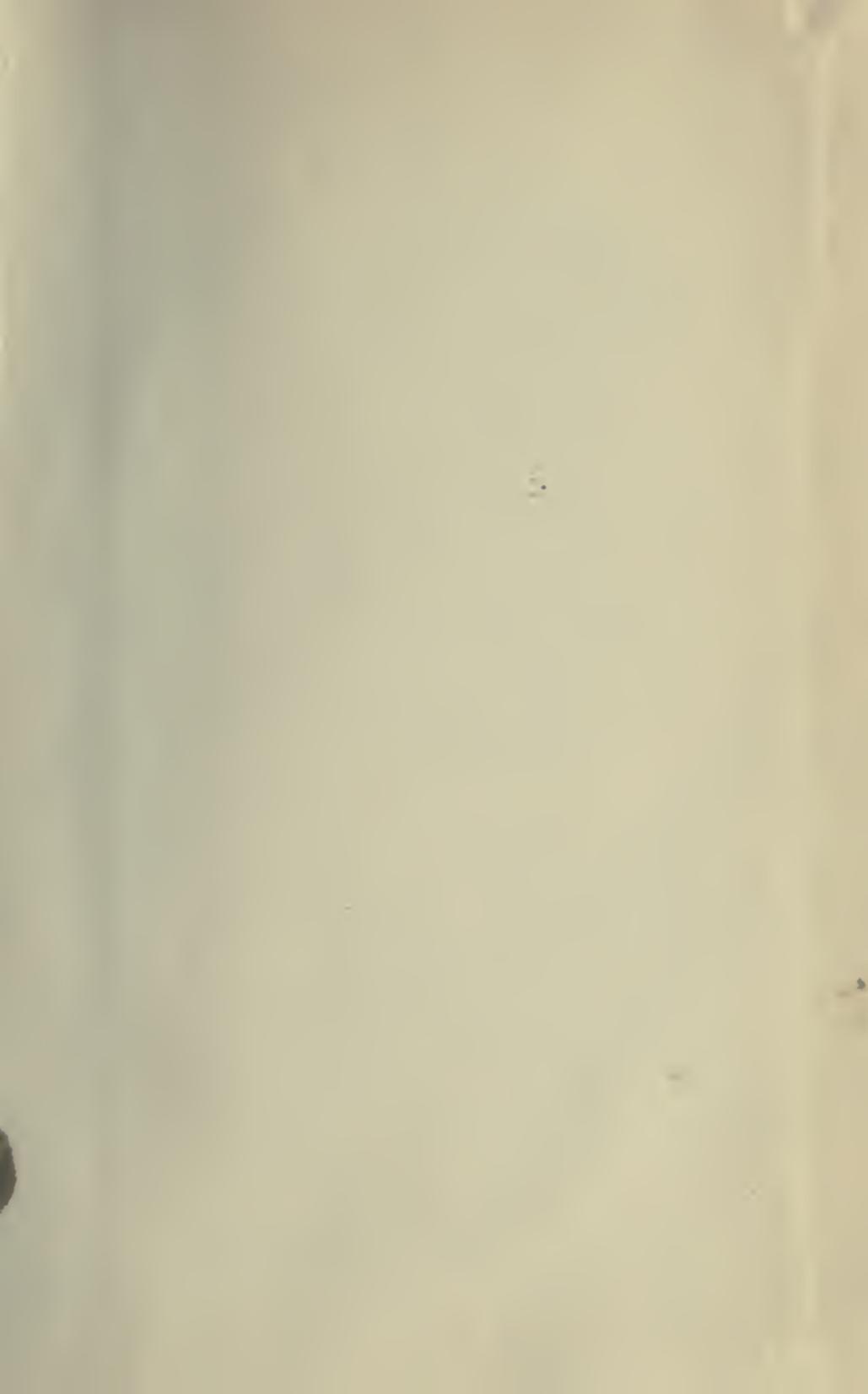
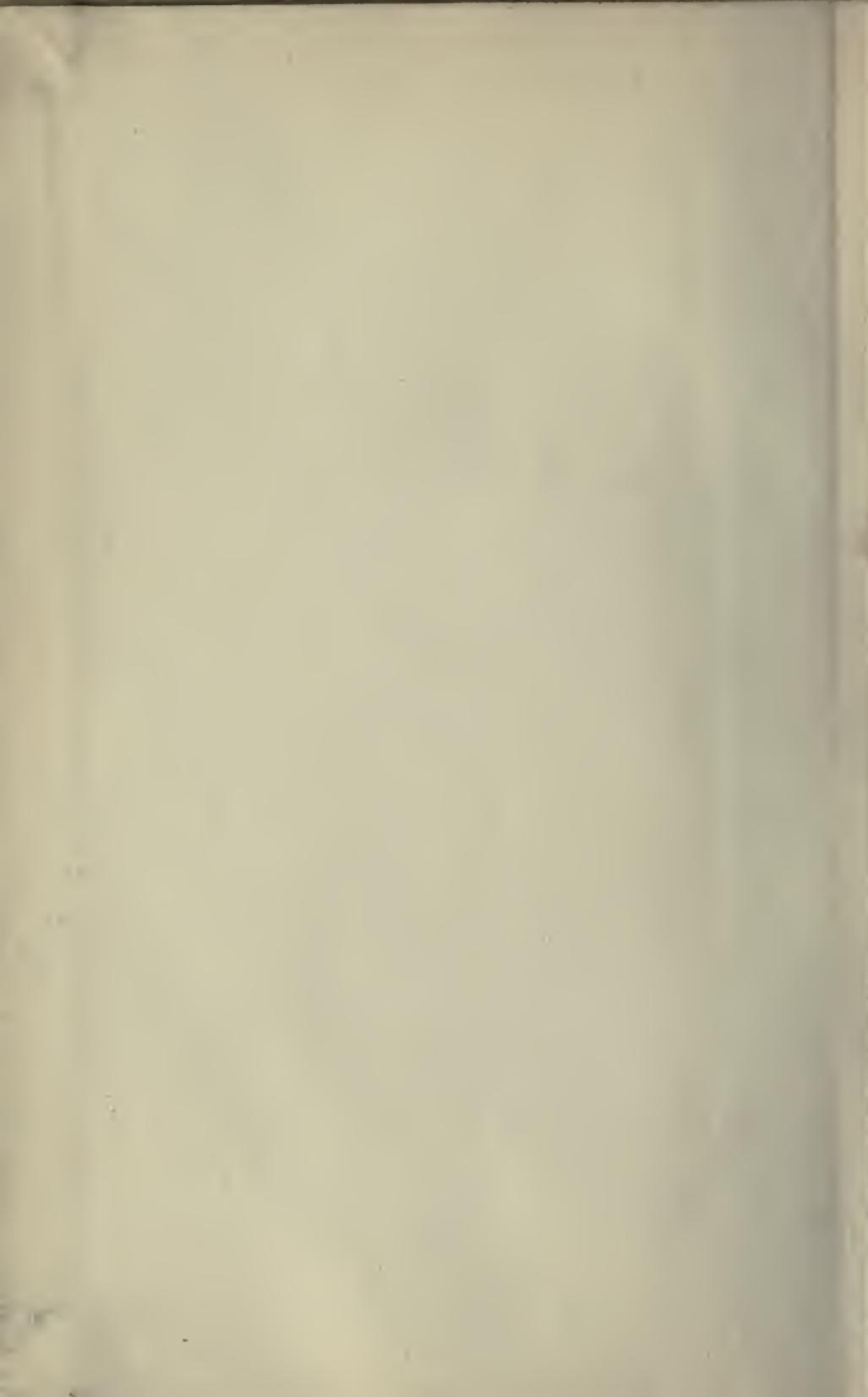


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THE
DAN-GERMANIC
CRIME
PAUL VAN HOUTTE

THE PAN-GERMANIC CRIME

“No society of civilised States is possible without honesty and regard for international treaties. Belgium has proved this bravely; and, despite her devastated cities, her sacrificed offspring and her scattered people, she is still proving it upon the battlefield in Flanders. For this she will be great among the nations for evermore.”

