon our original declaration that we and our allies are in this way obeying the call of honor, and that we stand for that civilization which is bound up with the maintenance and extension of the liberties of the world.

Asquith's Memorable Words

An identical resolution was introduced in the House of Commons by Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer. His speech and others were summarized in the May issue of this magazine. The full text of Mr. Asquith's is as follows:

It is natural and fitting that this House, the chief representative body of the British Empire, should at the earliest possible opportunity give definite and emphatic expression to the feelings which throughout the length and breadth of the empire have grown day by day in volume and in fervor since the memorable decision of the President and Congress of the United States. I doubt whether even now the world realizes the full signifi-

cance of the step which America has taken. I do not use the language of flattery or of exaggeration when I say that it is one of the most disinterested acts in history. An inveterate tradition of more than 100 years has made it a cardinal principle of American policy to keep clear of European entanglements. A war on such a scale as this must of necessity dislocate international commerce and finance, but on balance it was, I think, doing little appreciable harm to the material fortunes and prosperity of the American people. Nor were distinctively American interests, at home or abroad, and least of all what is the greatest of all interests in a democratic community—the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty—directly imperiled by the ambitions and designs of the Central Powers.

What, then, is it that has enabled the President, after waiting with the patience which Pitt once described as “the first virtue of statesmanship” for the right moment, to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and the horrors of the greatest war in history? It is not, as my right honorable friend [Bonar Law] has well said, a calculation of material gain; it is not in the hope of territorial aggrandizement, it is not even the pricking of one of those so-called points of honor which in days gone by have driven nations, as they used to drive individuals, into the dueling ground. No, it is none of these things. It is the constraining force of conscience and humanity growing in strength and in compulsive authority month by month with the gradual unfolding before the eyes of the world of the real character of German aims and German methods.

It is that force, and that force alone, which has brought home to the judgment of the great democracy over the seas the momentous truth that they were standing at the parting of the ways, and that they had to take one of those decisions which in the lives both of men and of communities determine for good or for evil their whole future. What was it that our kinsmen in America realized was at issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which they and we, if we are

to be worthy of what is noblest in our common history, are bound to indicate as the essential conditions of a free and honorable development of nations of the world—justice, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and the unprotected, chivalry toward enemies, the observance of good faith—these, which we all used to regard as the commonplaces of international decency, have one after another been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were the effete superstitions of some bygone creed.

America has seen that there was here at issue something of wider import than the vicissitudes of battlefields or even the rearrangement of the map of Europe on the basis of nationality. The whole future of civilized government

and intercourse, in particular the fortunes and the fate of democracy, are brought into peril.

In such a situation aloofness is seen to be not only a blunder, but a crime. To stand aside with stopped ears, with folded arms, with an averted gaze, when you have the power to intervene is to become not a mere spectator, but an accomplice. There was never in the minds of any of us any fear that the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable the voice of America would utter an uncertain note. She has now dedicated herself, without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of causes. To that cause, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our own fealty and devotion.

America and the League of Honor

The editor of The London Telegraph published this memorable "leader" two days after President Wilson's historic address of April 2, 1917

THE world is at a new birth. The old order of things is passing away. Less than three weeks ago Russia dealt her heaviest blow at the Central Powers by breaking the shackles that bound her. President Wilson's speech to Congress on Monday carried that revolution a stage further in its dynamic course. It was a proclamation of war by the United States against Germany; but it was much more than that. It constituted a reasoned indictment not of a people, but of a system of government which plunged Europe into war in the Summer of 1914, has now dragged the great American people into the maelstrom, and may yet involve even the remote Republic of China in actual belligerency, as well as, possibly, the other democracies of South and Latin America. "Our object," Mr. Wilson declared in one of his eloquent sentences full of deep significance, "is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish autocratic power, and to set up among really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth

insure the observance of those principles." That sentence constitutes a new Declaration of Rights; the Allies will gladly and proudly subscribe to it.

This struggle has been described as a war of nations. In a sense that may be true, for the German people have been hoodwinked and deceived; but deep down it is being revealed more and more as a conflict of principles on which civilization rests. The nations have time and again been drenched in blood by ambitious and vain, if not sometimes insane, despots. President Wilson has now uttered a decree, not against the Germans, for he was at pains to state that "we have not quarreled with the German people," but against the autocracy over them, with its narrow cliques of intriguers and desperadoes who willed this war, and in waging it have endeavored to drag the world into the morass of moral ruin in which they are being buried. Unless we mistake President Wilson's words, they mean that the United States will make war against the Emperor William II., but will conclude peace with the German people, unfet-

tered and vocal, whenever they decide to abandon the inhumanities and illegalities practiced by the present régime.

Several months ago Mr. Wilson urged the formation of a League of Peace; today, in taking up Germany's challenge of war, he stands forth as the prophet of a League of Honor—a confederation of democracies determined, at all cost, to achieve the salvation of the human race from serfdom. His speech is the sequel to the Russian Revolution, it forms the evangel of the transformation which must come in Central Europe before the universe can breathe freely again. There is no hope for the future but in a partnership of the democratic nations; "no autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants." The war has been placed on a new level by this statesmanlike pronouncement from Washington. A new era has dawned. Germany is proclaimed as an outlaw—that and nothing less—by the one great State which has hitherto remained neutral.

Canning once looked to the New World to redress the balance of the Old; his faith was not misplaced, though the footsteps of Time have seemed sometimes to lag. In our own islands we long since, in characteristic fashion, cast off the old shackles; we have gradually built up a Constitution unique in its attributes. The Crown remains, the fountain of national honor, the guardian of the people's liberties, the emblem of a worldwide rule which seeks not dominion but kinship. King George reigns not from an autocratic throne, but in the hearts of a people never more united in loyalty than in these days of storm and crisis. Our allies are one with us in facing the new day. With all sincerity, from the highest to the lowest, the words of President Wilson will be echoed on this side of the Atlantic; the Allies, moving forward in company with the American people, will constitute henceforth a League of Honor, pledged to free civilization from a menace which would otherwise have corroded the foundations on which we and the other democracies of the world have built in faith, courage, and endurance. The war is the same war, but it has gained

a fresh significance by the declaration of the President of a Republic remote from the main theatres of conflict, and yet stretching its hands across the waste of waters in token of fealty to the cause of humanity.

In anticipating the action of the United States confronted by a conspiracy threatening its life, we prophesied that the Americans, when they took the decisive step, would be satisfied with no half measures. That anticipation finds its fulfillment in the historic scene enacted in Congress on Monday. Never did the ruler of a State speak with greater dignity. We have been proud of the sacrifices we have made, but this nation, and those associated with it, will be prouder today in the knowledge of this latest noble vindication of the purpose of the Allies. Occasionally some irritation has been exhibited at the hesitation shown at the White House; the scene in Congress was an overwhelming answer to criticism. The Germany which forged a new British Empire in the fiery furnace of her hatred, has created out of the United States one self-conscious, self-respecting nation. President Wilson has watched in magnificent patience the process of cohesion. He has his reward in the enthusiastic reception given to his speech. He needs no apologist as he confronts the world today, encompassed by a great people, drawn from all the nations of the world, and divided by racial and religious differences, but united on a supreme issue which has brought the successor of Washington, Monroe, and Lincoln into the arena of the world war.

What will the United States do when the Presidential policy has been formally approved? More than half a century ago, when Abraham Lincoln was faced by the stern call to action, he declared: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." In that spirit, we confidently apprehend, the Americans will take the decision that must bring them into conflict with a power which for forty years devoted itself to the preparation of force to enable it to impose its unbending and cruel will

on other nations. A hundred million people, virile, courageous, and determined, are entering the furnace to be tested by the great ordeal; they have only a small army, it is true; their navy may not be able to exercise much immediate influence on the course of events; but they have moral force, vast wealth, and splendid industrial resources. They are embarking on a new crusade in intimate, helpful association with the other great democracies in no grudging spirit. The very intensity of their love of peace will decide the extent of their participation in this universal uprising in defense of all that is fairest and brightest in civilization.

President Wilson is the chosen oracle of the people of the United States, and he has proclaimed that "To such a task

we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes—everything we are, everything we have—with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth and the happiness and peace which she has treasured." A new page in American history is being turned, but the new chapter to be written in blood will be the fitting sequel to a volume in which the people of the United States take a worthy pride. America joins "the concert of free peoples" which has resolved to "make the world itself free." When Germany willed this war, she willed, unknowingly, the close of one era and the opening of a new and happier phase in human experience.

French Praise for America's Action

Paul Deschanel, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, greeted the entry of the United States into the war with this address:

WITH enthusiasm the French Chamber of Deputies salutes the decision of the President of the United States, which is the very voice of justice, and the energetic declaration of the Federal Senate, accepting the war imposed by Germany. In the "Persae," Aeschylus has said, "Let insolence germinate; that which springs up is the stalk of crime; a harvest of sorrows will be reaped." And we may say, "The stalk of crime bears justice; after the harvest of sorrows, behold the harvest of justice!"

The cry of children and of women, from the depths of the abyss into which they have been hurled by an abominable crime, has echoed to the ends of the earth. The ashes of Washington and Lincoln have stirred; their mighty souls inspire America.

Is it a question only of avenging Americans? Is it a question only of punishing the violation of the treaties to which the United States had put its signature? No; the eternal verities proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, the holy cause which

Lafayette and Rochambeau defended, the ideal of the pure spirits from which the great Republic sprang—honor, morality, liberty—these are the supreme treasures which gleam in the folds of the Star-Spangled Banner!

Descendants of the New England Puritans, men fed on the precepts of the Gospel, men who, under the eye of God, will punish the fiendish deeds of the Spirit of Evil, lying, perjury, assassination, desecration, rape, enslavement, martyrdoms, and cataclysms of every kind; Catholics cut to the heart by anathemas against their religion, by outrages against their cathedrals, their statues, culminating in the destruction of Louvain, of Rheims; professors of universities, faithful guardians of the idea of justice; workers of the East and of the Central States, farmers and cattle raisers of the West, workmen and artisans threatened in their toil by the torpedoing of ships, by the stoppage of commerce, outraged by insults to the national flag, behold them all in turn aroused against the mad arrogance which seeks to enslave the world, the sea, the sky, the souls of men!

At the hour when, as in the heroic hours of the war of independence, Americans are getting ready to fight at our

side, let us once more repeat it: we do not seek to keep any one from living, from working, from toiling freely; but the tyranny of Prussia has become a peril for the New World as for the Old, for England, for Russia, for Italy, not less than for Austria, for Germany herself. To free the world, through the common effort of the democratic peoples, from the yoke of the military and feudal caste of Prussia, in order to establish peace on justice, is a work of human liberation and of universal salvation.

In accomplishing, under a Presidency henceforth immortal, the greatest act of her history since the abolition of slavery, the glorious nation whose whole history has been the development of the idea of liberty remains faithful to her origin and is creating for herself yet another title to the gratitude of the human race. The French Republic, across the ruins of her cities and her monuments devastated without motive and without excuse, by disgraceful savagery, sends to her elder sister, the American Republic, the palms of the Marne, of the Yser, of Verdun, and of the Somme, to which new victories will soon be added!

Antonin Dubost, President of the French Senate, expressed the sentiments of that body in these words:

The Senate receives with an intense patriotic and republican emotion the communication in which the Government announces that the United States is henceforth at war in solidarity with ourselves. Thus the initial crime of Germany unrolls one after the other all its fatal consequences. It is unchaining the greatest insurrection of free peoples the world has ever seen against the ultimate tyranny—the militarism of Prussia. It is associating them in succession in a magnificent democratic solidarity, and behold the sword of Washington, answering the sword of Lafayette, in its turn cast into the scales!

The great Republic had already assumed spontaneously a sublime mission to save Belgium from dying of starvation! At the solemn moment, when it yields to a more imperious summons, that of outraged honor, the French Senate

addresses to it at once our gratitude and our fraternal greeting!

Honor to the new soldiers of Liberty who, knowing all the frightful power of Germany to work evil, yet resolutely face it! Honor to the new judge who tomorrow will take his place in the High Court of Justice of Humanity, and who will pronounce with us the collective and individual penalties earned by the Germanic coalition, its leaders, its accomplices!

President Wilson's manifesto called forth from Le Temps of Paris a noteworthy editorial article, which said in part:

President Wilson, from the first day, guided his policy as a man of law. His very impassibility, his refusal to judge, his fear of emotion, have sometimes surprised us. But that very attitude gives to his present decision the value of a verdict. Neither greed of territory nor national passion has carried the United States into the war but the systematically established certitude that Germany methodically violates the laws of war and peace and that only the defeat of Germany can assure the peace and dignity of the nations.

The Germans, against all truth, were capable of accusing us, contrary to the evidence of the facts, of desiring a war of "revanche." History showed, in truth, in the side of France a grievous wound, opened by old aggression. The Germans have been able, in spite of documents and certainties of the strongest kind, to impute to Russia, so deeply saturated with their influence, designs which were nonsensical. They have been capable of attributing to England, which was unprepared, which had provided only six divisions for her defense, the absurd plan of crushing their military power, which had been heaped up in a formidable structure during half a century. They have been able to do this, because the cross-fire of European interests aroused hereditary rivalries in which lies had free play. What will they be able to say of America?

M. Gauvain, in Le Journal des Débats, wrote:

The great Republic beyond the Atlantic, peopled by millions of German race and descendants of Germans, refuge of the persecuted of all lands, land of freedom, of science, and of liberty, has denounced the policy of Germany as the scourge of the human race. No newspaper or magazine article, no communiqué, no proclamation will avail against that.

All the Hindenburgs and Ludendorfs will not be able to change it. In measure as the men of Berlin unlock new efforts, imagine new atrocities, bring into operation new and more perfect instruments of destruction, the peoples of the world rise one by one against the New Barbarians. Does Wilhem II. really believe that he will be able to reduce to subjection these new foes? Does he imagine that his chemists and mechanicians will end by putting the world beneath his feet? He has against him something he did not believe in, something he treated as a phantom, and which is stronger than his 16-inch guns—the conscience of the human race. That conscience has taken time to find itself, to liberate itself, for it was enmeshed in a network of lies, of sophistries, and of treacheries. But behold it at last

arise, free, resolute, active, on both hemispheres; it will lay low the powers that prey.

Gustave Hervé, in La Victoire:

Hurrah! for the great American Republic!

Hurrah! for the sublime fathers who went thither in the seventeenth century, fleeing tyranny, to found the first republican hearth which was lit in modern times!

Hurrah! for old Washington and his glorious rebels, who would not allow the noble tradition of revolt against oppression and injustice to perish!

Hurrah! for the great Abraham Lincoln, liberator of the slaves, who kept the American Republic in the high road of the ideal and of human brotherhood!

Hurrah! for President Wilson, the founder of the international police, which will, in the future, cure predatory Governments of the wish to begin again the exploits of the grand assassin of Berlin!

Hurrah! for the grand republican idea which, for a century now, has brought low all autocracies, all oppressions, all tyrannies!

Hurrah! for the future United States of the World!

German Opinion on America's Intervention

GERMAN opinion on America's entry into the war was a mixture of defiance and discomfort. On the one hand there was the attitude of those Germans who believed that they could fight the whole world; on the other that of the cooler heads who perceived that both morally and materially America's adhesion to the cause of the Allies was the most damaging thing that had happened to Germany since the war began. Naturally, President Wilson's war message was taken as a text and every line of it subjected to criticism.

Many newspapers attacked the distinction made by the President between the German people and the German Government. The North German Gazette, for example, said:

"President Wilson presumes to present himself as the messiah of true liberty to our people engaged in a severe struggle for their existence. What sort of slavish soul does he suppose that the German people have, to believe that they could permit any outside intervention whatever? The German people see in the President's words of peace only an attempt to loosen the firm bond which unites the people to the German Princes, so that we may become the easy prey of our enemies."

The Cologne Gazette, commenting upon the same passage in the President's message, said: "What President Wilson wanted was only a peace which would put us in the hands of our enemies. The German people indignantly protest

against this subtle distinction between them and their Government, for they stand united behind the Government and know that the declared enemy cannot do it more injury than the hidden adversary, whom the German people feel it a relief to be able at last to treat as an open enemy."

The Munich Nachrichten tried to estimate the situation in a more level-headed manner. "Although we can face our new adversary without too much anxiety," it said, "it would nevertheless be a mistake not to realize fully the worldwide effect of President Wilson's war message. By joining the league of our enemies the United States and perhaps also China complete the ring of powers sworn to our downfall. All round the earth there stretches the chain of countries which English policy has thrown against Germany and her allies. For us it is now really a matter of life or death."

The Frankfort Gazette bewailed the fact that German culture had had little influence in the United States. "It is still more sad," that journal added, "to have to tell ourselves that this war was necessary to cure us of our illusions on this point. The events of the European war have never been approached in the United States in a spirit of true neutrality."

The Berliner Tageblatt, after admitting that rarely had a political document produced such a "depressing" effect as the President's war message, went on to say: "This message is based partly on ignorance of the mistakes which Mr. Wilson has made by becoming responsible for supplying the Entente with war material, partly on accusations without truth. It was through submitting to the American spirit of gain that the President permitted the trade in munitions to continue. When now he speaks of right and humanity, his voice is full of discords and his words are calculated to create the impression that the war psychosis obliterates judgment. * * * We do not think that America's intervention will have an essential effect on the results of the war. The Entente is going to have a momentary advantage,

but it will soon be aware that America is like a stick that breaks when one wants to lean on it."

Altogether different was the standpoint of Maximilian Harden, the outspoken editor of Die Zukunft. He boldly denied that America was actuated by any mercenary or material motive whatever, but that the issue everywhere was democracy against despotism. "Our fate depends," he said, "not on bits of territory which European States can no longer take away from one another and can no longer hold to their own permanent advantage, but upon the acquisition of higher spiritual values. Elevate the conscience of mankind and light up the German house also! Then what the enemy demands too loudly, but what we in secret feel to be a necessity, will come to pass. The will of the people will be free and Germany will know for what the dearest children of her bosom are dying and suffering!"

When the Reichstag resumed its session on May 2, the President, Dr. Johannes Kaempf, in his opening address, said that President Wilson had lost his senses in asserting that America was waging war against Germany in the interests of mankind and on the ground of justice. Continuing, Dr. Kaempf said:

"President Wilson represents the German people as without will of their own and as having been driven into the war by a group of ambitious people, but he tells nothing of the long years of encirclement and machinations against them; nothing of the enemies' recently strongly expressed will to destroy Germany.

"The German people rose Aug. 4, 1914, as one man and still fight today to defend their freedom, independence, and life. President Wilson says he has no quarrel with the German people, for whom he entertains only sympathy and friendship.

"President Wilson desired by his message to sow discord in Germany. As President of the German Reichstag, which is elected on the freest franchise in the world, I declare that this effort will come to naught; that it will have no influence on the common sense of our people and that President Wilson will bite granite.

"With our truest heart's blood we established the German Kaiserdom, and with our truest heart's blood we shall fight for the Kaiser and the empire. What our forefathers fought for and longed for, what we have achieved on the battlefield, will not perish, even at President Wilson's word of command.

"We decline all interference by a foreign Government in our internal affairs. If all signs are not misleading the decisive point of the world's war is approaching. We see our death-defying troops withstanding the enemy's assaults. Our U-boats will show England how Germans can avenge her nefarious starvation war. We proved recently our financial strength by a sixth war loan. We adhere to our firm belief in Germany's star and in a peace which will secure for all time the Fatherland's happy development."

The Frankfort Gazette, commenting on May 4 upon the British and French missions to the United States, pointed out that America's entry into the war had already had an effect that even her peace friends would never have dreamed of. It admitted that the effect which America had had on the Russian revolution and on the latest peace desires of the Entente Allies was to be lamented from the German standpoint. Summing up President Wilson's motives in joining the belligerents, the Frankfort Gazette enumerated them as these: First, America's desire to partake actively in the peace conference; second, America's wish to stifle forever the nationality feelings awakened by the war; third, the wish to realize her armament plans in order to be prepared later; fourth, the wish to build up an American merchant fleet.

Americans Who Have Fought for France

By Paul Louis Hervier

French Author and Journalist

M. Hervier, author of a history of "American Volunteers in the Ranks of the Allies," recently contributed to the *Bulletin des Armées* a brief article telling the French soldiers in the trenches what Americans had done to help them. Portions of it are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE Americans who offered their services to France after the outbreak of war in 1914 were recruited without solicitation in all classes of society: Millionaires, writers, lawyers, engineers, former soldiers and sailors, boxers, butchers, explorers, and especially university students. I have tried to bring together the data and documents regarding these ardent volunteers, and again and again I have been thrilled by simple anecdotes as by those deeds of ancient history which we love to repeat in all our manuals for the lessons they convey.

There is the case of Norman Prince, who, after a period in the Foreign Legion, became an aviator, achieved remarkable exploits, and was killed in action. Will his place remain empty? Not at all! His brother is coming.

Then there is Dr. David D. Wheeler,

who left his fine practice in Buffalo to come and care for our wounded. The stories told him by the injured men made such an impression on him that he wished to share their dangers. He abandoned his surgical instruments and took up arms. He was wounded by a dum-dum bullet, and, though exhausted by the loss of blood, dragged himself over the battlefield and used his waning strength in comforting other wounded men who lay without aid.

These anecdotes and many others will later be jewels in American history. At this moment they are the sacred heritage of all civilization fighting against aggressive barbarism.

The American volunteers, who wished, in August, 1914, to join their French brothers in defending the ideal represented by the word "liberty," almost all entered the Foreign Legion. One of

them, Paul Rockwell, grievously wounded in Champagne, sent to a New York editor this response, which is sweet to our hearts:

"In the Foreign Legion about 200 Americans are serving or have served. The bitterest regret of my life is that so few Americans have come to aid France. When we Americans were in need of aid, Lafayette and his followers were a hundred times more numerous than we are in this war, and they came from a total French population scarcely larger than that of two cities in America today. But we have one reason to feel a little pride. With the exception of, say, six or eight, all the men who came to pay our debt to France have proved to be good fighters. None came for money. Some came for the simple love of adventure, but I believe that the motive of most of them was an ideal."

A dangerous but attractive arm, that of aviation, especially appealed to the daring of these young Americans, anxious as they were to prove their courage and devotion. Men will long continue to speak of the services rendered to the French Army by the American Escadrille; they will long recount the exploits of Norman Prince, who died for France on Oct. 15, 1916; of Victor Chapman, who died for France in June, 1916; of Kiffin Rockwell, who died for France on Sept. 23, 1916; of Denis Dowd, the skilled pilot, who died in an airplane accident at the Buc airdrome in the beginning of August, 1916; of William Thaw, the Pittsburgh millionaire; of Elliott Christopher Cowdin, of Lufbery, of Bert Hall, of Paul Pavelka, James R. MacConnell, and all the rest.

The American Escadrille gets many new recruits. The American legionaries love danger and have the heart to continue the work begun by audacious predecessors shortly after the beginning of the war. Walter Appleton of New York, after a long stay in the Legion, is at the aviation school, as is Marius Rocle of New York, who was not yet 17-years old when he arrived in France in 1914. Decorated with the Croix de Guerre, wounded at Verdun, he will soon have his brevet as pilot. William Dugan of Roch-

ester, decorated with the Croix de Guerre, wounded at Verdun, likewise is in the aviation school. As for Lincoln Chatkoff of Brooklyn, after twenty-two months in the ranks of the Legion, and after having obtained his brevet as pilot, he chose to return to the Legion.

A brief article such as this cannot give the names of all the brave men who have come to fight for us, but must be devoted rather to the significance of their generous and fruitful service. This is what has stirred and touched us. Young Americans who had careers awaiting them in their own country, who in many cases possessed fortunes that would have given them all the material joys of life, and in other cases felt within themselves the rare forces of talent or creative genius, have by their coming proclaimed the justice of our cause to all the world. It is not a matter, then, of giving here a list of these who have achieved the supreme heights of the moral task which they voluntarily took up; the eulogy deserved by each is swallowed up in one great common glory.

Nevertheless, let us glance at the golden book of American volunteers. We shall find there the names of Edward Mandell Stone, a graduate of Harvard, the first American volunteer killed; of Henry W. Farnsworth, killed in Champagne; of the poet, Alan Seeger, an idealist, dead for France; of John Earle Fike, a former American soldier, killed June 16, 1915; of Russell A. Kelly, killed the same way; of Nelson Larson, a former American sailor, killed on the anniversary day of American independence, 1916; of Frank Clair of Columbus, dead of wounds; of René Phelizot of Chicago, a daring hunter of big game, killed at Craouelle in February, 1915; of Harman Edwin Hall of Chicago, killed June 16, 1916, &c. We shall not forget their acts of devotion.

Here we find also the names of Frank Musgrave of San Antonio, lawyer, today a prisoner in Germany; of John Bowe of Minneapolis, wounded and cited in the Order of the Day; of Charles Sweeney, decorated with the Legion of Honor and promoted Lieutenant; of Edgar Bouigny of New Orleans, four times wounded;

of Brook B. Bonnell of Brooklyn, decorated with the War Cross and the Military Medal; of Andrew Walbron of Peterson, wounded three times; of his brother, Ernest Walbron, who had a leg carried away by a shell on the Somme; of George Delpuche, decorated with the War Cross for having taken five prisoners alone and unaided; of Frederick Capdeville of New York, Charlie Christopher Charles of Brooklyn, Charles Trinkard, Jack Janz of Kentucky, David King of Providence, Jack Cordonnier, Frederick Mulhauser, (three citations;) Michael Steinfelds of Chicago, Eugene Jacobs, Bob Scanlon, the negro boxer; Achille Clinger, Jack Moyet, and the rest.

This is only a short summary of the heroic chapter. A great number of Americans enlisted in the English Army, others in the Canadian Army, and still others came to France to serve in automobile ambulances. They have saved and cared for our wounded with ceaseless zeal, risking their lives, and often losing them. At the end of January, 1917, seventy citations in official orders had been merited and bestowed upon these brave men. A beautiful history!

On March 19 a number of aviators of

the Lafayette Escadrille were protecting aerial observers who were watching the movements of the German Army. One of them was attacked by three enemy airplanes. He courageously accepted battle with them, but after prodigies of valor he was killed; his name was James Rogers MacConnell. The Paris Figaro, in announcing his glorious end, gave a sketch of his career. He was 30 years old, a native of Carthage, N. C., and had left a lucrative business position to join the French Army in the first days of the war.

In April, 1916, he had organized the American Escadrille with his brothers in heroism, Victor Chapman, Kiffin Rockwell, Norman Prince, and others, now active or fallen. He fought in Artois, in Alsace, at Verdun, and on the Somme. In moments of the most deadly peril he was always calm and cheerful. He was decorated with the War Cross and was twice cited in terms of highest praise in the military Order of the Day. Mr. MacConnell was an author, having recently published a book entitled "Flying in France," which ended with the words: "The war may kill me, but I have it to thank for much."

Value of Helmets in Saving Life

Discussing the value of the steel helmet in battle, a French medical writer in *La Nature* says that out of 55 cases of head injury it was found that 42 occurred in soldiers who wore no helmet. Among the 42 there were 23 fractured skulls. The remaining 19 cases suffered from severe scalp wounds. Among the 13 cases which wore helmets there was not a single fracture of the skull; 8 showed some concussion effects and 5 had slight wounds. A considerable number of the unprotected cases died; none of the protected died.

The most significant fact which has emerged since the helmet was introduced was emphasized by Dr. Roussy at the Academy of Medicine. He said that the percentage of cases showing wounds in the head had increased. The reason was, of course, that the number of sudden deaths from the cause had markedly decreased.

A French writer points out that of 479 abdominal wounds 332 were caused by shrapnel and pieces of shell having a low velocity. An abdominal protection would save these cases.

Again, among 15 penetrating wounds of the lung 2 only showed exit orifices for the bullet or piece of shell, i. e., in 13 cases out of 15 the projectile had not enough force behind it to drive it through the body tissues. A breastplate would have saved these wounds.

The mortality from these low-velocity shrapnel wounds is said to be about ten times greater than from bullet wounds which penetrate. The conclusions are arrived at in *La Nature* that as three-fourths of war wounds which are received for treatment are now due to shrapnel and pieces of shell at low velocity, and as these wounds are very fatal on account of the infection and blood poisoning following them, it will be worth while to consider the question of protection for all those parts.

Factors in the Russian Revolution

By A. J. Sack

[Mr. Sack is American staff correspondent for the official publications of the Russian Ministry of Finance; also American correspondent of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, the Retch, Petrograd; Birjewiya Viedomosti, Petrograd, and Russkiya Viedomosti, Moscow.]

THE great revolution in Russia is only the epilogue to the great drama played in Russia, one act after another, for the last twelve years. The first act of this drama was the revolution of 1905, which came at the conclusion of peace with Japan. As the result of the revolutionary movement which in October, 1905, culminated in a general political strike, when all industrial life and railroad transportation was stopped in Russia, came the famous Czar's manifesto of Oct. 17, (30.)

In this manifesto the Czar promised, in the most categorical form, that the people of Russia would enjoy the highest form of political freedom, that the suffrage law governing election to the Duma would be changed so that voting would become universal, that the legislative power of the empire would be vested from then on in the Imperial Duma, the Imperial Council and the Czar, and that without the consent of the Duma no new law could be introduced nor any existing law be changed.

On April 27 (May 10) the First Duma was convened. The entire country showed its opposition to the old régime by choosing as Deputies people most prominent in the liberal movement. The Socialists did not participate in the campaign for the First Duma, declaring a boycott because of their disapproval of the undemocratic suffrage laws. The majority in the First Duma was held by the Constitutional Democrats. This fact, in view of the undemocratic suffrage system and the refusal of the Socialists to participate in the election, shows that, although the First Duma was in strong opposition to the old régime, the country was even more radically opposed to the Czar's Government than the Duma.

The first act of the First Duma was a

demand for general amnesty for all political offenders in Russia. The first Russian Parliament solemnly recognized the revolt against the old Government as a legitimate fight for the rights of the nation, pronouncing every participant a hero. The main political demand of the First Duma was the demand for the responsibility of the Ministers to the legislative bodies. "The executive power should be subordinate to the legislative power"; this was the conclusion of the famous speech made by Deputy V. D. Nabokoff, who gave perfect expression to the fundamental political desires of the first Russian Parliament.

First Duma's Reform Plans

In an address presented to the Czar the First Duma outlined a full program of reforms urgently needed for the country. The Parliament demanded full political freedom, responsibility of the Cabinet of Ministers to the legislative bodies, autonomy for Poland and Finland, democratization of the suffrage law governing election of members to the Imperial Duma, democratization of the local self-governing bodies, (municipalities and zemstvos,) radical changes in the social legislation referring to the workers, increased land holdings for the peasants, &c. If the program of the First Duma had been carried out Russia would have become a constitutional monarchy of the English type, with very progressive social legislation.

The First Duma was dismissed, although its demands were quite moderate in view of the spirit of the country. The Second Duma was called, and in this campaign the Socialist factions in Russia participated in full. As a result the country, angered by the opposition of the old régime, sent to Parliament about 120 Socialists. The Constitutional Democrats

came into the Second Duma again as a very strong faction, although this time they did not hold the majority.

The Second Duma, which gathered in the Fall of 1906, was the culminating point in the first Russian revolution. The revolutionary forces of the country seemed to be at their fullest strength at that time, and, nevertheless, certain symptoms of the coming reaction were already visible. The demands of the Socialists had been terrorizing the moderate liberal elements so that these finally gave their support to the Czar's Government, which began to fight the revolution openly.

In the beginning of the Summer of 1907 the Second Duma was dismissed; part of the Socialist Deputies were sentenced to Siberia, and the suffrage laws were changed by the Czar, so that Russian democracy was practically deprived of representation, although in the manifesto of Oct. 17 (30) it had been solemnly promised that no law would be changed or introduced in the empire without the consent of the legislative bodies represented by the Duma and Imperial Council.

Failure of the Movement

The principal revolutionary forces during the first uprising in Russia were the workers, who demanded political freedom, the right to organize, and progressive measures in social legislation; the peasants, whose chief demand was land and equality of rights with all other classes in Russia; the different nationalities, the Polish, Finnish, Jewish, and other elements, who demanded autonomy or equal rights; and the capitalistic class, the bourgeoisie, who had become an influential factor in Russia's economic life with the development of capitalism. None of these groups was satisfied with the results of the revolution. The country did not receive even elementary political rights, the workers did not receive the right to organize, the peasants received no land, Finland was deprived of her Constitution, Poland was as oppressed as before, the sufferings of the Jews daily became more and more unbearable.

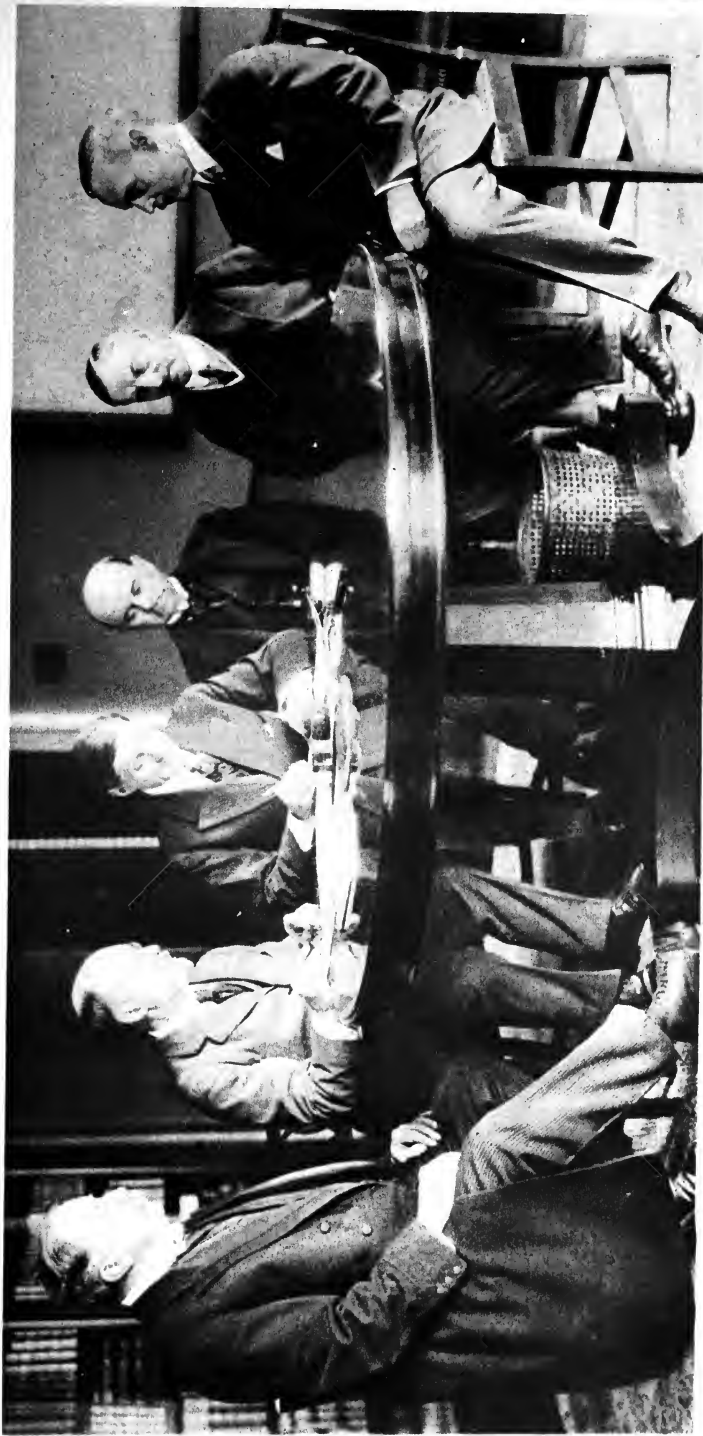
The first Russian revolution brought the country no gains, and the reaction which came at the beginning of 1907 was a reaction more of psychological than of sociological nature. The great country quieted down almost completely, not because the great tasks of the first revolution were accomplished, but because the country was exhausted from the battle with the old régime. The demands made by the First Duma, very much more moderate than the country it represented, showed that the entire nation was opposed to the Czar's Government. But the nobility was still with the Czar, and the Government had at its service the powerful machinery of the police and almost the entire army, officered mostly by Russian noblemen, blindly devoted to the throne.