Le Temps, Paris, November 17th, 1914.

THE
PAN-GERMANIC CRIME

IMPRESSIONS AND INVESTIGATIONS
IN BELGIUM DURING THE
GERMAN OCCUPATION

BY
PAUL VAN HOUTTE

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

TO THE
AMERICAN

PREFACE

THE object of this pamphlet is to make a contribution to the history of the crime. Its contents are not personal judgments nor theories more or less open to question, but precise, authentic documentary evidence. Apart from certain quotations or facts anterior to the month of August, 1914, which are already recorded in history, what I put forward consists of events which I myself saw during the first months of the German occupation, or of which the story has been told to me by sober and trustworthy witnesses, who lived in the midst of what they describe and had before their eyes the atrocities narrated by them. The reasons which have compelled me, for the present, to suppress my informants' names will easily be understood. As soon as it shall be possible I will bring out a second edition of the book, in which the initials shall be replaced by the actual names and particulars shall be given about the persons who kindly consented to send me the results of their enquiries and researches.

P. VAN H.

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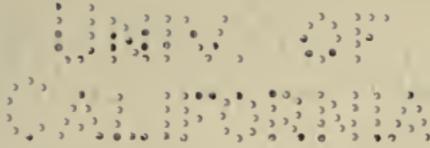
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CHAPTER I

EUROPE IN JULY, 1914

“It is difficult for him who aspires to predominance to preserve the spirit of fairness, which is the chief attribute of justice.”

CICERO.

IN July, 1914, Europe was at peace.

The horrible murder of June 28th at Serajevo, which made away with the Heir Presumptive of Austria-Hungary and his wife, had for an instant stirred it very profoundly; but no one believed that a Servian student's crime could bring about an international conflict. The most powerful ruler on the Continent, His Imperial and Royal Majesty William II, had been looked on as a supporter of peace since he celebrated, in June, 1913, the jubilee of a reign of twenty-five years without any war, beyond an entirely unimportant expedition against the Herreros. He expressed at that time his desire and hope for a second period of twenty-five years' peace for Germany. There appeared good foundation for this desire and hope. The German Empire then had sixty-six million inhabitants, and its population was increasing by

three millions every year, while that of France remained stationary. The period seemed to be approaching when France would have but half the population of the German Empire and must abandon all thoughts of revenge for 1870. Under her present Emperor Germany was growing both in might and in wealth. He had only to let time do its work, and the French—in particular the directors of French policy—could only aspire to live and let live, without seeking a quarrel against neighbours now both stronger and better organised from the military point of view. A few old soldiers of 1870, like Déroulède and the Comte de Mun, might periodically revive the memory of the *année terrible*; but their voices were no more than an echo which grew daily weaker.

Thus the power of William II waxed, easily and without an effort, greater and securer and more renowned. Possessed of an immense fortune, the head of an illustrious family, the ally of two great Powers, and the idol of the governing classes of his country, he was one of the most eminent men of the Old World. He could choose his rôle on more than one stage and play it with unquestioned right. He was indeed the master, the *Imperator*, feared and admired. In the council of nations his mailed fist imposed silence, and often, too, imposed his will, upon others.

His many peaceful protestations had caused to be forgotten the theatrically warlike demonstrations of the first years of his reign. Oblivion was wiping out all remembrance of the violent days of Agadir. On the other hand, Anglo-German commercial and industrial rivalry had ceased to be a cause of quarrel, and, as Mr. Lloyd George has recently said, the two nations were almost on friendly terms. International Reconciliation Societies were springing up, including among their members notable people in Germany, England, France, and the United States, and aiming chiefly at securing more cordial relations between the great nations of Europe. These societies wanted to blot out the memory of the war of 1870, which had caused the European Powers to increase their military expenditure every year until it reached the formidable total of £480,000,000 for European defence alone. In certain high spheres it was beginning to be realised how absurd was the system which, on the pretext of preserving peace, was really ruining nations in order to prepare some millions of men for mutual slaughter.

These societies, in spite of their new name, actually had the same object in view as the older peace associations, which, coming into being in the course of the century, swelled in numbers every year, increasing both their rolls of membership

and their influence on public opinion. People even greeted without a smile or a shrug of the shoulders the idea of a federation of the United States of Europe, whereby quarrels between governments, instead of being settled by the blind and brutal test of war, might be smoothed away by conciliation or decided by international arbitration.

Even in Alsace and Lorraine, those sister provinces which had been so brutally torn from France by the Treaty of Frankfort in 1871, the mass of the people was content with administrative autonomy, and the chief aspiration of the majority was for a decrease of Prussian drill-sergeant methods.

The possibility of a war in which the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente should pour their millions of troops upon one another seemed to the whole of Europe so terrible a catastrophe, not only for the Continent but for both hemispheres of the world, that no one would believe that any head of the six Great Powers would dare to take on himself the heavy responsibility for it. A calculation of the millions of men in battle, of the general stoppage of production, industrial, commercial, and agricultural, and of the probable destruction which would be wrought, suggested such a gigantic picture of ruin and bereavement that the very idea of the war spread terror in every heart. None

could credit that a man responsible for the destinies of a great nation, whichever it might be, could deliberately plunge Europe in so criminal and so appalling a struggle.

And yet there was such a man !

Intoxicated by a military power which no one in Europe disputed, the Emperor William II had reckoned up with the heads of his army the obstacles to be overcome if he would swiftly and surely crush resistance to the passion for European hegemony which haunted him. Like all conquerors in the past, he disguised this passion for universal rule in a patriotic dress. It was of Great Germany that he thought first. In the same way Napoleon I only thought of the France " which he loved so well."

William II had computed the millions of pounds to be spent, the millions of human lives to be risked and lost. He had calculated the time which was necessary, or would probably be necessary, for him to strike in succession at the hearts of the rivals of the German Empire. He had worked out the periods of delay essential to these nations if they were to resist him effectively, and had promised himself not to allow them such periods of delay. Finally, he had balanced up the dangers of his enterprise and the benefits resulting from the victory, which he decided must be quick and

complete. Believing that he had foreseen all—even the unforeseeable—he had said: “*Deutschland über Alles!* Germany above everything! Let us go forward!” And he added, hypocritically, the phrase engraved on his soldiers’ belt-buckles, “*Gott mit Uns!* God with Us!”

“Germany above everything!” Such is the way in which the Pangermans (as, alas! also do the Jingoës in all military countries) interpret the Pagan theory so widely taught and accepted in our own times in justification of the worst international crimes. Debasing the sacred ideal of the Fatherland, they have made of it a cruel and devouring fetish. They have profaned its law by assimilating it to the maxims of barbarian peoples. The Fatherland above everything! That is to say, the Fatherland above right and above righteousness, above justice and above truth. For the Fatherland, thus understood, one may, according to these worshippers of brute force, attempt all, do all, allow oneself all liberties, including lying and false promises, which are merely ruses of war. To these devotees of “patriotism” the end justifies the means, however odious the means may be, provided that they tend to the political advantage of the country, in the realm either of force or of diplomacy.

Having decided on the European war which he

considered necessary for the definite triumph of the German Empire, William II had no difficulty in excusing to his conscience, by the same plea of patriotic necessity, the violation of Belgian neutrality. Yet that had been put under the protection of his own throne, and of the throne of Austria, by the formal treaties of 1830 and 1839, renewed again in 1870.

After eighty years of peaceful and prosperous existence, Belgium's neutrality had become, so to speak, an universal political dogma. And among those who most loudly proclaimed the necessity of a neutral Belgium in the heart of Europe might be counted Germany. At Antwerp on July 25th, 1905, Count von Walwitz, the German Minister at Brussels, said amid the cheers of a friendly gathering of Belgians and Germans: "Germany has watched your progress like a good neighbour, in the spirit of interest and sympathy. Our sympathies are wholly yours, and they lead us in the same direction as our own interests. We wish to see a strong Belgium, from the point of view of politics as much as from that of trade. I may say, in passing, that to us Germans the maintenance of the guarantee-treaty concluded at the time of the birth of Belgium is a kind of political axiom, which none dare infringe without committing the most heinous of mistakes."

Count Aehrenthal, the Austrian Minister, expressed the same views in different circumstances.

Further, the Hague Conference of 1907, at which forty-four nations were represented, voted unanimously, among the Laws of War, that neutral frontiers must be inviolable to belligerents. This rule, as a matter of fact, is but an application of the natural and divine law forbidding the killing and plundering of innocent and peaceful people. Men were justified, therefore, in concluding that this law of 1907, which was binding on the honour of governments and heads of armies, would be respected by emperors and kings in command of their own armies. This was the conviction of the French themselves. As Mr. Balfour remarked, in a recent speech in London, if the French General Staff had not been so convinced, they would not have left France's northern frontiers almost unfortified.

What good are the Ten Commandments, what good are treaties and laws of war, what good is the word of an emperor who boasts of his Christianity on all occasions, when the interests of the Great German Fatherland are, or seem to be, at stake? *Deutschland über Alles!* Germany above everything!

Great Germany wishes for outlets and for coasts upon an open sea in direct touch with the Atlantic.

Little neutral and independent Belgium is an obstacle to the direct access of the German Empire to the North Sea. Therefore Belgium must disappear.

Moreover, her conquest by Germany's glorious armies will be a benefit to the Belgians. If they do not grasp this, Germany's cannons and machine-guns, rifles and explosives will teach them love for the only true civilisation by exterminating those so stupid as not to be able to understand, admire, and cherish the beauties of German *Kultur*.

In his calculations and forecasts the Imperial monarch omitted or underestimated several things ; and first of all he forgot to consider that Germany's honoured maxim *Deutschland über Alles* in more than one country gives rise to the contrary maxim, "Germany below other peoples." He believed in the superiority of German patriotism, as he did in the superiority of Germany as a whole. He would not admit that the love of the Belgians or French or English for their countries was quite as strong and quite as worthy of respect as the Germans' cult of theirs. Nor did he ask himself whether Belgian patriotism might not transform into heroes the little soldiers, relatively so few in numbers, whom he had passed under review in Brussels and estimated as negligible. He had forgotten to allow for the possible resistance and delay which they might put in the way of his

triumphal march on Paris and Petrograd. Hypnotised by the great end he had in view, he saw the dangers fading away and the successes piling up. He wilfully ignored the valour of his opponents, despised the teachings and advice of Bismarck and Von der Goltz, and dismissed as of no consequence the risks of massacre and destruction. He did not even ask himself whether England, co-signatory with Germany and Austria to the treaty which constituted Belgium an independent country, could permit the assassination of a friendly little nation and look favourably upon the predominance of German militarism in Europe. Yet he had had a warning in the negotiations which took place in 1912 between the United Kingdom and Germany. Blinded by the intensity of his desire, he thought he could overcome English scruples regarding the existence of a nation of so little military importance as neutral Belgium.

He omitted to calculate, too, the ruin which would result from the prolongation of the war and the consequent spreading of the losses and the stoppage of industries, not only in the belligerent countries, but also in the rest of Europe and the New World as well. He left out of his reckonings the general decrease of wealth, the fall of rents, values, and prices, and the disappearance of a portion of the population.

Lastly—to bring to an end the catalogue of disasters—he had not troubled himself about the crop of violent hatreds which this fearful crime must sow against his throne and his people. Entering into competition with the most murderous madmen of history, he proceeded, with the utmost calmness and with full premeditation, to invest his crime with all possible aggravating circumstances. In the vain hope of glory and dominion, he dared to risk the lives of millions of human beings and the fortunes of millions of others, and to turn Europe into a realm of ruin and anguish, of wrath and of terror, so dreadful and portentous that all past ages have not seen the like.

CHAPTER II

THE PREPARATION FOR THE CRIME

“THE violation of the rights of nations”—thus it was that the German Chancellor himself, speaking in the Reichstag on August 4th, 1914, described the invasion of neutral and inoffensive Belgium—was premeditated long before. This is shown by the extraordinary precautions devoted to the preparation for the crime. A long delay was necessary, if only to get together, fix in their places, and set in action the army of spies who kept the Imperial Government informed about every single parish in Belgian territory. It was necessary, next, to connect and co-ordinate the information gained, information most extraordinarily complete and minute. Never has the art of treason against one’s hosts been practised to a greater extent than by the Germans living in Belgium. Some estates have been invaded by troops whose commanders had been servants of the owner. In a certain Belgian château the German officer who occupied it had in his hands

a full list of the contents, with details about every article. He was astonished to see that the valuable hangings had disappeared. On a vast property near Ottignies the officers, on one of the owner's daughters being introduced to them, asked: "Where is the other, the elder one, who is so pious?" Hundreds of such cases might be quoted. In many places the German officers knew not only all particulars of what they contained, but also the names and professions of the owners, their incomes, personal opinions, etc.

One example among a hundred will serve to show the perfection to which the German inquisitorial system had attained. In a certain village situated close to Namur, on the bank of the Meuse, the burgomaster, wishing to spare those under him the horrible cruelties of which the inhabitants of the communes of Luxemburg and other provinces bordering on Prussia had been the victims, went to meet the commander of the invading troops. After assuring him of the peaceful disposition of his people, he offered to give him information with regard to the billeting of the soldiers. The only answer which the officer made was: "I know all about that better than you. I have made all my arrangements, and the first of them is for your arrest." Then, making a sign to his men, he had the prisoner taken off to

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a safe place, where he was kept as a hostage for three days.