The reaction, the darkest reaction in Russia's national history, began at the beginning of 1906. It is interesting to observe that the culminating point of this reaction was the Fall of 1907, when, in October, Professor S. A. Mouromtzeff, the President of the First Duma, the most respected citizen of Russia, the symbol of the longing for freedom in Russia, died, and in November, Leo Tolstoy, the greatest genius Russia has contributed to the world's culture. These deaths seemed to awaken the great country. The hundreds of thousands of people on the streets of Moscow at the funeral of Professor Mouromtzeff, the thousands of people and delegates coming from all parts of Russia on special trains to the little village where Tolstoy was to be buried, the public speeches made in these days, significant for Russia's culture—all these showed that the country was awakening from its deep sleep to new political and cultural activities.

The New Reform Movement

The Fall of 1910 may be marked as the beginning of the new movement against the Czar's Government. It had taken four years for the reaction to reach its lowest mark—from the beginning of 1906 to the end of 1910—and it took another four years for the country, awakened to political activities, to reach again the boiling point of revolution. In July,

FIRST UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT LOAN TO THE ALLIES



Secretary McAdoo Is Signing the Treasury Warrant for \$200,000,000. Left to Right: Lord Cunliffe, Governor of Bank of England; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Secretary McAdoo, Sir Hardman Lever, British Financial Secretary of Treasury; Sir Richard Crawford of British Embassy, and Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of United States Treasury

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

CELEBRATING AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR



Premier Lloyd George and Ambassador Page (on the left) at the Banquet of the American Luncheon Club in London, Given to Celebrate the Declaration of War by the United States. The Premier's Address Was One of the Historic Utterances of the Occasion

(Photo from Central News Service)

1914, just before the war, 400,000 Petrograd workers went out on political strike and the streets of Petrograd were covered with barricades.

This time the united country again faced the Government as an enemy. The same elements that had participated in the first revolution faced the Czar's Government, ready to fight, only now they were more educated and the moderate elements among them more determined than during the first revolution. The cruel policy of the Government during the time of reaction and the illuminating speeches in the Duma, from day to day, explaining to the people the dramatic political situation in the country, bore great results. The moderate elements, who, terrified at the Socialists' demands during the first revolution, had given their support to the Government, now abandoned it. In July, 1914, the Government again faced a united front of all the progressive forces of the country, a powerful coalition led, as in 1905, by the fighting vanguard of the revolution, the Petrograd workers.

Policy of Russian Democracy

Then suddenly came the war, which was immediately recognized by all the revolutionary forces in Russia as the war of justice on the side of the Allies, as the war for freedom and civilization in Europe. The revolutionary elements decided temporarily to abandon the internal conflict and to concentrate all the attention of the democratic forces on carrying on the war till German militarism should be broken. This was an invaluable service rendered in this critical moment by Russian radical and Socialist leaders to their country and to all humanity. Such prominent leaders as the old Prince Kropotkin, as George Plechanov, the founder of Russian Social-Democracy, as Vladimir Bourtzeff, indorsed the war on the side of the Allies from the very beginning and helped the Allies' cause with their powerful influence on the democratic masses of Russia. For the same end was that famous Socialist appeal made to the country, the appeal signed by Plechanov, Deutsch, Alexinsky, and Arkseniew.

Russian democracy stopped the revolu-

tion in July, 1914, because of the war. Russian democracy again started the revolution and gloriously accomplished it, also for the sake of the war. The Czar's Government showed itself incapable not only of governing but also of defending the country. Inefficiency, grave and in many cases direct treachery, marked the activities of the Czar's Government, which was not very enthusiastic in the war for democracy and justice in Europe. When it became evident that under the old Government the defeat of Russia was inevitable, Russian democracy raised its hands and took into them the fate of the country.

Among the events occurring in Russia immediately after the revolution, one of the most important was the National Conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leader of which, Professor Paul Milukoff, became Secretary of Foreign Affairs after the revolution. As I have said before, the Constitutional-Democratic Party held the majority in the First Duma, and had strong, influential factions in the Second, Third and Fourth Dumas.

This party, led by such prominent men as the late Professor S. A. Mouromtzeff, Professor Paul Milukoff, A. I. Shingareff, Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff, Prince D. Shakhovskoy, M. M. Vinaver, and others, rendered invaluable service to the cause of Russian liberty. It would surprise no one in Russia if, out of the about 600 proposed seats in the future Constituent Assembly, the Constitutional Democratic Party hold from 300 to 350.

About 1,500 delegates from all parts of Russia came to the National Conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the party, opened the conference, presided over by M. M. Vinaver, the newly appointed Jewish Senator.

Two Important Reports

There were two important events at this conference. The first was the report by Professor F. F. Kokoshkin, member of the First Duma and one of the greatest authorities on constitutional law, who insisted that the party abandon the principle of constitutional monarchy and

proclaim for a republican form of government. Professor Kokoshkin declared himself in favor of Presidential election by direct vote and responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament, as in France.

Professor Kokoshkin's report was eagerly supported by Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, one of Russia's leading men, former Professor of the University of Moscow and member of the Imperial Council, who, as a big landowner thoroughly acquainted with conditions in the Russian villages, reflected the spirit of the Russian peasantry toward the revolution. Prince Troubetzkoy reported that under the terrible experiences of the war the peasants had, during the last two and a half years, lost entirely their former almost religious belief in the Czar. According to Prince Troubetzkoy's report, "the Czar is now for the peasants only a symbol of police, graft, and all kinds of vice." The convention accepted unanimously the recommendations of Professor Kokoshkin and Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, proclaiming for a republican form of government.

It may be expected that, aside from the Constitutional-Democrats, with their 300 or 350 seats in the Constituent Assembly, 150 to 200 seats will belong to different Socialist factions. The decision of the Constitutional-Democratic Party practically decides the question of the form of the future Government of Russia. If not unanimously, then by an overwhelming majority the Constituent Assembly will proclaim a republican Government for Russia.

The other significant moment in this National Conference occurred when Professor Paul Milukoff, the leader of the party and Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made his speech. Probably, for the first time in his political career, Professor Milukoff paid tribute to his political adversaries, the Russian Socialists. In a speech enthusiastically greeted by the entire conference, Professor Milukoff pointed out the invaluable service rendered the country by the Socialists during these critical days. The Socialists were the fighting power of the revolution; they bravely faced the police and the troops, and paid with their blood for

Russian freedom. In addition, it was Socialist organization that kept order in Russia after the revolution and saved the country from the worst kind of anarchy. In the same spirit as Professor Milukoff's speech was the speech of Mr. Nekrasov, a prominent leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party and the new Secretary of Means of Transportation.

Result of a Coalition

The revolution in Russia was accomplished by a coalition of liberal and Socialist forces. And this coalition will build the new Russia. To understand Russian political life at the present time means to understand the real nature of liberalism and socialism in Russia. Russian liberalism, as represented by the Constitutional-Democratic Party, is quite well known in this country. As for Russian socialism, until now it has been terra incognita for the American public.

First of all, socialism is one of the most powerful factors in Russian political life. In the United States the labor movement and socialism are two distinct forces, whereas in Russia these two forces are united in one. In the United States the Federation of Labor, representing over 2,000,000 workers, has no relation to the socialist movement of the country, whereas in Russia every organized worker is a Socialist and all the labor unions are socialistic.

The Socialist Party of the United States has only one representative in Congress, whereas Russian socialist factions had 120 representatives in the Second Duma and about thirty in the Third and Fourth Dumas, chosen during the time of darkest reaction under the most undemocratic suffrage system.

Hence, we have the difference in the nature of the Russian and American socialism. Socialism in the United States is a small movement, without any real influence on the political life, and therefore I would venture to say without any sense of responsibility for its actions. If it were an influential factor it would probably not have accepted resolutions of the kind passed by the last conference of the American Socialist Party at St. Louis.

Russian socialism is more like Belgian and French socialism. As Belgian and

French Socialists from the very beginning indorsed the war on the side of the Allies, so did the Russian Socialists. As the Belgian and French Socialists, who, understanding their responsibility toward their countries and humanity, delegated Vandervelde, Guede, Semba, and Toma as their representatives in the Cabinets, so did the Russian Socialists, sending as their representative the new Secretary of Justice, Deputy Kerensky.

Authority of Present Cabinet

Several facts in connection with the recent revolution really illumine the present political situation in Russia. The first fact is that the present Russian Cabinet was appointed at a joint session of the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workingmen and Soldiers. It was at the moment when all Petrograd was in the hands of the revolutionists, and there is no doubt that at that moment the Executive Committee of the Council of Workingmen and Soldiers had sufficient power to take all the political machinery in its own hands. At this critical moment the Russian Socialists showed real statesmanship. They agreed to a Coalition Cabinet and to the appointment of A. I. Gouchkoff as Secretary of War and Navy. This appointment was very significant. Mr. Gouchkoff until the revolution was a very conservative man, very unpopular in Russia for his political views, but everybody in Russia respected his sincere patriotism and his organizing ability.*

Russian Socialists consenting to the appointment of Mr. Gouchkoff indorsed thereby, once more, the war against Germany, and the necessity of strong discipline on the fighting lines. Consenting further to the appointment of Professor Paul Milukoff as Foreign Secretary, Russian Socialists consented to the principle that no separate peace is possible for Russia, that the only peace she will conclude will be a general peace in full accordance with her allies.

The latest events in Petrograd do not contradict this statement. We may dis-

agree with this movement entirely, or we may see certain weak points in it, but it is only fair to recognize that this is a movement not for a separate but for a general peace. One of the leaders of this movement is Prince Tzeretelli, the former leader of the Social-Democratic faction in the Second Duma. Prince Tzeretelli is one of the most noble figures in Russian life. A brilliant speaker, always enthusiastic, always idealistic, he is respected in Russia by all factions.

Career of Tzeretelli

When the Second Duma was dismissed and it became known that the Socialist Deputies would be arrested and tried, some of the influential friends of Prince Tzeretelli prepared everything for his escape abroad, but Tzeretelli flatly refused to go. "I am a representative of the people," he answered his friend in a quiet but determined tone. "I work for the people and do not see why I should escape if the police want me." He was arrested, tried, and sentenced to hard labor. He was sent to Siberia, and then from time to time news came to Petrograd that he was dying of tuberculosis in his prison cell. In spite of many petitions the Czar's Government refused to do anything to ease Tzeretelli's fate, and nobody in Russia expected to see him again leading the democratic masses.

Being liberated after the revolution, Tzeretelli went directly to Petrograd. Knowing from dispatches that the Council of Workingmen and Soldiers in Petrograd was engaged at a special meeting preparing a resolution which would show the council's position toward the Provisional Government and the war, Tzeretelli sent a telegram to the meeting introducing his own resolution. The resolution insisted on support for the Provisional Government and the war until German militarism be entirely broken, and it was enthusiastically accepted by the council.

Tzeretelli's name is almost holy for the Petrograd workers and for the Russian workers in general. He is, together with his friends, Chkheidze and Skobelev, practically the ruling spirit of the movement in Petrograd. Neither Tzeretelli nor Chkheidze or Skobelev is for a

*Mr. Gouchkoff, Secretary of War, resigned from the Cabinet on May 14, 1917.

separate peace. According to their views the allied democracy must fight until not a single German soldier is left in Belgium, in the northern provinces of France, in Serbia, or in Russian Poland. Peace is impossible for them without the full restoration of all parts of the Allies' territories occupied by the Central Powers.

The future peace for Russian Socialists is a general peace that will bring peace for all Europe and bring it forever.

Their peace program is quite misunderstood in this country, although probably it possesses all the qualities which should make it meet with approval here. The allied countries need not fear. The Russian democracy is not thinking of and would never consider a separate peace. As for a general peace, Russian democracy desires the kind of peace outlined by the President of the United States in his famous address to Congress.

The Critical Situation in Russia

Conflict Between Radicals and the Provisional Government Regarding the Nation's War Policy

EVENTS in Russia in the month ended May 15 followed each other with such startling swiftness, and the reports were so conflicting, that it was difficult to arrive at the truth. The one fact clear at this writing (May 15) is the existence of a wide breach between the Provisional Government set up by the revolution and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This breach seriously menaces stable government, seeming to portend either civil war, with consequent chaos, or the disintegration of the country into fragmentary republics, an easy prey to Germany.

The first intimation given the outside world of the conflict between the Provisional Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was the vigorous protest of the latter against a joint note sent to the Allies by the Provisional Government on May 1, wherein the word of Russia was pledged against a separate peace and for a renewal of cordial co-operation with the Entente Allies. The note was signed by Foreign Secretary Milukoff and instructed the various diplomatic representatives to the allied countries to transmit the following communication:

The Provisional Government of Russia published on April 27 a manifesto to Russian citizens wherein it explained the views of the Government of Russia as regards the objects to be attained in the war. The Minister of

Foreign Affairs instructs me to communicate to you the contents of the document referred to and to add the following considerations:

Our enemies have striven lately to sow discord among our allies by propagating absurd reports regarding the alleged intention of Russia to conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers. The text of the document annexed will form the best refutation of such intentions. The general principles therein enunciated by the Provisional Government are in entire agreement with the ideas which have been expressed repeatedly up to quite recently by eminent statesmen of the allied countries.

These principles were expressed lucidly also in the words of the President of our ally, the great overseas Republic. The Russian Government under the old régime certainly was not prepared to appreciate and share these ideas as to the liberating character of the war, the establishment of a stable basis for pacific co-operation of nations, the freedom of oppressed peoples, &c., but emancipated Russia can now use language which will be understood by modern democracies and hasten to add her voice to that of her allies.

The declaration of the Provisional Government, being imbued with the new spirit of free democracy, naturally cannot afford the least pretext for assumption that the demolition of the old structure has entailed any slackening on the part of Russia in the common struggle of all the Allies. On the contrary, the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory has been accentuated, owing to the sense of responsibility which is shared by all in general and each one of us in particular.

This spirit has become still more active by the fact that it is concentrated on the immediate task, which touches everybody so closely, of driving back the enemy who invaded

our territory. It is understood, and the annexed document so expressly states, that the Provisional Government in safeguarding the right acquired for our country will maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the allies of Russia.

Firmly convinced of the victorious issue of the present war, and in perfect agreement with our allies, the Provisional Government is likewise confident that the problems which were created by this war will be solved by the creation on a firm basis of a lasting peace, and that, inspired by identical sentiments, the allied democracies will find means of establishing the guarantees and penalties necessary to prevent any recourse to sanguinary war in the future.

This note was sent in response to a demand of the council that the Government express itself. It followed a series of turbulent outbreaks in Petrograd in consequence of the agitation of Radical Socialists under the leadership of one Nikolai Lenine. In fact, Lenine was suspected of anarchistic tendencies and was assailed as in the pay of Germany. His inflammatory speeches against the Provisional Government and the Allies precipitated one riot in Petrograd, but he was finally suppressed and quiet was restored. The slumbering unrest of the extremists, however, soon was again manifest, and at length forced the Government to express itself in this letter of May 1, which subsequent events have brought into prominence.

The document aroused strong disapproval among members of the council, and serious anti-Government demonstrations occurred in Petrograd on May 3 and 4. The Executive Committee of the council had discussed the note throughout May 2 and 3, holding all-night sessions. It adjourned at daybreak of May 4 without reaching a decision, but every speaker at the meeting emphasized the contention that the power in Russia rested in the hands of the representatives of the workmen and soldiers, and that they were determined to enforce their views upon the temporary Government or immediately dispossess it and construct a Government of their own liking.

Most of the leaders advocated a compromise by the removal of Milukoff, permitting the rest of the Government to remain in power. M. Tcheidse, President of the body, after reading the Govern-

ment note, declared that he found it quite nullified the effect of the previous declaration of April 9, and added:

The form of this note and its vague allusions to a victorious end of the war are so ambiguous that one can deduce anything he wants to from it, even the ideas of the old Government. Steps must be immediately taken to clarify this so that the country will know that the Government does not intend to agree to annexations, expropriations, and contributions. After this explanation is published and the Allies are informed of its contents the proletariat classes of the allied countries must take similar steps to make their Governments repudiate such intentions.

M. Stankevich, Social Democrat, who followed M. Tcheidse, said:

This note has struck a serious blow to our unity with the Government. The Government today feels the discord which exists and which is so evident in the street demonstrations.

Fear of Allies Expressed

The speaker then hinted that the Entente Allies might not approve of the stand taken by the Russian proletariat, and declared in this connection:

It is necessary to mobilize all the forces of the democracy, because we may be menaced from the outside. We will not allow any one to attack us. If the Government continues to follow their line of conduct we will go further—we can arrest the Government. It must fulfill our program, for we have the power, and we can telephone tonight expressing our distrust of the Government, and it will be compelled to resign.

If the action of the Government was dictated by wrong intentions we will immediately vote our distrust, and the present Cabinet will be replaced by one of our own choosing. I tell this to you to show you the power that is in our hands.

But we must be careful. The finances of the country are in bad condition, the supply question is critical, and we must seriously consider before adopting extreme measures. Only after mature deliberation can we decide that the temporary Government must be removed. Then we can take the power in our hands and bear all the responsibility. On account of the complicated nature of the problems confronting the country we must take the mildest means.

M. Chernoff, who spoke next, said:

The present situation is more serious than when the trouble occurred between the old régime and the revolutionists. In the first days of the revolution it was a fight between two hostile camps; now it is a fight between conquerors. The situation can have dangerous results, and the principal thing we need at the present is quiet and order. But we must cast away the imperialistic influence from

our foreign policy as well as from our internal life. Our program must have brought knowledge to all Governments, and we must request from our Allies that they reconsider their aims in the war.

M. Bonin, another speaker, recommended a Coalition Ministry. He reiterated the same warning against extreme measures as had the previous speakers.

Anarchist Members for Action

The opinions ranged through every shade of political belief. The speakers included anarchist members who flatly proposed the overthrowing of the present Government immediately. One of the anarchists said:

The temporary Government has thrown off its mask, and we see that it is not much better than the old. We are naïve and simple. M. Milukoff is a sly person and can find any way to deceive us. Down with him! Throw off the temporary Government!

Another speaker declared that the note of May 1 showed a policy of world imperialism. He added that it was a mistake to send recruits to fill the gaps in the ranks at the front, because these men were needed in Petrograd. The speaker proposed the formation of a coalition committee to exert the same influence on foreign policy that the present council wields over home politics.

M. Voytinsky, the last speaker, said:

Every soldier must know he is not fighting for the ideas of Milukoff, or for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but for the new freedom.

Late in the day the committee sat in special session with the council of the Provisional Government for a discussion of the Government's motives in issuing the note. The upshot of it was that the Executive Committee decided that it would be inexpedient to demand the resignation of the Government at the moment, and it persuaded the soldiers engaged in the demonstrations to return to their barracks. It was reported that the Executive Committee's decision was by a vote of 34 to 19.

Hostility to Milukoff

On May 4 the demonstrations were distinctly against Foreign Minister Milukoff. Many soldiers participated in them, but there were also countermanifesta-

tions in behalf of the Government. Detachments of soldiers and workmen gathered in front of the headquarters of the Provisional Government, carrying red flags and banners, with inscriptions "Down With Milukoff!" "Down With Guchkoff, Minister of War!" and "Down With the Provisional Government!"

When Milukoff saw the banners he came out on the balcony of the palace, with M. Shingaroff and M. Neckrasoff, and soon had turned the hostility of the crowd into enthusiastic support. He began by saying that he was fearful not for Milukoff but for Russia. If the inscriptions interpreted the feelings of a majority of the citizens, he asked, what must be the condition of Russia? The Entente Allies would say Russia had betrayed her allies, and had struck her name from the list of the allied powers.

"The Provisional Government cannot accept that view of things," continued M. Milukoff. "I declare to you that the Provisional Government and myself, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, will defend a position in which no one will dare to charge Russia with treason. Never shall Russia consent to a separate peace! The Provisional Government is a sailing vessel which can only move with the help of the wind. We look, then, for your trust, which is the wind that is to make our ship go forward. I hope you will supply us with that breeze, and that your confidence will aid us in propelling Russia toward liberty and prosperity and in upholding the dignity of our great, free country."

The words of the Foreign Minister evoked hearty cheering.

A Precarious Truce

A truce was patched up on May 4 when the council gave a vote of confidence in the Government by a narrow margin of 35 in a total of 2,500. In announcing its action the council declared that it had received from the Government the following explanation of the meaning of the note to the Allies:

The note was subjected to long and detailed examination by the Provisional Government, and was unanimously approved. It was obvious that this note, in speaking of a de-

decisive victory, had in view a solution of the problems which were mentioned in the communication of April 9 and which was thus specified:

"The Government deems it to be its right and duty to declare now that free Russia does not aim at the domination of other nations or at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territories, but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny.

"The Russian Nation does not lust after the strengthening of its power abroad at the expense of other nations. Its aim is not to subjugate or humiliate any one. In the name of the higher principles of equity, the Russian people have broken the chains which fettered the Polish Nation, but it will not suffer that its own country shall emerge from the great struggle humiliated or weakened in its vital forces."

In referring to the "penalties and guarantees" essential to a durable peace the Provisional Government had in view the reduction of armaments, the establishment of international tribunals, &c.

This explanation will be communicated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassadors of the allied powers.

Would Not Modify Note

The Provisional Government, through Premier Lvoff, declined to modify the note sent to the Allies, stating that the Ministers were prepared to resign their posts if necessary. The Premier said:

It is impossible to send another note. The temporary Government will comply with its duty, and leave its post rather than take such a step, which would menace the country with very serious consequences. The Government understands fully the responsibility it has assumed in behalf of the country, and in the view of that responsibility is ready to resign if it becomes necessary.

M. Milukoff, confirming the stand taken by Premier Lvoff, said:

The note expressed the view of the temporary Government. It has no other aim. The recent note repeats and develops the idea expressed in the first note, which was worked out in conjunction with the Council of Deputies. If we compare the notes it is clear that the information they contain constitutes a step forward. The events of yesterday will make the Allies very sad while pleasing our enemies.

The Government's Statement

The lack of harmony between the Government and the council continued, however, notwithstanding the settlement of the May 1 note matter. On May 8 the

Government issued an announcement as follows:

The attempts by separate groups of the population to realize their desires by expropriations or launching declarations when made by the less organized classes threaten to ruin interior discipline and unity and create favorable ground, on the one hand, for acts of violence against the new régime, and, on the other hand, for the development of private interests to the detriment of the general welfare.

The temporary Government considers it its duty to declare frankly and definitely that such conditions render the administration of the country extremely difficult and menace it with interior ruin and defeat at the front.

The frightful spectre of civil war and anarchy hovers over Russia, threatening its freedom. There is a dark, sad path leading through civil war and anarchy to the return of despotism. This must not be the path of the Russian people.

Then follows an appeal for unity in support of the Government created by the revolution, and the declaration continues:

The temporary Government will renew with stronger persistence its efforts to attract into the staff of representatives those active protective forces of the country which up to the present have not taken any part in the government of the country.

Simultaneously with the declaration appears a note addressed by M. Kerensky to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in which he says:

I consider the condition of affairs now greatly changed. The situation is much more serious on the one hand, and on the other the power of the organized labor democracy has grown. That power no longer has a right to remain aloof from the participation in responsibility for government when their participation will bring strength to the power born of the revolution. Under these conditions the representatives of the labor democracy must take the burden of power, but only after being formally elected and vested with power by the organizations to which they belong.

The suggestion of a Coalition Government was not accepted by the council. May 10 a celebration of the First Duma occurred, when an extraordinary session of the sitting Duma was held, also attended by ex-members besides the members of the Government.

Addressed by Rodzianko

President Rodzianko on this occasion, in the course of an address, said:

The war which was forced upon us, which

we did not desire, and for which we are in no way responsible, must be brought to a successful termination, in such a manner that the integrity of the country and the national honor of Russia shall be entirely maintained. The innumerable sacrifices we have laid upon the altar of this war demand that the peace should correspond with the immensity of our efforts and that the aim for which we are struggling, the triumph of the ideals of justice and liberty, be assured us.

The Germans oppose to these splendid ideals their own program, which is totally different—the hegemony of the world and the enslavement of the nations. The struggle for principles so mutually contradictory cannot terminate in a draw, but only by a decisive victory by one or the other of the adversaries. Only the complete defeat of German militarism will assure the happiness of the world.

The gulf separating the Germans—the devastators and destroyers of civilization—from the Allies is too deep for the war to be concluded without the realization of the ideals I have mentioned. Peace in the present conditions would only be an armistice of greater or less duration. Do not forget that the working classes of Germany, however socialistic they be, ardently desire victory, for Germany cannot reduce her vast industry, and her defeat by the Allies would be like the blow of a club for the workers of Germany, who naturally support the imperialistic aspirations of their Government.

That is why I declare emphatically that the Russian people must make every sacrifice to bring this war, in concert with their allies, to a complete victory, all the more because such a victory would consolidate forever the liberties we have just won.

Russia cannot betray the allies by whose side she has been fighting for three years, and she will remain faithful to them.

Guchkoff Exposes Conditions

M. Guchkoff, whose speech was received with loud and prolonged applause from all parts of the house, said:

Unfortunately the first feeling of radiant joy evoked by the revolution soon gave place to one of pain and anxiety. The Provisional Government explained the cause of this in its recent declaration, in which it was pointed out that the destruction of the old forms of public life, to which an end had been put by the revolution, had been effected more rapidly than had the creation of new forms to replace them.

It is especially regrettable that the destruction has touched the political and social organization of the country before any life centre has had time to establish itself and to carry out the great creative work of regeneration.

How will the State emerge from this crisis? That is the question for solution and on which will depend not only the consolidation of the

liberties won, but the issue of the war and the destinies of the country. In any case the duality of power—and even polyarchy—and the consequent anarchy now prevailing in the country make its normal existence difficult.

Our poor country is fighting at an extraordinary hard conjuncture of an unparalleled war and internal troubles such as we never have seen before, and only a strong Governmental power able to rely on the confidence of the nation can save it.

We received a terrible legacy from the old régime, which was incapable of governing in time of peace and still less was able to do so while waging war.

We all know the conditions in which our valiant army defended every foot of Russian territory and how it still is carrying on a truly heroic but not hopeless struggle. One more effort and an effort by the whole country and the enemy will be beaten, but we have got to know first of all whether we can make this effort.

The coup d'état found echoes in the army and navy which, believing in their creative strength, unanimously adhered to the new régime and set to work on a radical reform of the armed forces of the country.

For the moment we hoped our military powers would emerge from the salutary process regenerated and renewed in strength and that a new reasonable discipline would weld the army together, but that has not been the case, and we must frankly face the fact that our military might is weakened and disintegrated, being affected by the same disease as the country, namely, duality of power, polyarchy, and anarchy, only the malady is more acute.

It is not too late to cure it, but not a moment must be lost. Those who, either deliberately or not realizing what they were doing, have cast into our midst the subversive mot d'ordre "peace at the front and war in the country," those people, I say, are carrying on a propaganda of peace at any price and civil war, cost what it may.

That mot d'ordre must be smothered by another, that being "war at the front and peace within the country."

Gentlemen, some time ago the country realized that our mother land was in danger. Since then we have gone a step further, for our mother land is on the edge of an abyss.

Two Strong Men Resign

The Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided on May 9 to issue an appeal to the peoples of the world in behalf of the calling of a peace conference in a neutral country, to consist of an assemblage of the Socialist Internationale.

Events now moved rapidly. General Korniloff, commander of the Petrograd garrison, resigned on May 13 on account

of the interference by the council with his orders, and in consequence of their demand that all his orders should be subject to their indorsement. This resignation was followed on May 13 by that of Guchkoff, the Minister of War, who sent the following letter to the Premier:

In view of the condition in which the power of the Government has been placed, especially the authority of the Minister of War, in relation to the army and the navy, a condition which I am powerless to alter and which threatens to have consequences fatal to the defense, the liberty, and even the existence of Russia, I can no longer exercise the functions of Minister of War and Marine and share responsibility for the grave sin being committed against the country.

The same day the council issued an appeal to the army, in which it stated that German imperialism was seeking to destroy revolutionary Russia and enslave the Russian people. It appealed to the soldiers to defend Russia with all their power, and asserted that a separate peace was impossible. The appeal said the only solution of the war must be a general peace among all nations by agreement. It said the council was aiming at peace by calling for a revolution among the workmen of the Central Powers, but that peace could not be achieved unless the enemy at the front was checked. The manifesto begged the soldiers not to renounce their offensive and warned against fraternizing with the enemy.

Kerensky's Solemn Warning

The situation was hourly growing more critical. On the 14th the Minister of Justice, Kerensky, who heretofore was regarded as the lukewarm member of the Government and at heart a Socialist leader, expressed himself as follows to a deputation of delegates from the front:

I came to you because my strength is at an end. I no longer feel my former courage, nor have my former conviction that we are conscientious citizens, not slaves in revolt. I am sorry I did not die two months ago, when the dream of a new life was growing in the hearts of the Russian people, when I was sure the country could govern itself without the whip.

As affairs are going now, it will be impossible to save the country. Perhaps the time is near when we will have to tell you that we can no longer give you the amount of bread you expect or other supplies on which you have a right to count. The process of the change from slavery to freedom is not

going on properly. We have tasted freedom and are slightly intoxicated. What we need is sobriety and discipline.

You could suffer and be silent for ten years, and obey the orders of a hated Government. You could even fire upon your own people when commanded to do so. Can you now suffer no longer?

We hear it said that we no longer need the front because they are fraternizing there. But are they fraternizing on all the fronts? Are they fraternizing on the French front? No, comrades, if you are going to fraternize, then fraternize everywhere. Are not enemy forces being thrown over on to the Anglo-French front, and is not the Anglo-French advance already stopped? There is no such thing as a "Russian front," there is only one general allied front.

Tremendous applause greeted this, and Kerensky continued:

We are marching toward peace and I should not be in the ranks of the Provisional Government if the ending of the war were not the aim of the whole Provisional Government; but if we are going to propose new war aims we must see we are respected by friend as well as by foe. If the tragedy and desperateness of the situation are not realized by all in our State, if our organization does not work like a machine, then all our dreams of liberty, all our ideals, will be thrown back for decades and maybe will be drowned in blood.

Beware! The time has now come when every one in the depth of his conscience must reflect where he is going and where he is leading others who were held in ignorance by the old régime and still regard every printed word as law. The fate of the country is in your hands, and it is in most extreme danger. History must be able to say of us, "They died, but they were never slaves."

Milukoff Answers Questions

To the same delegation Minister Milukoff answered various questions put to him as follows:

Q.—How do the Allies regard our renunciation of annexation and contribution and the right of all nationalities to determine their own fate?

A.—The latter demand has been acceded to by the Allies, while the question of annexation is so bound up with the question of the right of nations to determine their own fate that nothing definite can be said on this subject. As regards contribution, the Allies hold that the nation which suffered must be rehabilitated by the power which ruined it. Uniting all three Polands in one whole is not annexation, nor is the return of

Alsace-Lorraine to France. As regards the Dardanelles, we have relinquished all claims to conquest, and the fate of Constantinople depends upon the views of the Allies.

Q.—What do the Allies think of the Russian revolution?

A.—At first they were glad, but now they are concerned about the fall of discipline in the army and are beginning to fear the desire for immediate peace may gain the upper hand. I declare that not a single Russian party entertains the idea of a separate peace.

Q.—Is it true Japan is preparing to bring an army into Russia?

A.—No, because Japan's interests lie further to the east than in the region of Baikal.

Q.—What advantage does America bring the Allies?

A.—Russia receives a loan on the very favorable terms of 3 per cent. and also technical aid. America has offered to put the Siberian Railway in order, and is supplying Russia with vast quantities of ammunition.

American Workers' Appeal

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, on May 7 sent the following appeal by cable to the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd:

Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, Petrograd, Russia:

The gravest crisis in the world's history is now hanging in the balance and the course which Russia will pursue may have a determining influence whether democracy or autocracy shall prevail. That democracy and freedom will finally prevail there can be no doubt in the minds of men who know, but the cost, the time lost, and the sacrifices which would ensue from lack of united action may be appalling. It is to avoid this that I address you.

In view of the grave crisis through which the Russian people are passing, we assure you that you can rely absolutely upon the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the American people in the great war against our common enemy, Kaiserism. In the fulfillment of that cause the present American Government has the support of 90 per cent. of the American people, including the working classes of both the cities and the agricultural sections.

In free America, as in free Russia, the agitators for a peace favorable to Prussian militarism have been allowed to express their opinions, so that the conscious and unconscious tools of the Kaiser appear more influential than they really are. You should realize the truth of the situation. There are but few in America willing to allow Kaiserism and its allies to continue their rule over those non-German peoples who wish to be free from their domination. Should we not protest against the pro-Kaiser Socialist interpretation of the demand for no annexation, namely, that all oppressed non-German peoples shall be compelled to remain under the domination of Prussia and her lackeys, Austria and Turkey? Should we not rather accept the better interpretation that there must be no forcible annexations, but that every people must be free to choose any allegiance it desires, as demanded by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates?

Like yourselves, we are opposed to all punitive and improper indemnities. We denounce the onerous punitive indemnities already imposed by the Kaiser upon the people of Serbia, Belgium, and Poland.

America's workers share the view of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates that the only way in which the German people can bring the war to an early end is by imitating the glorious example of the Russian people, compelling the abdication of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs and driving the tyrannous nobility, bureaucracy, and the military caste from power.

Let the German Socialists attend to this, and cease their false pretenses and underground plotting to bring about an abortive peace in the interest of Kaiserism and the ruling class. Let them cease calling pretended "international" conferences at the instigation or connivance of the Kaiser. Let them cease their intrigues to cajole the Russian and American working people to interpret your demand, "no annexation, no indemnities," in a way to leave undiminished the prestige and the power of the German military caste.

Now that Russian autocracy is overthrown, neither the American Government nor the American people apprehend that the wisdom and experience of Russia in the coming Constitutional Assembly will adopt any form of government other than the one best suited to your needs. We feel confident that no message, no individual emissary, and no commission has been sent or will be sent with authority to offer any advice whatever to Russia as to the conduct of her internal affairs. Any commission that may be sent will help Russia in any way that she desires to combat Kaiserism wherever it exists or may manifest itself.

Word has reached us that false reports of an American purpose and of American opinions contrary to the above statement have gained some circulation in Russia. We denounce these reports as the criminal work of

desperate pro-Kaiser propagandists, circulated with the intent to deceive and to arouse hostile feelings between the two great democracies of the world. The Russian people should know that these activities are only additional manifestations of the "dark forces," with which Russia has been only too familiar in the unhappy past.

The American Government, the American people, the American labor movement, are whole-heartedly with the Russian workers, the Russian masses, in the great effort to maintain the freedom you have already achieved, and to solve the grave problems yet before you. We earnestly appeal to you to make common cause with us to abolish all forms of autocracy and despotism and to establish and maintain for generations yet unborn the priceless treasures of justice, freedom, democracy, and humanity.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Manifesto by Labor Council

A sudden change in the entire situation occurred on May 15, when the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates reversed its former action, and by a vote of 41 to 19 decided to participate in the Government and form a coalition with the Provisional Administration. It also declared definitely against a separate peace. The following manifesto was issued by the council:

Soldiers and comrades at the front, we speak to you in the name of the Russian revolutionary democracy. The people did not wish the war, which was begun by the Emperors and capitalists of all countries, and, therefore, after the abdication of the Czar, the people considered it urgent to end the war as rapidly as possible. Do not forget, soldiers and comrades, that the regiments of William are destroying revolutionary Russia. Do not forget that the loss of free Russia would be a catastrophe, not only to us but to the working classes of the entire world. Defend, therefore, revolutionary Russia with all your power.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates leads you toward peace in another way. By calling for a revolution of the workmen and peasants of Germany and Austria-Hungary we will lead you to peace after having obtained from our Government a renunciation of the policy of conquest and after demanding a similar renunciation from the allied powers. But do not forget, soldiers and comrades, that peace cannot be achieved if you do not check the enemy's pressure at the front, if your ranks are pierced and the Russian revolution lies like an inanimate body at William's feet. Do not forget, you in the trenches, that you are defending the

liberty of the Russian revolution and your brother workmen and peasants.

Now, how are you to accomplish this defense if you remain inactive in your trenches? Frequently only an offensive can repel or check a hostile offensive, frequently those who await an attack perish. Soldiers and comrades, having sworn to defend Russian liberty, do not renounce the offensive. Fight and struggle for this liberty, and while fighting and struggling fear the enemy's traps. The fraternizing which is taking place at present at the front can easily become a trap. Do not forget that revolutionary troops have only the right to fraternize with troops who are also revolutionary and who are also ready to die for peace and liberty.