In order to procure all these precise details and figures there must certainly have been much time required, much application, and a great number of accomplices, conscious and unconscious. Such a mass of documentary information could not be quickly gathered, especially as the spies who collected it had to proceed with prudence and discretion.

Further, it was not on the eve of the infamous aggression—we cannot call by the name of war the sudden attack on the Belgian provinces—that the general plan of invasion could have been worked out and the various rôles assigned according to the abilities and antecedents of the agents employed. Such an undertaking, so perfectly studied in its minutest details, could not be prepared in the course of a few days. An idea of the care devoted to this preparation by the German General Staff can be formed from a single instance of it. Copies of the Belgian General Staff's map received special additions, not added by hand but printed in Germany, showing by means of red lines the routes which the Imperial troops were to take.

However keen the normal vigilance of the German army may be, it is clear that an attack on two great nations, complicated by the violation

of the neutrality of Belgium, necessitates an equipment and munitions of war on an exceptional scale. Events have proved that the Germans alone were ready. The Allies have spent several months in manufacturing material to match that which Germany had in hand at the beginning. All who saw the passage of the troops and transport-waggons which made the entry into Belgium were bound to recognise the perfect equipment and military organisation. Harness, carts, teams, arms, etc., everything was complete and of first-class quality. All gave the impression of a mighty force, sure of itself, long prepared, well fitted for its special object, following out a maturely pre-meditated plan. Obviously an enterprise of this kind is not just improvised. It absolutely demands study and labour, and a supervision that is both minute and deep.

The violation of Belgium, then, was long thought out. The excuse set up by Germany as to the necessity of attacking and defeating France rapidly, so as to be able to turn round next with full force to meet Russia, is but a pretext to hide the intention of annexing Belgium as a supplementary advantage resulting from the crime planned.

France's situation, her inferior military position with regard to Germany, which even the French

24 THE PREPARATION FOR THE CRIME

officers themselves recognised, obliged her to remain on the defensive, and therefore necessarily caused the French General Staff to put aside all ideas of violating our frontiers. In Alsace-Lorraine Germany was mistress of positions which the French looked on as a revolver pointing at the heart of their country. The alleged danger by which the German Government justified its violation of Belgium's neutrality was, therefore, a detestable invention.

The incompatibility of the excuses advanced by the German authorities becomes plain on examination. The commander-in-chief of the Army of the Meuse, on his entry into Belgium, announced by proclamation that "French officers in disguise had crossed Belgium territory in a motor-car, on their way to Germany." On the other hand, a German commander explained the appearance of his troops as due to the passage of French aviators over the same region. In Berlin the German Government put forward a justification as early as July 31st, alleging to Sir Edward Goschen that "certain hostile acts had already been committed by Belgium," and citing the embargo laid upon a consignment of corn destined for Germany. (Sir Edward Goschen to Sir Edward Grey, July 31st, 1914.)

These grotesque attempts at justifying a crime have only succeeded in revealing the treacherous

depth of the villany. The confessions of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag on August 4th are well known.¹

The alleged strategic necessity, if it had really existed, would in no way have justified the crime. The argument drawn from the necessity of attaining a certain end is but an anarchist's and brigand's argument. The Emperor William II was pledged by formal treaties to protect Belgium, should she be in danger. He was, moreover, constrained by the laws of war, which were binding on his military honour. When he despatched his troops against the Belgian army, therefore, he committed an atrocity worse than the armed robberies of the notorious Bonnot and Garnier, since in his case perjury aggravated the wrong.

The German soldiers and their officers could but obey their Emperor. They might even be excused on the ground of their ignorance. Thus the Emperor, whose power in the matter is unlimited, is the principal if not the sole guilty party.

¹ Two months later Maximilien Harden recalled these confessions with the most engaging frankness (*Zukunft*, October 14th, 1914). "At the moment when the war was about to break out," he said, "the arch-mistake was the boldly uttered confession that Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium. . . . From this confession neither God nor Devil will ever clear us. The attempts made after the event to insinuate that others were preparing to violate this neutrality on their own account do not take away our guilt. . . . I do not believe that France had intended to attack our Rhine provinces by way of Belgium." (See Appendix VIII, at the end of this book.)

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Nevertheless, his counsellors and assistants share some part of the responsibility for the terrible catastrophe which has plunged Europe into mourning and ruin.

The Emperor is not only the principal author, he has not only premeditated and made material preparations for his crime, but he has also for years concealed his preparations under repeated lies. He could not disown responsibility for these lies, seeing that they have issued from his own mouth or have been dictated by him to his ministers.

No one was unaware of the coldness of Franco-German and Russo-German relations. But it was hoped in Belgium, in France, and in England, that Belgium and Germany would never be at enmity, not merely because treaties and the laws of war protected Belgian neutrality, but because friendly relations existed between the two courts of Brussels and Berlin, and because intimate bonds of kinship united the royal families of Bavaria and Belgium. Still, the indisputable military superiority of Germany was bound to disquiet the Belgians somewhat in the event of a fresh Franco-German conflict. So the Emperor missed no opportunity of putting the Belgians off their guard.

At the time of his visit to Brussels for the International Exhibition of 1910, William II made

public protestations of his keen sympathy with the Belgians and their king.

In the course of the German grand manœuvres which took place later, he said to the Belgian military attaché, General Heimburger : “ *Belgium has good reason to count upon me.*”

In April, 1913, in committee on the budget of the German Empire, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Jagow, answered a question from a Socialist deputy about military expenses with the following declaration : “ *Belgium’s neutrality is established by international conventions, which Germany is resolved to respect.*”

The War Minister, whose speeches had naturally great weight on such a subject, emphasised his colleague’s statement by saying : “ *Belgium has nothing to do with the passing of the Army Bill, the reasons for which concern the East of Germany entirely. The neutrality of Belgium, guaranteed by international action, will not be lost sight of by Germany.*”¹

According to these three public and official declarations, which were printed in the leading German papers, including the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the Kaiser’s official organ, the German army would most certainly respect neutral frontiers.

¹ See the pamphlet *De la Violation de la Neutralité belge*, by J. van den Heuvel, Belgian Minister of State (Paris, 1914).

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In November, 1913, the Emperor William was not ashamed to receive in his palace at Potsdam the King whom he was so cruelly to betray in August, 1914. He gave him the place of honour next the Empress. The papers of the day recorded that the conversations were particularly friendly, and that Their Imperial Majesties recalled to their Royal guest their visit to Brussels in 1910, of which they "preserved an imperishable remembrance"—no doubt to the extent of having made up their minds to annex a country which had pleased them so much!¹

Next, on July 31st, 1914, only four days before the invasion of the Belgian provinces, Herr von

¹ It appears from a report by M. Cambon, French Ambassador to Berlin, dated November 22nd, 1913, and published in the French "Yellow Book," that on this occasion of King Albert's visit to Berlin a conversation took place between Emperor and King, in the presence of Count von Moltke, head of the German General Staff. From this conversation, which had a great effect upon King Albert, says M. Cambon, it follows that the Emperor had ceased to be the man of peace which he had pretended to be before, that he shared now the warlike sentiments of the Pangermans, and that he had decided "it was time to have done with France."