The German Army is not a revolutionary army if it is still blindly following William and Charles, Emperors and capitalists. You are fraternizing openly, not with enemy soldiers but with officers of the enemy's General Staff, disguised as common soldiers. Peace will not be obtained by separate treaties or by the fraternizing of isolated regiments and battalions. This will only lead to the loss of the Russian revolution, the safety of which does not lie in a separate peace or armistice.

Reject, therefore, everything which weakens your military power, which distracts the army and lowers its morale. Soldiers, be worthy of the trust that revolutionary Russia puts in you.

Appeal to Socialists

An appeal was also issued by the council to the Socialists of Germany and Austria. This appeal concludes as follows:

The democracy of the revolution of Russia appeals to the Socialists of Austria and Germany. You cannot allow your Governments to be the executioners of Russian liberty. You cannot allow your Governments, taking advantage of the joy evoked in the Russian Army by liberty and fraternity, to hurl their troops on to the western front, in the first place in order to crush France, and then to dash on Russia and finally crush you as well as the international proletariat in the grip of imperialism.

The democracy of revolutionary Russia appeals to the Socialists of neutral and belligerent countries not to allow the triumph of imperialism. May the cause of peace proclaimed by the Russian revolution be brought to a happy conclusion by the efforts of the international proletariat.

In order to unite these efforts the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided to take the initiative in convoking an international conference of all Socialist parties and factions in all countries. Whatever may have been the dissensions which rent socialism during the three years of war, no section of the proletariat ought to re-

nounce participation in the common struggle for peace by the Russian revolution.

We are convinced that we shall see the representatives of all Socialist groups at the conference we are convoking. A unanimous decision of the international proletariat will be the first victory of the workers over the international imperialists. The proletariat of all countries should unite.

The following are passages from the appeal:

The revolutionary democracy of Russia does not desire a separate peace which would loose the hands of the Austro-German alliance. It is well aware that such a peace would be a betrayal of the cause of democracy and of labor in all countries. This cause would by such an action be paralyzed in the face of a triumphant imperialism. It knows that such a peace may lead to the ruin of other countries and the triumph of the ideals of Chauvinism and revenge in Europe, which would leave the Continent in a state where it would inevitably prepare in the near future for a fresh and sanguinary collision.

The Russian revolutionary democracy addresses itself in the first place to you, Socialists of the allied countries. You must not allow the voice of the Russian Provisional Government to remain isolated from the union of the allied powers. You must force your Governments to proclaim resolutely the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities and the right of the people to settle their destinies.

You will thus afford our revolutionary army, which desires peace between the peoples, the assurance that its bloody sacrifices will not be utilized in an evil manner. You will give it strength to carry out with all its revolutionary enthusiasm the military operations which fall to its lot. You will fortify its mind in the belief that in defending the liberty conquered by the revolution the army also is struggling in the interests of an international democracy.

You will force the Governments of enemy countries to renounce forever their policy of usurpation, pillage, and violence, and openly to recognize their crimes, thus calling upon their heads the just anger of their peoples.

Resignation of Milukoff

Paul N. Milukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs and the most conspicuous leader of the Social Democrats, tendered his resignation and withdrew from the Government altogether on May 16, on account of a difference between himself and the other members of the Provisional Government on the question of the coalition. The Cabinet was entirely reorganized, with M. Tereshtenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replacing Milukoff. It

was decided to take into the Cabinet five representatives of different Socialist groups, which, with A. F. Kerensky, who became Minister of War, made a total of six of these groups sharing in the Government. Three of the appointees were Social Democrats and three, including M. Kerensky, Socialist Populists.

Of the former, M. Skobelev, Vice President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, was appointed Minister of Labor. M. Malantovitch, an Odessa lawyer, also has been chosen. Two of the Socialist Populist Ministers were M. Tchernoff and M. Pechekonoff. Professor Manuiloff, Minister of Public Instruction, and A. I. Shingaroff, Minister of Agriculture, remain in office. It was also decided to be desirable to include in the Government Feodor Kokoshkine, Constitutional Democrat and a professor at the University of Moscow, and M. Tzeretelli, member of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The duty of these men will be to prepare for the Constituent Assembly.

The new Foreign Secretary is thirty-three years old and is regarded as one of the ablest men of Russia. Originally a member of one of the richest families and a so-called "beet sugar king," he came into prominence at the outset of the war as a member of Guchkoff's War Industries Board. Soon he was put in charge of foreign exchange and achieved such success that he was made Minister of Finance by the new Government.

Ex-Minister of Justice Kerensky, the new Minister of War, was at the beginning of the revolution the most popular man in Petrograd, as he was the link between the constructive moderates then in power and the radical Socialists, who were demanding excessive reforms. Kerensky, who is a social revolutionary and about forty years old, realized that the four million Socialists in Russia could dominate a population of 180,000,000 people, and his great aim was so to moderate the Socialist program as to make it immediately practical and acceptable. Throughout he has helped restrain the radical elements by his great personal influence as one of them.

American Mission to Russia

The personnel of a special mission to Russia was announced on May 15 by the State Department at Washington. Mr. Root, the head of the mission, was given the rank of Ambassador, while six of his associates were commissioned as Ministers. The members are as follows:

Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, to be Ambassador Extraordinary of the United States on Special Mission.

John R. Mott, New York, Envoy Extraordinary on Special Mission.

Charles P. Crane, Illinois, Envoy Extraordinary.

Cyrus H. McCormick, Illinois, Envoy Extraordinary.

Samuel R. Bertron, New York, Envoy Extraordinary.

James Duncan, Massachusetts, Envoy Extraordinary.

Charles Edward Russell, New York, Envoy Extraordinary.

Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the Army, to be military representative of the President.

Rear Admiral James H. Glennon, naval representative of the President.

Colonel R. E. L. Michie, Colonel William V. Judson, Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, Surgeon Holton C. Curl, Lieutenant Alva D. Bernhard, Secretary Basil Miles, Major Stanley Washburn, and Interpreter F. Eugene Prince.

It was announced semi-officially on the same day that the mission was for the express purpose of meeting sinister misrepresentations by Germany in Russia, which are calculated to provoke some of the Russian factions into making a separate peace with Germany before the American Commissioners can arrive in Petrograd.

Aid to the new republic from the United States will take other forms than the loaning of money. American ability, business methods, powers of organization, and facility all will be placed at the disposal of the new Government by the commission.

The same day the United States Gov-

ernment gave evidence of its good faith in the new Government of Russia by making its first loan to that country in the sum of \$100,000,000. The money was made available for purchases of supplies in this country and was deposited to Russia's credit in the Federal Reserve Banks. By that arrangement Russia will be enabled to draw against the amount as money is needed to meet obligations here.

The President held a conference with the mission May 14 and gave them broad authority to confer with any existing Government in Russia with a view to insuring that Russia shall continue in the Entente Alliance.

The Railroad Commission

A collateral American commission to aid Russia in rehabilitating and developing the railroads of the country left for Petrograd on May 9. The personnel of this commission was as follows:

John F. Stevens of New York, former Chief Engineer of the Panama Canal, Chairman; W. L. Darling of St. Paul, Chief Engineer of the Northern Pacific Railway; Henry Miller of St. Louis, former Operating Vice President of the Wabash Railroad; George Gibbs of Philadelphia, former Chief Mechanical Engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and J. P. Griner of Baltimore, Chief Consulting Engineer of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

Mr. Stevens has been appointed to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary and accredited to the Russian Government as such.

Before leaving Washington the commission made arrangements to furnish the Russian Government with a large amount of material and rolling stock, and will be able to promise that these will be ready at the call of Russia. The fullest and most complete co-operation in furnishing locomotives, cars, and rails will be guaranteed by the commission in the name of the United States Government, which is receiving the hearty co-operation of American railroad interests.

Poland's Share in Russian Freedom

A Noteworthy Proclamation

THE Russian revolution has brought, not only liberation to the Russians themselves, but to all peoples formerly held in bondage under the Czar. If the Poles are not able to participate in the new freedom while their country is still occupied by the Teutonic invaders, the outlook for them is far more hopeful than it has been since the last partition. In contrast to the "made in Germany" plan for Polish autonomy, which was hemmed in by many limitations, the new Russian Government has come out with a proclamation outlining a democratic plan that is free from outside pressure.

A couple of weeks after the revolution had taken place a deputation of Poles, consisting of Count Wielopolski and Messrs. Shebako, Karpinski, Garsevitch, Jaronski, and Goscicki, was received by Prince Lvoff, President of the Russian Provisional Government, and asked him to proclaim the independence and unification of the three Polands—Russian, German, and Austrian—as well as the rights of the Poles to be represented in the Constituent Assembly. Prince Lvoff replied that the standpoint of the Provisional Government was exactly the same as that of the Poles themselves, and that the desired proclamation was about to be published. Almost immediately all the members of the Provisional Government signed the proclamation, which was issued in the following terms:

Poles, the old political order in Russia, the source of your bondage and ours, and the cause of disunion, has been forever overthrown.

Liberated Russia, personified in its Provisional Government, invested with the fullness of power, hastens to address to you its fraternal greetings and to call you to the new life of liberty.

The old order gave you hypocritical promises which it could but would not carry out. The Central Powers have profited by its mistakes to occupy and devastate your country, and, with the object of fighting against Russia and her allies, have given you illusory political rights, which are extended,

not to all the Polish people, but only to a part of Poland temporarily occupied by the enemy. This is the price for which the Central Powers wanted to buy the blood of a people who have never fought on the side of despotism. But now no Polish Army is going to fight for the suppression of liberty and the dismemberment of its country under the command of the hereditary foe.

Brother Poles, for you also the hour of the great decision has struck. Free Russia calls you into the ranks of the combatants for the people's liberty. The Russian people, who have borne the yoke, acknowledge that the fraternal Polish people also have the fullest rights as defined of their own free will.

Faithful to the agreement with the Allies and to the common cause against militant Germanism, the Provisional Government considers that the creation of an independent Polish State, the stronghold of all the territories, the greater part of whose populations constitute the Polish people, will be a certain guarantee of lasting peace in the renovated Europe of the future.

Attached to Russia by a free military union, the Polish State will be a solid rampart against the pressure brought to bear by the Central Powers on the Slav nations. The Polish people, freed and united, will of itself determine its system of government by expressing its will through a Constituent Assembly convoked in the ancient capital of Poland. Through a common life the Polish people will thus receive a solid guarantee of its civic and national existence.

The Russian Constituent Assembly will have to consolidate definitely the new fraternal union and give its consent to the territorial changes in the Russian State which are indispensable to the formation of a free Poland from all the three parts into which it was cruelly separated.

Brother Poles, take the fraternal hand which free Russia holds out to you. Faithful guardians of great traditions, move forward from now on to the opening of the new and brilliant era of your history, the era of the resurrection of Poland.

Let the union of our hearts and minds anticipate the future union of our States and let the glorious appeal of ancient days made by the forerunners of your liberation re-echo with renewed force.

Onward in the struggle, side by side, hand in hand, for our liberty and yours!

The Austro-German proclamation in November, 1916, of an independent Poland was received by the people with little enthusiasm. The demonstrations of that time were meagre as compared with

the striking reception accorded to President Wilson's reference to the freedom of Poland in his address to the Senate on Jan. 19, 1917. When the text of the President's address was published in Warsaw, says a dispatch recently received by the State Department at Washington, the students of the University and Technical High School held a meeting at which they passed a resolution of gratitude and admiration of President Wilson's work. The students then marched in a body of several thousand strong to the American Consulate, cheering for the United States and the President. Similar demonstrations were held by the United Sporting Clubs of Warsaw.

Delegations from all the political, social, commercial, scientific, and educational organizations and institutions of

Warsaw called at the consulate and presented addresses of thanks to the President, with the request that they be sent to Washington. Thousands of people representing all classes of Polish society also called to express their gratitude and admiration. A special committee undertook to prepare an address with 1,000,000 signatures for presentation to the President, but the German authorities prevented the execution of this plan by ordering the removal of all notices and lists concerning the address, although at that time diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany had not yet been broken off. The German authorities did not conceal their annoyance over the demonstrations, which were in marked contrast to the reception of the Teutonic proclamation in the previous November.

Russian Troops in France Take New Oath of Allegiance

General Palitzine, commanding the Russian troops in France, issued the following Order of the Day—published in the Journal Militaire pour les Troupes Russes en France, April 12, 1917—directing the soldiers to take a new oath of allegiance to the Russian Provisional Government:

In accordance with a telegram from the Adjutant to the Chief of Staff at the General Russian Headquarters, received on March 18, 1917, I order that oath be administered to soldiers of every rank now stationed in France, in conformity with a formula which has been addressed to me by telegraph:

“Soldiers, you take oath to your country; you swear to serve it faithfully and honestly, and to execute the orders of the Provisional Government which now rules the Russian State. You are sent here to fight against the common enemy, with the allied armies, to defend the common cause with them.

“The hour is approaching when, under the force of our combined efforts, the enemy will be broken. Remember that a good soldier is brave, obedient, and always faithful to his cause. Be strong in your oath and in your valor, in order that the land of Russia, which has sent you here, may be proud of you. Russia has decided to prosecute this war to a victorious end, and we, her sons, must loyally execute her will. May Almighty God help us in our task.

“This Order of the Day will be read to all the soldiers before they take the oath.”

GENERAL PALITZINE.



Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

VI.—Naval Lessons of the War

This article is the sixth in a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—under the sanction of the United States Naval Department—with a special view to the lessons to be derived from past naval events of the war.

THE advancement of naval science, increasing the complexities of ships and guns with a consequent greater perplexity and intricacy of the problems to be solved, both in preparing material and in the development of skill to operate the material, has emphasized the need of wise naval management. The importance of good plans, well understood and well carried out, is a lesson of the war which this country has been quick to grasp and act upon. The nation's naval policy is the fountain head of all naval plans, and it may be mentioned as a step toward the adoption of a wise policy that the recommendations of the Naval General Board on this particular question are now published in full.

The Naval General Board consists at present of five Admirals, three Captains, and two Commanders. Assignments to this duty are for about two years, arranged in overlapping terms so as to permit a changing personnel with a consequent influx of ideas from the active fleet without breaking up the continuity of the work. The duties are deliberative, to draw knowledge from past and current events, to study strategy and tactics as practiced now and in the past, at home and abroad; to advise respecting navy yards, bases, and stations; to make recommendations as to the size, composition, and disposition of fleets; to determine the characteristics of speed, armor, and armament for new ships; in short, to make plans both for naval preparations in time of peace and for employment of the fleets in time of war.

This board was created in 1903 and has established a reputation for painstaking and disinterested service. In determin-

ing our naval policy it would seem well to give the General Board's recommendations great weight as expressing the best technical opinion in our country. The following extracts are quoted from the board's report, dated July 30, 1915:

The navy of the United States should ultimately be equal to the most powerful maintained by any other nation of the world. It should be gradually increased to this point by such a rate of development, year by year, as may be permitted by the facilities of the country, but the limit above defined should be attained not later than 1925.

Strength of American Navy

The present war has taught that an effective navy is the logical defense for a country situated like the United States. And by an effective navy is meant, not an impotent navy like that of Spain in 1898, nor a semi-effective navy like the one now protecting Germany's immediate shores, but one adequate to seek and defeat enemy ships long before they can approach our coasts, thus protecting outlying possessions and the sea-borne trade so necessary to our national life; in other words, by an effective navy is meant one which stands for worldwide respect for legitimate American interests; one which is ready, if need be, to defend these interests in all parts of the world.

To determine what should be the composition of such a fleet is a difficult problem, to understand the details of which requires expert technical knowledge. These technical details are the province of the Naval General Board. The principles, however, from which these details are deduced are not hard to understand, and they are of first importance as the foundation on which the entire fabric of naval defense rests. As these prin-

ciples of sea power become better understood by the general public, wiser legislation to safeguard national interests will follow. The recent three-year building program is a noteworthy step in the right direction.

Three-Year Building Program

The following table shows the vessels authorized in the three-year building program—those for which the first appropriations have already been made, those for which estimates for the fiscal year 1918 have been submitted to cover the first year's work, and those which will remain to be covered in the Naval bill for the fiscal year 1919:

| Types. | Authorized in 3-year program. | Appropriated for in Naval bill of 1917. | Appropriated for in Naval bill of 1918. | Recommended to be appropriated for in Naval bill of 1918. | Remaining to be provided for in Naval bill 1919. |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| Battleships | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Battle cruisers | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Scout cruisers | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Destroyers | 50 | 20 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| Fleet submarines | 9 | .. | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Coast submarines | 58 | 30 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Fuel ships | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | 2 |
| Repair ships | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Transports | 1 | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Hospital ships | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. |
| Destroyer tenders | 2 | .. | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Submarine tenders | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | .. |
| Ammunition ships | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | 1 |
| Gunboats | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | 1 |
| Total | 156 | 66 | 42 | 48 | |

This program is a step toward the adoption of a policy aiming to make good the deficiencies of the past; but it is only a preliminary step, and if an adequate navy is to be provided this program will have to be both pushed and enlarged to the full extent of the nation's facilities.

Best Types of Warships

A fairly definite idea of the work which has to be done in order to make the sea power of the United States an effective guarantor of national security may be arrived at through a discussion of the various types of warships, noting briefly their characteristics, their uses, and the proportionate numerical strength of each class required in building up a

well-balanced United States Navy. The estimates which follow have to be made in the light of the best obtainable information. They are approximate and subject to modification from time to time to meet new conditions resulting from unforeseen developments. It is always to be remembered that the struggle for control of the seas is an ever-present spur to invention and progress in the development of the weapons used. Old ships are constantly being replaced by new models. Hence the relative value of the respective units may vary somewhat from year to year.

It is like a race for the largest stakes that the world has to offer. Control of the seas is the objective, and the nation which gains this control is the one that maintains a fleet powerful enough to overcome the strongest enemy fleet that it may encounter, and able to take and keep the seas in all weathers. Although the particular kinds of ships and guns used in answering the demands of naval strength come and go in continual evolution, still, these broad general demands of sea power remain the same. It is better, therefore, to study the abstract requirements of sea power and to note the trend of naval development in meeting these requirements than to rivet attention on the particular types of ships now in use as though they were immutable and incapable of being deposed.

The Question of Guns

The cornerstone of naval power is the gun; and the measure of a nation's sea power is the strength of her battleship fleet. In spite of the development of the mine and torpedo into important factors, the high-power naval gun is still supreme; so it has been in the past; so it is now; and so it probably will continue to be in the future.

As has previously been pointed out the only effective naval defense is a fleet strong enough to keep the enemy at a distance. Germany's fleet, although strong enough to prevent the enemy from landing on German shores, has not been powerful enough to dispute the control of the high seas, and has, therefore, proved non-effective. A navy adequate

to defend must be powerful enough either to defeat the enemy fleet on the high seas or to contain it in enemy home ports. The main reliance of such an effective navy is the long-range gun.

There is general agreement among experts as to this principle, that the gun is the prime consideration in naval warfare; but the different types installed in the newest ships of the various countries indicate somewhat divergent views as to what is the best design of naval gun. It is obvious that the heavier the projectile and the harder it hits the more will be the damage done. In a general way the principal considerations are: First, accuracy; second, high velocity; third, weight of projectile; fourth, durability of the gun to sustain continuous fire, and fifth, rapidity, or volume of fire. It is thus seen that the size of the projectile is limited by the efficiency of the propelling power and by the structural capacities of the gun and mount. In other words, the heavier the shell, consistent with high velocity, long range, and accuracy, the better; but if the structural durability of the gun is threatened, or if velocity and accuracy are sacrificed in order to throw a heavier projectile, a point is soon reached where damaging power is lost instead of gained.

The varying conditions of sea and visibility under which naval actions may be fought also tend to modify the effectiveness of the different sizes and designs of guns according to the circumstances which may exist at the time of any particular engagement. The gun which would win a fight at close range in misty weather might be defeated by the same enemy gun on a clear day at long range. At the shorter ranges the gun of moderate size might dominate a larger and more powerful enemy gun by greater rapidity and volume of fire. Although this is a contingency to be reckoned with, still, the present tendency is to increase the size of the projectile as fast as improvements in the powder and gun structure permit; and this tendency appears to be one likely to continue in the future. We may expect, therefore, that the size of naval guns will increase step by step

with scientific improvements in gun construction and powder.

Requirements of Battleships

Since the gun is the prime consideration, the other characteristics of a battleship depend upon what design of ship is considered most serviceable to the purpose of the gun. Some idea of the requirements of a battleship may be had by keeping in mind that it is desirable to mount as many guns in one ship as is consistent with having a homogeneous fleet possessing tactical mobility, moderate speed, long cruising radius, seaworthiness, habitability, and protection from the blows of the enemy whether delivered from above or below the water. It requires careful weighing of proportionate advantages and disadvantages to harmonize these characteristics into the combination which will produce the best possible type of battleship.

The advantages of ships of large tonnage over smaller vessels are many; more heavy guns can be carried, the platform is steadier, the cruising radius is larger, the habitability and seaworthiness are better, and more effective means of protection can be installed. On the other hand, there is a limit of size beyond which the advantages are outweighed by the disadvantages; the question of expense enters, and any very large increase in the size of warships might be argued against on the grounds that it would be like putting "two many eggs in one basket." Manoeuvring abilities are adversely affected by very large displacements, and the depths of the various waterways as well as the accommodations of canals and dry docks impose definite limits to the size of ships.

On the whole it may be expected that the tendency to increase the tonnage of battleships will continue for quite some time. It would also appear an improvident policy for any country to increase the size of its battleships by radical changes of large increments, because this would entail expense and a bad effect upon the homogeneity of the fleet. These objections might easily outweigh the advantages gained. It may be assumed, therefore, that future increase in the size

of warships will be a gradual growth with a very likely decreasing acceleration.

The influence of new inventions and new ideas in the development of the lesser units of the navy have caused the Naval General Board to modify its original recommendations respecting the proportions of these lesser units, but "the fundamental fact that the power of a navy is to be measured by the number and efficiency of its heavy fighting units—battleships—has remained unchanged,"* and since 1903 the board has consistently recommended a program aiming at an adequate navy, with a basic strength of forty-eight battleships by 1919.

Necessary Auxiliary Units

Battleships alone, however, do not constitute a complete and well-balanced navy. In order that the heavy guns may work to their best advantage, the battleships carrying them call for powerful fast scouts to break through and get information, and also to drive back enemy scouts seeking information. Destroyers are needed to attack and confuse the enemy ships, and at the same time guard their own large ships from similar attacks. Submarines are necessary to help defend the coasts and also to operate as a tactical sub-division of the fleet. Mine layers are needed to harass and menace enemy ships, while mine sweepers and patrols are required to search for enemy mines and submarines. In addition to these combatant units, auxiliaries, including transports, repair ships, hospital ships, and supply ships, are essential to the life and vigor of a fighting navy.

The floating instruments of sea power, moreover, must be backed by suitably situated and properly defended permanent bases and navy yards in which ships may seek rest and rehabilitation. Strategically situated island possessions are also needed for naval bases, by which lines of communication may be kept open to such temporary advance bases as the

requirements of a particular campaign may demand.

It is thus seen that, while relative naval power is primarily measured by the strength of the respective battleship fleets of the various naval powers, the battleships should be attended by the necessary auxiliaries in order to exert their maximum effectiveness.

Battle Cruisers as Scouts

The battle cruiser is the most powerful type of scout, and in addition to high speed has great offensive powers, together with endurance and a moderate protection of armor. While the chief function of this type is to get information, it has, because of these offensive and defensive characteristics, additional uses. The battle cruiser may fight for information and break through a hostile screen; she may support the lighter craft of her own fleet, beat back enemy scouts and guard the main body from surprise; she may be used to protect national sea routes and attack those of the enemy; and in battle she may operate as a fast wing and take a position favorable for using both guns and torpedoes.

It is thus seen that the battle cruiser can do all that the lighter scout can do and more, but these greater powers entail greater cost. The essential characteristic of a scout is speed in conjunction with a large cruising radius. If heavy guns and armor protection can be added without compromising the speed, so much the better, and all scouts would be battle cruisers were it not for the perplexities in construction and great expense involved.

The information service of a fleet requires a large number of scouts, and in order to produce them without undue cost the light cruiser has been developed, small in size and lightly armored, but with adequate speed and cruising radius for scout duty. The unarmored light cruiser, carrying torpedoes and intermediate guns, may be regarded as a development of the destroyer; it is larger, more habitable, carries larger guns, and is more useful as a scout. The ultimate development of the light cruiser would appear to be a larger unarmored ship

*See report of Naval General Board for 1916 program.

with great speed, carrying torpedoes and a few of the most powerful naval guns. Such a ship could outrun anything it could not fight, and it would take almost an equal number of battle cruisers to deny information sought by a group of these big-gun fast scouts making determined efforts to break through or to go around the opposing battle cruisers. The thin armor of the battle cruiser would afford protection against the small guns of light cruisers, but would be of no avail against the heavy guns of this new type of scout.

Unarmored Battle Scouts

At present there is talk of a ship to be developed by this country which might be called the "battle scout," its characteristics being extreme speed and maximum gun power without armor protection. Those that favor this type hold that just as the armored cruiser fell into discredit so will the battle cruiser fall into discredit upon the advent of the "battle scout." The idea is that the battleship is for the main strength of the fighting line, having extreme gun power and extreme endurance and armor protection; that the logical auxiliary of such a battle fleet is a class of ships having extreme speed and extreme gun power without armor protection; that any compromise between these two, such as a battle cruiser, is unsound from the standpoint of economy—that is, getting best results from money expended.

In the present emergency the lack of suitable scouts is particularly conspicuous. One of the reasons why more scouts have not been built is that the need of battleships and destroyers has been considered more urgent. It has always been argued that scouts could be provided much more easily and quickly than could the more distinctively fighting types of naval vessels. The plan, however, to requisition and buy fast mail and passenger steamers for use in the information service has been somewhat upset by the submarine warfare of Germany, and the present need of scouts is keenly felt. That the Naval General Board is alive to this need may be inferred from the following excerpts taken from the recom-

mendations submitted for the 1916 program:

In the struggle to build up the purely distinctive fighting ships of the navy—battleships, destroyers, and submarines—the cruising and scouting element of the fleet has been neglected in recent years, and no cruisers or scouts have been provided for since 1904. This leaves the fleet peculiarly lacking in this element so necessary for information in a naval campaign, and of such great value in clearing the sea of torpedo and mining craft, in opening and protecting routes of trade for our commerce, and in closing and prohibiting such routes to the commerce of the enemy. The General Board believes that this branch of the fleet has been too long neglected, and recommends that the construction of this important and necessary type be resumed.

The 1916 program did not provide for any scouts, but since then in the three-year program, beginning in 1917, provision has been made for six battle cruisers and ten scout cruisers.

Value of Destroyers

The destroyer, a familiar and popular fighting ship, the usefulness of which the experience of the present war has clearly demonstrated, displaces about 1,000 tons, has no armor protection, carries torpedoes and small-calibre guns, and possesses high speed, quick manoeuvring qualities, and sufficient radius to permit cruising with the fleet. Destroyers have a wide range of employment, including scouting, patrolling, convoying, and fighting. They are almost indispensable to the battleship fleet. While cruising both during the day and at night the destroyers help screen the capital ships and are ready for any kind of emergency duty.

When the time of battle comes it would be hard to overestimate the value of destroyers in making attack on the enemy capital ships, in breaking up the projected attacks of enemy destroyers, in delivering the deathblow to crippled enemy ships, and making smoke screens for tactical purposes, either to confuse the enemy or to envelop and protect any of their own ships which may happen to be hard pressed.

An excerpt from the report of the Naval General Board dated Nov. 17, 1914, reads as follows: "After mature con-

sideration of all the elements involved the General Board concluded that a well-balanced fighting fleet for all purposes of offense or defense calls for a relative proportion of four destroyers to one battleship."

Submarines of Limited Value

The outstanding characteristic of the submarine, as the name indicates, is its ability to navigate below the surface of the water. This enables it to evade the enemy, to make a surprise attack, and to escape by hiding. These faculties are manifestly suitable for the weaker belligerent to use against the stronger enemy. Navies that dominate, that have power to seek and destroy in the open, are not dependent upon abilities to evade and to hide.

In making a brief survey of the naval activities of the war, it is seen that the submarine has been of no great value to the superior navies controlling the seas, but has been practically the only effective naval weapon of the inferior fleets. When used against the enemy battle squadrons it has influenced strategy and tactics and scored a few minor successes in sinking some of the older men-of-war, but generally speaking has produced no very important results. When used against merchant ships the submarine has been unable to attain effectiveness while complying with the rules and usages of international law, but by resorting to unscrupulous methods it has become a dangerous commerce destroyer.

The war has shown that the chief tactical value of the submarine is for defense, to hold the enemy at a distance. The fleet submarine has also demonstrated an offensive value which may be useful in attaining a tactical advantage. It may be inferred, therefore, that the United States needs submarines both to help defend her coasts and to operate as a tactical subdivision of the fleet.

The General Board recommends that, in addition to the submarines for guarding our coasts, a division of larger fleet submarines be built as the beginning of a powerful underwater contingent capable of cruising with a fleet in distant operations.

The United States Navy is also deficient in the types of auxiliaries less distinctively combative, but still necessary to the maintenance of a fighting navy. These include colliers, oil-fuel ships, repair ships, mother ships for submarines and aircraft, transports, and hospital ships. The characteristics and uses of these vessels are obvious, and the respective number needed may be determined by logistical calculations. Lesser naval units, including mine layers, mine sweepers, patrol ships, and submarine chasers, also have work to do in modern warfare and must be provided for in adequate numbers.

American Navy's Present Role

In the present war, since the combined allied fleets are overwhelmingly superior to the battle fleets of our enemies, the immediate mission of the American Navy is to combat the submarine menace. In giving priority to building the lesser units employed in this phase of naval warfare, and in urging the shipyards to greater effort in building traders to replace the merchant tonnage sunk by mine and torpedo, there is grave danger that the people may lose sight of the fact that the battleship fleet still remains the chief guarantor of national security. Battleships cannot be improvised; it takes years to construct them; hence, prudence demands that our capital ships receive continual attention in order that national security in future years may not be jeopardized.

For the first time in the history of the United States Navy a building program covering a period of years has been adopted; though it falls short of the recommendations of the General Board, it indicates an awakening to our naval shortcomings and a desire on the part of the people to correct them. The fleet we already have, though behind the British and German Navies in size, still affords cause for gratification as to quality. It may be fairly claimed in no boastful temper that our individual first-line ships, in construction, in guns, in ammunition, and in gunnery, acknowledge no superior. This is encouraging, but not satisfying. So much remains to be done that more cannot be said than that a fair start has been made.

Dramatic Naval Fight Off Dover

Night of April 20, 1917

A FLOTILLA of six German destroyers, under Captain Gautier, crept out from the German naval base at Zeebrugge, Belgium, early in the evening of April 20, 1917, and crossed the English Channel, with the object of attacking Dover. After firing 650 shots at the Dover fortifications—said by the British report to have landed harmlessly in a plowed field—they cruised about with the object of encountering enemy merchantmen, or possibly of intercepting Premier Lloyd George, who was expected to cross the Channel that night.

The night was intensely dark but calm. Suddenly the raiders sighted two British destroyers on patrol duty, and instantly fired upon them at a range of 600 yards. The British responded by closing in swiftly upon them and trying to ram the leading German destroyer. In the eventful five minutes that followed there was a boarding encounter with cutlasses and bayonets, recalling the days of wooden warships, and it ended with the sinking of two of Germany's newest and largest destroyers, the G-85 and G-42, and the damaging of two others, as the raiders disappeared at full speed in the darkness.

"Our vessels," said the British Admiralty report the next morning, "suffered no material damage, and our casualties were exceedingly slight in comparison with the result obtained. Our patrol vessels were handled with remarkable gallantry and dash, and the tactics pursued were a very fine example of destroyer work. We were fortunate in being able to save the lives of ten German officers and 108 men from the vessels sunk."

The day after the battle twenty-eight German bodies were washed ashore at Dover, and these, with twenty-two British dead, were buried there with full military honors. The German dead each bore a floral wreath from the Vice Admiral at Dover, inscribed "To a Brave and Gallant Enemy."

The story of this engagement, com-

plied by the British Admiralty from accounts of officers and men who participated, is one of the most stirring in the naval annals of the war. The British destroyers Swift and Broke, on patrol duty, were steaming on a westerly course in the darkness when they sighted the Germans, who instantly opened fire. The Swift replied and tried to ram the leading enemy destroyer. She missed ramming, but shot through the German line unscathed, and, in turning, neatly torpedoed another boat in the enemy line. Again the Swift dashed at the leader, which again eluded her and fled, with the Swift in pursuit.

In the meantime the Broke had launched a torpedo at the second boat in the line, which hit the mark, and then opened fire with every possible gun. The remaining German boats were stoking furiously for full speed.

The Broke's commander swung around to port and rammed the third boat fair and square abreast the after funnel. Locked together thus, the two boats fought a desperate hand-to-hand conflict. The Broke swept the enemy's decks at pointblank range with every gun, from main armament to pompom, maxim, rifle, and pistol.

Two other German destroyers attacked and poured a devastating fire on the Broke, whose foremost gun crews were reduced from eighteen to six men. Midshipman Donald Gyles, although wounded in the eye, kept all the foremost guns in action, he himself assisting the depleted crews to load. While he was thus employed, a number of frenzied Germans swarmed up over the Broke's forecastle out of the rammed destroyer and, finding themselves amid the blinding flashes of the forecastle guns, swept aft in a shouting mob.

The midshipman, amid the dead and wounded of his own gun crews, and half blinded himself by blood, met the onset single-handed with an automatic revolver. He was grappled by a German, who tried to wrest the revolver away.

Cutlasses and bayonets being among the British equipment in anticipation of such an event, the German was promptly bayoneted by Seaman Ingleson. The remainder of the invaders, except two who feigned death, were driven over the side, the two being taken prisoner.

Meanwhile, the Swift continued her pursuit, but slight injuries which she received earlier in the action prevented her from maintaining full speed, so she abandoned the chase and sought fresh quarry. Sighting the outline of a stationary destroyer, from which shouts were heard, the Swift approached warily, with her guns trained, to find that it was the destroyer which had already been rammed by the Broke. The Germans were bellowing: "We surrender."

Fearing treachery, the Swift waited, and presently the destroyer keeled over and sank stern first, the crew jumping into the water.

As no other enemy was visible, and the action, which had lasted approximately five minutes, appeared to be over, the Swift switched on her searchlights and lowered boats to rescue the swimmers. Those who remained of the crews of the Swift and the Broke, after exchanging details of the action, cheered each other until they were hoarse.

The British casualties are set down as comparatively slight, and the spirit of the wounded is illustrated by the conduct of the Broke's helmsman, Seaman William Rowles, who, though hit four times by shell fragments, remained at the wheel throughout the action, and finally only betrayed the fact that he was wounded by reporting to his Captain, "I am going off now, Sir," and fainted.

Two minutes after ramming, the Broke wrenched herself free from her sinking adversary and turned to ram the last of the three remaining German boats. She failed in this object, but in swinging around succeeded in hitting the boat's consort on the stem with a torpedo. Hotly engaged with these two fleeing destroyers, the Broke attempted

to follow the Swift in the direction she was last seen, but a shell struck the Broke's boiler room, disabling her main engines.

The enemy then disappeared in the darkness. The Broke, altering her course, headed in the direction of a destroyer, which a few minutes later was seen to be heavily afire, and whose crew, on sighting the British destroyer, sent up shouts for mercy. The Broke steered slowly toward the German, regardless of the danger from a possible explosion of the magazines, and the German seamen redoubled their shouts of "Save! Save!" and then unexpectedly opened fire.

The Broke, being out of control, was unable to manoeuvre or extricate herself, but silenced the treachery with four rounds; then, to insure her own safety, torpedoed the German amidships.

A number of the wounded only presented themselves in the sick bay the following day, one stoker giving the surgeon the ingenious excuse: "I was too busy, Sir, clearing up the rubbish on the stokers' mess deck."

Captain Evans, commander of the destroyer Broke, is the well-known antarctic explorer and was the last man to see Scott when they parted 145 miles from the south pole.

The German Government reported the sinking of a British destroyer in this fight, asserting that it was hit by a torpedo amidships and was seen to sink stern foremost within five minutes. It also stated that a heavy explosion was heard in another British destroyer, while a third was seen to have a large hole in the side. The British Admiralty twice issued formal denials, asserting flatly, "There was no loss on our side."

Dunkirk, on the French side of the Channel, was the scene of a similar German destroyer raid on the night of April 24-25. The coast batteries replied to the gunfire, and British and French patrol ships engaged the enemy, who retreated in the direction of Ostend. One French torpedo boat was sunk in the brief action.

The Death Agony of a Submarine

Story of a Survivor

THE Monge, a French submarine, was rammed by an Austrian warship and sunk in the Adriatic on Dec. 29, 1915, and as its crew was taken prisoner the details of its destruction remained unknown for more than a year. Then the following vivid letter from one of the imprisoned members of the crew found its way into print. After describing the impact of the surface ship, the writer continues:

"The water enters in torrents. The safety hatch is closed, but the Monge descends very swiftly; it reaches a depth of 200 feet, and the plates crack under the pressure of the water. We give ourselves up as forever lost. Our vessel is being crushed; we feel it flattening in upon us. No one says a word, but everybody works. Orders are executed as in ordinary times; no panic, not a cry.

"We are facing the most certain and perhaps the most hideous death, yet our commander is superb in his coolness, and he has a crew that is worthy of him. The steel braces supporting the hull—bars as thick as my fist—are twisted like so many wires. The accumulators fall down on each other; the electric current is intensified, the fuses burn out, the acid decomposes—it is the second phase; after the crushing comes asphyxiation.

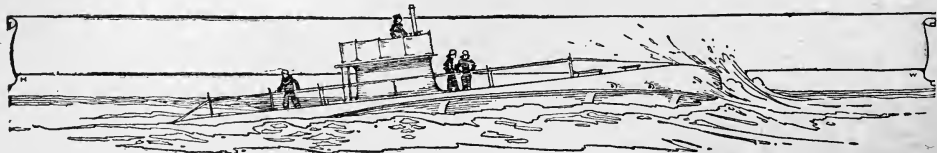
"'Courage! Courage! We are rising!'" That is the cry of the second torpedo master, for to him belongs the most delicate and certain of all our remedies. In fact, we feel that we are rising, and in a minute or two we have gone from a depth of 200 feet to the surface. We are saved!

"Alas! A third ordeal. The Austrians have seen us and begin shelling us at short range. A single shell pierces our hull. The commandant orders for the third time: 'To your posts for the dive!' This time all is indeed ended; the motors no longer act, none of the machinery runs, and the water keeps pouring in. Everybody goes to his post without a murmur, and yet we all know that this time death awaits us—and what a death! The commandant changes his mind. Our vessel is lost; why sacrifice the crew? He lets his arms drop, and two big tears roll down his cheeks, tears of pride and of impotence.

In a calm voice, however, he tells us to save ourselves. The impossible had been attempted; we could give up with a light heart.

"Before rising to the surface the commandant asks us to cry three times, 'Vive la France!' and to sing the 'Marseillaise.' Such were the last words and orders of the man who was and remained the commandant of the Monge, for he chose not to leave his beloved boat. As soon as we reached the deck we complied with his request and thrice shouted 'Vive la France!' and sang the refrain of the 'Marseillaise.' When the water rose to our waists we had only time to throw ourselves into the sea. The Monge sank on Dec. 29, 1915, at 2:30 in the morning. There were three deaths—the commandant and two mechanician quartermasters."

The French Government has honored the memory of Lieutenant Morillot, commandant of the Monge, by giving his name to a ship captured from the enemy.



Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

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Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. The article here presented is the fourth in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

IV.—The Tragic Story of the Dardanelles

AS the year 1915 opened, the long entrenched western front presented the condition which it soon became the fashion to describe as a "stalemate." Indeed, on this front the contest did resemble a chessboard contest in which master players had fought each other to a standstill. The Germans held practically all of Belgium and a very valuable slice of Northern France, but, although their defense of the invaded territories seemed well-nigh impregnable, it was evident that they could not hope to renew the effort of the past Summer to reach either Paris or the Channel ports.

On the other hand, England's small professional army had been almost annihilated in the hard battles in Northern France, and Lord Kitchener's optimistic prediction that huge new armies would be ready for service by May, 1915, suggested that a great allied offensive would not be possible before that time. France held by far the larger part of the long battle line, and Joffre was busy eliminating the unfit from high commands and installing in their places soldiers whose virtues had been discovered under fire. Both France and England began to realize what was needful in artillery and munitions, and in addition to enormous orders placed in America the home production of shells and guns was multiplied many times over.

In the comparative pause which distinguished the early part of the year the whole administrative system tried to tone itself up to the strenuous requirements of the time—much confusion had been caused by accepting for service on the

firing line skilled mechanics whose services were more needed in the munition works. While these errors were being corrected both London and Paris began to smoke out the host of slackers who had found safe berths at home. On the eastern front all the world felt that, aside from the crushing defeat at Tannenberg, the Russians had done remarkably well. Their problem would never be a lack of men, but the scarcity of munitions was serious. The northern seaport at Archangel was sealed by the arctic ice, and the Japanese shipments had a long journey across Asia by the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Situation of Central Powers

Germany had failed to make the war a short one by overwhelming and eliminating either of her opponents in the first rush of the fighting. The prodigal use of artillery necessitated economy for the Winter months while new supplies were manufactured. Much, too, was needful to help Austria to build up a more efficient fighting force. The armies of the Dual Monarchy had crumbled utterly in Poland, Galicia, and Serbia. It seemed at that time as though Austria might even prove an easy road for an allied army aiming at the heart of Germany from the south. Serbia's triumph on the ridges had fired Italy with an ambition to win Trent in the Alps and Trieste on the Adriatic.

The astonishing failure of the Austrian armies in the first six months of the war not only embarrassed the German General Staff by compelling the dispatch of reinforcements to the south-

east, but added materially to political difficulties. Italy, benevolently neutral and remembering the ties of the late alliance, could be a great help in reaching the markets of the outside world—Italy joined to the Allies would be a new and serious danger along the weak Austrian frontier. Rumania, too, was likely to be dangerously influenced by the apparent impotence of Austrian arms.

It is by no means impossible that the real historians who write of this war a generation hence may see that the best time for the war to have ended was in the beginning of 1915. The combatants as yet included only the original groups. The savage fighting and enormous destruction of property, while already serious, had nowhere reached the deadly development of the later periods. It then began to be evident that the war could not be a short one, and that its cost in blood and treasure would impose heavy burdens on mankind for many generations. Really determined action on the part of the leading powers not then involved in the war might possibly have halted the carnage. It was nearly two years later when Germany suggested peace, and the suggestion fell on ears deafened by what happened in 1915 and 1916.

What had been done in 1914 could never be forgotten, nor perhaps forgiven, but this period was one in which the dark future began to be correctly estimated. England still shuddered at the prospect of compulsory service, and the best blood of France was being drained. Germany must have been aware that succeeding years would be certain to roll up a great preponderance of man power on the allied side. Possibly it was the Prussian system which closed the mouths of those who might wisely have proposed to end the war then on the best terms possible.

British in Mesopotamia

England had declared war on Turkey in November, and on the 7th of that month a brigade of regular infantry from India (mostly native troops) captured a Turkish fort at Fao, a little town at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The British troops sailed on up the Schatt-el-Arab, which receives above Basra the combined waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris. An intrenched camp was established at Sanijeh, and here presently two more brigades arrived from India. After winning a battle at Sahil the combined military and naval forces advanced upon the important city of Basra, which was easily captured on Nov. 23. Early in December the fortified town of Kurna, fifty miles above Basra, was captured, and since then the British have remained in undisputed control of the whole delta. Bagdad, Turkey's main military station in Mesopotamia, is more than 300 miles to the north on the Tigris. This short and successful campaign gave Britain control of the region from which a Turkish force under German direction might have threatened India.

Defeat of Enver Pasha

In January, 1915, both Turkey and Russia had armies in Northern Persia, where on the 30th of the month, after a severe defeat, the Turks lost Tabriz, which they had occupied some time before. Several small Russian columns invaded Kurdistan, but were held close to the frontier by the vigorous resistance of Turkish regulars moved up from the interior.

Meanwhile a Russian army numbering about 100,000 under General Woronzov began an advance toward Erzerum, the strongly fortified Turkish base in Armenia. Enver Pasha, with a Turkish army considerably stronger, defeated the Russians between Kaprikeui and Khorasán just before Christmas. Enver attempted an elaborate enveloping manoeuvre, which involved well-nigh impossible marches by separate corps through high mountain passes choked with snow and impassable for either artillery or supply trains. One after the other the separated Turkish corps were defeated, although they all fought well, and by the middle of January the remains of Enver's army were in full retreat upon Erzerum, having lost probably one-third of their strength.

This disaster denied to Austria the

help that a successful Turkish diversion against Southeastern Russia would have provided. A successful Turkish campaign would certainly have diverted some of the Russian forces which were then threatening to pierce the Carpathians and invade the Plains of Hungary.

Egypt and the Suez Canal

On Dec. 17, 1915, England proclaimed Egypt to be a British protectorate, and a strong British force was organized under Major Gen. Sir John Maxwell to meet the attack which it was expected would be made upon the Suez Canal. Late in November there was a skirmish on the east side of the canal, at Katiyeh, between Bedouins and the British Camel Corps, and late in January skirmishing was renewed with small Turkish detachments which had crossed the 130 miles of desert east of the canal. In the first week of February a Turkish force of somewhat under a division attempted to cross the canal. The British troops were greatly helped by the gunfire of a number of British and French warships in the Canal, and by the end of the week the Turks were in full retreat across the desert. The lack of water had made it impossible for the Turks to move over the desert an army strong enough to cross the canal and invade Egypt, and the difficulty of the terrain kept the victorious British from pursuing the defeated enemy, who were able to carry off their guns and transport.

Attack on the Dardanelles

Gallipoli Peninsula is a hilly, irregular tongue of land something more than fifty miles in length and varying from three to ten miles in width. On the west the Aegean Sea breaks on a rugged shore, with a few stretches of sandy beach where boats may land. The eastern side of the peninsula guards the strait of the Dardanelles, through which all sea traffic must pass to Constantinople and the Black Sea beyond. This strait, from three-quarters of a mile to five miles in width, but averaging between two and three miles, is the most important waterway in the world, because it forms the only outlet by water

for the whole vast region of Southern Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Syria, and Turkey, which have coasts touching the Black Sea.

The military importance of this sea channel in the present war was tremendous, for if the Allies could sieze the Dardanelles they would cut off the



ADMIRAL DE ROBECK,
Naval Commander at Dardanelles

Asiatic Turks and minimize the danger of German attacks upon Egypt or India. Even more important would be the opening of an all-the-year route by which Russian grain could come out to England and France in ships which should carry back guns and munitions so greatly needed in Russia. In addition, and perhaps paramount to all other incentives for a campaign against Constantinople, was the fact that the ancient city on the Golden Horn was the one great prize in Europe that might enrich the spoils of the victors. Berlin and Vienna would remain German and Austrian, after the final treaty should be signed, but the Turk's capital might be expected to change hands and fly a new flag.

Russia seemed likely to force a way through the Balkans from the north. England determined with French help to reach the goal first—by naval means if

possible, but by a combined military and naval force in case the strait should prove too strong for the marine attack alone. There was a precedent in British naval annals for the belief that a fleet might force its way through, for in February, 1807, seven ships of the line under Sir John Duckworth forced the



SIR IAN HAMILTON,
British Commander at Gallipoli

passage, silencing forts and sinking Turkish ships. The Turks then fired stone shot two feet in diameter, but when the Italians attempted to rush a fleet of torpedo boats through in a night attack in 1910 they were defeated by modern guns and searchlights installed by German engineers. The fortifications were greatly strengthened and the artillery increased after the outbreak of the war in August, 1914. The Turkish coasts were difficult for attack, and the swift current of the strait made the use of floating mines a dangerous adjunct to the shore line defenses. The forts on both sides of the Dardanelles were strongly garrisoned, and a large mobile force of Turkish infantry was entrenched in the very difficult hill country of the peninsula. A number of German officers were on duty with these Turkish forces.

Operations at Gallipoli

England seized the excellent harbor of Mudros in the Greek Island of Lemnos and made that the base of the naval forces operating against Gallipoli. On Feb. 18 the British and French fleets attacked and soon silenced the old-fashioned stone forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, but beyond these antiquated forts lay a series of mine fields blocking the channel. Mine sweepers under cover of a heavy fire from the fleet endeavored to clear the channel and open a way for the fighting units of the fleets. The operations of the mine sweepers were made very difficult by the fire of field batteries and heavy howitzers concealed among the hills and shifted cleverly whenever located by the attacking forces. In the middle of March, in the midst of a heavy gun fire, the Turks skillfully directed some large mines, which sank three battleships, two British and one French.

After a month of fruitless and costly fighting it was decided that the strait could not be forced by naval attack alone, and a combined British and French army was mobilized to land and attack the Turks in co-operation with the fleets. The French Division of Territorials and Senegalese was commanded by General d'Amade. General Ian Hamilton had the Twenty-ninth Division of British regulars with the Royal Naval Division and the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. These forces were concentrated in Mudros Harbor and held until the Spring gales had blown themselves out and there was promise of a quiet sea for the very difficult operation of landing the expeditions through the surf.

On April 25, at daybreak, the French and British fleets bombarded all the Turkish positions and the transports sent their human freight ashore. The French landed on the Asiatic side of the strait to attack the powerful fortifications on that side. The British effected a number of landings on the southern end of Gallipoli, but the main attacks were intended to be those near Gaba Tepe and Cape Helles.

The forces attacking in the Cape Helles region landed at three small

beaches, where great difficulties were overcome by extreme bravery, but the losses involved in these landing operations were appalling. The Turkish artillery and machine gunners were firing at ranges from 100 to 300 yards. Barbed wire entanglements had been set in the surf off shore, and the little beaches were mined. Strong detachments of Turkish infantry were well concealed on the rough, scrub-covered hillside, and were dislodged in savage bayonet fighting by the survivors of the landing parties. Large numbers of British soldiers were killed in the boats by machine gun and rifle fire.

Christening of the "Anzacs"

The Australians won imperishable fame at the beach about fifteen miles north of Cape Helles, near Gaba Tepe, where they fought all day and all night singing their song, "Australia Will Be There." The Turks attacked constantly with heavy infantry detachments, but the fleet moved in and rained projectiles upon them. Finally, after a terrific ninety-six-hour battle, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps won and fortified their position. In commemoration of their heroism this hitherto unnamed beach became famous under the name A-N-Z-A-C.

The British won a footing along the southwestern shores of Gallipoli at a cost to the battalions engaged of from one-third to one-half of their strength. The survivors were too exhausted to drive the attack into the hills, and the Turks were given a breathing spell in which they brought up reinforcements of men and munitions.

The French Corps landed on April 26, at V. Beach, below Sedd-el-Bahr, and, not encountering very great opposition, fought their way inland for a mile on the following day and joined hands with the British on their left. The united forces attacked the Turkish town of Krithia on April 28, but when within about 1,300 yards of the objective were forced back by powerful Turkish attacks. They dug themselves in finally and held their lines until the Turks delivered terrific new attacks on May 1. The first lines of the

Turkish infantry had been deprived of cartridges and attacked with the bayonet only. They carried the front of the position, broke through to the second line and in the darkness of a moonless night cut their way through both French and British until stopped by the British supports. This battle lasted five days, and night after night the Turks attacked with the bayonet.

By May 5 the British Twenty-ninth Division had lost one-half its men and nearly 70 per cent. of its officers. Nevertheless, on May 6 the Allied forces mustered strength and courage to attack the hill of Achi Baba, which dominated the lower ground toward the water held by the French and British. After an all-day battle, in which the losses were extreme, the line had won an advance of 200 yards. This battle continued for days and culminated in a further advance of some 600 to 700 yards on the evening of May 8, when some of the brave Australians and New Zealanders had been brought down from Anzac to help. There were no other great battles, but there was constant fighting through the remaining weeks of May.

Achi Baba Almost Taken

On June 4 the Allies made another grand attack, having meanwhile been reinforced by the newly arrived Forty-second Division. After a prolonged bombardment an advance of 600 to 700 yards was won and the summit of Achi Baba almost taken. The Turks rallied, and in a brave counterattack recaptured a field work called the Haricot, which the French infantry had stormed and garrisoned with Senegalese troops. From this position the Turks enfiladed the British lines and forced both the British Royal Naval Division and the Manchester Brigade to abandon the lines which they had won at a terrible cost.

On June 21 the French won again the Haricot work, and on the 28th the British, in a brilliant attack, advanced a thousand yards. This success was especially notable because the 10,000 British soldiers were all new men of not over six months' training, who charged up hill in an attack perfectly co-ordi-

nated and carried fortified lines with the bayonet. When the first attacking line had settled into the captured position another 10,000 fresh troops charged and captured three more Turkish lines. These 20,000 men were not enough, however, to push the attack further. At midnight, June 29-30, a Turkish attack by a force of 30,000 men at Anzac was repulsed with great loss.

While the allied forces awaited the arrival of heavy reinforcements promised for midsummer a plan was matured for a great attack. This intended that the troops near Cape Helles should fight a holding battle while a powerful attack to the north at Anzac should aim to win the dominating heights midway of the peninsula from which infantry might gain control of the highway to Constantinople and artillery could shell by direct fire the Turkish fortifications along the strait. In addition the new forces were to be landed still further north at Suvla Bay, three miles above Anzac, and attempt to turn the Turkish right flank. While these attacks were to be concerted, the actions must necessarily be separate battles fought by armies separated from each other. The plan was for the attack at Anzac to be made on Aug. 6 and on the night of the 6th-7th (moonless) the new army was to be landed at Suvla.

The splendid Australian troops at Anzac in July dug and hid under cover twenty-five miles of dugouts for the concealment of the 30,000 men who were to reinforce them preparatory to the great attack. The new troops were landed with great caution at night to hide the arrangements from the watchful Turks, always ready to hurry reinforcements to any threatened part of the line. In addition to providing a hiding place for the 30,000 newcomers the Australians carried ashore and hid hundreds of draft animals and hundreds of tons of supplies. The navy brought over a distance of 500 miles the eighty tons of fresh water required by this army daily, and this, too, was stored in hidden tanks ashore.

Battle of Suvla Bay

The battle in the Cape Helles sector opened promptly and raged with great

ferocity from Aug. 6 to Aug. 13. Its object was achieved, for not only was the large original force of Turks held there, but strong reinforcements were brought down from the north.

For several days the warships bombarded the Turkish positions on the Lonesome Pine plateau, which was the immediate objective in the Anzac sector. Late in the afternoon of Aug. 6, after a whirlwind of shells had brought the bombardment to its culmination, the Australians leaped from their trenches and charged the Turkish lines. They won the covered trenches and in five days and nights of constant counterattacks succeeded in holding them. This long struggle was almost all the time a hand-to-hand duel with bayonets and bombs.

As the battle at Lonesome Pine developed, the troops destined for the attack to the north left Anzac and marched along shore to the scene of their effort. Several strong outposts were rushed most gallantly, but the Turks held the main hill crests valiantly, and all efforts to dislodge them failed. As this night battle was in progress transports crowded into Suvla Bay and the new 30,000 men were landed. The beach was mined, and defended by riflemen as well, so that the new army began to lose men as it stepped ashore. The mission of this army was to seize the high hills inclosing the low-lying basin back of the bay, but they suffered vital hours to slip through their fingers for one reason or another, and meanwhile the Turks, at midnight on the 8th-9th, got strong forces into the critical positions and thereby wrote failure at the bottom of this gory page in English military history.

On the morning of Aug. 8 the British and Australian regiments renewed the battle north of Anzac and gained some promising successes, although at appalling cost. The delayed advance on their left from Suvla nullified these successes and made the battle a useless waste of life. British regiments which had won one of the most vital hill crests were shelled and decimated by their own war-

ships, after which a huge force of Turkish infantry counterattacked and practically annihilated several British regiments.

The great battle of Aug. 6-10 was a British defeat and practically ended the fighting on Gallipoli, although some minor successes were achieved later in August among the hills back of Anzac. In November a violent blizzard raged for several days and hundreds of British soldiers were frozen to death, while many thousands were invalided home as the result of extreme exposure. In December the Anzac and Suvla positions were evacuated, and early in January, 1916, the last British soldiers left Gallipoli from the Cape Helles sector.

The failure of the Turks to attack the British while evacuating their positions remains one of the unsolved riddles of the war. The British losses in the Gallipoli campaign were 115,000 men killed, wounded, and missing, with about 100,000 more sick. While the attempt toward Constantinople persisted it kept a large army of several hundred thousand Turks away from other fields. Meanwhile, the German successes in 1915 against Russia relieved the Turk from the threat of a Russian attack from the north.

When the allied forces were withdrawn from the peninsula practically all the veteran Turkish troops were freed for use in Rumania or Asia Minor. Throughout the terrific fighting in April, June, and August the Turks fought with magnificent courage and proved themselves equally valiant in both attack and defense. They treated captured and wounded prisoners with real kindness. The British Twenty-ninth Division (regulars) and the Australian and New Zealand Corps won imperishable fame.

Russian Front in 1915

In January, 1915, the Russian armies were making a determined stand on a long front running from the Masurian Lakes south inside the Prussian frontier until above the Narev it curved out into Russia and continued west of Mława, east of Plock, and over the Vistula, near the mouth of the Bzura. Thence running southeast to Bukowina, below Czerno-

witz, this long battle line reached the Rumanian frontier, having attained a total length of nearly 900 miles, the greatest embattled line in the world's history.

The Germans faced the Czar's troops down as far as the Nida, where they joined the left flank of the Austrian armies, which had been stiffened by the introduction of several complete German corps. Przemysl was still resisting the Russians, but was surrounded and closely invested.

In January the Grand Duke Nicholas undertook several advances on the flanks—Russian cavalry cut the railway in East Prussia, and in the Carpathians the Pass of Kirlibaba was stormed. Early in February von Mackensen launched another attack upon Warsaw, having concentrated nearly 150,000 men along the Rawka for a new frontal attack upon the great Polish city. Under cover of a heavy bombardment and a blinding snow-storm the battle began, and the Germans pushed a wide wedge some five miles into the Russian line before they were checked by Feb. 4. The German losses are estimated to have been in the neighborhood of 20,000 men, and much of the ground was readily yielded to Russian counterattacks.

Following this reverse the great German strategist launched two major operations directed against the Russian right and left flanks. In the first week of February the Russian thrust in East Prussia had very nearly reached Tilsit, with the left flank of the expedition at Johannsburg. Then Hindenburg struck, and with a much superior force succeeded in enveloping the Russian right at Pirkallen and Gumbinnen. This part of the Russian Army was driven into the forest region above Suwalki and completely broken up. Such units as escaped back into Russia made their way separately, and quite without further tactical connection with their comrades heavily engaged between Lötzen and Johannsburg. The Russians here fought a stubborn rear guard action with much success, and although defeated they succeeded in retreating over their own frontier without suffering very great loss. The Germans

captured 80 guns and something over 30,000 prisoners, besides carrying the war out of Prussian and into Russian territory, where it has remained ever since.

Von Hindenburg undoubtedly planned to renew the attack upon Warsaw by a flank movement which should cut the railway communications to the north, but the Russians resisted successfully efforts aimed at Grodno and Ossowitz, and by the middle of March vigorous counter-attacks drove the Germans back to within ten miles of the frontier. Meanwhile another German army on a front of twenty-five miles between Mlawa and Chorzele struck hard toward the south, and on Feb. 24 captured Przasnysz, taking a number of guns and half a brigade. Strong Russian reinforcements came up, and although many of the men were armed only with bayonets and bombs, Przasnysz was recaptured on Feb. 26.

Winter in the Carpathians

In the south General Brusiloff renewed his efforts to win the Carpathian passes and open a door for the Russian invasion of Hungary. While he attacked from Dukla to the Uzsok another column struck close along the Rumanian frontier, and on Jan. 6 took Kimpolung and on the 17th captured the Pass of Kirlibaba. About this time the Austrians began to show a greater determination to drive the menace of invasion out of the Carpathians, and General von Linsingen, having taken the passes east of the Lupkow, began to invade Galicia.

At the ridge of Koziowa Brusiloff withstood the Austrian rush and stopped the advance of the Austrian left wing. The right wing, however, pushed up through Bukowina and took both Czernowitz and Kolomea. On March 3 Stanislaw was taken, which brought the Austrians within seventy miles of Lemberg. Soon Russian reinforcements arrived, and Stanislaw was retaken. The latter part of March saw the Russians still holding the Dukla, while the passes east of the Uzsok were firmly held by Austria.

On March 22, after a siege of almost seven months, the fortified city of

Przemysl was taken by the Russians. Accounts of the military conditions prevalent among the large forces which had been shut up in this strongly fortified position for so long a time indicated quite clearly what was the matter with the Austrian army. While the soldiers were reduced to almost starvation rations, general officers and their staffs continued to live openly a life of luxurious extravagance. The selfishness and incompetence of the superiors were naturally destructive of that morale among the troops without which no amount of training will secure the best results.

Attrition in the West

As 1915 dawned the battle lines in Belgium and France were about 500 miles long, and of that long line little more than 10 per cent. was held by the British and Belgians—the French defended nearly 90 per cent., and in addition to the battle casualties they lost many men from sickness caused by exposure in the trenches. Toward the north there was constant rain and sleet, while the positions in the Vosges and Argonne were buried deep in heavy snows. The fighting in the Winter and early Spring was confined to local attacks and counterattacks, usually favorable to the Allies.

The German artillery was decidedly less effective than it had been in the early months of the war. Large numbers of guns had been returned to German armories for repair, and it was said that more than 60 per cent. of the German shells fired at this time failed to explode. The German troops on the western front probably numbered 2,000,000 men.

Late in January the Allies made a spirited attack upon German positions east of Nieuport, among the sandy dunes of the Belgian coast, where they won part of an intrenched position, which enabled them to threaten the German trenches on the east side of the Yser. After this local success that part of the line lapsed into a dormant state for months.

In February the Germans blew up a British trench near Ypres, and there was

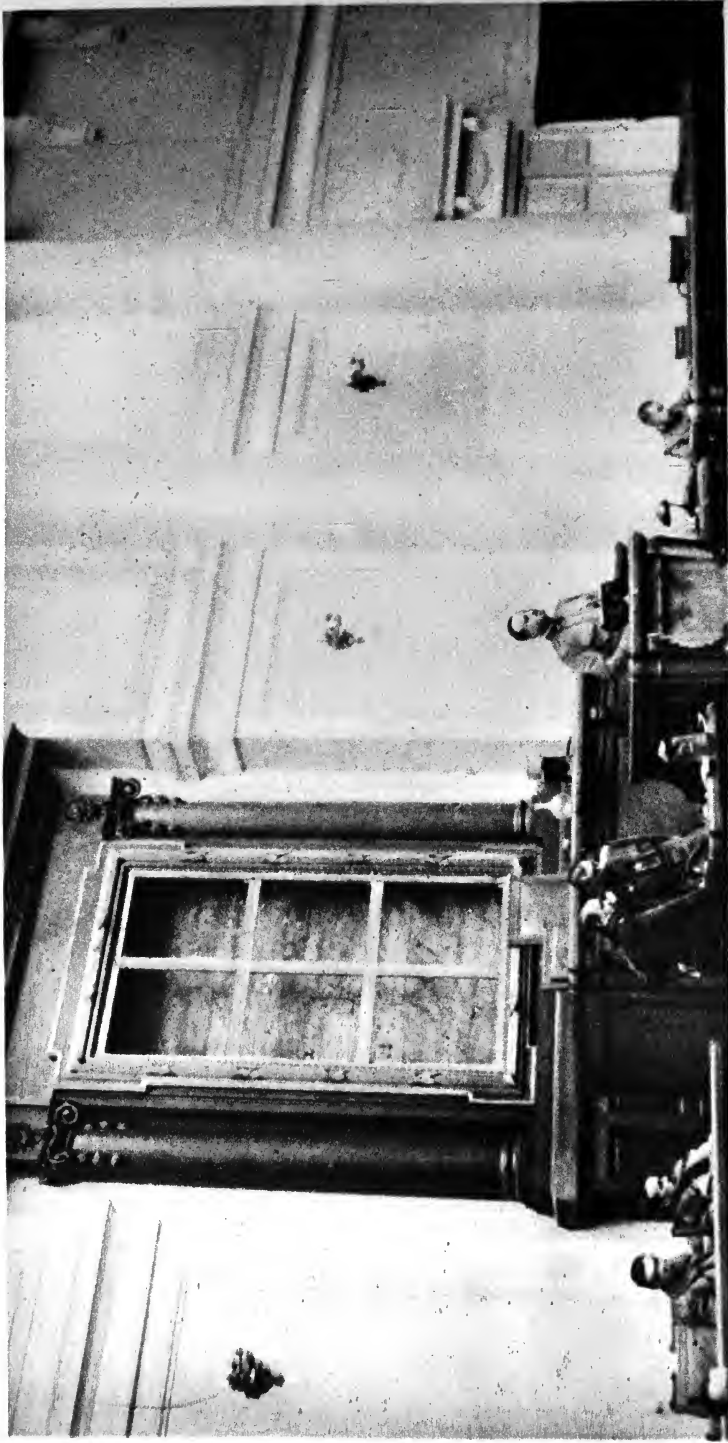
RASPUTIN AMONG HIS ADMIRERS IN THE RUSSIAN COURT



Gregory Rasputin, the Peasant Monk and Adventurer, Gained a Mysterious Power Over the Czarina and Was One Cause of the Czar's Downfall. His pro-German Intrigues Led to His Assassination

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

CZAR'S PORTRAIT TORN FROM ITS FRAME IN THE DUMA



First Meeting of the Russian Parliament After the Revolution. A General of the Army Is Addressing the Duma. The Great Portrait of the Czar Back of the Rostrum Has Been Torn From Its Frame

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

a seesaw battle near St. Eloi. The Princess Patricia's Regiment of Canadian Light Infantry in a sortie captured a German trench and many prisoners.

A severe battle raged near La Bassée on Jan. 25-26, when the Germans broke through part of the British lines and inflicted heavy losses upon the brigade of Guards regiments holding that part of the intrenchments. The Black Watch lost a great many officers and men, and the regiments engaged included such famous units as the First Scots Guards, First Coldstreams, First Cameron Highlanders, King's Royal Rifles, Second Sussex and London Scottish. The driving back of the British line caused the French left under Maud'huy to be dangerously exposed, but the Germans failed to seize their opportunity to turn this flank. On the same day the Germans fought their way into Givenchy, but were ejected after a hard hand-to-hand struggle.

In the last days of January and the first of February a severe battle raged about the brickfield west of La Bassée, and it was here that Lance Corporal Michael O'Leary of the Irish Guards won the Victoria Cross by killing eight Germans and capturing two. In January and February there were local battles at Lens, Arras, and Roye, and an important battle followed a French attack above Soissons. At first considerable success attended this effort, but heavy German reinforcements were brought up and the French were driven back across the Aisne with the loss of several thousand men and about twenty guns. General von Kluck, the German commander, made a great effort to capture Soissons, but Maunoury blocked the effort by the skillful use of French artillery and infantry reserves.

In February and March the French carried on an almost constant series of attacks in Champagne, which compelled the Germans to bring heavy reinforcements from the north. Not a great deal of ground was won, but nearly 10,000 German dead were buried by the French and 2,000 prisoners were captured. Meanwhile in the Verdun region further toward the south fierce battles were

fought near Les Eparges and Pont-à-Mousson. In the Vosges the French and then the Germans won successes in the region of Mülhausen, Cernay, and Hartmanns-Weilerkopf.

Neuve Chapelle

In March, 1915, the British forces in France numbered half a million men, with General Sir John French the Commander in Chief and Sir Douglas Haig commanding the First Army, from La Bassée to Estaires. General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien commanded the Second Army, which held the lines up to the Ypres salient. On March 10 at 7:30 A. M. the British guns began to hurl a hurricane of shells upon the German trenches about Neuve Chapelle. Field guns, field howitzers, sixty-pounders, coast-defense guns, and fifteen-inch howitzers had all been crowded together for this bombardment, which flung four shells to every yard in the sector attacked during the thirty-five minutes before the range was increased and the storm of explosives broke over the town itself. When the British infantry advanced they readily won the positions, which had been pounded into dust heaps by the artillery, and the town fell into their hands.

The moment appeared ripe for the capture of the ridge east of the town, which dominates the great highway from Lille to the south, but in certain places some of the units had failed to carry out their part of the great plan. The battle continued with the utmost intensity through the 11th and 12th, but the Germans prevented any further advance, and the net result of the great effort was the capture of Neuve Chapelle. On the 14th and 15th the Germans developed a great offensive at St. Eloi, a village fifteen miles north of Neuve Chapelle. They won the village, but lost it later when General Haig's men attacked in great force.

The battle at Neuve Chapelle was a bitter disappointment to the British. The casualties were very heavy and were in part caused by the faulty ranging of their own artillery. The staff plans were in part imperfect, and altogether this effort was looked upon as a costly failure, with much of the fault in high places.

Final Official Reports on Gallipoli

Vice Admirals de Robeck and Wemyss Tell of the Navy's Part in the Withdrawal of Troops

THE British Admiralty published, on April 11, 1917, the dispatches from Vice Admiral Sir John M. de Robeck, late Vice Admiral Commanding the Eastern Mediterranean Squadron, and Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn E. Wemyss, late Senior Naval Officer, Mudros, describing the naval operations in connection with the withdrawal of the army from the Gallipoli Peninsula in December, 1915, and January, 1916. These communications furnish details of the all-important part played by the British Navy in what was one of the most difficult operations of the war.

Vice Admiral Wemyss, whose dispatch is dated Dec. 22, 1915, deals with the withdrawal from Suvla Bay and Anzac, which occurred eighteen days before the final evacuation of the peninsula. This preliminary operation was carried out in three stages. The principle decided upon for all three stages was secrecy and the attempt to take the enemy entirely by surprise. Every effort was therefore made during the whole of the operations to maintain the beaches, offing, &c., in their usual appearance, and all embarkations were carried out during the dark hours. The increase in the number of motor lighters, boats, &c., in use at the beaches was hidden as far as possible during the daytime. The preliminary stage was completed satisfactorily by Dec. 10, when the definite orders to evacuate were received.

It had been computed that ten nights would be required for the intermediate stage, on each of which 3,000 personnel and a proportion of guns and animals would be embarked from each beach. The estimate was eventually reduced, special efforts being made in order to take advantage of the fine weather. The intermediate stage was completed on the night of Dec. 17-18, and from the absence of any unusual shelling of the beaches during these nights it was apparent that

the enemy had no idea of the movement in progress. Some 44,000 personnel, nearly 200 guns, numerous wagons, and 3,000 animals were evacuated during this period, together with a large amount of stores and ammunition.

A Risky Operation

The final stage commenced on the night of Dec. 18-19, and was completed on the night of Dec. 19-20. The weather conditions, however, proved to be ideal. On each of the two nights it was necessary to evacuate rather more than 10,000 personnel from each beach, and for this special arrangements were necessary. The chief possible difficulties to contend with were two—first, the bad weather to be expected at this season, second, interference by the enemy.

After some heavy winds, fine weather set in with December, and, except for a strong northeasterly wind on the 15th, continued until twenty-four hours after the completion of the evacuation. This prolonged period of fine weather alone made possible the success which attended the operation.

The final concentration of the ships and craft required at Kephala was completed on Dec. 17, and in order to prevent enemy's aircraft observing the unusual quantity of shipping a constant air patrol was maintained to keep these at a distance. Reports of the presence of enemy submarines were also received during these two days; patrols were strengthened, but no attacks by these craft were made. The evacuation was carried out in accordance with orders. No delays occurred, and there were no accidents to ships or boats.

Destruction of Stores

On the night of Dec. 18-19 the embarkation was finished at Suvla by 3 A. M., and at Anzac by 5:30 A. M., and by daylight the beaches and anchorages at

these places had resumed their normal aspect. The second night's operation, so far as the navy was concerned, differed in no wise from the first, precisely the same routine being adhered to. The last troops left the front trenches at 1:30 A. M., and the signal that the evacuation was complete was received at 4:15 A. M. at Anzac and 5:39 A. M. at Suvla.