General von Moltke declared at the time that "the ordinary commonplaces about the responsibility of the aggressor must be resolutely put on one side." Such a phrase is very significant of the state of mind of those who live up to the maxim *Deutschland über Alles*.

But, of course, there was no question, in this conversation, of a violation of Belgium's neutrality. While seeming therefore to open his heart to King Albert on the subject of his intentions towards France, the Emperor was playing a very clever comedy against his Belgian Royal guest, whom he had long decided to betray, as is proved by the manifold preparations for the invasion of Belgian territory.

Below-Saleske, German Minister in Brussels, reassured M. Davignon, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, with regard to the intentions of the German Empire. He made no public protestation of respect for our frontiers, since if France had been sure that Germany would not invade Belgium she would have still further strengthened her Eastern defences.

Finally, as late as August 2nd, the German Minister had two conversations with the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs. When the latter acquainted him with France's promise to respect Belgian neutrality, the former was bound to confess that he had not up to then been authorised to make any official communication ; but Belgium, he said, knew his personal views with regard to her security from her Eastern neighbour.¹

¹ A secret German report upon the military situation, in which can be recognised the ideas and almost the customary phrases of the Emperor, was communicated on April 2nd, 1913, by M. Etienne, French Minister for War. This report proves that even in the early months of 1913 the idea of a violation of the Belgian frontiers was haunting the minds of the chiefs of the Imperial Government. There occur such phrases as the following :—

“ But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small states should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralised ; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland. A vast field is open to our diplomacy to work in this country on the lines of our interests.

“ The arrangements made with this end in view allow us to hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower

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In the second conversation Herr von Below-Saleske had to present the well-known ultimatum. He must, doubtless, have been embarrassed over his change of front. At half an hour past midnight he explained it to the Belgian Minister, stating that it appeared that the French had thrown bombs and crossed the frontier. Naturally M. Davignon demanded where these occurrences had taken place. The German diplomatist was bound to admit that the violation of the frontier had been in Germany. By so miserable an excuse, therefore, the representative of the most powerful empire in Europe attempted to explain one of the most scandalous and faithless outrages against the rights of nations known to modern history!

At any rate, no other motive was alleged except that of a military necessity which was after all very open to dispute. Indeed, not only was the fear of a French violation of Belgium's frontiers removed by the declaration of August 1st, but also such violation would have given to Germany the

Rhine. *An ultimatum with a short time-limit, to be followed immediately by invasion*, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law.

"Such are the duties which devolve on our army and which demand a striking force of considerable numbers. If the enemy attacks us, or if we wish to overcome him, we will act as our brothers did a hundred years ago; the eagle thus provoked will soar in his flight, will seize the enemy in his steel claws and render him harmless.

"It is a national question, that Germany's former possessions should be restored to her." (French "Yellow Book.")

forts on the Meuse and the assistance of the Belgian army. What the Empire wanted, however, was the annexation of Belgium and the command of her resources with a view to the direct march of the German armies upon Paris.

Germany has compromised her strategy through her dreams of aggrandisement. The course of events has abundantly proved this. The violation of Belgium was not merely a crime, it was a blunder. This blunder can only be explained by the excessive confidence of William II in the great superiority of his military organisation. Having forged the very costly weapon of war, he wished to get back the cost, and, incidentally, to extend the frontiers of his Empire to the North Sea.¹

.

In June, 1914, Germany duly completed her preparations for war and for the outrage which she so carefully concealed under protestations of respect for our neutrality and of sympathy with our country and our king. In the first week of this month a congress was held at Düsseldorf, to which were admitted the local magistrates of those towns only whose population is above 100,000 inhabitants.

¹ Maximilian Harden, in his article in the *Zukunft* of October 14th, 1914, quoted above, has made this startling admission. (See Appendix VIII.)

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In Germany such magistrates are regular professional functionaries. The congress was therefore organised and convoked on the initiative of the Imperial Government.

The following was the subject for deliberation : How must the big towns prepare for an economic crisis in the event of mobilisation ? According to the conclusions of the report which was adopted, (1) the big towns must immediately secure a supplementary staff for all public services, gas, water, electric supply, etc., as the ordinary staff would be called away by the mobilisation ; (2) they must have considerable reserves of food and must renew them constantly ; (3) they must transfer the local savings-bank funds to public securities of the first class and readily realisable ; and (4) the Empire must issue bank-notes to the value of ten marks per head of population, which should be compulsory legal tender.

The German mobilisation, as is proved by the admissions of German soldiers taken prisoner at Liège, began as early as July 15th¹—that is to say, nineteen days before the date of expiry of the ultimatum to Belgium. It was not until the night of August 3rd that the ultimatum was sent to the

¹ The French " Yellow Book " shows, too, that this mobilisation was announced to the French Government by reports from its diplomatic agents during the month of July.

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Belgian Government, inviting it to give a free passage through its territory to the German troops, in default of which Belgium would be considered as at war with Germany. Belgium's answer could not but be a refusal, for it was a question of honour. So well foreseen by the Germans was this answer that they had two days before made prisoners of war the Belgian males between the ages of twenty and forty-five who happened to be in Germany. This was yet another violation of the laws of war.

On the eve of the mobilisation the German military authorities offered their own prisoners who had previously been in the army a free pardon. Thus the effective force was increased by men who were the very soldiers for the work for which they were destined in Belgium.

Further revelations, which have been made since the opening of hostilities, prove that in June, 1914, Germany was already busy with measures to secure, in case of war, coal for her navy in Africa, at the Cape, and on the east and west coasts of America.¹

¹ From the diplomatic point of view it is worth while to note the efforts made by Germany to detach England from her allies of the Triple Entente.

In 1912 England had assured Germany that she would never take sides against her in an attack which Germany had not herself provoked. England added that there was no question, in any of the treaties agreed to by her statesmen, of offensive operations against Germany.

But this comprehensive statement, which ought to have

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Lastly, we must record among the preparations for the crime the general system of slanders circulated throughout the whole German army, on the eve of the mobilisation and during the mobilisation itself, against the Belgian population. Belgium was represented as a backward, barbarous, and cruel country, inhabited by a race of franc-tireurs; a country where the civilians mutilated the prisoners, where the women poured boiling oil upon soldiers, where the young girls tore out the eyes of the wounded; a country, in short, whose inhabitants deserved no consideration and must be treated with the utmost rigour of martial law.

These odious inventions were naturally accepted as gospel by soldiers prepared to believe anything coming on official authority and already disposed to find a criminal in every enemy of the German name.

satisfied any Power intending to live at peace with her neighbours, did not satisfy Germany. "She asked us, in fact," says the *Times*, in its editorial comment on Mr. Asquith's Cardiff speech of October 2nd, 1914, "to give her 'a free hand' when she should choose her own time 'to overbear and dominate the European world.' That pledge we, of course, refused her. Had we been weak enough and treacherous enough to give it, one can imagine the use she would have made of it. She would have attained her object of shattering the Triple Entente, and of shattering with it all possibility of confidence in us. We should have been reduced to the state of shameful isolation to which she again sought to bring us in the late negotiations, and she would have been free to overrun France and then to attack Russia, while we observed the 'neutrality' she had duped us into."