A large mine was exploded at about 3:15 A. M. by the Australians, and at Suvla all perishable stores which had not been taken off and which were heaped up in large mounds with petrol poured over them were fired at 4 A. M., making a vast bonfire, which lighted everything round for a very long distance. In spite of all this, the enemy seemed perfectly unaware of what had taken place. As day dawned, soon after 6:30, the anchorages of both places were clear of all craft, except the covering squadrons, which had been ordered up during the night, and when the sun had sufficiently risen for objects to be made out, the bombardment of the beaches commenced with the object of destroying everything that remained. At Suvla this consisted only of some water tanks and four motor lighters, which had been washed ashore in the gale of Nov. 28 and never recovered, owing principally to lack of time. At Anzac it had been deemed inadvisable to set a light to the stores which it had been found impossible to embark, so that here the bombardment was more severe, and large fires were started by the bursting shell. Admiral Wemyss continues:

A curious spectacle now presented itself, certain areas absolutely clear of troops being subjected to a heavy shell fire from our own and the enemy's guns. It seems incredible that all this work had taken place without the enemy becoming aware of our object, for, although the utmost care was taken to preserve the beaches and offing as near as possible normal, yet it proved quite impracticable to get up boats and troop carriers in sufficient time to carry out the night's work, and yet for them not to have been visible from some parts of the peninsula. At 7:25 A. M. I ordered the squadron to return to Kephalo, leaving two specially protected cruisers to watch the area. These subsequently reported that they had caused a good deal of damage among the enemy when they eventually swarmed down to take possession of the loot, the realization of which, I trust,

was a great disappointment to them. All the arrangements were most admirably carried out, and the time table previously laid down was adhered to exactly. * * *

Before closing this dispatch I would like to emphasize the fact that what made this operation so successful, apart from the kindness of the weather and of the enemy, was the hearty co-operation of both services. The evacuation forms an excellent example of the cordial manner in which the navy and army have worked together during these last eight months. Nothing could have exceeded the courtesy of Generals Sir William Birdwood, Sir Julian Byng, and Sir Alexander Godley, and their respective staffs, and this attitude was typical of the whole army. The traditions of the navy were fully maintained, the seamanship and resource displayed reaching a very high standard. From the commanding officers of men-of-war, transports, and large supply ships to the midshipmen in charge of steamboats and pulling boats off the beaches, all did well.

Admiral de Robeck's Report

In the final operations, described by Vice Admiral de Robeck, the weather was not so uniformly favorable. Moreover, the difficulties were increased by the attentions of the enemy, who, however, thanks to the care and skill of our commanders, remained in entire ignorance of what was afoot.

Forty-eight hours before the evacuation was completed the number of men remaining on the peninsula was to be cut down to 22,000. Of these 7,000 were to embark on the last night but one, leaving 15,000 for the final night. At the request of the military the latter number was increased to 17,000. As few guns as possible were to be left to the final night, and arrangements were made to destroy any of these which it might be found impossible to remove, or which, by reason of their condition, were considered not worth removing.

The preliminary stage commenced on the night of Dec. 30-31, and terminated on the night of Jan. 7-8. During this stage all personnel except 17,000 were removed, as well as the majority of the guns and a great quantity of animals, stores, &c. The amount of stores remaining on shore after the preliminary stage was greater than was anticipated or intended; this was almost entirely due to the unfavorable weather conditions, and, as men were evacuated, to a shortage in working parties.

On Jan. 2 and 3 strong northeasterly winds blew all day; the morning of the 4th was calm, but the weather broke at 7 P. M., and by 11 P. M. it was blowing a gale. The transfer of guns, animals, and stores, &c., from motor lighters to transports and supply ships lying off the beaches was a matter of great difficulty under such conditions of weather.

Working Under Heavy Fire

During the whole of this period "V" and "W" beaches were subjected to a heavy and accurate shell fire from the enemy's batteries mounted on the Asiatic shore, and also from guns firing from positions to north of Achi Baba. All these guns were accurately registered on to the beaches, and the shelling continued day and night at frequent and uncertain intervals; that the actual loss of life from this fire was very small borders on the miraculous; the beach parties were completely exposed, and piers and fore-shore constantly hit by shells while officers and men were working on them; even when resting in the dugouts security from enemy's fire could not be assured, and several casualties occurred under these conditions. The work on the beaches was practically continuous; during the daytime motor lighters, &c., were loaded up with stores, &c., to be transferred to storeships at night; by night the work was most strenuous.

During the whole time there remained the paramount necessity of preventing the enemy gaining intelligence of what was in progress; this added greatly to the difficulties of work during daylight. Enemy aircraft paid frequent visits to the peninsula; on these occasions, while the "Taube" was in evidence, animals and transports approaching the beaches were turned and marched in the opposite direction, and stores and horses already in lighters were even unloaded on to the beaches to give the appearance of a disembarkation.

On the afternoon of the 7th the enemy delivered a very heavy artillery attack against certain portions of our advanced position, probably the most intense bombardment our trenches in the Helles area have ever been subjected to. Attempts were made by the enemy to follow up

this bombardment by an infantry attack, but the few Turks who could be persuaded to quit their trenches were instantly shot down, and the infantry advance was a complete failure. This bombardment and attack most fortunately took place at a time when our forward position was fully manned, and when there were still about sixty guns in position on the peninsula, with a very large supply of ammunition.

Embarcation Difficulties

The enemy was certainly deceived as to the date of our final departure from his shores, and his artillery fore on the final night of the evacuation was negligible.

The decision arrived at on Jan. 6 to evacuate practically all the personnel of the final night from "W" and "V" beaches necessitated some rearrangement of plans, as some 5,000 additional troops had to be embarked from these beaches. To use motor lighters from the already crowded piers would have lengthened the operation very considerably, and it was therefore decided to employ destroyers to embark 5,200 men from the blockships, which were fitted with stagings and connected to the shore; thus existing arrangements would be interfered with as little as possible. The result was excellent. The destroyers, which were laid alongside the blockships, in spite of a nasty sea, being handled with great skill by their commanding officers, once more showing their powers of adaptability.

The necessary amendments to orders were issued on the morning of the 7th, and, in spite of the short notice given, the naval operations on the night of Jan. 8-9 were carried out without confusion or delay, a fact which reflects great credit on all concerned, especially on the beach personnel, who were chiefly affected by the change of plan. On the 8th the weather was favorable, except that the wind was from the south; this showed no signs of freshening at 5 P. M., and orders were given to carry out the final stage. The actual embarkation on the 8th commenced at 8 P. M., and the last section were to commence embarking at 6:30 A. M. By 9 P. M. the wind had fresh-

ened considerably, still blowing from the south; a slight sea got up, and caused much inconvenience on the beaches.

A floating bridge at "W" beach commenced to break up, necessitating arrangements being made to ferry the last section of the personnel to the waiting destroyers. At Gully beach matters were worse, and, after a portion of the 700 troops had been embarked in motor lighters and sent off to his Majesty's ship *Talbot*, it was found impossible to continue using this beach, (one motor lighter was already badly on shore—she was subsequently destroyed by gunfire,) and orders were given for the remainder of the Gully beach party to embark from "W" beach; this was done without confusion, special steps having been taken by the beachmaster to cope with such an eventuality. After a temporary lull the wind again increased, and by 3 A. M. a very nasty sea was running into "W" beach.

It was only by the great skill and determination displayed by the beach personnel that the embarkation was brought to a successful conclusion and all the small craft except one steamboat (damaged in collision) got away in safety. The last troops were leaving at 3:45 A. M., after which the beach personnel embarked. Great difficulty was experienced in getting the last motor lighters away, owing to the heavy seas running into the harbor.

This was unfortunate, as the piles of stores which it had been found impossible to take off, and which were prepared for burning, were lit perhaps rather sooner than was necessary, as were also the fuses leading to the magazine. The latter blew up before all the boats were clear, and I regret to report caused the death of one of the crew of the hospital barge, which was among the last boats to leave. It was fortunate that more casualties were not caused by the explosion, débris from which fell over and around a great many boats.

Operations a Complete Success

Admiral de Robeck attributes the success of the operations principally to:

- (a) Excellent staff work.
- (b) The untiring energy and skill displayed

by officers and men, both army and navy, comprising the beach parties.

(c) The good seamanship and zeal of the officers and crews of the various craft employed in the evacuation of the troops.

(d) The excellent punctuality of the army in the arrival of the troops for embarkation at the different beaches.

The navy [he continues] has especially to thank Generals Sir William Birdwood and Sir Francis Davies for their forethought and hearty co-operation in all matters. The staff work was above reproach and I hope I may be permitted to mention some of those military officers who rendered special assistance to the navy. They are: Major Gen. the Hon. H. A. Lawrence, Brig. Gen. H. E. Street, and Colonel A. B. Carey, R. E., the latter of whom performed work of inestimable value in the last few days by improving piers and preparing means of rapid embarkation from the blockships.

The program and plans as regards the naval portion of the operations were due to the work of my chief of staff, Commodore Roger J. B. Keyes, to whom too great credit cannot be given; to Captain Francis H. Mitchell, R. N., attached to General Headquarters; Major William W. Godfrey, R. M. L. I., of my staff; Captain Cecil M. Staveley, (principal beach master at Cape Helles;) Captain F. G. Talbot, in charge of the vessels taking part, and Acting Commander George F. A. Mulock, chief assistant to Captain Staveley.) The organization of the communications, on which so much depended, was very ably carried out by my fleet wireless officer (Commander James F. Somerville) and my signal officer, (Lieutenant Hugh S. Bowlby.)

The naval covering squadron was under the command of Rear Admiral Sydney R. Fremantle in his Majesty's ship *Hibernia*, who had a most able colleague in Captain Douglas L. Dent of his Majesty's ship *Edgar*, whose ability had done so much to improve the naval gun support to the Helles army. The work of this squadron was conducted with great energy and was in every way satisfactory. It controlled to a great extent the enemy's guns firing on to the beaches. Whenever the enemy opened fire, whether by day or night, there were always ships in position to reply, a result which reflects much credit on the officer named. The Army Headquarters gave us again the invaluable assistance and experience of Lieut. Col. C. F. Aspinall in arranging details, and I cannot help laying special stress on this officer's excellent co-operation with my staff on all occasions.



A Wonderful French War Museum

The Val-de-Grâce and Its Record of What Science Has Done to the Soldiers of France

J. Ernest Charles, writing for *Les Annales*, Paris, has told this interesting story of the Musée du Val-de-Grâce, founded at the suggestion of Justin Godart, French Under Secretary of State, and established under the direction of Dr. Jacob, Professor in Val-de-Grâce College, with the co-operation of Drs. Pascal, Perret, Lefort, Latarget, André, and Rothschild. The article is specially translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

MONUMENTS also have their destiny. The Val-de-Grâce, founded or developed by Anne of Austria as a thank offering to God for the tardy birth of the young Prince who was to become one of the most bellicose Kings of Europe, has long been the structure in Paris devoted especially to curing the ills caused by war. A hospital for soldiers, an advanced school for doctors and military surgeons, the Val-de-Grâce is now the museum where all the most wonderful achievements of science against the murderous weapons of war are exhibited.

Go to the Val-de-Grâce Museum of the Military Health Service, which Justin Godart, Under Secretary of State, took the lead in founding for the instruction of future generations. It will be a visit both stirring and sad, and yet comforting withal. You will be able there to follow the whole history of the war by the sufferings it inflicts and by the remedies, daily growing more efficient, which men of heart and of genius are creating to cure them. Science is fighting desperately to diminish the wickedness of men, and science is often victorious—especially French science. By its extraordinary activity and generosity it has done marvels.

Professor Fernand Widal, speaking of the vast strides of preventive medicine, the results of vaccination against smallpox, typhoid, cholera, which have abolished in this war those terrible epidemics of other wars, said: "Jenner's vaccination: English! Pasteur's vaccination: French!" The great life protecting discoveries have been made on this side of the trench line. Others have tried to dishonor science. Our learned men have

saved its good name. They have persuaded us that, despite all this methodical carnage, one could and should still have faith in a truly humanitarian science. And it is here, in these grave and somewhat melancholy rooms, that the elements of the story have been assembled.

Let it no longer be said that history is only for the entertainment of curious men. These archives gathered here, these reports of Health Service Directors, which intrepid seekers for truth will some day read; these memoirs of army surgeons imprisoned in Germany, these scientific announcements, these photographic documents, in short, this history of the war as seen from within, of war as it really is—in all these we have the materials for volumes yet to be written, and for many future discoveries. Scientists and students, standing before the varied wealth of this anatomical-pathological museum, which exhibits the infinite diversity of lesions produced in the human body by modern engines of war, will hold fruitful discussions.

Marvels of Surgery

But the great masses of the people themselves will be overwhelmed with admiration in the presence of the results already achieved, whether by surgical operations of prodigious daring, or by other still bolder operations through which the surgeons not only repair the broken body, but seem to rebuild it entirely, making of a ruined man a new being, sound, solid, a man with the desire and possibility of action, filled afresh with the love of life. For these savants recreate youth, force, almost happiness. They accomplish resurrections—physical and moral resurrections.

Consider these plaster casts that record the successive stages of the plastic reparations made especially by Professor Morestin. Young men are brought in with faces mutilated, plowed open, ravaged; they no longer look like human beings. They have become objects of horror. They feel themselves consigned to solitude, to distress, to daily martyrdom. This one has the jaw torn away, the chin gone, and the upper lip hangs in shreds over a bloody abyss. That one no longer has a nose. A third has a chin and cheek that look as if they had been gnawed away. They are all hideous to look at, spectacles to frighten children and make even compassionate women turn from them forever.

Now, the surgeons take these ruined faces and rebuild them—actually reconstruct them. Professor Morestin removes a bit of rib from the unfortunate who has lost a nose, inserts it under the skin of the forehead, lets it gradually regain vitality, slips it down to the position of the nose, covers it with skin—and of that frightful wound there remain scarcely perceptible traces. Another cartilaginous graft makes a new chin for the soldier whose lower jaw was shattered, and there remain only light ridges and the regular lines of a scar to tell of what had been a terrible mutilation.

Sculptors in Living Flesh

What shall be done with this soldier whose eye socket and cheek bone have been crushed deep into the face? Is it possible to lessen the horror of such a wound? The surgeon, little by little, fills in and carpets the excavation for the eye with shreds of skin which grow together; and in like manner he treats the bared surface of the maxillary bone. An artificial eye is inserted, absolutely like the one that is intact, and it seems to look with the same look, to live with the same life. The wounded man now can return to a useful place in society.

And the wonderful modelings of these sculptors in human flesh have names hard to retain: Engraftment, rhinoplasty, cheiloplasty, refection of the lips,

oculo-pulperial prothesia, refection of the eye and eyelid. And this strange yet simple vocabulary is growing every day, for names must be given to the meticulous and patient miracles of surgical science, and these miracles are multiplying incessantly. The plaster casts and photographs of the Val-de-Grâce show the phases of each. Surgeons are pres-tidigitators who do not desire to keep their secrets to themselves. * * *

In the Val-de-Grâce Museum a manikin that seems almost alive has undergone all the wounds, the fractures, the perforations, the mutilations developed by the war in such abominable variety; and this manikin bears all the apparatus invented to remedy them. Here is an artificial leg, supple and easily controlled; there is an apparatus with springs and metallic rings which enables a man to move the fingers of a hand which a wounded radial nerve has paralyzed. And here is the apparatus that supplies the place of a paralyzed muscle for shoulder articulation—the deltoid muscle, to call it by its name. Yonder is a similar apparatus to supply the loss of the bony substance of the humerus. If the wounded man has paralysis of the sciatic nerve his foot is inert; a shoe sole mounted on springs and articulated with steel rods enables him to use it. Gloves with springs in the back give a man the use of his hand when wounded nerves paralyze the fingers. Other contrivances permit him to dress himself without aid. Still others act as substitutes for stiffened, wasted, or absent members, so that the mutilated man can be a mechanic, a farmer, or can perform the most diverse professional tasks; in short, can again live in the workaday world of men and women.

Engines of Destruction

In this museum also are grouped all the engines of destruction created by the perverse imagination of those who champion the unlimited spread of sorrow and death: Zeppelin bombs, airplane bombs, incendiary shells, shrapnel, asphyxiating gas or explosive shells, aerial torpedoes, grenades, simple balls, little projectiles almost denuded yet whose in-

credible swiftness multiplies their murderous force. Here they are, these bullets, twisted, flattened, shattered, themselves mutilated; they seem to bear witness that evil cannot be done with impunity.

Near this destructive paraphernalia is the protective apparatus. Against the lachrymal, suffocating, asphyxiating gas we have the original hyposulphite plug, modest but useful; then the different improvements on this, each marking a step of progress, until we reach the present mask, which guarantees safety. But it may be thought that warriors with heads muffled in steel furnish blind targets for projectiles. It is true, alas! that defensive arms are not as perfect as the offensive. But at least some of them reduce the destructive power of modern weapons. Especially is this true of the steel helmet, that masterpiece invented by Adrian; and when one examines all these helmets, which have been dented, scarred, smashed, pierced, and which yet have resisted, one begins to glimpse still further improvements. One wishes our soldiers might have fine armor like that of mediaeval times, yet lightened and adapted. From looking at these helmets, battered, yet sound after so many battles, may not some inventor get the inspiration for an effective protection that will shield our fighters?

The Fight Against Disease

If there is no absolute protection against wounds, there is such against epidemic disease, and this is something new. In former wars epidemics were more fatal than battles. Typhoid fever spread inevitable death, and cholera was always present. "Not all died of it, but all were stricken." Marshal St. Arnaud owed his death—and his glory—to cholera. Was it not this disease which, raging in its deadly way during the recent Balkan wars, stopped the Bulgarian Army in its march on Constantinople?

History of recent wars in this regard has become merely history of evils definitively abolished. Science here is truly victorious. Let inventors of rival serums prove each other's methods without virtue if not actually pernicious; we must, nevertheless, look with re-

spect upon the exhibit of vaccines furnished by army laboratories, these graphic charts which bear irrefutable witness to the progressive disappearance of contagious diseases from our armies, and must perceive that one of the most dreaded causes of death has disappeared.

Medicine has shown as great genius as surgery in diminishing the ill-effects of wounds. No one can stand indifferent before the molds and models that depict the irrigation and disinfection of wounds by the Carrel process and the Dakin fluid. Carrel's method has aroused almost universal enthusiasm; only a few remain unconvinced. The Carrel method for the treatment of infected wounds has furnished its own proofs, and what proofs! It regenerates the tissues, it makes the flesh live again, it saves men, it makes physicians and surgeons cry in professional exaltation, "Wounds treated by the Carrel method are splendid to see!"

Work of the Ambulances

But the creative activities of physicians and surgeons recorded in this museum would be in vain if the wounded reached the hospital too late. Now the dressing stations have been brought close to the wounded, and the transport of the wounded to these stations has been accelerated. Herein lies the secret of the wonderful improvement brought about in the last eighteen months by a Military Health Service that is truly active, bold, methodical, vigilant, foreseeing, practical—modern!

The singularly expressive bas-reliefs of the sculptor Larrivé here represent these profoundly tragic scenes in their utmost simplicity. First we see men mount guard in the embrasure of a trench. One of them is wounded. On the spot immediately he receives first aid. Then another soldier, grievously wounded, is carried on a litter along the trenches and boyaux, the stretcher-bearers negotiating the difficult turnings with practiced skill. Now it is a first-line aid post. Near the door are ranged the guns and sacks of the wounded, and you see the protected shelter, with the

surgeons working calmly under a roof reinforced with sacks of earth and logs of wood. At length we are in the interior of the "poste de secours" itself. There is a bed of straw, a table for giving the wounded immediate treatment. Stretched on the table, under the brutal light of an acetylene lamp, lies a wounded man whom the busy Major is examining. Already a stretcher bearer is crossing the threshold with another victim. And to think that many of these posts, where the very speed of the operation assures the recovery of the patient, are situated 200 yards from the German lines, forty yards from the French lines—six yards underground!

Many of the wounded can be transported without delay to the ambulances at the front and the hospitals at the rear. Everything has been done to perfect this service. Mark the documentary collections of the Val-de-Grâce—ambulance models, tents, sanitary barracks, wagons, automobiles, &c.; one is soon convinced that the past has bequeathed scarcely anything to the present sanitary service. There are celebrated names—Larrey, Percy—but only names. The Health Service up to our time remained subordinate, rudimentary, insufficient—criminally insufficient. The soldier counted only as long as he could fight; after he had become useless as a warrior he ceased to be "interesting." Little attention was paid to him. Now everything is organized to preserve the sons of France.

A Great Hospital System

At Val-de-Grâce there is a relief plan of a vast evacuation station. Thither are gathered the wounded from all directions, at high speed, with care and order. In immense barracks they are sorted and classified. The empty spaces are adorned with gardens. And the hospital trains follow each other, carrying the

wounded more and more swiftly toward the distant distributing stations, whence they are sent promptly to the various hospitals of the district. A great silence, solemn and calm, rests upon this vast evacuating station. It is no longer the silence of death. One feels that the wounded are going away toward health, recovery, life.

Another stroll through the pensive quiet of these instructive halls will give you still other impressions, for here each document marks the moments of the struggle of nature against the hostile powers of wounds and disease, the mysteries of advancing science reveal themselves one by one, and the whole is one large, clear synthesis of efforts and results. The Museum of the Val-de-Grâce will be useful not only to historians but to those who are destined to make new discoveries.

Frenchmen originated the idea and set the example, but the Germans did not let it go to waste. They imitated it, and established a museum like ours almost immediately. We at least have the certitude that the Museum of the Val-de-Grâce will be in no danger of perishing. The whole world will come here later to pay homage to the disciplined ardor of the French scientific spirit. In a minute study devoted to the health service, Professor Pierre Delbet records the astonishment and delight of French physicians who had long been held prisoners in Germany. They had seen nothing like our new methods, nothing comparable to the progress achieved in France in the art of curing the wounded of this war. The Museum of the Val-de-Grâce preserves that astonishment in tangible form. In the midst of catastrophes French science has kept all its virtue, and, when peace returns, will spread its benefits abroad through the world more widely than ever.



Germany's Form of Government

The Constitutional Fabric Which President Wilson Says Must Be Altered

By Walter S. Smoot

The war message of President Wilson indicated that the United States would make no peace with Germany until its present system of autocracy was overthrown. What constitutes that system is explained herewith by Mr. Smoot, in an analysis of the German Constitution prepared for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE present German Empire dates its existence from the proclamation of King William I. of Prussia as German Emperor (Deutscher Kaiser) at Versailles, Jan. 18, 1871, near the close of the Franco-Prussian war. Its Constitution is little changed, however, from that adopted in 1866 after the Prussian victory of Königgratz had expelled Austrian dominance from Germany and replaced it by Prussian guidance in so far as the German States of the north were concerned, but had failed to so affect the southern States—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and South Hesse. Bismarck, with masterly foresight, made this Constitution of the North German Federation flexible enough to admit the South German States when the time came, but rigid enough to secure the union's complete domination by Prussia.

As in the federation, the imperial sovereignty of Germany is not vested, theoretically, in the person of the ruler, but in the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, whose members are German lords sent as representatives of the twenty-two monarchies and three free city republics, whose union forms the empire. Actually, however, despite the Kaiser's being, strictly speaking, mere President of the German Federation, and forbidden to veto laws passed by the Imperial Parliament, his will is law in every root and branch of the German Government. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the line of Hohenzollern; he possesses 17 votes out of 61 in the Bundesrat and 236 out of 397 in the Reichstag, and so can order the passage or killing of any measure he wishes; he appoints and dismisses

without regard to the political complexion of the legislative bodies the Imperial Chancellor, who stands second only to himself in the Government; lastly, while he may not declare an offensive war without the consent of the Bundesrat, he is Commander in Chief of the navy and actively so of the army, in both of which fighting arms he appoints the chief officers and exacts the fullest and blindest obedience and allegiance.

Power of the Bundesrat

The Bundesrat, or Federal Council, representative of the imperial sovereignty vested in the whole body of German rulers, in complexion is like that of the British House of Lords, being the stronghold of the Junkers or conservative militarists of Germany, and in representative character is like the Senate of the United States, representing the various States of the Union. Unlike the situation in the American upper house, however, the German States are not equally represented in the Council. Prussia, comprising nearly two-thirds of the empire both in area and population, is officially given seventeen votes and actually controls one more, that of the principality of Waldeck; Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Brunswick, and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine send delegations varying from six to two members each; all the other States, including the free cities of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, have one representative—sixty-one lords in all.

The Bundesrat is a non-deliberative body, the members voting immediately by States upon the measures called up, in

strict accordance with instructions received from their home Governments; consequently, only the results, not the proceedings, of its sessions are published, leaving free consideration and discussion of German legislation to the Reichstag. The functions of the Bundesrat are legislative, executive, and judicial. First, bills must have its approval before they may become laws; second, it supervises, subject to the Emperor's will, the imperial administration; third, it acts as a Supreme Court of Appeals in case any one of the State courts is accused of a denial of justice.

The Reichstag a Forum

The great German forum for the discussion of public questions and the hope of the democratic element in Germany today is the Reichstag, or Imperial Parliament, corresponding to our House of Representatives. The membership numbers 397 Delegates, chosen today throughout the empire, exactly as in 1867, on the basis of one member to each 100,000 of the population. The elective system for the Reichstag is rigidly uniform throughout Germany, though Prussia and many other States have different systems for the election of the members of their State Legislatures. Every German citizen over 25 years of age, not mentally deficient or a criminal and not in active service with the colors, may vote in the general elections for the Reichstag; the Delegates are chosen for a term of five years—unless the House is sooner dissolved by the Emperor—and are paid for their services. The Reichstag enjoys neither executive nor judicial powers, but acts as the great deliberative body of the empire, the only forum in Germany where public opinion may be heard upon current legislation with any semblance whatever of fullness and freedom.

The Imperial Chancellor

The Kaiser selects and appoints from among the Prussian Delegates to the Bundesrat his Imperial Chancellor, who is the chief Minister of the empire and may be dismissed at the imperial pleasure without the slightest regard to the attitude of the parties in either the Bun-

desrat or Reichstag. The Chancellor, therefore, is responsible solely to the Emperor, from whose favor he derives his authority, and is not in the least affected by legislative praise or censure. He is the Emperor's closest confidant and adviser, and as such acts as intermediary between the Kaiser and the Parliament, particularly the Reichstag. He is the presiding officer of the Bundesrat; must countersign all newly approved laws with his signature; appoints the German officers in the Emperor's name, and oversees the discharge of their duties.

The control which the Emperor exercises over the Chancellor extends also to the other Imperial Ministers, who are consulted by the Kaiser individually as their advice or aid is especially required. We have, therefore, in Germany no cabinet system, the executive powers vested in a group of popular leaders who retain their portfolios only so long as their every important act is approved by Parliament, as in England and the other European countries. Instead, we have the German Kaiser, his functions and authority as Emperor supplemented by those as King of Prussia, enjoying an incalculable range of power, and the popular legislative body, the Reichstag, subjecting the Government to criticism and check rather than to direction.

The Social-Democratic Party

We may date the rise of the German workingman from the mid-Napoleonic period, when Prussia, as a war measure, extended liberty to her serfs, men bound for life to toil for their lords on the great rural estates. However, we do not find him asserting himself until the introduction of machinery and the formation of great factory communities in Germany, well along in the nineteenth century, had divided the population into two distinct classes—capital and labor.

In 1873 there was a great panic; the Government gave little or no relief to the want and misery which followed, and the workingmen by thousands joined a new political organization, the Social-Democratic Party, formed to secure recognition of the rights and needs of German workingmen. In 1876 the first

detailed party program of the Social-Democrats was published; since all the suffering endured by the working classes was attributable to the concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of a few, the gradual abolition of private ownership of sources and means of production, like railways, canals, and mines, was proposed, and in its place was to be substituted the establishment, by the aid of the State, of co-operative productive associations owned, worked, and controlled by and in the interests of the people themselves.

So much the party as a socialistic organization proposed. For the interest of democracy it urged that the ballot be made secret and obligatory upon all Germans over twenty years old of both sexes; that legislation and trial be by citizens chosen directly by the people themselves; that decision of war or peace be left in the hands of the people; that a system of militia be substituted for a paid standing army; that no abridgement whatever be made of freedom of the press, of assembly, and of conscience; that the period of daily toil be restricted and enforced work on Sunday be prohibited; that the labor of children be prohibited and that of women protected; that the formation of labor unions be allowed, and a graduated income tax established.

Bismarck's Harsh Law

The Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, who had made a united Germany "not through fine speeches and majority votes, but by Blood and Iron," was then at the height of his power as active head of the German Government; to him many of the demands of the Social-Democrats seemed just and reasonable, but more he classed as red revolution. In 1878, after two attempts had been made upon the life of the Emperor by fanatics who happened to hold Social-Democratic beliefs, he put through the Reichstag the "Law of Exceptions," designed to suppress popular agitation altogether and providing that all meetings, publications, and societies purposing "the subversion of the social order" and promoting socialistic tenets and ideals

were to be forcibly suppressed, and that martial law was to be proclaimed in any city threatened with riot or other labor disturbance.

Under this harsh law, which remained in effect twelve years, scores of agitators were expelled from the country, over 200 labor unions were disbanded, and hundreds of publications were suppressed, but its lasting result was to throw the whole number of Social-Democrats into a compact body, whose representation in the Reichstag doubled from 1877 to 1884. Bismarck, having incurred the enmity of nearly every political party in Germany except the National Liberals, was by this time in great straits for popular support; therefore, to conciliate and enlist the aid of the Social-Democrats he advocated a number of reforms for the benefit of the working classes and carried out a few of them.

In 1883 the Government enacted a law insuring the workingman against sickness, and the next year a supplementary one insuring him against accident. By 1887 child and female labor had been limited by legislative enactment and Sunday set apart as a day of rest. In 1889 the final measure was passed, insuring workingmen against poverty from permanent disablement or old age. The Social-Democratic Party in the Reichstag opposed these laws as an attempt to steal their thunder, and the party lost ground in consequence, but gradually more than recovered it. The party leaders pointed out that the provision directing the workingman to pay an appreciable portion of his wages into the several workingmen's insurance funds for emergencies which oftentimes never arose robbed him of his independence and freedom of choice in disposing of his wages.

The Crown and the People

The only hope for free government in Germany, therefore, lies in the success of the above-detailed program of the Social-Democratic Party; for as it stands the Government, though it is founded on a written Constitution and the Reichstag is elected by popular vote, is the least democratic in Western

Europe. In the first place, the Constitution makes essential the approval of each and every law by the Military Imperialists who compose the Bundesrat, which may thus veto a law passed by the popular assembly, the Reichstag. In the second place, the representatives of the people in the Reichstag have absolutely no voice or control in the inner councils of the Government. The Emperor rules by right of birth and is subject to none—"I take my crown from God alone!" His Ministers, far from bearing the mandate of the dominant party in Parliament, are responsible to the Emperor alone, since it is he who at will appoints and dismisses them. His immense bloc of votes in both houses of Parliament, combined with the additional support he usually receives, is sufficient for him to pass or block any measure he wishes; and, furthermore, he may vote down any constitutional measure to which he is opposed, since fourteen votes in the Bundesrat are sufficient to defeat any proposed amendment to the Constitution.

German Liberal Movement

Public criticism of the Government is liable to cause the arrest and imprisonment of the offender. The complete subjection of the popular will to the dictates of the Government is seen in the fact that four times in the past the Reichstag has been dissolved for presuming to use its only weapon against the Government—rejection of the Ministry's measures—and in all four cases a new election has provided an assembly which passed the measure upon which its predecessor was wrecked.

So it is that in Germany the will of the people is directed by the masterful, all-powerful few, who compose the Government, along the path which has been prescribed and marked out for it; and the Hohenzollern dynasty has succeeded in preserving to a remarkable degree its ideal of a Government imposed from above and being of and for the people only to a limited degree.

Under the influence of liberal movements coming to a head in other States of Europe and in America, the Social-

Democratic Party came less and less to radically condemn the existing order and more and more to appear as the champion of reform confronting the intolerably despotic imperial system. German politics possesses no large liberal party advocating the democratic principles of responsible Ministers, equal electoral districts, and retrenchment in military expenditures; consequently it has devolved upon the Social-Democrats to be the chief promoters of German democracy, resisting sturdily the ambitious and warlike projects of Kaiser Wilhelm II., advocating a decrease in expenditures for colonial purposes, striving for the promotion of international peace, and scorning the divine right theories of the Emperor.

In their efforts toward reform the Social-Democrats have been supported by the other parties of the democratic Left in the Reichstag, and by many adherents from the Catholic Centre and the Conservative Right, showing that the liberal movement, though subject to suppressive measures, has been rising in Germany, as well as in other countries.

German exponents of this liberal movement see the first step in its success in the projected redivision of the empire into new and more equitable electoral districts.

In 1867, under the Confederation, a law was passed dividing the country roughly into electoral districts of 100,000 voters each and assigning one member in the Reichstag to each electoral district. Since then the population of Germany has increased from 40,000,000 to 65,000,000, hundreds of thousands have removed from the country to the city, rural districts of formerly 100,000 inhabitants have dwindled, while great manufacturing centres have increased three and four fold in population, and still this law has never been changed.

As a result, Berlin, for instance, although its population would entitle it to twenty representatives in the Reichstag, actually possesses only six. Then, too, this condition has been responsible for the dominance of the relatively small Socialist minority in the Reichstag by the large Conservative majority; in 1907

the Socialists, though polling over 3,250,000 votes, elected only forty-three members to the Reichstag, while the Conservative Junkers, militarists living on great country estates, cast only 1,500,000 votes and returned eighty-three delegates to the Reichstag. Despite these disadvantages at the polls, the Socialists made large gains in the elections of 1912.

The Imperial German Government has always opposed both a redivision of electoral districts and the institution of parliamentary government by two parties—the “party in power” and the opposition—which such a change would inevitably bring about. It knows that increase of representation would mean such an increase in the number of delegates from the towns and their industrial elements as to shift the dominant power in the Government from the Conservative Right to the Liberal Left. It knows that the rise of a great Liberal Party in the Reichstag would put an end to its present independence of the various small parties which divide the lower house against itself. It still holds that the Ministry should be held responsible only to one man, the Emperor, and subject to no let or hindrance on the part of the people. This stand it will adhere to and maintain as long as it can.

The Kaiser a Reactionary

Conspicuous among the opponents of German liberalism and reform is the figure of the present Kaiser, William II. His ideal of a reigning Prince, which he has constantly striven to realize, is that of one who watches over and guards and regulates with beneficent paternalism every interest in his people's life. William I. had no more devout belief in monarchy and the mission of the Hohenzollerns; Frederick the Great had no smaller belief in government of the people by the people, than William II. Throughout history the Hohenzollerns have been remarkable for their adherence to the theory of the divine right of Kings, for the maintenance of a peerless army, and for the swift addition of more territory to their dominions. Emperor William has followed in the footsteps of his fathers in fulfilling the first of these two, and

it is not his fault that he will not be able to fulfill the third.

In his speeches he has endeavored to secure blind acceptance by the people of the god-like character of the Hohenzollern rule by repeatedly exalting the memory of his ancestors and admonishing his auditors to follow him cheerfully and unquestioningly as their divinely appointed ruler:

“It is a tradition in our House to consider ourselves as designed by God to govern the peoples over which it is given us to reign. My grandfather placed, by his own right, the crown of the Kings of Prussia on his head, once more laying stress upon the fact that it was conferred upon him by the Grace of God alone, not by Parliament, by meetings of the people, or by popular decision; and that he considered himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven, and as such performed his duties as regent and ruler. Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views or opinions of the day, I go my way, which is devoted solely and alone to the prosperity and peaceful development of our Fatherland.”

Standing on False Ideals

The worldwide democratic movement of recent years has awakened only enmity in the Emperor's breast, and he does not seem to be able to realize that a new era of democracy has at last dawned in the German Empire in which the people are to control their own political life. Rather, he has tried to force the old despotic order upon an age of far better and different ideals. One speech of his in particular, made to recruits at Potsdam, Nov. 23, 1891, at a time of disorder and reform agitation, the world will never forgive or forget: “*More than ever, unbelief and discontent raise their head. It may happen, though God forbid, that you may have to fire on your own parents and brothers. Prove your fidelity, then, by your sacrifice.*”

In the light of the conditions in German politics outlined in this article, and of recent events, this paragraph from Dr. John Clark Ridpath's “History of the World” (1911 edition) sounds almost

like a prophecy and shines like a beacon of hope for the future:

"It is the misfortune of the Germany of today that her greatness still rests upon the foundations of military force. To the extent that this is so, her strength is weakness and the imperial system endangered. It remains for the present and the future to demonstrate whether

Germany shall be able, with her powerful intellect and splendid moods of mental action, to eliminate from her political and social system the elements of force, of personal will, of feudal antecedence, of remaining absolutism, and to leave behind in her tremendous crucible only the beauty of her genius and the liquid gold of liberty."

Painful Charges of Brutality to Prisoners

THE London Times of April 11 printed a dispatch from a special correspondent at Berne, Switzerland, which contained a distressing indictment of the cruelty practiced by German women toward English prisoners. The correspondent says that the accounts from 1,500 English soldiers released from German prison camps now in Switzerland give testimony which "will make a monument of German shame that will stand as a warning to the world for generations." He continues:

"One has heard before how German women refused to give British wounded any food or drink on their long journey through Germany, so that they suffered unutterable anguish for days together; but it is only when one hears the stories in mass—a hundred, one after another—that one gets any idea of the universality and the horror of it all. There are in Switzerland today scores and scores of men of all ranks who had the same experiences. Food and drink were denied them, (by women wearing the Red Cross,) and the denial was accompanied with the filthiest abuse.

"It was the common amusement of these Red Cross women to tempt our men, who were in the last extremity of hunger and thirst, by holding food and drink out to them to try to make them snatch at it, and then drawing it away. Many scores of our men, begging for a drink, had coffee, or water, or soup tendered to them; and then at the last moment the gentle nurse would spit in the cup or glass. Not seldom our men, in their suffering, had to drink the defiled stuff, while the women looked on and

laughed. An equally common entertainment with these women was to offer a wounded man a glass, perhaps, of water; then, standing just outside his reach, pour it slowly on to the ground or down between the station platform and the railway carriage.

"The French prisoners, we know, were not regarded with the same hatred as the British. One of our officers was wearing a pair of blue French trousers. Putting off his tunic, he appealed to a Red Cross nurse for food, and she, taking him to be French, gave it him. In his excitement he inadvertently said, 'Oh, thank you!' Thereupon, seeing his nationality, she snatched the food away again. Sometimes French officers were able to get food, which they generously shared in secret with British comrades. In at least one case the behavior of the Red Cross women was too much even for the German soldiers.

"Two of our officers were in a railway carriage with nine wounded German privates. The latter at every station were plied with food and drink and cigarettes, but the British officers were merely called 'English swine,' and given nothing. This went on for over twenty-four hours, until the German soldiers could stand it no longer. Then two of them pretended to have finished their own portions hurriedly, and asked for more. Keeping what they then received out of sight till the train was in motion, they gave it to the British officers.

"Cases of physical maltreatment of our wounded by the German nurses were just as common, as systematic, as was the refusal to give them nourishment."

The Hand of God in Prussianism

A Study of the German War Spirit

DR. J. P. BANG, Professor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, has written a book, entitled "Hurrah and Hallelujah," which consists largely of excerpts from the works of Pan-German poets and from the sermons of clergymen who see in Germanism the hand of God. The title is taken from a collection of poems published by a German pastor, Konsistorialrat Dietrich Vorwerk, under the title, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," which Dr. Bang considers so significant that he has adopted it for this "documentation" of the teachings of Germany's religious and intellectual leaders. A translation has just been published by the George H. Doran Company.

"The Allies," says Dr. Bang, "have denounced the Germans as barbarians. If this were meant to imply that Germany was not a civilized nation such an accusation would, of course, be absurd. Germany is unquestionably a civilized nation and none of the spokesmen of the allied powers would think of denying that she has produced rich treasures of 'kultur.' Wherever the German mind has labored, wonderful riches have been the outcome.

"But the charge of barbarism points in an entirely different direction. It points to a development within Germany which has been going on with headlong rapidity, especially during the past fifty years. Even the highest kultur can turn to barbarism when it becomes subservient to utterly false and immoral ideas.

"In Germany such a craving for power, such a worship for mere strength, has taken root and grown, that the claim of right to be a determining factor in international relations has been entirely pushed aside. A colossal and ever-increasing self-admiration, a belief in the glory of all things German, the surpassing merits of the German nature, which alone has the right to rule the world, a cynical, brutal assertion that in relation

to this claim all existing treaties, all appeals to international law, all consideration for weaker peoples, are of no significance whatever—all this we have witnessed with shuddering astonishment.

"The greatest and most popular of all the new German prophets is the poet Emanuel Geibel, whose centenary has recently been celebrated, (born 1815, died 1884)," says Dr. Bang. "It is he who has given the classic expression to the new German hope of Germany's victorious march through the world. This has been achieved in the lines which are quoted times without number in the newest German war literature:

"Und es mag am deutschen Wesen
Einmal noch die Welt genesen!

"The world may yet again be healed by Germanism.' The hope here expressed has become a certainty for modern Germany, and the Germans see in this the moral basis for all their demands. Why must Germany be victorious, why must she have her place in the sun, why must her frontiers be extended, why is all opposition to Germany shameful, not to say devilish, why must Germany become a world empire, why ought Germany, and not England, to become the great colonial power? Why, because it is through the medium of Germanism that the world is to be healed; it is upon Germanism that the salvation of the world depends. That is why all attacks upon Germanism are an offense against God's plans, and opposition to His designs for the world; in short, a sin against God.

"In the first edition of Pastor Vorwerk's poems there occurred a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, of which I will cite the last three petitions and the close:

"Though the warrior's bread be scanty, do
Thou work daily death and tenfold woe unto
the enemy. Forgive in merciful long-suffering
each bullet and each blow which misses
its mark! Lead us not into the temptation of
letting our wrath be too tame in carrying out
Thy divine judgment! Deliver us and our
ally from the infernal enemy and his servants

COUCY-LE-CHATEAU BEFORE THE GERMAN INVASION



This Fine Mediaeval Castle, the Best Preserved in France, Dating from the Thirteenth Century, Was Blown to Fragments by the Germans When They Had to Retire

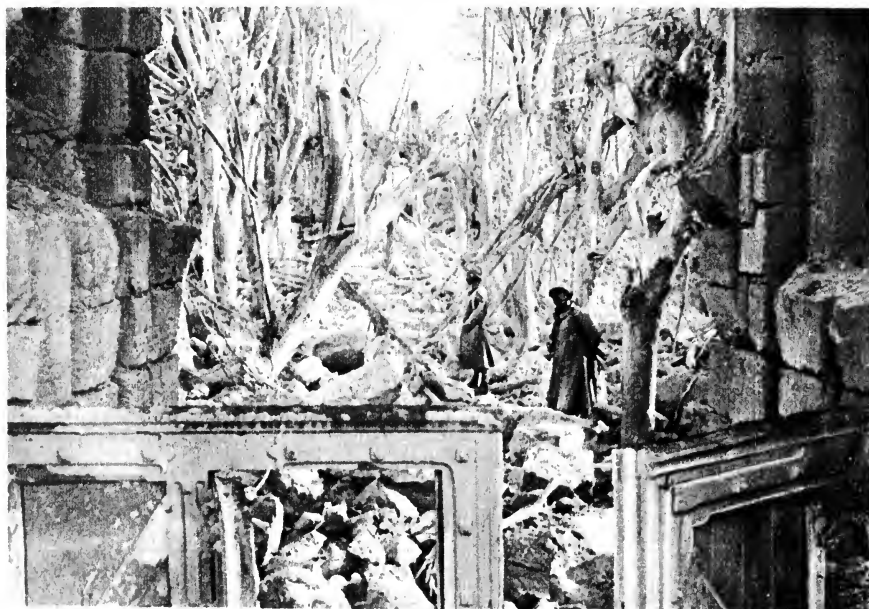
(Photo from Wildman Service)

COUCY-LE-CHATEAU AFTER THE GERMAN RETREAT



All That Is Left of the Massive Donjon Tower
Shown on Preceding Page

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)



View of the Devastated Park of the Castle
As the Invaders Left It

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

on earth. Thine is the kingdom, the German land; may we, by aid of Thy steel-clad hand, achieve the power and the glory.

"Here, however, the Germans themselves thought the poet had gone too far; the poem was denounced as blasphemous in a religious paper, and it did not appear in later editions of the book.

"Another poet, Fritz Philippi, has written the following poem, entitled 'World-Germany':

"In the midst of the world war Germany lies like a peaceful garden of God behind the wall of her armies. Then the poet hears the giant strides of the new armor-clad Germany; the earth trembles, the nations shriek, the old era sinks into ruin. Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity.

"We have become a nation of wrath; we think only of the war. We execute God's almighty will and the edicts of his justice we will fulfill, imbued with holy rage."

Dr. Bang quotes long passages from published war sermons, most of which proclaim the identity of Germanism and Christianity. This is from a volume of sermons published by Pastor H. Francke, Liegnitz:

They envy us our freedom, our power to do our work in peace, to excel in virtue of ability, to fulfill our appointed task for the good of the world and humanity, to heal the world by the German nature, to become a blessing to the people of the earth. Wherever the German spirit obtains supremacy, there freedom also prevails. * * *

Here we come upon the old, intimate kinship between the essence of Christianity and of Germanism. Because of their close spiritual relationship, therefore, Christianity must find its fairest flower in the German mind. Therefore, we have a right to say: "Our German Christianity—the most perfect, the most pure." * * *

German craving for truth and German strength of faith, working along Biblical paths, have attained to the true faith, the pure religiousness, whose first and greatest spokesman is Jesus Christ. Thus the Germans are the very nearest to the Lord, and may claim for themselves that they have "continued in His Word." * * *

We fight, then, not only for our land and our people; no, for humanity in its most mature form of development; in a word, for Christianity as against degeneration and barbarism. Therefore, as surely as the history of mankind moves onward and not backward, and truth is higher than lies and hypocrisy, God must be with us, and victory ours.

"The German God"

In the report of an address by a German theological professor, in the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger for Nov. 13, 1914, we read as follows:

But the deepest and most thought-inspiring result of the war is "the German God." Not the national God, such as the lower nations worship, but "our God," who is not ashamed of belonging to us, the peculiar acquirement of our heart. Max Lenz has already testified to the revelation of the "German God," and Luther's hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," merely expresses the same idea in other words.

In a sermon preached Sept. 6, 1914, Pastor Karl Koenig said:

Not fear, but strength! Since the days of the Morocco affair, the most painful thing for us who hold Germany's strength and greatness to be a necessity for the history of mankind, was the fact that the inevitable weakening in our policy at that time—inevitable because our fleet was not yet ready, because the Kaiser Wilhelm canal was not yet completed, because Heligoland was not yet fully fortified, and because the whole Morocco business was not a matter for the sake of which the conscience of our people would have approved a war—the fact that this weakness of our policy, to which necessity compelled us, led foreign nations to suspect our Kaiser of timidity. William the Timid! Thus they mocked in France, thus they hissed in England, and the Muscovites rubbed their hands in glee. * * *

Must we not, even now, be thankful that Russian thirst for power, and French ambition, fostered and encouraged by English egoism, did not let the shots fired at Serajevo lead to a stern chastisement of Serbia, as moral earnestness demanded, but allowed them to swell into the thunder rolling through this, the greatest war which has ever shaken the world. Two years too early for our enemies, but an act of grace from God for ourselves and our allies! For now we have the lead in the iron game of war; and though England may lurk in the background, waiting for her turn in the game—so be it, England—we know exactly what trumps you hold, but whether you know ours, coming days will show. * * *

Our German power shows its nature precisely in this, that it can wait until God, through its conscience, commands: "Now is the time to strike and defend thyself." The time had not come in the days of the Morocco episode. But it has come now, and German power, deliberate and calm, now faces a world of foes. Conscience commands, and then there is neither wavering nor political wrangling, no ambiguous Anglicizing, no ambiguous Muscovitizing, but one thing only: Yes or no, and "German blows, German power."

In a pamphlet entitled "War Devotions," which has run through several editions, Pastor J. Rump, Berlin, thus outlines Germany's mission:

We stand facing the decisive hour for Europe; nay, we must even say, for Asia and Africa. On Germany, which, contrary to all human calculation, has in this war been guided to victory, the Lord will confer the duty of heralding the progress of His Kingdom throughout humanity. On the paths of commerce and intercourse we shall go forth to all nations, and, after the fierce fight is over, carry Jesus to them, in the quiet, peaceful work of a true Kultur. England, in these paths, has lowered herself to become a nation of hucksters, who have long abandoned the service of God for that of Mammon. Let England's doings be a warning to us, Christians!

Pastor Goesch of Bustrow delivered a discourse on war and Kultur, which concludes with these words:

We Germans, reviled as Huns and barbarians, having through the war been taught the value and benignant power of our Christian-German Kultur, will become the missionaries of Kultur to the people of the earth. As a nation which knows and wills, which strives and achieves, we will conquer that place in the sun which is due to us, and will become bearers of light to the other nations, so that their eyes may be opened to the deed of infamy, the Kultur-murder, to which they have stooped, blinded by hatred and envy. This German war against the whole world shall break the way for German Kultur to the whole world!

Dr. Bang, in conclusion, points out that a systematic campaign of chauvinism and incitement to war had long been carried on in Germany. He quotes from "a remarkable book," published in 1913 by a German-American, Professor O. Nippold:

Chauvinism has grown enormously in Germany during the last decade. This fact makes the strongest impression on those who have returned to Germany after living a long time abroad. I, myself, can say from experience how astonished I was, on returning to Germany after a long absence, to

see this psychological transformation. * * * Hand in hand with this outspoken hostility to foreign countries there goes a one-sided war enthusiasm and war mania such as would have been thought impossible a few years ago. One can only deplore the fact that today there is so much irresponsible agitation against other States and so much frivolous incitement to war. It cannot be doubted that this agitation is part of a deliberate scheme, the object of which is gradually to win over the population, and if possible the Government, no matter by what means—even by the distortion of fact and malicious slander—to the program of the chauvinists.

These people not only incite the nation to war, but systematically stimulate the desire for war. War is pictured not as a possibility that may occur, but as a necessity that must come, and the sooner the better. The sum and substance of the teaching of the chauvinistic organizations, such as the Pan-German League and the German Defense Association, is always the same; a European war is not merely an eventuality for which we must be prepared, but a necessity at which, in the interest of the German Nation, we should rejoice.

One of the leaders of the association known as Young Germany wrote in its official organ for October, 1913, according to Dr. Bang:

War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel or revolting. No, war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men of action—the Great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms, and the faithful dead ascend to heaven—a Potsdam Lance Corporal will call the guard to the door, and "Old Fritz," springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of Young Germany.



Under German Rule in France and Belgium

A Young Englishman's Experience

J. P. Whitaker, a young Englishman, was at Roubaix in Northern France on business when the Germans unexpectedly invaded that region in September, 1914. After passing two and a half years there under German military rule, he escaped in March, 1917, by way of Belgium and Holland, and wrote an interesting account of his experiences for The London Times. His observations regarding the changed policy of the Germans in Belgium revealed some things hitherto unknown to the outside world. Mr. Whitaker found the rule of the invaders in Roubaix and Lille comparatively humane at first, but he continues:

TOWARD the end of March, 1915, a distinct change became noticeable in the policy of the German military authorities, and for the first time the people of Roubaix began to feel the iron heel. The allied Governments had formally declared their intention of blockading Germany, and the German Army had been given a sharp lesson at Neuve Chapelle. Whether these two events had anything to do with the change, or whether it was merely a coincidence, I do not know; the fact remains that our German governors who had hitherto treated us with tolerable leniency chose about this time to initiate a régime of stringent regulation and repression.

The first sign of the new policy was the issue of posters calling on all men, women, and children over the age of 14 to go to the Town Hall and take out identification papers, while all men between 17 and 50 were required also to obtain a control card.

Up to this time I had escaped any interference from the Germans, perhaps because I scarcely ventured into the streets for the first two months of the German occupation, and possibly also because, from a previous long residence in

Roubaix, I spoke French fluently. Strangely enough, though I went to the Town Hall with the rest and supplied true particulars of my age and nationality, papers were issued to me as a matter of course, and never during the whole two years and more of my presence in their midst did the enemy molest me in any way.

Methods of the Invaders

The only incident which throws any light on this curious immunity occurred about the middle of 1915. Like all other men of military age, I was required to present myself once a month at a public hall, in order to have my control card, which was divided into squares for the months of the year, marked in the proper space with an official stamp "Kontrol, July," or "August," or whatever the month might be. We were summoned for this process by groups, first those from 17 to 25, then those from 25 to 35, and so on. Hundreds of young fellows would gather in a room, and one by one, as their names were called, would take their cards to be stamped by a noncommissioned officer sitting at a table on the far side of the room. On the occasion I have in mind the noncommissioned officer said to me, "You are French, aren't you?" I answered, "No." "Are you Belgian?" "No," again. "You are Dutch, then?" A third time I replied "No."

At this stage an officer who had been sauntering up and down the room smoking a cigarette came to the table, took up my card, and turning to the man behind the table remarked, "It's all right. He's an American." I did not trouble to enlighten him. That is probably why I enjoyed comparative liberty.

Enslavement is part of the deliberate policy of the Germans in France. It

began by the taking of hostages at the very outset of their possession of Roubaix. A number of the leading men in the civic and business life of the town were marked out and compelled to attend by turns at the Town Hall, to be shot on the spot at the least sign of revolt among the townspeople.

Not a few of the mill owners were ordered to weave cloth for the invaders, and on their refusal were sent to Germany and held to ransom. Many of the mill operatives, quite young girls, were directed to sew sandbags for the German trenches. They, too, refused, but the Germans had their own ways of dealing with what they regarded as juvenile obstinacy. They dragged the girls to a disused cinema hall, and kept them there without food or water until their will was broken.

Barbarity reached its climax in the so-called "deportations." They were just slave raids, brutal and undisguised.

The procedure was this: The town was divided into districts. At 3 o'clock in the morning a cordon of troops would be drawn round a district—the Prussian Guard and especially, I believe, the Sixty-ninth Regiment, played a great part in this diabolical crime—and officers and noncommissioned officers would knock at every door until the household was roused. A handbill, about octavo size, was handed in, and the officer passed on to the next house. The handbill contained printed orders that every member of the household must rise and dress immediately, pack up a couple of blankets, a change of linen, a pair of stout boots, a spoon and fork, and a few other small articles, and be ready for the second visit in half an hour. When the officer returned, the family were marshaled before him, and he picked out those whom he wanted with a curt "You will come," "And you," "And you." Without even time for leave-taking, the selected victims were paraded in the street and marched to a mill on the outskirts of the town. There they were imprisoned for three days, without any means of communication with friends or relatives, all herded together indiscriminately

and given but the barest modicum of food. Then, like so many cattle, they were sent away to an unknown fate.

Months afterward some of them came back, emaciated and utterly worn out, ragged and verminous, broken in all but spirit. I spoke with numbers of the men. They had been told by the Germans, they said, that they were going to work on the land. They found that only the women and girls were put to farm labor.

The men were taken to the French Ardennes and compelled to mend roads, man sawmills and forges, build masonry, and toil at other manual tasks. Rough hutments formed their barracks. They were under constant guard both there and at their work, and they were marched under escort from the huts to work and from work to the huts. For food each man was given a two-pound loaf of German bread every five days, a little boiled rice, and a pint of coffee a day. At 8 o'clock in the morning, after a breakfast consisting of a slice of bread and a cup of coffee, they went to work. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon they returned for the night and took their second meal—dinner, tea, and supper all in one. Often they were buffeted and generally ill-used by their taskmasters. If they fell ill, cold water, internally or externally, was the invariable remedy. Once a commission came to see them at work, but they had been warned beforehand that any man who complained of his treatment would suffer for it. One of them was bold enough to protest to the visitors against a particularly flagrant case of ill-usage. That man disappeared a few days later.

Saved by American Food

Long before this the food problem had become acute in Roubaix. Simultaneously with the establishment of the system of personal control over the inhabitants the Germans closed the frontier between France and Belgium and forbade us to approach within half a mile of the border line. The immediate effect of this isolation was to reduce to an insignificant trickle the copious stream of foodstuffs which until then poured in from Belgium—not the starv-

ing Belgium of fiction, but the well supplied Belgium of fact.

Butchers and bakers and provision dealers had to shut their shops, and the town became almost wholly dependent on supplies brought in by the American Relief Commission. Fresh meat was soon unobtainable, except by those few people who could afford to pay fabulous prices for joints smuggled across the frontier. Months ago meat cost 32 francs a kilogram (about 13 shillings a pound) and an egg cost 1 franc 25, (a shilling.) Obviously such things were beyond the reach of the bulk of the people, and had it not been for the efforts of the Relief Commission we should all have starved.

The commission opened a food depot, a local committee issued tickets for the various articles, and rich and poor alike had to wait their turn at the depot to procure the allotted rations. The chief foodstuffs supplied were: Rice, flaked maize, bacon, lard, coffee, bread, condensed milk, (occasionally,) haricot beans, lentils, and a very small allowance of sugar. Potatoes could not be bought at any price.

Hungry German Soldiers

Unfortunately, though I regret that I should have to record it, there is evidence that by some means or other the German Army contrived to intercept for itself a part of the food sent by the American Commission. One who had good reason to know told me that more than once trainloads which, according to a notification sent to him, had left Brussels for Roubaix failed to arrive. I know also that analysis of the bread showed that in some cases German rye flour, including 30 per cent. of sawdust, had been substituted for the white American flour, producing an indigestible putty-like substance which brought illness and death to many. Indeed, the mortality from this cause was so heavy at one period that all the grave diggers in the town could not keep pace with it.

One could easily understand how great must have been the temptation to the Germans to tap for themselves the food which friends abroad had sent for their victims. It is a significant fact that sol-

diers in Roubaix were eager to buy rice from those who had obtained it at the depot at four francs (3s 4d) the pound in order, as they said, "to send it home." I shall describe later how utterly different were the conditions in Belgium as I saw them.

Meagre as were the food supplies for the civilians in Roubaix, those issued to the German soldiers toward the end of my stay were little better.

At first the householders, on whom the soldiers were billeted, were required to feed them and to recover the cost from the municipal authorities.

Collection of Metals

In passing, I may mention that all ordinary money, gold, silver, and bronze, disappeared from circulation long ago. Some of it possibly was hidden by the townsfolk, but much more was collected by the Germans and sent out of the country. It was replaced by paper money of all denominations, even to cardboard sous. After some months the billeting system was altered, and the German military authorities undertook the feeding of their men. From that time onward there was a progressive fall in the quantity and deterioration in the quality of the soldiers' daily rations. To the end they seemed to have no lack of jam, not plum and apple, but something red, which looked rather like raspberry. Often I have seen them walking along the street munching a thick slice of rye bread covered with a generous layer of this jam.

Just before I left, I was shown one day's menu provided for the troops. Breakfast consisted of dry bread and coffee, dinner of boiled barley, and supper of cooked beet root. It was some comfort to us to know that, while we could barely subsist, the Germans were evidently not much better off.

Conditions in Germany were reflected also in the systematic plundering of workshops and houses of everything made of brass, copper, pewter, or German silver. The Germans began by taking all stocks of raw and combed wool, raw cotton, and raw silk from the warehouses, and followed this up by appropriating

all woolen piece goods. They next requisitioned all oil. Late last year they issued a proclamation calling upon the residents to declare to the military authorities what brass was in their possession. Of course, nobody paid any attention to the order.

A few days later parties of German soldiers went through the town, street by street, and seized every article of brass, bronze, or copper on which they could set eyes. Without ceremony they entered private houses, helped themselves to stair rods, brass or copper kettles and other cooking utensils, gas fittings, fittings from fireplaces, door plates, clothes hooks, and knickknacks of every kind. Nothing was overlooked. They took up brass-headed carpet pins; they even tore the candlesticks from pianos. The things were bundled into a cart, on the tail of which were scales, like those carried on coalmen's trolleys. Everything was weighed, and a receipt was given at the rate of 2 francs per kilogram, or 10 pence per pound. Bronze statuettes worth at least 500 francs were taken at the intrinsic cost of the metal.

The process was not confined to private houses or workshops. One day the Germans made a tour of the cafés and ripped off the pewter tops of the counters. They also went from shop to shop and carried away the brass trays from the scales. I saw one cart go along the street piled high with gramophone horns.

Hope of Conquest Gone

Of all the things I saw and heard in Roubaix and Lille none impressed me more than the wonderful change which came over the outlook and demeanor of the German soldiery between October, 1914, and October, 1915.

I had many opportunities of mingling with them, more, in fact, than I cared to have, for now and again during this period two or three of them were actually billeted on the good folk with whom I lodged.

I knew just sufficient of the German language to be able to chat with them, and they made no attempt to conceal from me their real feelings. I am merely repeating the statement made to me

over and over again by many German soldiers when I say that the men in the ranks are thoroughly tired of the war, that they have abandoned all thought of conquest, and that they fight on only because they believe that their homes and families are at stake.

On that Autumn morning when the first German troops came into Roubaix they came flushed with victory, full of confidence in their strength, marching with their eyes fixed on Paris and London. They sang aloud as they swung through our streets. They sing no more. Instead, as I saw with my own eyes, many of them show in their faces the abject misery which is in their hearts.

Last year scores of them told me, quite independently, that the war would come to an end on Nov. 17, 1916. How that date came to be fixed by the prophets nobody knew, but the belief in the prophecy was universal among the soldiers.

The Guns on the Somme

That was before the battle of the Somme. For days we in Roubaix heard the distant roaring of the guns in that great encounter. Night and day without ceasing their rumble sounded. We had grown accustomed to the sound of the guns about Ypres and Armentières; we had sat at our windows in the evening and watched the flashes in the darkness; we had even heard at night-time the rattle of machine guns. But we had never heard so continuous or so heavy a thunder as that which came to us from the Somme.

We were used, too, to the sight of wounded Germans brought in from the front; but Roubaix, and, still more, Lille, never witnessed such a constant stream of broken men as that which poured in last July and August.

In Roubaix alone, in addition to the town hospitals, the Germans had suddenly to improvise hospitals in the workhouse, the boys' college, and the girls' college. Every bed was filled, and to the rest of the wounded the doctors in Roubaix could give only such attention as is possible in a dressing station, pending their conveyance into Belgium.

I found among the soldiers a general agreement that they would infinitely rather face the French troops than the British. They attributed their greater fear of our men to the idea, probably mistaken, that our men were less ready than the French to make them prisoners as soon as they raised their hands and cried "Kamerad." I suspect, however, that the unnerving effect on the Germans of the Sir Douglas Haig system of trench raiding is the real explanation.

This is how a German soldier gave me his impression of the British raids: "They are the worst horror we have to contend with. The English seem to do it for sport, not for war. A bombardment is bad enough; but you know it is coming. You do not know when or where a raid is coming. These Englishmen daub their faces with clay, come along the ground on all fours, smother our advance posts, and are in our trenches before we know where we are. They come not with rifles and revolvers, but with knives and sledge-hammers and bombs. We cannot use our rifles against them. They are too near, and perhaps we have not fixed our bayonets. We must either run or be killed. The English will clear a trench on a stretch of 150 yards and get away again without losing a man."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the genuine terror with which the raids have filled the German soldiers of all ranks and regiments.

Lawless Acts of Officers

As a rule, the soldiers did not maltreat the civilians in Roubaix, except when they were acting under the orders of their officers; when, for example, they were tearing people from their homes to work as slaves. They had, however, the right of traveling without payment on the tramcars, and they frequently exercised this right to such an extent as to preclude the townsfolk from the use of the cars.

Apart from that annoyance, there was little ground for complaint of the general behavior of the soldiers. The conduct of the officers was very different. For a long time they made a habit of

requisitioning from shopkeepers and others supplies of food for which they had no intention of paying. One day an officer drove up in a trap to a shop kept by an acquaintance of mine and "bought" sardines, chocolate, bread, and fancy cakes to the value of about 200 francs, (about \$40.) He produced a piece of paper and borrowed a pair of scissors with which to cut off a slip. On this slip he wrote a few words in German, and then, handing it to the shopkeeper, he went off with his purchases. The shopkeeper, on presenting the paper at the Kommandantur, was informed that the inscription ran, "For the loan of scissors, 200 francs," and that the signature was unknown. Payment was therefore refused. This case, I believe, was by no means an isolated one.

Brutal Methods of Officers

When an officer was billeted on a house, he would insist on turning the family out of the dining room and drawing room and sleeping in the best bedroom; sometimes he would eject people entirely from their home.

By contrast the docile private soldier was almost a welcome guest. I remember well one quite friendly fellow who was lodged for some time in the same house as myself and some English over military age in the suburb of Croix. He came to me in great glee one day with a letter from his wife in which she warned him to beware of "the English cut-throats." She went on to give him a long series of instructions for his safety. He was to barricade his bedroom door every night, to sleep always with his knife under his pillow, and never to take anything we offered him to eat or drink.

Despite the temptations to crime and insubordination which naturally attend an idle manufacturing population of some 125,000 people, there were very few civilian offenses against the law, German or French, among the inhabitants of Roubaix.

Time hung heavily on our hands. Cut off from the outer world except by the occasional arrival of smuggled French and English newspapers, we spent our

time reading and playing cards, and at the last I hoped I might never be reduced to this form of amusement again. In the two and a half years cut out of my life and completely wasted I played as many games of cards as will satisfy me for the rest of my existence.

But even if the inhabitants, in their enforced idleness, had any temptation to be insubordinate, they had a far greater inducement to keep the law in the bridled savagery of the German gendarmerie. These creatures, who from the color of their uniform and the brutality of their conduct were known as the "green devils," seemed to revel in sheer cruelty. They scour the towns on bicycles and the outlying districts on horseback, always accompanied by a dog as savage as his master, and at the slightest provocation or without even the slenderest pretext they fall upon civilians with brutish violence.

It was not uncommon for one of these men to chase a woman on his bicycle, and when he had caught her, batter her head and body with the machine. Many times they would strike women with the flat of their sabres. One of them was seen to unleash his dog against an old woman, and laugh when the savage beast tore open the woman's flesh from thigh to knee.

No Starvation in Belgium

In January Mr. Whitaker crossed the line into Belgium with the aid of smuggler friends, traversed that country, chiefly on foot, and two months later escaped into Holland and so to England. In Belgium he was astonished to find what looked like prosperity when compared with conditions in the occupied provinces of France. After expressing gratitude to Belgian friends and a desire to tell only what is truth, he proceeds:

The first fact I have to declare is that nowhere in my wanderings did I see any sign of starvation. Nowhere did I notice such privation of food as I had known in Northern France. Near the French frontier, it is true, the meals I took in inns and private cottages were far from sumptuous, but as I drew nearer to the Dutch frontier the amount and variety

of the food to be obtained changed in an ascending scale, until at Antwerp one could almost forget, so far as the table was concerned, that the world was at war.

Let me give a few comparisons. At Roubaix, in France, at the time when I left in the first week of this year, my daily diet was as follows: Breakfast—coffee, bread and butter (butter was a luxury beyond the reach of the working people, who had to be content with lard); midday meal—vegetable soup, bread, boiled rice, and at rare intervals an egg or a tiny piece of fresh meat; supper—boiled rice and bread. Just over the border, in Belgium, the food conditions were a little better. The ticket system prevailed, and the villagers were dependent on the depots of the American Relief Commission, supplemented by local produce.

A little further, and one passed the line of demarkation between the étape—the part of Belgium which is governed by General von Denk, formerly commanding the troops at Valenciennes—and the gouvernement général, under the command of General von Bissing.

Here a distinct change was noticeable. My first meal in this area included fillet of beef, the first fresh meat I had tasted for weeks. Tickets were still needed to buy bread and other things supplied by the Relief Commission, but other food-stuffs could be bought without restriction.

At Brussels the food supply seems to be nearly normal. My Sunday dinner there consisted of excellent soup, a generous helping of roast leg of mutton, potatoes, haricot beans, white bread, cheese, and jam, and wine or beer, as preferred; while for supper I had cold meat, fried potatoes, and bread.

At Antwerp, with two French friends who accompanied me on my journey through Belgium, I walked into a middle-class café at midday. I ordered a steak with fried potatoes and my friends ordered pork chops. Without any question about tickets we were served. We added bread, cheese, and butter to complete the meal and washed it down with draft light beer. Later in the day we took supper in the same café—an egg omelette, fried potatoes, bread, cheese, and butter.

And the cost of both meals together was less than the cost of the steak alone in Roubaix.

Thriving in Rural Belgium

Even in the little village where I hid myself there was no dearth of good food. Sugar was scarce, and the bread was made of brown wholemeal flour. But meat was plentiful, especially cold home-bred pork. A typical midday meal here included soup, steak or chops, potatoes, and little sweetcakes; supper was the usual Belgian meal of fried potatoes and bread soaked in boiled milk. So far from starving during my enforced self-concealment, I actually found myself gaining in flesh.

When I add that in Brussels, Antwerp, and other towns the retail shops displayed an abundance of foodstuffs of every sort, and that, according to common knowledge, the German soldiers buy a great deal of food for transmission to their homes, it will be realized that some parts, at any rate, of Belgium are not suffering so severely as most people in England suppose from want of nourishment.

It is not for me to explain these things. I cannot fathom the reasons which may have induced the Germans to refrain from commandeering the Belgian supplies of home-produced food. Belgium, of course, has been for years the best exponent of intensive agriculture in Europe. Her food exports to England and France alone before the war were considerable. Just as much food is being produced now as before the war, and, so far as I could discover, the people have plenty to eat.

It is in the invaded territory of France that the spectre of famine walks. It is not sufficiently understood that the German gentleness to the Belgians is only equaled by their bitterness toward the French.

It is not only in respect of food that Belgium is happier than her neighbor. I have already mentioned that the civilians of Roubaix were denied the use of the railways. The Belgians are under no such disability. They find some diffi-

culty in moving from one to the other of the two areas into which, as I indicated above, Belgium has been partitioned, unless they are armed with special passports. But within either of those zones the natives are allowed to travel without hindrance.

Again, while the occupied portion of France is entirely without postal services, the Belgians have the ordinary facilities for internal communication. They are required to use German stamps heavily marked in black letters with the words "Belgian Post"; and they are required to pay 8 centimes (three more than usual) for the transmission of a postcard, and 15 centimes (an extra charge of 5 centimes) for a letter. The collections and deliveries, however, are made by the regular Belgian postmen.

Busy Shops and Theatres

The policy of the Germans, in short, appears to be to interfere as little as possible with the everyday life of the country. The fruits of this policy are seen in a remarkable degree in Brussels. All day long the main streets of the city are full of bustle and all the outward manifestations of prosperity.

Women in short, fashionable skirts, with high-topped fancy boots, stroll completely at their ease along the pavement, studying the smart things with which the drapers' shop windows are dressed. Jewelers' shops, provision stores, tobacconists, and the rest show every sign of "business as usual." I bought at quite a reasonable price a packet of Egyptian cigarettes, bearing the name of a well-known brand of English manufacture, and I recalled how, not many miles away in harassed France, I had seen rhubarb leaves hanging from upper windows to dry, so that the French smoker might use them instead of the tobacco which he could not buy. Even the sweetstuff shops had well-stocked windows.

The theatres, music halls, cinema palaces, and cafés of Brussels were open and crowded. On the second night of my visit I went with my two French companions to the Théâtre Molière and heard a Belgian company in Paul Hervieu's

play, "La Course du Flambeau." The whole building was packed with Belgians, thoroughly enjoying the performance. So far as I could tell, the only reminder that we were in the fallen capital of an occupied country was the presence in the front row of the stalls of two German soldiers, whose business, so I learned, was to see that nothing disrespectful to Germany and her armies was allowed to creep into the play.

At another theatre, according to the posters, "Véronique" was produced, and a third bill announced "The Merry Widow." At the Théâtre de la Monnaie, which has been taken over by the Germans, operas and plays are given for the benefit of the soldiers and German civilians. One afternoon I spent a couple of hours in a cinema hall. A continuous performance was provided, and people came and went as they chose, but throughout the program the place was well filled. The films shown had no relation to the war. They were of the ordinary dramatic or comic types, and I fancy they were of pre-war manufacture. Nothing of topical interest was exhibited.

The Appearance of Plenty

All the scenes which I have described in Brussels were reproduced in Antwerp. There was a slightly closer supervision over the comings and goings of the inhabitants, but there was the same unreal atmosphere of contentment and real appearance of plenty. Though a good number of officers were in evidence, the military arm of Germany was not sufficiently displayed to produce any intimidation. Perhaps the most obvious mark, here and in the capital, that all was not normal was the complete absence of private motor cars and cabs from the streets.