It will be seen later what horrible atrocities were the result of this. Yet in this alleged country of franc-tireurs the practice was really unknown. It only existed in France during the war of 1870. No Belgian could tell of a single town, a single village, where there ever was a company or even a half-company of franc-tireurs.

CHAPTER III

THE PERPETRATION OF THE CRIME

HAVING plotted and planned everything, and having sufficiently lulled to rest his intended victims, the German Emperor awaited the favourable opportunity for giving the signal to his army. The horrible assassination of the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary furnished him with the opportunity. It is known that he encouraged the unreasonable attitude of his ally when the Emperor Francis Joseph presented to Serbia his demands for reparation. The Serbian Government yielded to most of the Imperial demands, and, for the rest, offered to submit to the arbitration either of the Hague Tribunal or of the Great Powers those which it considered excessive and hurtful to its dignity. This answer to the Emperor Francis Joseph's ultimatum should have satisfied him, since it submitted the settlement of the contentious part of the demands for reparation to judges of unquestionable competence and authority. But the German Kaiser wanted war. It is now established by the discussion which took place in

the Italian Chamber on December 5th, 1914,¹ that as early as August, 1913, Austria contemplated an attack on Serbia—an attack which she wished to represent as a measure of defence, in order to bring Italy and the Triple Alliance into the war. Italy positively refused to follow Austria and Germany into this plot, which therefore never matured. But in 1914 Germany was unwilling to postpone the war any longer. A question and answer in the French Senate on July 15th, 1914, confirmed what Germany had learnt from her spies, as well as from her diplomatists and military attachés, namely, that the French troops, on the confession of the Minister for War himself, “were not in a condition to take the field for a long period.” Measures were on the point of being taken by France to remedy the situation. There were, therefore, motives for hastening on the attack.

The Kaiser did not leave Austria time for reflection, in which she might perhaps have come to an understanding with Serbia. On the pretext that Russia was mobilising her army, he declared war upon her and so forced Austria, his ally, to take up arms against Russia—and, by virtue of alliances, against France and England also. In face of this

¹ Signor Giolitti, head of the Italian Cabinet in 1913, has confirmed the words on this subject of Signor Sallandra, the present head of the Cabinet.

fixed determination it can be understood why all Sir Edward Grey's efforts on behalf of peace were vain.

Since the opening of hostilities, and especially since events have falsified the hopes which he built upon the might and the equipment of his army, the Kaiser has many times endeavoured to get rid of the responsibility, in the eyes of Europe in general and of his subjects in particular, for the infernal tempest which he has let loose. He has accused the partners of the Triple Entente, in their turns, of having planned an European war in concert with the King of the Belgians. King Albert, we have been told, made, with this object in view, a secret agreement with France and England two years ago. When this ridiculous fable simply caused people, except in Berlin, to shrug their shoulders, Brussels was placarded with a notice throwing the responsibility for the European war upon Russia, quoting an alleged "historical document." Now this document is a report in which M. de l'Escaille, Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Petrograd, notifies to Brussels that mobilisation has begun in Russia and that the war-party is gaining strength there. Mobilisation in Germany and Austria was already far advanced at the time. Besides, everyone knows that this is merely a precautionary measure and quite different from a declaration of war, as witness Austria's

mobilisation at the period of the Balkan War. It is quite certain, on the other hand, that it was the Emperor William who let loose the storm upon Europe by his declarations of war against Russia and France ; and, above all, it was he alone who was responsible for the attack on Belgium. Only Germany could derive any profit from this.

Germany made later another attempt to justify herself. On October 11th, 1914, there was posted up in Brussels an extract from documents found at the Belgian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to show that in 1906 negotiations between England and Belgium had settled the measures to be taken in case of a German violation of Belgian neutrality. It is scarcely necessary to say that this document in no way proves that Belgium and England premeditated an attack on Germany. Not only have neutral countries a perfect right to conclude military conventions with the guaranteeing Powers, in view of a possible violation of their territories, but also the documents published by the Germans themselves demonstrate that no convention of the kind was concluded with England. There were merely *pourparlers*.¹ What the documents clearly

¹ See the above-mentioned pamphlet entitled *De la Violation de la Neutralité belge*, by J. van den Heuvel, Belgian Minister of State. See also Appendix VII at the end of the present work, where is given the Belgian Government's reply to Germany's charges.

show is that already as early as 1906 apprehensions about Germany were entertained both in Brussels and in London. And there was good reason. What happened in August, 1914, proved this. The poster of October 11th further shows, by means of a memorandum from our Minister in Berlin, that the possibility was also contemplated of a French violation of our neutrality. In any case, Germany cannot put forward as excuses for her crime against Belgium facts of which she was entirely ignorant at the time when she declared war. It will be seen hereafter that in December, 1914, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg finally threw upon England the responsibility for the war.

This new demonstration having obtained no success, the Kaiser, confident in the credulity of his subjects, returned to his allegation of an ancient understanding between Belgium and the Triple Entente, and began again to talk about "the syndicate of hatred and rapacity, against which Germany had been obliged to defend herself."

In a speech made at the City Temple on November 10th, 1914, Mr. Lloyd George did peremptory justice, in a few words, to this absurd calumny.

"Had we meditated," he said, "a war of aggression against anybody, do you think we should have had to improvise an army after the

war began? We were not equipped for a war of aggression, even against a military Power of the third rank. . . .

“When this war broke out we were on better terms with Germany than we had been for fifteen years. . . . As the Lord liveth, we had engaged in no conspiracy against Germany.”

What Mr. Lloyd George said about England is equally true of France and of Belgium. It has been mentioned above what was the condition of the French army on July 15th, 1914, on the confession of the Minister for War himself. As for Belgium, ten more years were required before the effective force of 340,000 men, which was considered necessary for the defence of her neutrality, could be attained.

A German newspaper, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, has attempted, in its turn, to find an excuse for the Pangermanic crime. With this object it reproduced the report, published on August 20th, 1913, of a lecture given by a professor at an episcopal college in Brussels—“ten months before the war,” remarks the German paper. Now in this lecture the young *abbé* (whose weight is nothing in matters of foreign politics, it is necessary to state) expresses the opinion that, “when Belgium possesses an army worthy of her prosperity and

population, she may enjoy an important position in international disputes."

This proves, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* gravely comments, that Belgium, "inspired with a desire for glory *which is not permissible in neutral States*, was beginning to wish to play a part in European politics."

So this is the reason, according to a journal claiming to be serious, why a warlike Empire of sixty-six millions of inhabitants was obliged to make a ferocious attack upon a peaceful and hard-working little country, which for eighty-four years has shown Europe a constant example of progress and has proved itself worthy of its liberty !

Preferable to the hypocritical attitude of this German newspaper is the cynicism of the Imperial Chancellor, who admitted that the invasion of Belgian territory was a violation of the rights of nations. Here, substantially, is what he said in his Reichstag speech of August 4th, 1914 :

"We find ourselves in a position of necessity, and *necessity knows no law*.

"Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory. *That is a breach of international law*. It is true that France declared at Brussels that France would respect Belgium's neutrality so long as her adversary respected it. But we knew that France stood ready

for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French attack on our flank on the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Therefore we were forced to disregard the *rightful protests* of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments. The wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained.