In the country districts two things struck me as unfamiliar after my long months in France. About Roubaix not a single head of cattle was to be seen; in Belgium every farm had its cows. In Belgium the mounted German gendarmérie—the "green devils" whose infamous conduct in the Roubaix district I have

described—were unknown. Their place was filled by military police, who, by comparison with the gendarmes, were gentleness itself.

I do not profess to know the state of affairs in parts of Belgium which I did not visit, but I do know that my narrative of the conditions of life that came under my personal inspection has come as a great surprise to many people who imagine that the whole of Belgium is starving.

We in hungry Roubaix looked out on Belgium as the land of promise. The Flemish workers who came into the town from time to time from Belgium were well fed and prosperous looking, a great contrast to the French of Roubaix and Lille. The Belgian children that I saw were healthy and of good appearance, quite unlike the wasted little ones of France, with hollow blue rings round their eyes.

The people of Roubaix, knowing these facts, are convinced that the Germans are endeavoring to lay the foundations of a vassal State in Belgium. Foiled in their attempts to capture Calais, the Germans believe that Zeebrugge and Ostend are capable of development as harbors for aggressive action against England. The French do not doubt that the enemy will make a desperate struggle before giving up Antwerp.

The picture I have presented of Belgium as I saw it is, of course, vastly different from the outraged Belgium of the first stage of the war.

Lest there should arise any misunderstanding, I complete the picture by stating my conviction, based on intimate talks with Belgian men and women, that the population as a whole are keeping a firm upper lip, and that attempts by the Germans to seduce them from their allegiance by blandishment and bribery will fail as surely as the efforts of frightfulness.

Escaping Into Holland.

Mr. Whitaker's account of his escape into Holland closes thus:

When we drew near to the wires, just before midnight, we lay on the ground

and wriggled along until we were within fifty yards of Holland. There we lay for what seemed to be an interminable time. We saw patrols passing. An officer came along and inspected the sentries. Everything was oppressively quiet.

Each sentry moved to and fro over a distance of a couple of hundred yards. Opposite the place where we lay two of them met. Choosing his opportunity, one of my comrades, who had provided himself with rubber gloves some weeks before for this critical moment, rushed forward to the spot where the two sentries had just met. Scrambling through barbed wire and over an un electrified wire, he grasped the electrified wires and wriggled between them. We came close on his heels. He held the deadly electrified wires apart with lengths of thick plate glass with which he had come provided while first my other companions and then I crawled through. Before the sentries returned we had run some hundreds of yards into No Man's Land between the electrified wires and the real Dutch frontier.

Only one danger remained. We had

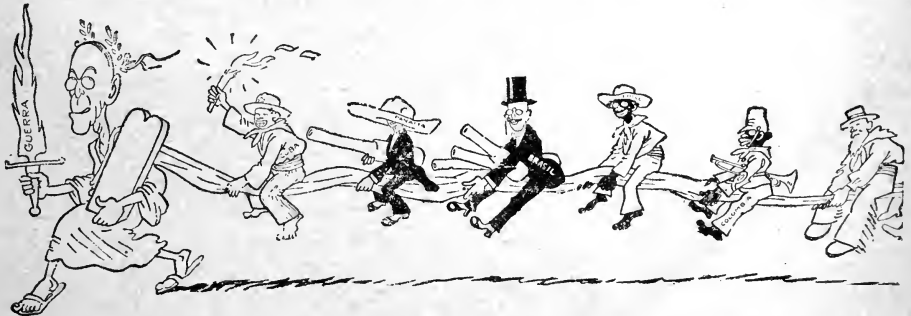
no certainty that the Dutch frontier guards would not hand us back to the Germans. We took no risks, though it meant wading through a stream waist deep. Our troubles were now practically over. By rapid stages we proceeded to Rotterdam.

I was without money. My watch I had given to the Belgian villager in whose cottage I had found refuge. My clothes were shabby from frequent soakings and hard wear. I had shaved only once in Belgium, and a stubby growth of beard did not improve my general appearance.

At Rotterdam I reported myself to the British Consul. I was treated with the utmost kindness. My expenses during the next four or five days, while I waited for a boat, were paid and I was given my fare to Hull. There I was searched by two military police and questioned closely by an examining board. My papers were taken and I was told to go to London and apply for them at the Home Office. As I was again practically without means I was given permission to go to my home in Bradford before proceeding to London.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The All-America Team Off for the War



—From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

German Crimes in the Somme Retreat

Official Report, Summarized by Henry Cheron

Before the French Senate

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the French text of the Journal Officiel and the Bulletin des Armées.]

ON the morrow of the very day when the tenacious courage of the French and British soldiers compelled the enemy to retreat on the Somme—a worthy pendant to his defeat on the Marne—your Commission on War Damages sent a number of its members to visit the reconquered regions and get at the truth of the conditions which you had ordered it to investigate.

Perhaps the commission would have been content simply to file a report of the facts if these had not revealed such violations of the laws and customs of war, such crimes committed by the occupying forces, so profound a contempt for the most elementary rules of public conscience, that it has believed it to be its duty to denounce the outrages without delay. The report, incomplete though it must be, will be a first tribute to truth, right, and justice, realities which no nation, however powerful it may think itself, can violate in our epoch with impunity.

In the beginning we may recall that Germany solemnly indorsed the international convention, passed at The Hague on Oct. 18, 1907, in which the high contracting parties, facing the eventuality of war and animated, as they expressly stated, "by the desire to serve, in that extreme case, the interests of humanity and the increasing exigencies of civilization," imposed upon any military authority occupying territory in an invaded State certain rules which it is well now to read over again:

Article 46—The honor and the rights of the family, the lives of individuals, and private property, as well as religious convictions and the exercise of the right of worship, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Article 47—Pillage is formally interdicted.

Article 50—No collective punishment, pecuniary or other, can be inflicted on populations

by reason of individual acts for which the community cannot be considered collectively responsible.

Article 55—The occupying power shall consider itself only the administrator and controller of the usufruct of public buildings, real estate, forests, and agricultural enterprises belonging to the enemy State and located in the occupied territory; it must safeguard the funds of these properties and administer them in accordance with the rules of usufruct.

Article 56—Property belonging to municipalities, to religious, charitable and educational institutions, or to institutions devoted to the arts and sciences, even though connected with the State, shall be treated as private property. All seizure, destruction, or intentional injury of such establishments, of historic monuments, of works of art and science is forbidden and shall be cause for legal redress.

In the preamble of this convention of 1907, which was solemnly ratified a second time by the German Empire, it was provided that—

In cases not included in the rules adopted by the powers the people remain under the safeguard and dominion of the principles of international law derived from the established usages of civilized nations, from the laws of humanity, and from the demands of the public conscience.

Finally, Article 1 of Convention 4, adopted Oct. 18, 1907, said:

The contracting powers will give to their armed land forces instructions that will conform with the regulations in regard to the laws and customs of war on land, annexed to the present convention.

Another Scrap of Paper

To this the German Empire affixed its signature. The principle underlying this convention was that war should be carried on between armies and not between noncombatants, and that everything should be done to save the inhabitants from horrors whose indirect effects in any case would bear down upon them all too cruelly.

What account did the Germans take of this international treaty? For them it was nothing but a scrap of paper, like all the others. They have trampled upon

it to such a degree that one must go back to primitive times, to the most savage epochs of ancient history, to find acts of vandalism and bestial savagery worse than those of which we have obtained proofs.

The commission visited all the reconquered districts. While Paul Doumer and a certain number of colleagues went to Chauny and the region northeast of Soissons, we, with Messrs. Hervey, Reynald, Eugène Mir, Mougeot, Galup, Servant, and Magny, traversed the regions of Noyon, Guiscard, Ham, Lassigny, Roye, Nesle, and Péronne.

We visited in detail these cities and about fifty villages. We wished to compare our facts with the earlier reports that had been made in the name of the Government, whether by the commission headed by George Payelle, first President of the Court of Accounts, or by the Director of Military Justice, who was sent out by the Minister of War. Today we bring you the first elements of a report which is as exact as possible, and from which, whatever our legitimate anger against the Germans, we have carefully excluded all passion susceptible of altering the truth. Besides, the truth is so horrible that it needed no amplification. Everywhere we were the anguished witnesses of the same spectacle: pillage, systematic destruction, acts of barbarism committed without the least excuse of military necessity.

We have made a clear distinction, it is scarcely necessary to say, between damages due to war and damages voluntarily inflicted by the enemy. We have set aside all the effects of battle—of a battle at times so fierce, so terrible, that it has demolished, destroyed, effaced everything, even to the smallest stone in the smallest house. What we have retained are the acts of violence committed in cold blood among unarmed civilians; the evil done for the sake of evil, the pillage and destruction of private property and public edifices; the attacks on the life, liberty, and honor of private individuals; all those acts which call for denunciation before the whole world, if only to blast and dishonor forever the cursed Government

and race that undertook to saddle their domination upon other peoples, and impose on them a culture already practiced in all countries by notorious highwaymen.

Banks in Noyon Plundered

Let us come to the facts. From Ribecourt to Noyon the farms are everywhere destroyed. Noyon appears to be little damaged externally, although the barbarians blew up a certain number of houses and destroyed some factories. But, on closer examination, what odious pillage! Everywhere the furniture has been carried off. What has not been carried away has been smashed; the mirrors have been shattered by revolver shots. In a room of the Hôtel du Nord we found, amid all sorts of débris, a steel safe gutted with a crowbar. It was in this hotel that the Kommandantur had been located.

They robbed the stores from the beginning. On March 6, 7, and 8, 1915, in the presence of the Deputy Mayor of Noyon, and despite his energetic protests, they broke open the door of the safe belonging to the Société Générale. For this purpose they use blowpipes. The chief officer of the Kommandantur directed this brigandage in person. The safe was then closed with a seal, but later they broke the seal. Before leaving Noyon they carried off everything from the safes.

On Feb. 24, 1917, an officer calling himself a representative of the Treasury at Berlin presented himself at the house of M. Brière, a Noyon banker, 72 years old. He ordered the banker to open his safety deposit vaults. M. Brière refused. Then, with the aid of a blowpipe, the soldiers proceeded to force open the safe doors. The depositors were present. Their protests were in vain. The Germans carried away everything that was in the bank—cash, deeds, bonds, business and official papers, jewels, silverware, negotiable papers, and archives. When the banker observed to the German officer that the archives would be of no use to him, he replied, drily: "I have been ordered to empty the boxes, and I am emptying them."

The same thing was done on Feb. 27, 1917, at the Cheneau & Barbier Bank,

where two officers and two German soldiers entered the basement, broke open the safes with the aid of a blowpipe, and carried away the valuables. Finally, on March 16, having mined a number of residences and public buildings, the Germans blew up twenty or more of them.

Brutal Acts at Sampigny

The villages in the neighborhood of Noyon fared no better. At Sampigny the pillage was conducted with unusual savagery. In all the houses there is manure to a depth of twelve inches. A porcelain merchant was treated with special brutality. On the eve of departure the Germans drove him out into the street, and, while he stood there looking on, smashed all the porcelains in his house with hammers. A business man at Sampigny, M. Cabrol, had left his safe open in order to show that it was empty, and thus save it from destruction: the Germans nevertheless blew it up.

At Guiscard the soldiers were preparing to burn the whole village when the French arrived; there was no time to put their plans into execution, but they had already carried off everything of value—furniture, linen, cooking stoves—and had broken the mirrors. The soldiers had stolen mattresses under the eyes of their officers.

We entered what had been a pharmacy; we found, amid débris of every sort, family portraits slashed with a knife. Ordure was everywhere. They had taken all the waterpipes from the houses, the bells from the church, and even the works of the clock.

At Ham there is general chaos at the canal entrance. Pillage and willful destruction are in evidence on all sides. Two of the most beautiful residences in the city were used by the enemy; one as the officers' casino, the other as the abode of General von Fleck. Here again the Germans carried away everything of value and smashed the rest. They even went to the length of sawing through the doorframes, destroying the windows with hammer blows, pulling out the chandeliers and trampling on them. To complete the work, they deposited filth in the pianos.

In the region between Ham and the canal they destroyed everything by fire. This is true of Esmery-Hamel, where they burned the bell tower of the church; likewise of Eppeville and Verlaine. Everything is destroyed at Erchen and Solente. At Champien, amid the ruins one finds a German cemetery, in the heart of which rises an allegorical monument representing peace! The barbarians did not hesitate to write on this monument the following formula: "To the memory of friend and enemy comrades united in death." What hypocrisy! An officer has informed us that in the same community a coffin was exhumed and the remains of the dead replaced by vile ordure.

Used Battering Rams

The destruction is general and methodical at Roiglise, at Avricourt, at Amy, at Margny-aux-Cerises, where we found one of the battering rams with which the barbarians batter down houses. It is the old Roman battering ram adapted to this base use. A particularly odious regiment of Saxons committed these acts in the region of Margny. In this town the Germans violated graves in the cemetery in order to bury their dead there. The rest they blew up.

At Plessis-Cacheleux the destruction was equally systematic. From Plessis to Roye the country is a desert. Magnificent farms, such as the Bourresse farm, are nothing but pitiful ruins. At Roye there was organized pillage of all the houses. The home of the notary, especially, was sacked of everything. The bell tower was wantonly pulled down; the bell is still in it. From Roye to Nesle all the villages, such as Carrépuis, Ballâtre, Marché, Rethoviller, Billancourt, were systematically destroyed.

At Nesle the Germans committed the worst violences from the first day of the city's occupation. They laid hands upon every movable object in the houses, from cellar to garret, especially upon wines; they carried away all articles of taste: pictures, mirrors, clocks, candelabra, and objects of art. When the furnishings of a house were of considerable value they arrested the owner for espionage and

robbed him during his absence. Some days before their departure they pretended that by order of their Emperor they had to pillage, sack, and destroy everything. This order was punctually executed by the Twentieth Regiment of Heavy Artillery, the Thirty-eighth Infantry, and the Sixth Foot Chasseurs, on orders from General Hahn, commanding the Thirty-fifth Division.

The officer just named, setting the example, had the men carry away everything movable from a room which he had occupied for four months. The bells were thrown from the steeples and the fragments were shipped to Germany. Finally, in the last week—that is to say, from March 10 to 17—the invaders gave themselves up to an orgy of unqualifiable acts—incendiarisms, total destruction of many houses, the poisoning of wells, springs, and fountains.

From Nesle to Péronne they left a desert; Herly was systematically sacked, the houses reduced to ruins, the château burned. At Manicourt and Curchy everything is destroyed and burned, and it is the same at Arrancourt-le-Petit, Puzeaux, Homiécourt, Marchelepôt, Barleux, Flaucourt. We will not describe the scene at Villers-Carbonnel and Péronne, now a heap of tragic and grandiose ruins; nor at Lassigny, where, indeed, the destruction was caused by the battle.

Chauny a Mass of Ruins

The same aspects of destruction were encountered by our colleagues, especially at Chauny and to the northeast of Soissons. At Chauny, after having taken the measurement of all the cellars and houses for two months, and calculated the amount of explosives necessary to blow up each building; after giving themselves up to unbridled plunder, carrying away furniture, smashing safes, robbing churches, they devoted two weeks to destroying the whole city by flame and mine with an inflexible and pitiless method. Nothing remains of the city except one suburb where they had massed the inhabitants—and then bombarded them. They directed their shells particularly at the Institution St. Charles, a refuge for old men, where they had

grouped the persons who were ill. The City of Chauny, which had counted more than 10,000 inhabitants, is now only a mass of ruins.

The inhabitants driven from the villages near St. Quentin testify to the same acts of vandalism. All their furniture was stolen or broken. Houses were destroyed by explosion or fire. At Vaux-Roupy the Germans blew up the chapel of the château and the tombs. At Seracourt-le-Grand they learned of the existence of a mortuary chapel belonging to the family of one of our most venerated colleagues. Wishing to add to the sufferings of their glorious hostage, they blew up that chapel and the tombs. Eyewitnesses told us that to accomplish this sorry business the Germans had to retrace their steps three times.

Massacre of Fruit Trees

By the side of this first series of facts there is another. If they destroyed and pillaged private property and public edifices, mark how they behaved in regard to those farming enterprises of which The Hague Convention said that the enemy in an invaded country should consider himself the administrator, entitled only to the usufruct.

Here they committed an act more vile, more wicked, more odious than all the others. They sawed down all the fruit trees! And when they had no time to saw them down they tore off the bark to kill them.

No words can describe the pitiful scene in what were formerly the orchards of that rich farming region, where apple trees, pear trees, cherry trees, sawed off two feet from the ground, lie as so many fragments of a property deliberately destroyed. Along the roads is a veritable cemetery of trees, trees cut down by thousands. What strategic use can be assigned to such vandalism? They went so far as to blow up some trees with dynamite. It was destruction for destruction's sake, or, rather, it was the impotent rage of a people jealous of France, a people which, not having been able to win by courage, attempted on retreating to annihilate all the sources of wealth.

In certain localities, such as Ham, the farm laborers themselves were compelled to saw down the trees to which they had given years of care. The effect of this abominable destruction upon the minds of the inhabitants should also be noted. Members of the old reserve regiments, mostly farmers, who are repairing the roads with marvelous rapidity, were particularly exasperated by the massacre of trees. They gave vent to deep curses against the perpetrators, longing to inflict upon them the punishment merited by such a crime.

That is how the Germans have respected The Hague conventions in regard to private property, public monuments, and farming interests in the occupied territory. Let us see now what they have done regarding the honor, liberty, and life of the inhabitants.

Crimes Against Noncombatants

We will not dwell upon the thousand vexations which our heroic people had to endure at the hands of their oppressors for nearly three years—quarrels over food, threats to the inhabitants if they did not give the soldiers a part of the American supplies, the seizure of the most necessary tools and possessions.

At Rove they took away by degrees all the bedding of an honored woman at the head of a boarding school which dates from 1870. Under the pretense of installing her in a neighboring house they pillaged her home and took away even her mattress and pillow. At Margny-aux-Cerises a German soldier threatened to strike a young girl who was nobly caring for her paralyzed mother, her sick grandmother, and a blind neighbor whom she had added to her burdens out of the largeness of her heart if she did not give up the bread and potatoes in her possession. At the peril of her life this brave little French girl defended the food of the three invalids for whom she was acting as guardian angel.

The inhabitants of the evacuated villages say that nothing was left them to eat; that they had to hide potatoes; that requisitions were made upon them at any moment; that fines and imprisonments rained upon them. A cultivator at At-

tilly told us that one day about noon—at the time of their departure—German soldiers arrived and said: "We are going to blow up your house at 1 o'clock." And they kept their word. At Guiscard we were told that in the middle of Winter they compelled young girls to work outdoors at the heaviest tasks—for example, at sewer cleaning—without any regard for their physical strength. The only alternative was prison.

When they were about to blow up the citadel at Ham they warned the inhabitants by fixing the hour when the operation was to take place. A bugle call was to be the signal. The population was to assemble in the church, with two days' provisions. Then, suddenly moving the hour forward—and that at 2 o'clock in the morning—when the inhabitants were still in bed they touched off the explosion without warning anybody. It made victims.

On account of the sufferings of the people there have been many deaths of children in all the occupied communities.

At Noyon, upon their arrival, Aug. 30, 1914, the German officers sought out the members of the Municipal Government, at the head of which was our heroic colleague, Noël, who recently received the cross of the Legion of Honor. They compelled these men to go at the head of the column which was about to occupy the city. They made them walk beside the commandant's horse, and, as they could not keep up, they were brutally treated. The Deputy Mayor, M. Jouve, having fallen, was beaten with lance butts. A citizen, M. Devaux, who had been seized as a hostage, was shot without cause behind the Mayor's house. An officer fired his revolver in cold blood at the doorkeeper of the City Hall; he missed him, but the unfortunate man died shortly afterward as a result of the nervous shock.

A baker, M. Richard, who was simply looking out of his door at French prisoners passing along the street, was killed by a rifle bullet in the abdomen. Mme. Delbecq, a woman who refused a drink to a drunken German soldier, was killed by a rifle shot.

Captives From Noyon

On Feb. 18, after having compelled all the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years to pass the night in the college, they took them away into captivity. More than eighty innocent young girls were thus torn away from their families, in spite of tears and sobs.

Sister Saint Romuald, lady superior, made some particularly moving statements. She said that when the Germans began their operations for retreat they evacuated 250 to 500 sick cases from the region of St. Quentin into the civil hospital at Noyon. These arrived in such frightful condition that seven or eight of them died every day. They were people who had been torn from their beds without time to take anything with them; paralytics, dying men, nonagenarians; there was even a woman of 102 years. Many of those who died had to be buried without any means of verifying their identity.

Mme. Deprez, owner of the Gibercourt Château, was suffering from serious heart trouble, which compelled her to keep her bed. A German officer arrived and ordered her to get up. The poor woman said she would obey in spite of her sufferings, and begged the officer to withdraw while she dressed. He refused and compelled her to dress before him. Mme. Begue of Flavy-le-Martel also had heart disease. They removed her. Her children of 10 and 7 years wished to follow, but the German officer refused. The little ones clung to the wheels of the carriage begging not to be separated from their mamma. Without regard for their tears and cries the officer brutally thrust them aside and left them in the road.

Everywhere they carried into captivity the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years, even the young girls, except women who had very small children. A woman in Holnor told us that they had taken away her little boy of 14 years. A high officer in the French Army reported to us, on the word of eyewitnesses, a significant remark of the German commandant at Ham. Having pointed out a young girl of 16 years he said: "That one is for me."

A woman from Ham related that on Feb. 10 she learned that 600 inhabitants were about to be taken away. Distracted—for she had three daughters—she ran to the Kommandantur and found that the rumor was true. The victims were ordered to meet in the court of the château with not more than sixty pounds of baggage apiece. At the same time all the people were ordered to bring their valuables, but this they did not do. The three daughters of the witness, aged 18, 20, and 26 years, went to the appointed place. From 10 o'clock in the morning till 3 in the afternoon the captives waited in the glacial cold. Parents rushed to them to say good-bye, and there were heart-breaking scenes. They were driven away with rifle butts, and at 3 o'clock the captives were forced to go to the railway station. The Germans had the cruelty to set up a camera to preserve a picture of this sad procession. A week or two afterward the mother of whom I have spoken learned that her daughters were not working, but were quartered in empty houses. Since then she has heard nothing from them.

A person driven from Seraucourt-le-Grand told us that on June 29, 1916, at the moment of a French offensive, the Germans gathered the men of 17 to 55 years in the public square to take them into captivity. When relatives approached to say farewell they were stopped by bars and machine guns. One woman had to brave the guns to go to the aid of her sick husband.

Life Under German Rule

The martyrdom of the inhabitants of Chauny was particularly terrible. For nearly thirty months they lived under the most intolerable and humiliating régime. Obligated not to leave their homes before 8 o'clock in the morning, to return by 7 in the evening, to live without lights at night, they had to salute the German officers, hat in hand, under pain of imprisonment. On Feb. 18 the Germans began sending northward all the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years. On the 23d they ordered the rest of the population—about 2,000 persons—to assemble in the square before the City Hall. They herded these with 3,000 inhabitants of neighboring vil-

lages in a suburb called Brouage. On March 3 there was a new gathering of these unfortunates, including the ill and infirm. They were compelled to pass six hours in review, enduring such sufferings from the cold that twenty-seven persons died the next day and others in the succeeding days. Then the unfortunates were packed into cellars, where for the next two weeks they heard the explosions in their houses, which were blown up over their heads!

Sufferings of Refugees

The evacuation of certain villages was carried out with equal cruelty. A woman from Gricourt, whom we met at Noyon, told us that her sick husband was driven out of his home without regard for his condition. He died, and she is left with seven children. Other inhabitants of that and neighboring villages told us that they had been driven out of their homes in the night. They had been compelled to travel a part of the way in wagons half full of manure. Then, from Babeuf to Noyon, they went on foot in the mud, with their little children suffering from cold and hunger. Some of these unfortunates died of exhaustion after reaching our lines. Everywhere the inhabitants were evacuated in this way, without enough to eat, and without regard to the weakness of children and invalids. Seventeen old men coming from Roisel arrived in such a state of exhaustion that they died within a few days.

These are atrocious facts, but however agonizing the story, however frightful the sight of heaped up ruins, we nevertheless brought back from our visit a profound impression of comfort; for, after having verified and denounced the cowardly acts of the German executioners, we have had to bow our heads before the nobility of the victims. Not for an instant during their long captivity did our compatriots despair of France. Not for an instant did they doubt our ultimate victory. They said so, they proclaimed it before our enemies, upon whom they imposed silence by their dignity, their pride, and their courage.

It is also my duty—I will speak with discretion, for it is not well to give up to

an excessive optimism—to report another matter which all these people have declared. After having seen the German Army arrive in August, 1914, so strong, so well equipped, so admirably victualled, that they wept with rage, they saw that, little by little, annoyance crept into the ranks of our enemies. The refugees declare that during the later months the Germans suffered from increasing lack of food. On this point they are unanimous. The bread given to the German soldiers was almost uneatable. Sometimes they threw it away, and not even the dogs would eat it. Nettle soup, turnip-cabbage, and the black broth which they call glue, constituted their main diet. Their coffee was made of parched barley. They tried constantly to get food from the inhabitants when these received relief supplies. Meagre as was their own fare, they sent a part of it to their families in Germany, who, they said, were in absolute want.

We do not mean to draw any excessive conclusions from these facts. It would be puerile to deny that our enemies can still oppose a great resistance to us—let us not deceive ourselves—but we place the truth on record when we state, on the testimony of our compatriots from the invaded districts, that a great physical and moral weakening is noticeable in all the German soldiers.

Condign Punishment

As for their own sufferings, so great that in many places our army surgeons found a dangerous condition of exhaustion, our heroic compatriots applied to it this admirable formula: "We forgot everything when we saw French soldiers again." They were filled with joy at finding France again, that sweet France which is more beloved the more it suffers. They brought out the tricolor flag, carefully hidden for thirty months, and hoisted it immediately on the ruins of the Mayoralty or church. The children waved little flags. At the gates of Roye a triumphal arch was raised for the entrance of the French Army.

Our duty is to avenge the wrongs of which our compatriots have been the victims. There would no longer be justice in the world if such crimes, sys-

tematically committed by a nation which prides itself on having all the progress of science at its service, could be committed with impunity. For these crimes there should be the triple punishment of international law, of penal law, and of the victory of the civilized world.

First, the judgment of international law: There is an article of the Convention of Oct. 18, 1907, which I have not yet cited. I even believe that this article was inserted at the demand of Germany. I refer to Article 3 of Convention IV., which says: "The belligerent who shall violate the provisions of said rule shall be held liable to indemnity if there is cause, and shall be responsible for all acts committed by persons belonging to its armed forces." Consequently, they are responsible materially, financially—they must pay! * * *

Do you know how they regret their crimes? One of our colleagues, M. Ordinaire, just now read this sentence from the *Vossische Zeitung*: "Our troops are full of joy, the joy of having inflicted harm on some one else." The whole German mentality is in that remark. Not only do they not repent the crimes they have committed, but they still boast of them. They must be reached by the penal law. The first punishment that is necessary, the one without which the others will be impossible, is victory. * * *

The martyrdom of our fellow-countrymen has stirred in all our souls a new resolve of pitiless justice. We will go to the end, to the furthest point to which our strength will carry us, over the ruins

of German imperialism and militarism, to establish the triumph of peace, of liberty, and of the inalienable rights of the human conscience.

The Senate Resolution

At the end of M. Cheron's address the Senate by a unanimous vote passed the following resolution:

THE SENATE:

Denouncing before the civilized world the criminal acts committed by the Germans in the regions of France occupied by them, crimes against private property, against public edifices, against the honor, the liberty, the life of individuals;

Asserting that these acts of unheard-of violence were perpetrated without the excuse of any military necessity and in systematic contempt of the international convention of Oct. 18, 1907, ratified by the representatives of the German Empire;

Holds up to universal execration the authors of these crimes, whose permanent repression is demanded by justice;

Salutes with respect those who have been their victims, and to whom the nation solemnly promises, here placing the vow on record, that they shall have full reparation from the enemy;

Affirms more than ever the will of France, sustained by her admirable soldiers—and in accord with the allied nations—to pursue the struggle which has been imposed on her until German imperialism and militarism are definitely crushed, responsible as they are for all the miseries, all the ruins, and all the griefs heaped upon the world!

Pitiful Tales From Ruined Homes

Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, sent to The London Telegraph of April 1, 1917, this moving account of the sufferings of French civilians in the region liberated by the German retreat on the Somme:

I AM moved to write again of the old men and women and of the young women and children who have been liberated by our advance. I am moved because day by day I have been visiting the places that were once their homes

and are now the rubbish heaps which lie about that great stretch of country laid waste by the enemy in the wake of his retreat where there is only silence and black ruin; because, also, I have just been among these people, seeing their tears, hearing their pitiful tales, touched by hands which plucked my sleeve so that I should listen to another story of outrage and misery. All they told me, and all I have seen, builds up into a great tragedy. These young girls, who wept before me,

shaken by the terror of their remembrance, these brave old men, who cried like children, these old women, who did not weep, but spoke with strange, smiling eyes as to life's great ironies, revealed to me in a fuller way the enormous agony of life behind the German lines now shifted back a little, so that these people have escaped.

It is an agony which includes the German soldiers, themselves enslaved, wretched, disillusioned men, under the great doom which has killed so many of their brothers, ordered to do the things many of them loathe to do, brutal by order even when they have gentle instincts, doing kind things by stealth, afraid of punishment for charity, stricken both by fear and hunger. "Why do you go?" they were asked by one of the women who have been speaking to me. "Because we hope to escape the new British attacks," they answered. "The English gunfire smashed us to death on the Somme. The officers know we cannot stand that horror a second time." They spoke as men horribly afraid. Of their hunger there seems no doubt. They begged food of these civilians, who would have starved to death but for the American relief supplies. They killed cats and dogs to provide themselves with a taste of meat which otherwise they do not taste. This, although the German Kommandantur seized all the cattle and foodstuffs of the French inhabitants, and requisitioned all their hens and took the eggs the hens had laid.

"I was the bailiff of Mme. la Marquise de Caulincourt," said an elderly man, taking off his peaked cap to show me a coronet on the badge. "When the Germans came first to our village they seized all the tools, and all the farm carts, and all the harvesting, and then they forced us all to work for them, the men at 3 sous an hour, the women at 2 sous an hour, and prison for any who refused to work. From the château they sent back the tapestries, the pictures, and anything which pleased this commandant or that, until there was nothing left. Then in the last days they burned the château to the ground, and all the village and all the orchards." "It was the same always," said a woman. "There were

processions of carts covered with linen, and underneath the linen was the furniture stolen from good houses."

"Fourteen days ago," said an old man, who had tears in his eyes as he spoke, "I passed the night in the cemetery of Vraignes. There were 1,015 of us people from neighboring villages, some in the church and some in the cemetery. They searched us there and took all our money. Some of the women were stripped and searched. In the cemetery it was a cold night and dark, but all around the sky was flaming with the fire of our villages—Poeuilly, Bouvincourt, Marteville, Trefeon, Monchy, Bernes, Hancourt, and many more. The people with me wept and cried out loud to see their dear places burning, and all this hell. Terrible explosions came to our ears. There were mines everywhere under the roads. Then Vraignes was set on fire and burned around us, and we were stricken with a great terror. Next day the English came, when the last Uhlans had left. 'The English!' we shouted, and ran forward to meet them, stumbling, with outstretched hands. Soon shells began to fall in Vraignes. The enemy was firing upon us, and some of the shells fell very close to a barn quite full of women and children. 'Come away,' said your English soldiers, and we fled further."

Russian prisoners were brought to work behind the lines, and some French prisoners. They were so badly fed that they were too weak to work. "Poor devils!" said a young Frenchwoman, "it made my heart ache to see them." She watched a French prisoner one day through her window. He was so faint that he staggered and dropped his pick. A German sentry knocked him down with a violent blow on the ear. The young Frenchwoman opened the window, and the blood rushed to her head. "Sale bête!" she cried to the German sentry. He spoke French and understood, and came under the window. "'Sale bête'? For those words you shall go to prison, Madame." She repeated the words and called him a monster, and at last the man spoke in a shamed way and said: "Que voulez-vous? C'est la guerre. C'est cruelle, la guerre!" This man had

kinder comrades. Stealthily pitying the Russian prisoners, they gave them a little brandy and cigarettes, and some who were caught did two hours' extra drill each day for a fortnight.

"My three sisters were taken away when the Germans left," said a young girl. She spoke her sisters' names, Yvonne, Juliette, and Madeleine, and said they were 18 and 22 and 27, and then, turning away from me, wept very bitterly. "They are my daughters," said a middle-aged woman. "When they were taken away I went a little mad. My pretty girls! And all our neighbors' daughters have gone, up from 16 years of age, and all the men folk up to 50. They have gone to slavery, and for the girls it is a great peril. How can they escape?" How can one write of these things? For the women it was always a test. Many of them had surprising courage, but some were weak and some were bad. The bad women forced on the others in a way so vile that it seems incredible. They entered into relations with German officers, and flaunted viciously under their protection, and robbed women of quality of their dresses and linen, and demanded jewelry from houses looted by their officers, and laughed as they drove in German cars past Frenchwomen of gentle birth who were forced to work in the fields. They are stories such as Guy de Maupassant might have written, but worse than he imagined.

There was no distinction of class or sex in the forced labor of the harvest fields, and delicate women of good families were compelled to labor on the soil with girls strong and used to this toil. There were

many who died of weakness and pneumonia and underfeeding. "Are you not afraid of being called barbarians forever?" asked a woman of a German officer, who had not been brutal but, like others, had tried to soften the hardships of the people. "Madame," he said, very gravely, "we act under the orders of people greater than ourselves, and we are bound to obey, because otherwise we should be shot. But we hate the cruelty of war, and we hate those who have made it. One day we will make them pay for the vile things we have had to do."

"Sir," said a Sister of Charity, "these people whom you see here were brave, but tortured in spirit and in body. Beyond the German lines they have lived in continual fear and servitude. The tales which they have told us must make the good God weep at the wickedness of his creatures. There will be a special place in hell, perhaps, for the Emperor William and his gang of bandits." She spoke the words as a pious conviction, this little pale woman with bright and kindly eyes, in her nun's dress.

Roughly and hurriedly I have put these things down. It is only later that one may strike the balance of them all, and draw the right lesson of all this tragedy which is the nature of war. An old lady whom I met today drew perhaps the great lesson in its strict truth. "I am 77 years old," she said. "I saw the war of 1870, and was a prisoner of the Germans. Now I have seen this war, a thousand times worse than that other one. Two such wars in a lifetime are too much. But one such war in all the history of the world is still too much. Can we not finish with it forever?"

Brand Whitlock On Belgian Deportations

"One of the Foulest Deeds in History"

The State Department made public on April 21, 1917, a report from Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium, written in January, when he was still holding his difficult position at Brussels under German occupation. Of all his reports since the beginning of the war

this is the only one thus far given to the public. It reads as follows:

IN order to fully understand the situation, it is necessary to go back to the Autumn of 1914. At the time we were organizing the relief work, the Comité National—the Belgian relief organiza-

tion that collaborates with the Commission for Relief in Belgium—proposed an arrangement by which the Belgian Government should pay to its own employes left in Belgium, and other unemployed men besides, the wages they had been accustomed to receive.

The Belgians wished to do this for humanitarian and patriotic purposes; they wished to provide the unemployed with the means of livelihood, and, at the same time, to prevent their working for the Germans.

The policy was adopted and has been continued in practice, and on the rolls of the Comité National have been borne the names of hundreds of thousands—some 700,000, I believe—of idle men receiving this dole, distributed through the communes.

The presence of these unemployed, however, was a constant temptation to German cupidity. Many times they sought to obtain the lists of the *chômeurs*, [unemployed,] but were always foiled by the claim that under the guarantees covering the relief work the records of the Comité National and its various sub-organizations were immune. Rather than risk any interruptions of the *ravitaillement*, for which, while loath to own any obligation to America, the Germans have always been grateful, since it has had the effect of keeping the population calm, the authorities never pressed the point other than with the Burgomasters of the communes. Finally, however, the military party, always brutal and with an astounding ignorance of public opinion and of moral sentiment, determined to put these idle men to work.

In August von Hindenburg was appointed to the supreme command. He is said to have criticised von Bissing's policy as too mild; there was a quarrel; von Bissing went to Berlin to protest, threatened to resign, but did not. He returned, and a German official here said that Belgium would now be subjected to a more terrible régime, would learn what war was. The prophecy has been vindicated.