“He who is threatened as we are, and is fighting for his highest possession, can only consider how he is to hack his way through. We stand shoulder to shoulder with Austria.”¹

¹ The German Chancellor has no doubt regretted his frankness, such as it was. At the opening session of the Reichstag on December 3rd, 1914, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg cast upon England the responsibility for the war. His reasoning was truly puerile. England, he said, was to blame because she did not resolutely oppose her allies of the Triple Entente, declaring that she would not have the Serbian question made a matter of war between the two sets of three Powers. If she had taken up this attitude, continued the Chancellor, “*our efforts at mediation* between Vienna and St. Petersburg must have succeeded, and there would have been no war.”

It is really marvellous that the Chancellor should have dared to talk of Germany’s “*efforts at mediation.*” Everyone knows that Germany upheld Austria’s claims and was the first to declare war on Russia and France, thus obliging her ally to follow in her steps.

The Chancellor doubtless perceived the effect of his confession of August 4th and told himself that his *à posteriori* explanations would be accepted by the German deputies, ready to believe anything coming from their Government. That is just what happened. The Reichstag frantically cheered these untruths, without a single voice being raised to question the Chancellor or to ask him to explain further.

With the same effrontery Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg reaffirmed that Belgium had long abandoned her neutrality. Yet certainly no one suspected it in Belgium! If there is one thing to which all Belgians are attached (and with reason, too, since it has meant for them eighty years of extraordinary prosperity), it is their neutrality.

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The language is at once cynical and hypocritical. Cynical, because it admits the outrage against the law of nations ; hypocritical, because it appeals to a necessity which did not exist and which masked the project of annexing Belgium. If the wish to reach Paris quickly had been all that actuated Germany, her plan of campaign would have been quite different.

The publication of the diplomatic negotiations which took place between Germany and England in the days immediately preceding the war showed clearly what was then the neutrality of the Emperor William and his Ministers. The British Ambassador in Berlin wrote to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London that it was impossible for him to make the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow, understand that England could attach any importance to respect for Belgium's neutrality. What, asked Herr von Jagow, "just for a word—'neutrality,' a word which in war time had been so often disregarded—just for a scrap of paper," was Great Britain going to make war on a kindred nation, who desired nothing better than to be friends with her ?

The *Times* pointed out later, on the subject of "the scrap of paper," that the German Chancellor, too, failed to understand that when an Englishman set his name to a treaty he signed it with his blood, and that the pen was held by the mighty hand of

the British Empire, which reaches to the confines of the earth and is grasped by the hand of a son beyond every sea. The Chancellor knew that "War is Hell," but found it convenient to forget Dante's teaching that "the heart of Hell is reserved for those who betray their friends."

On August 9th new proposals were made by the Kaiser and transmitted to Belgium through the medium of the Belgian Minister at The Hague :

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs has begged me to send you the following information, since the United States Minister at Brussels refuses to do so.

"The fortress of Liège has been taken by assault, after a brave defence. The German Government most deeply regrets that bloody encounters should have resulted from the Belgian Government's attitude towards Germany. Germany is not coming as an enemy into Belgium. It is only through the force of circumstances that she has had, owing to the military measures of France, to take the grave decision of entering Belgium and occupying Liège as a base for her further military operations. Now that the Belgian army has upheld the honour of its arms in the most brilliant manner by its heroic resistance to a very superior force, the German Government beg the King of the Belgians and the Belgian Government to spare

Belgium the horrors of war. The German Government are ready for any compact with Belgium which can in any way be reconciled with their arrangements with France. Germany gives once more her solemn assurance that she has not been animated by the intention of appropriating Belgian territory for herself, and that such an intention is far from her thoughts. Germany is still ready to evacuate Belgium as soon as the state of war will allow her to do so."

The United States Ambassador here concurs in this attempt at mediation by his colleague in Brussels.

This new offer was doomed to failure, first because Germany continued to make Belgian territory a base of operations against the Powers which had been true to their word; and secondly because to accept it would have been, on the part of Belgium, an act of treachery. It was naturally rejected with indignation. Nor had he who made the offer any other intention than to find in the refusal a pretext for redoubling hostilities and for new acts of terrorisation. Moreover, who could any longer take Germany's promises seriously after her cynical disregard of her signatures to the treaties of 1830, 1839, and 1870, and of her engagements and protestations of 1910, 1912, 1913, and 1914?

The whole German nation, nevertheless, persistently repeated the absurd accusations against the Allied Powers. Eighty-six representatives of German intellect in official positions—professors of history, science, and theology, and eminent artists—thought it fit and expedient to issue a declaration that it was England who had made war upon Germany, and that her “brutal national selfishness had placed an indelible blot upon her name,” wherefore all of them who had received marks of distinction from English Universities, etc., now solemnly renounced them.

This brazen declaration did not, of course, remain unanswered. Eighty-six distinguished Englishmen proved, from the diplomatic papers and other documents, the falsity of the assertions of the eighty-six German savants.

The German savants retorted by addressing to their colleagues in other countries a memorial of protest against “the lies by which the enemies of Germany are attempting to soil the pure cause of our nation in the hard struggle for its existence which has been forced upon it.” The document completely exonerates Germany from any act contrary to treaties and laws of war, and represents the German troops as the victims of unheard-of atrocities at the hands of the Belgians.

Finally M. Seippel, a distinguished Swiss, showed

in the *Journal de Genève* of October 10th, 1914, that the assertions were totally without proof, and that if opinion in Germany displayed an imposing spectacle of union and concord, it did not in the least follow that it was justified. This last memorial is a masterpiece of irony.¹

It is very instructive to read the German savants' memorial as a clue to the state of people's minds in Germany. In the first place, it is very difficult for us to understand how learned men, accustomed to examine and analyse minutely scientific phenomena and historical documents, could have accepted with such exceptional unanimity the statements of the Kaiser and his ministers regarding an aggressive plot against Germany. That these learned men should have thus accepted as gospel an explanation made after the event whose insincerity is patent to the eye, is really an extraordinary psychological phenomenon, which baffles human reason. Nothing but fanaticism can explain it. Now of all fanaticisms Chauvinism is the most extreme, the most blind, and the most dangerous. The present European war will serve as a proof that it is also the most savage, the most implacable, and the most barbarous of all.²

¹ These four documents may be found among the appendices at the end of this book, with two American documents equally interesting and convincing.

² The two following extracts, from letters addressed by

Professor Lasson of Berlin to a Dutch friend, are the most crude revelation of German *Kultur*, and of the Pangermanism which is the practical incarnation of it :

"We are," proclaims the Professor, "morally and intellectually superior to all other men. We are without equals. The same is true with regard to our organisation and our institutions.

"Germany and the German people must be looked on as the most perfect creation known to history."

The Berlin professor adds that "Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg is the most eminent of living men; the characteristics of the German people are love of truth, gentleness, conscience, all the Christian virtues; it is the freest nation in the world, because it best knows how to obey."

And yet he confesses, in conclusion, that "the Germans have no friends" !

"They will find none either in America or in Europe," comments a leading English newspaper, "as long as they proclaim themselves thus a chosen people, before whom all the nations of the world are bound to bow the neck. It is this monstrous doctrine which is at the base of Prussian militarism, and it is for this reason that it must be destroyed."