The deportations began in October in the *étape*, at Ghent and at Bruges. The policy spread; the rich industrial districts of Hainaut, the mines and steel

works about Charleroi were next attacked; now they are seizing men in Brabant, even in Brussels, despite some indications, and even predictions of the civil authorities, that the policy was about to be abandoned.

During the last fortnight men have been impressed here in Brussels, but their seizures here are made evidently with much greater care than in the provinces, with more regard for the appearances. There was no public announcement of the intention to deport, but suddenly, about ten days ago, certain men in towns whose names are on the list of *chômeurs* received summonses notifying them to report at one of the railway stations on a given day and penalties were fixed for failure to respond to the summons, and there was printed on the card an offer of employment by the German Government, either in Germany or Belgium.

On the first day, out of about 1,500 men ordered to present themselves at the Gare du Midi, about 750 responded. These were examined by German physicians and 300 were taken. There was no disorder, a large force of mounted Uhlans keeping back the crowds and barring access to the station to all but those who had been summoned to appear. The Commission for Relief in Belgium had secured permission to give to each deported man a loaf of bread, and some of the communes provided warm clothing for those who had none, and in addition a small financial allowance.

As by one of the ironies of life the Winter has been more excessively cold than Belgium has ever known it, and while many of those who presented themselves were adequately protected against the cold, many of them were without overcoats. The men shivering from cold and fear, the parting from weeping wives and children, the barriers of brutal Uhlans, all this made the scene a pitiable and distressing one.

It was understood that the seizures would continue here in Brussels, but on Thursday last, a bitter cold day, those that had been convoked were sent home without examination. It is supposed that the severe weather has moved the Germans to postpone the deportations.

The rage, the terror, and despair excited by this measure all over Belgium were beyond anything we had witnessed since the day the Germans poured into Brussels. The delegates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, returning to Brussels, told the most distressing stories of the scenes of cruelty and sorrow attending the seizures. And daily, hourly, almost, since that time, appalling stories have been related by Belgians coming to the legation. It is impossible for us to verify them, first because it is necessary for us to exercise all possible tact in dealing with the subject at all, and, secondly, because there is no means of communication between the Occupations Gebiet and the Etappen Gebiet.

Transportation everywhere in Belgium is difficult, the vicinal railways scarcely operating any more because of the lack of oil, while all the horses have been taken. The people who are forced to go from one village to another must do so on foot or in vans drawn by the few miserable horses that are left. The wagons of the breweries, the one institution that the Germans have scrupulously respected, are hauled by oxen.

The well-known tendency of sensational reports to exaggerate themselves, especially in time of war, and in a situation like that existing here, with no newspapers to serve as a daily clearing house for all the rumors that are as avidly believed as they are eagerly repeated, should, of course, be considered, but even if a modicum of all that is told is true, there still remains enough to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records.

I am constantly in receipt of reports from all over Belgium that tend to bear out the stories one constantly hears of brutality and cruelty. A number of men sent back to Mons are said to be in a dying condition, many of them tubercular. At Malines and at Antwerp returned men have died, their friends asserting that they have been victims of neglect and cruelty, of cold, of exposure, of hunger.

I have had requests from the Burgomasters of ten communes from La Louvière, asking that permission be obtained

to send to the deported men in Germany packages of food similar to those that are being sent to prisoners of war. Thus far the German authorities have refused to permit this except in special instances, and returning Belgians claim that even when such packages are received they are used by the camp authorities only as another means of coercing them to sign the agreements to work.

It is said that in spite of the liberal salary promised those who would sign voluntarily no money has as yet been received in Belgium from workmen in Germany.

One interesting result of the deportations remains to be noted, a result that once more places in relief the German capacity for blundering almost as great as the German capacity for cruelty.

They have dealt a mortal blow to any prospect they may ever have had of being tolerated by the population of Flanders; in tearing away from nearly every humble home in the land a husband and a father or a son and brother, they have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home to every heart in the land, in a way that will impress its horror indelibly on the memory of three generations, a realization of what German methods mean, not, as with the early atrocities in the heat of passion and the first lust of war, but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race, a deed coldly planned, studiously matured, and deliberately and systematically executed, a deed so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution and so monstrous that even German officers are now said to be ashamed.

Illegal Property Seizures

Minister Havenith of Belgium on April 20 delivered to the State Department at Washington a memorandum warning the world that any dealings in Belgian property or credits seized by German agents would be contested in the courts after the war. The memorandum says:

An order of the German Government, dated Aug. 29, 1916, disregarding the principles of international law, or-

ganizes forced liquidation of certain business concerns in Belgian territory occupied by the enemy.

According to trustworthy information the German Government has further ordered certain establishments to turn into the bank of the German Empire the amount of the accounts of French and English citizens.

The law of Belgium, of which the Hague Convention forms part, does not recognize as valid the powers granted for purposes of liquidation to receivers appointed by the occupant nor the liquidating operation. Therefore when the territory is liberated parties injured by the abuse of de facto power that may have been exercised by receivers or other liquidating agents will have a remedy

at law against the said receivers or agents.

All contracts or other legal instruments going beyond the mere custody or conservation of property will be voidable. This will in particular apply to alienations of real or personal property, conveyances of debt; in a word, all acts of disposal.

The representatives in places out of the occupied Belgian territory of Belgian or foreign firms or corporations that have been sequestered by the German authorities would make themselves liable to the penalties provided by the law decree of Dec. 10, 1916, besides damages through civil action, if they should carry out the instructions given them by the receivers or liquidating agents.

"Liberty Enlightening the World"

By HENRY VAN DYKE

Thou warden of the western gate, above Manhattan Bay,
The fogs of doubt that hid thy face are driven clean away:
Thine eyes at last look far and clear, thou liftest high thy hand
To spread the light of liberty world wide for every land.

No more thou dreamest of a peace reserved alone for thee,
While friends are fighting for thy cause beyond the guardian sea:
The battle that they wage is thine; thou fallest if they fall;
The swollen flood of Prussian pride will sweep unchecked o'er all.

O cruel is the conquer-lust in Hohenzollern brains:
The paths they plot to gain their goal are dark with shameful stains:
No faith they keep, no law revere, no god but naked Might;
They are the foemen of mankind. Up, Liberty, and smite!

Britain, and France, and Italy, and Russia newly born,
Have waited for thee in the night. Oh, come as comes the morn,
Serene and strong and full of faith, America, arise,
With steady hope and mighty help to join thy brave Allies.

O dearest country of my heart, home of the high desire,
Make clean thy soul for sacrifice on Freedom's altar-fire:
For thou must suffer, thou must fight, until the war lords cease,
And all the peoples lift their heads in liberty and peace.

German Reprisals on Prisoners

French Captives Placed in Range of French Guns by Orders From Berlin

GENERAL VON STEIN, the German Minister of War, delivered an address before the Reichstag on March 3, 1917, in which he announced that, owing to French mistreatment of German prisoners, countermeasures had been adopted under which, beginning on that date, French prisoners would be placed in the zone of fire until the alleged abuses of the enemy were discontinued. In the course of his speech he said:

The situation is worse in France. Unfortunately things do not grow better there, but worse. The enemy endeavors to oppress our unfortunate comrades, body and soul. The liberties which we granted to prisoners in our camps, by allowing them occupation with art and science, as much as they like and were used to, are unknown in France. We therefore abolished these liberties in our prisoner camps. The time of warning which had been fixed at four weeks, after which countermeasures would be taken, only benefited the enemies. During that time we treated our prisoners decently, and our prisoners in the hands of the enemy had to suffer four more weeks of torture. I asked that the time be cut short, and this has been granted today. Countermeasures will be taken immediately, and continued until we receive from hostile Governments news that the hostile measures have been abolished.

Thousands of prisoners were discovered working close behind the French front, in range of the fire of our own guns. If these unfortunate people seek cover against our fire the French officers prevent this with arms. We have taken countermeasures, and brought French prisoners into the same situation behind our front. This will be continued until the enemy has decided to fulfill our demands and withdraw his prisoners fifty kilometers [about 32½ miles] behind the front. The lowest act which they commit is that, especially during recent times, they have tortured German prisoners immediately after capturing them with all means in order to make them speak about military facts. This ghastly fate is especially reserved for officers and non-commissioned officers. They are locked up for days in receptacles resembling cages. They are made to suffer hunger for days in order to break their spirits. We do not meditate for one moment following the enemy on this road, but the front has been ordered to hold back

prisoners taken there for some time, and to bring them into a similar situation. Low actions will not, however, be committed by us. I saw in France numberless crowds of French prisoners pass by: Our field-gray soldiers curiously crowded around, but I never heard one insulting word, and still less saw any action against them. That was done by us "barbarians."

The War Minister said he was sure the measures of reprisal would not always be executed with sufficient strictness, as the German people were always good natured and even oversentimental in such cases. He turned next to the case of German prisoners in England, saying:

In England things are different. Although the English usually deny atrocities, it must be admitted that in many cases they redressed grievances, and that generally the treatment in England is better. This, however, does not exclude that also the English employ many prisoners close behind the front, and therefore adequate measures have been taken as reprisals. We further know that captured Germans in the French ports are made to work under unfavorable conditions in excessive fashion by the English. For this reason also English prisoners have been put in the same position on certain places of the front. Immediately after the declaration of the submarine war we brought to the knowledge of the English Government that eventual special treatment of our brave submarine crews would be answered immediately with similar measures.

About the Russians not much is to be said. Many things are obscure. It is not yet certain whether the sad conditions on the Murman Railway have been completely cleared up. Some of our airplane officers are still chained in dungeons. But it ought not to be passed in silence that, in spite of everything else, in Russia conditions in many places have become rather better than worse. For this thanks are due to the devoted activities of the Swedish and Danish Red Cross. Since Sweden took charge of our representation in Russia very energetic work has been done there in order to better the fate of our comrades. Denmark magnanimously followed Switzerland's example and agreed that institutions for exchange of prisoners be established. Also the King of Spain offered help in the same direction. We welcome all these warm-hearted endeavors with sincere gratitude.

I cannot speak about the fate of our captured countrymen without mentioning the people dragged from East Prussia and Alsace-Lorraine. There, perhaps, greater tragedies happened than among our prisoners. In my corps we had a young Alsatian clergyman who had been forced to leave his wife with a new-born child. The woman had to sit for weeks in a cellar, and was then dragged away by the French, and the unfortunate husband up to today has heard nothing of his family.

When a short while ago, in Belgium, workmen and inhabitants were sent to Germany for work a storm of indignation arose abroad and also at home. We did not remain silent. The Belgians are our enemies, and many of them, probably from a safe hiding place, fired against our troops. My East Prussian and Alsatian countrymen are much nearer to my heart. Unfortunately we could not obtain the least justice for these unhappy ones. France hides behind all sorts of pretexts, and pretends that these people do not want to return. In fact, very few, some thirty, have come back. During these days a sister was said to return with fifty children, but she came with empty hands. Whether a second sister, who comes in the next few days, will be more successful is not yet known. The Russian Government alleges national auxiliary service, and therefore refuses to release these people. I am always ready to defend the principle that we can do without the co-operation of these unfortunate ones if they are given back to us.

Official Reply of France

The French Government took immediate cognizance of the foregoing charges and issued the following official denial:

In his recent speech to the Reichstag, the German War Minister gives an official character to the allegations already published by the German "Wireless," and tries to persuade public opinion all over the world that German prisoners in France are subject to ill-treatment. He states that the period granted for the negotiations regarding the treatment of prisoners is now over, and that reprisals will be adopted. As a fact, the German Government has made a complaint to the French Government through the American Ambassador on the following points:

According to the German statements, at the time of their capture and interrogation, German prisoners have been ill-treated; they have been robbed and insulted; have been badly housed in the camps, and have been used as laborers in the area swept by shell fire. The Note, therefore, required:

(a) That the German prisoners should be taken away from the dangerous areas and put into camps at a distance of at least thirty kilometers [about twenty miles] from the front line;

(b) that they should not work within that distance from the front line;

(c) that they should be permitted to use the postal service with Germany;

(d) that delegates of the United States Embassy should be authorized to visit the camps in the zone of operations.

A reply had to be given before Jan. 15. On the precise date the French Government presented to the United States Embassy a reply:

(a) Formally refuting the accusations of ill-treatment;

(b) showing that no check had been placed upon postal correspondence;

(c) agreeing, in return for reciprocal treatment, to allow delegates from the United States Embassy to visit the prisoner camps;

(d) The French Government further declared itself formally ready to employ—on a reciprocal basis—no prisoner of war in the zone of fire, nor within twenty kilometers [12½ miles] of the front.

Up to the present the French Government has received no answer to this note.

The German Government talks of reprisals, and thereby pretends to ignore the fact that there is documentary evidence to show that many months before German prisoners were employed on the French front in the zone of operations the Germans themselves were employing French prisoners under the fire of French guns; and it can truly be said that if they are attacking now it is to defend themselves.

This is clearly proved by irrefutable documents which are also corroborated by the confessions of their own prisoners showing that a prisoner camp was established at a point particularly beaten by the French artillery, where our miserable countrymen were kept without shelter or cover of any sort until evacuation was necessary for sanitary reasons.

On the other hand, it is sufficient to read the correspondence of German prisoners addressed to their families to be convinced of the feeling of humanity which has been displayed toward them. No better conclusion could be given than the following words said on Nov. 3, 1916, in a camp near Verdun by a German officer: "I am greatly pleased to be a prisoner in the hands of the French, but I must tell you that these people are too kind and too foolish. It is quite natural that prisoners should work, and they are not overworked, as I can tell you from all I have seen."

A Swiss newspaper, the *Journal de Genève*, stated on March 4 that Germany was already executing her threats against French prisoners of war; that they were being placed in barracks without food or water and without heating arrangements, notwithstanding the extreme cold. It declared also that French prisoners were being compelled to work

in German trenches, within reach of the French artillery.

Another German Statement

Under date of March 9 the Overseas News Agency of Berlin sent out a semi-official statement saying in part:

The measures taken by the Germans were adopted because about 30,000 German prisoners of war have for months been living under miserable conditions and forced to do the hardest kind of work close behind the French lines, in a majority of cases within the range of German artillery fire.

The French wireless service stated that Gustave Ador of Geneva, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, had visited the German prisoners of war in the district of operations and had gained a most favorable impression regarding their treatment. There is no doubt the French authorities carefully selected a special district in which the conditions were favorable in order to deceive M. Ador and neutral countries. The French report regarding the German and French negotiations relating to prisoners of war in the district of military operations is not correct. Here are the facts:

The French Government in a note dated Dec. 21, 1916, was requested to assemble German prisoners of war in good camps situated at least eighteen miles behind the front, and to refrain from putting them to work at places nearer the firing lines. In case of refusal, or if no answer was given, it was announced that on Jan. 15 French prisoners of war would be sent into the German district of operations under similar conditions. The note as is known with certainty was immediately sent by telegraph to the French Government at Paris and it arrived there prior to Jan. 5, 1917.

The French answer, dated Jan. 15, reached Berlin only after the announced countermeasures had been put into effect. Besides, the contents of the answer in a great part were unsatisfactory. The French Government had not fulfilled the German request. It had merely declared it was ready to place the German prisoners of war twelve miles behind the front, where they were not sufficiently secure against the fire of long-range cannon, and where they were especially exposed to airplane attacks.

This declaration, of course, did not suffice for the abolishment of our countermeasures, especially since the experiences we had had with promises of the French Government relating to questions of war prisoners were very discouraging.

On the contrary, the French Government had to be asked to fulfill completely the German request. A communication to this effect was sent to the French Government in the beginning of February. On this occasion it was suggested to the French authorities that the whole district of operations on

both sides be completely cleared of war prisoners. This offer in itself proved that the German Government does not make French prisoners of war work in the districts of operations because of "lack of hands."

Since that time the French Government has not replied and prefers to expose Frenchmen to the fire of their own countrymen in order to be able to continue to torture German prisoners of war and to use them for labor contrary to international law.

The French Government complains that even in the middle of December French prisoners of war were singled out to be sent to the district of operations. This assertion is untrue. The prisoners of war in question were marked only a short while prior to the final day announced in the German offer. If they had to be sent there the guilt was solely with the French Government.

Denial by an American

Philip O. Mills, an American ambulance driver, denied General von Stein's charges against France in a communication to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated March 6, declaring that the German War Minister's speech was due to Germany's determination to make French prisoners perform the dangerous work behind the lines, and that the charges were an excuse to justify that measure. He wrote:

"I can and do brand as a falsehood any statement that German prisoners are tortured or compelled to work behind the French lines under fire.

"Over six months' service on the French fronts as an ambulance driver of the American Red Cross, attached to a French division in the sector through which the largest number of German prisoners have been passed, (about 15,000,) thousands of whom I have seen and hundreds of whom I have talked to, gives me authority for what I say. The French use only their older men for work close behind the lines, and I have never seen a German prisoner in the fire zone doing anything but traveling toward the rear. Night and day I have been on the roads in the fire zone, and there isn't a prison camp or citadel that cannot be and has not been visited by our ambulance drivers. We have had eighty men in service with forty cars at Verdun during December, and never a tale from any man of any such atrocity as is quoted in this speech.

"The first assembling camp for prison-

ers of war is well out of gun range, well kept, and comfortable, and I have been through it often. The prisoners are immediately fed on arrival, with the regular French army ration and all the bread they can eat. I never saw or heard of a Frenchman abusing or ill-treating a German prisoner, but, on the contrary, have seen hundreds of little acts of kindness shown them. Everything is open to us foreign ambulance drivers, and we are treated as part of the French Army. It is absolutely false that German officers are locked in cages, &c., for I have seen them confined in comfortable houses and allowed exercise and good food.

"The whole speech is merely to try to justify an improper use of prisoners of war and to prevent the ever-increasing number of voluntary German surrenders.

"The French do not need to stoop to deny such lies, for there are now hundreds of good American citizens who have been to France and have seen how everything is conducted behind the French lines, and so can disprove for them all such slanders."

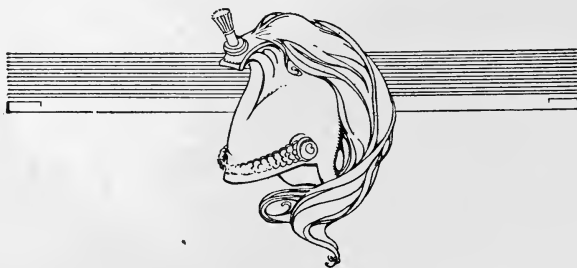
Employment of Prisoners

Germany holds approximately 2,000,000 prisoners, most of whom are Russians. General Groener, Chief of the War Emergency Office, reported in February, 1917, that 750,000 of these prisoners were employed as farm laborers, and that more were soon to be put to work in the agricultural districts.

An official report published in Berlin on Dec. 1, 1916, stated that there were 1,663,794 military prisoners in Germany on Aug. 1, 1916. In the two years of war to that date 29,297 prisoners had died. Of these, 6,032 died from tuberculosis, 4,201 from spotted fever, 6,270 from wounds, and the rest from other illnesses.

Russia has more than 1,000,000 military prisoners, of whom 428,000 were captured in 1916, mainly by General Brusiloff's armies. Besides these there are 200,000 Germans and Austrians interned as civil prisoners. At the end of 1915 the prisoners employed in State and agricultural work in Russia numbered 1,138,000, according to a Reuter dispatch from Petrograd. Of these 575,000 were under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Agriculture, 294,000 under the Department of Mines and Factories, and 169,000 under that of Ways and Communications. In the year 1916 the French captured 78,500 Germans and the British 40,800 on the western front, while in the Balkans the Entente armies took 11,173 Bulgarians and Turks. During the same period the Italians made prisoners of 52,250 Austrians. This gives the Entente Allies a total of more than 610,000 prisoners for the year 1916.

Great Britain has thus far made very little agricultural or industrial use of war prisoners, partly owing to the objections of labor unions and partly to fear of hostile acts.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE—Owing to the existing blockade CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain a proportional number of German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Modern Sea Monster



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

It lurks in ocean depths and seeks to drag down all the ships in the world.

[English Cartoon]

Changing Guard at Washington



—From *London Opinion*.

The soldier President relieves the note-writing President.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The American Eagle



—From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

“Remember, Germania, I am an eagle and not a crow!”

[English Cartoon]

Welcoming the Newcomers



—From *The Passing Show, London.*

IMPRESARIO MARS (to Columbia): "I've been waiting to present you with this bouquet for nearly a thousand nights. Still, I'm glad to see you in time for our thrilling last act!"

[Polish Cartoon]

Germany and America



—From Mucha, formerly of Warsaw.

GERMANIA: "Take your flag off the water, or I will take it off myself."

UNCLE SAMUEL: "Don't! You'll find it very prickly!"

[American Cartoon]

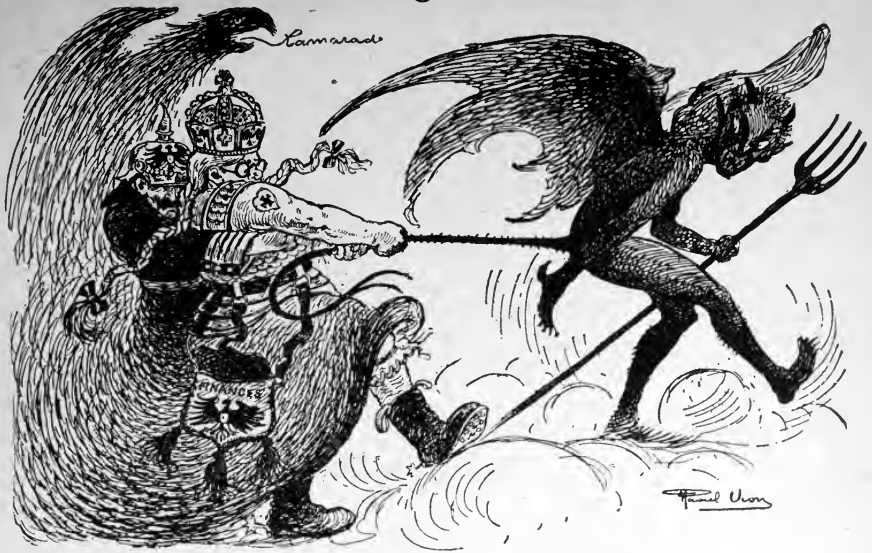
A Problem for Science



—From *The New York Times*.

“You are responsible for that stain! You must find a way to take it out!”

[French Cartoon]
Advancing Backward



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

THE DEVIL TO GERMANIA: "I believe you are beginning to go a little too fast."

[English Cartoon]
A Considerate Captor



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

TOMMY (who has been blown into a shell hole): "Hurry up, mate. I don't want to lose my prisoner!"

RESCUER: "Prisoner! Why, where is 'e?"

TOMMY: "I'm standing on 'im!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Prop: Czarism

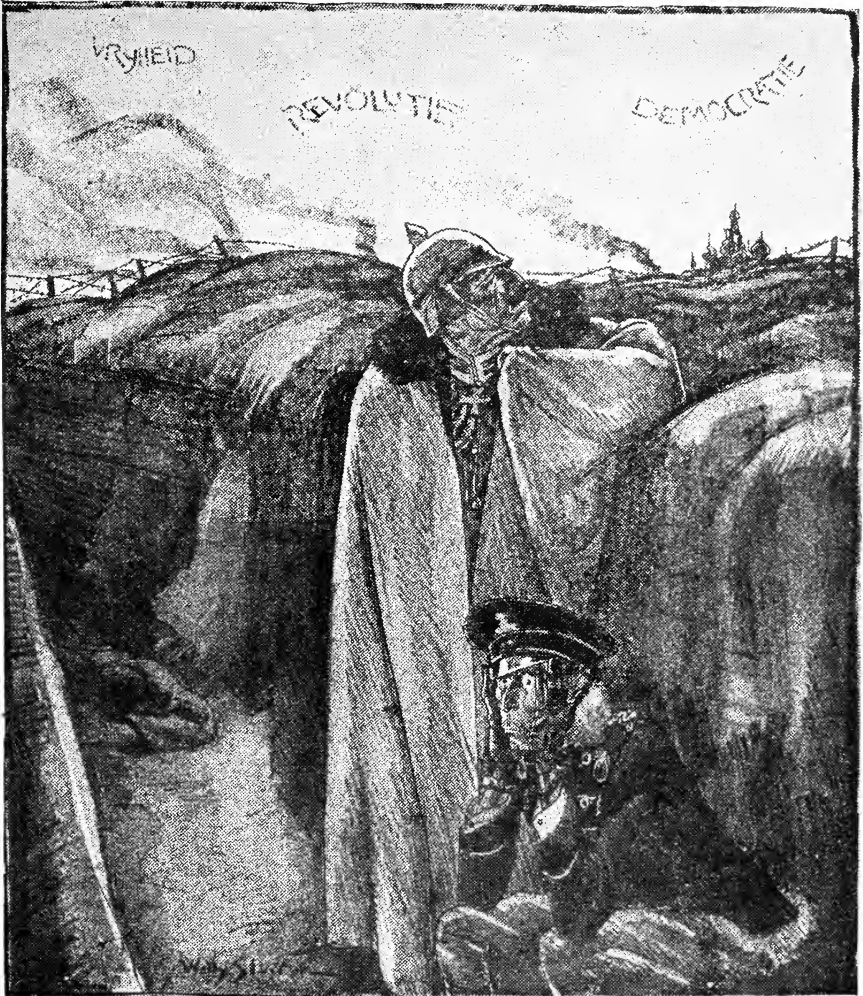


—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

WILHELM: "Democracy in Russia! Heavens! What shall I do now?"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Dawn in Russia

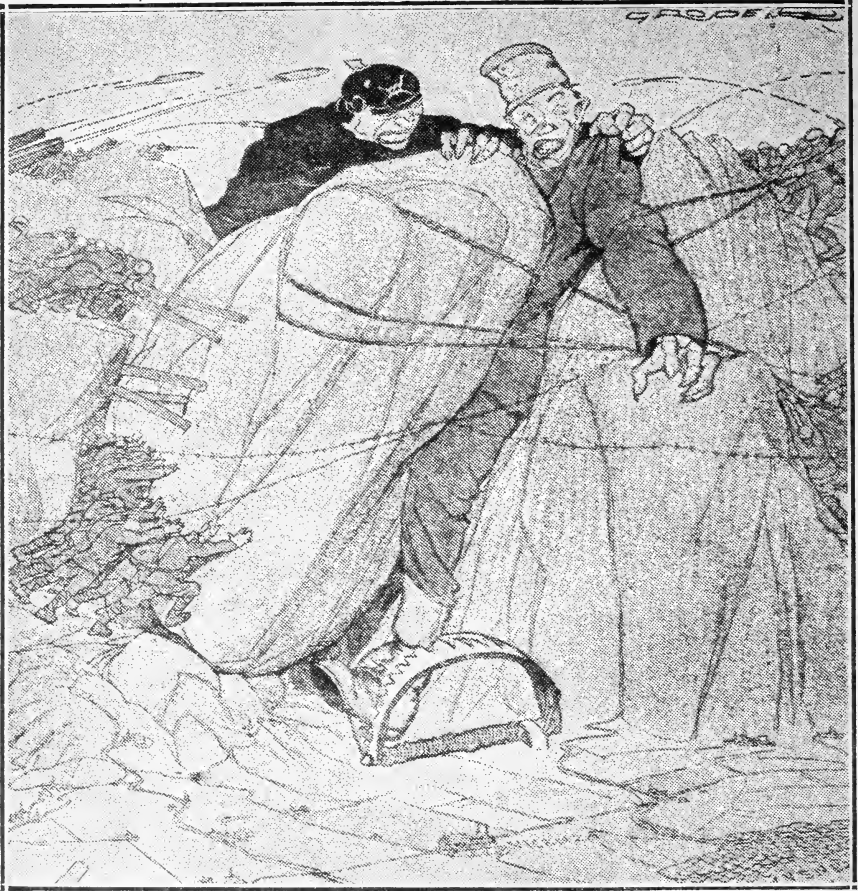


—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

WILHELM (to Little Wilhelm): "That light, my son, will do our house more harm than all the Russian artillery!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The "Strafing" Expedition in Italy



—From *Il Numero*, Turin.

GERMANY: "Go on."

AUSTRIA: "I can't. I'm wedged in."

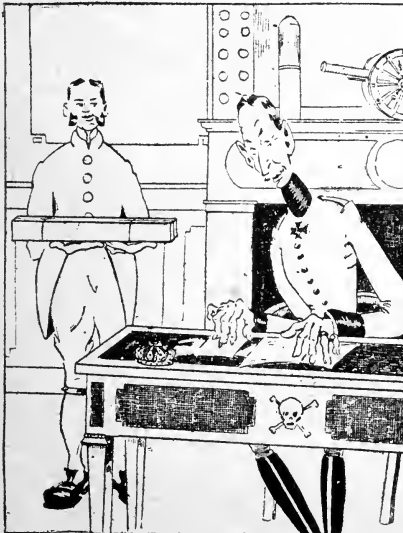
GERMANY: "Well, heaven knows, you are thin enough to get through anywhere!"

[Spanish Cartoon]
Arrival of Uncle Sam



“Hello, nephews!”
 “Welcome, uncle! You are late, but you can have a front seat.”
 —From *Campana de Gracia*, Barcelona.

[French Cartoon]
The Crown Prince's Surprise
 [April Fool's Day]



“A present from his Majesty? Why, it must be my baton as Marshal!”



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.
 “Just heaven!!”

[English Cartoon]

That "Strategic" Withdrawal



—From *London Opinion*.

HINDENBURG: "I positively refuse to stop in that house another moment!"

[American Cartoon]

He Also Serves



—From *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

The soldier of the home trenches.

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Fetich



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

ASTONISHED ENTHUSIAST (who has climbed to the top to hammer in his nail): "Mein Gott! His head is empty except for a gramophone!"

[French Cartoon]

The Happy Family

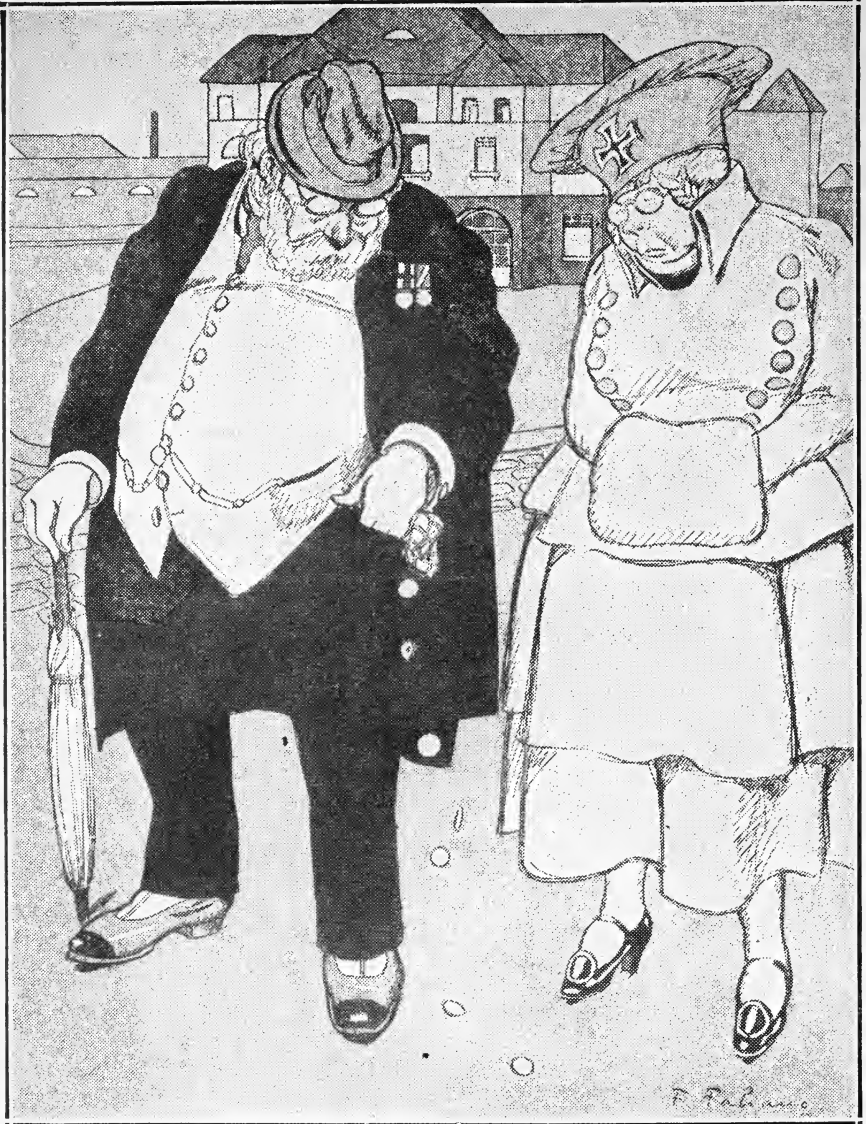


—© Le Rive, Paris.

THE KAISER (to His Six Sons): "Hurrah for 'fresh and joyous' war! Hurrah for the docile folk who send their sons to butchery to keep mine intact! Hurrah for the last slaves in the civilized world!"

[French Cartoon]

War Finances in Germany



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

“Mein Gott! Fritz, you’re losing your mcnney!”

“What else can you expect, Bertha? It’s the fall of the mark!”

"Unter den Hinden"



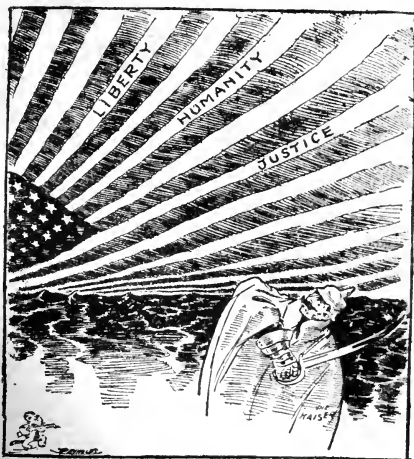
—From The Cleveland Leader.

The Price of Peace



—From The Dayton News.

A Fatal Sunrise for Him



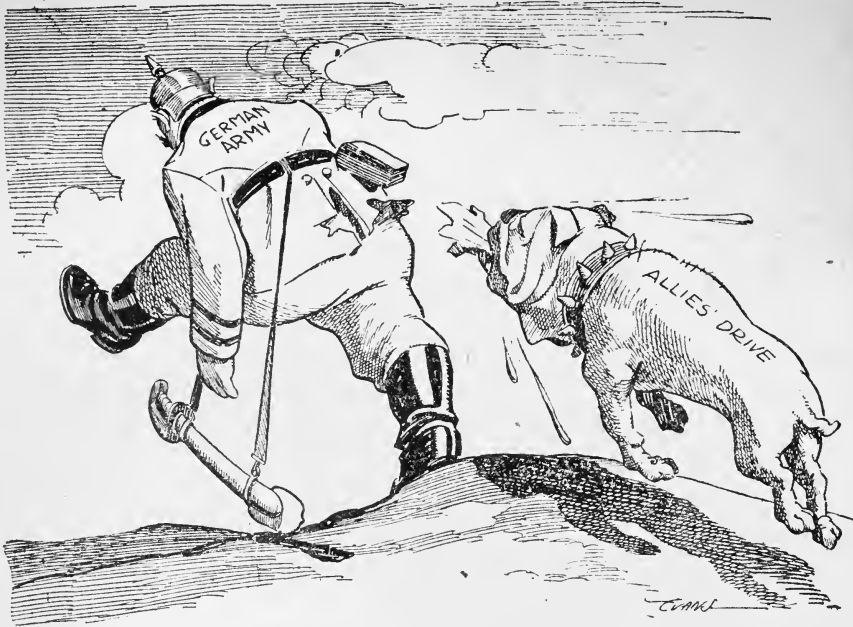
—From The Portland Oregonian.

The Party Who Will Decide How Long the War Will Last



—From The Duluth Herald.

German Retreat On the Somme



—From *The Baltimore American*.

“Our aim is to keep moving.”—German Military Critic.

To the Front



—From *The Spokane Spokesman-Review*.

Moving Day in Europe



—From *The Duluth Herald*.

[American Cartoons]

One Down



Luring Them On



Poor Old World



The Melting Pot



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[German Cartoon]

The Well-Trained Bulldog



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

BRITISH BULLDOG: "It must not be seen how gladly I would swallow that peace sausage."





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