Here is another example of the pseudo-scientific Chauvinism of certain professors on the other side of the Rhine :

"To the generality of mortals, ignorant of the profound and mysterious causes of social phenomena, it seems inexplicable, at first sight, that war should have been up to now, throughout the centuries, the supreme method of international justice. Rather it seems indisputable to the masses, who judge events by appearances and by the rules of commonsense, that war is the exact contrary of justice, because victory in no way proves the right. But this is really a mere illusion. *Here is the truth.* War is a necessity of the highest existence. If it did not exist, how could the nations which have reached a very superior *Kultur*, like Germany, attain a material position in keeping with this superior degree of civilisation? The superiority of warrior-races, then, is a demonstration of their superior virtue and of their rights to supremacy. He who has known how to collect the strongest and best-armed troops, who has succeeded in combining and bringing into action the heaviest guns, the best Zeppelins, and the most scientific and skilful submarines, deserves the empire of the world because, being the strongest, he is the best man."

We prefer the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck. He said the same more brutally—"Might makes Right"—and did not give himself the very useless and unnecessary trouble of proving it.

CHAPTER IV

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM

THE proclamations made by the German commanders in Belgium and France prove that the horrors of which Belgium was the scene were absolutely premeditated and in pursuance of a plan. In the proclamation issued to his men by the commander of the Seventh Army Corps, Baron von Bissing, we read :

“ When civilians allow themselves to fire upon us, *the innocent must suffer with the guilty*. The military authorities have said repeatedly, in communications to the troops, that human lives must not be spared in punishing such occurrences. It is no doubt regrettable that houses, flourishing villages, and even whole towns should be destroyed ; but this must not move you to misplaced sentiments of pity. *All this is not worth the life of a single German soldier*. That goes without saying, however, and it is useless to dwell upon the point.”

In the first days of the entry into Belgium a proclamation on pink paper, posted up every-

where, threatened death to all inhabitants in possession of arms, who had either fired on the soldiers or had approached within 200 metres of German aeroplanes or balloons; and to the *entire population* of villages where hostile acts should be committed.

Now Article 50 of the Hague Convention of 1907 enjoins :

“No collective penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.”

Nevertheless, the Military Governor of Belgium during the German occupation was not ashamed to have placarded on the walls of Brussels on Sunday, September 27th, the following proclamation :

“It has happened in districts at present occupied by more or less strong bodies of German troops, that convoys or patrols have been attacked by surprise by the inhabitants. I call the attention of the public to the fact that a register has been kept of the localities *in the neighbourhood of which such attacks have been made*, and that they must expect their punishment as soon as the German troops pass near them.”

This same man, Baron von der Goltz, had the

further audacity to sign and have posted on the walls of Brussels and its suburbs the following decree, in which he himself proclaimed his disregard for the rules of justice :

“ On the evening of September 25th the railway line and telegraph wires were destroyed on the line Louvenjoul-Vertryck. In consequence, these two localities were on September 30th compelled to pay the penalty and to give hostages.

“ In future, the localities nearest the spot where such deeds occur will be punished without mercy ; it matters little whether they be accomplices or not.

“ With this object, hostages have been taken from all localities near the railway line thus menaced, and on the first attempt to destroy the railway line, or the telegraph or telephone wires *the hostages will be immediately shot.*

“ Further, the troops charged with the duty of guarding the railway have received orders to shoot every person approaching in a suspicious manner the line or the telegraph or telephone wires.

BARON VON DER GOLTZ,
Field-Marshal.”

“ BRUSSELS, *October 1st, 1914.*”

The Germans had already claimed the right to punish by pillage and incendiarism the communes

in which a shot, imputed by them to a civilian, might have been fired. Now they were proclaiming their decision to chastise—one knows what this word means in their mouths—the towns and communes in the vicinity of the offence !

To be able to read the meaning of the instructions given to the German troops and of the threats of the Governor of Belgium, it is well to recall the speech made by the Kaiser at Bremerhaven on July 27th, 1900, on the occasion of the departure of the troops which he was sending to China to co-operate with the other European forces in the repression of the Boxers :

“ When you meet the enemy, you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as a thousand years ago *the Huns under the leadership of Attila* gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare to look askance at a German ! ”

A notice placarded in the communes near Brussels on October 4th, 1914, announced that the German Government forbade the raising of three classes of the militia, and that in consequence all

the young men born in 1894, 1895, and 1896 must remain in their communes and must put in an appearance at the town-hall at 9 a.m. on October 5th. If they themselves should succeed in escaping, their relatives must answer for them *with their own lives*.

The state of mind of the heads of the army which invaded Belgium is shown again in a notice posted in Brussels on November 18th. In an article that appeared in the *Times*, Colonel Repington had expressed the opinion that the German offensive had achieved nothing serious. On the following day the German authorities replied with a poster in these terms :

“ The German offensive has achieved the occupation of almost the whole of Belgium and the conquest of all the departments of North and North-East France. As far as the population and its wealth are concerned, this amounts to a sixth of the whole of France. The losses of the French in houses, factories, workshops, railways, and works of art amount to at least £1,200,000,000. Colonel Repington is of the opinion that the German offensive has done *nil*. What more does he want ? ”

It would be difficult to show in more cynical fashion that, to Germany, the devastation of the enemy's property is a conquest.

Let us look also at a proclamation of the Military Governor of Brussels, General Baron von Luttwitz, who, reversing the policy of his predecessor, General von der Goltz, on September 15th ordered the removal of all Belgian flags displayed on houses and shops. The proclamation was in these terms :

“The inhabitants of Brussels, understanding their own interests, have generally preserved order and calm from the date of entry of the German troops until now. For this reason I have as yet taken no measures to prevent the display of the Belgian flag, though considered provocative by the German troops quartered in or passing through Brussels. It is precisely in order to avoid our troops being led to act according to their own wishes that I now ask householders to remove the Belgian flags.

“The Military Government has no intention of wounding, by this measure, the feelings and dignity of the inhabitants. The sole motive is to protect the citizens from all injury.

“BARON VON LUTTWITZ,
“ *Military Governor.*”

“BRUSSELS, *September 16th, 1914.*”

So then the silent expression of our nationality, which his predecessor allowed, is dangerous, because the troops placed under Baron von Luttwitz's

command consider it provocative and might act *according to their own wishes*. And the General, finding himself powerless here, visits the penalty on those whose order and calm he recognises.

This proclamation denotes incredible thoughtlessness on the part of the temporary governor of the capital; for it is a confession of the lack of discipline of the German troops, attested by so many acts of pillage and exaction.

The proclamations posted on the walls of the capital are also very significant from another point of view. Their successive authors, being in the habit of seeing always round them men bowing at their lightest words, with their hands raised to the level of their foreheads, imagined that they could do anything with a population which they naturally thought backward and ignorant. The people of Brussels might read one day that the Russians had lost 90,000 prisoners in a single battle; then, a few days later, they were astonished to see in the official intelligence signed by the same authority that the number of prisoners from the Russian army captured "up to now" was between 20,000 and 30,000. In another proclamation the heroic defence of Belgium was acknowledged; but the next day Belgium was a country of barbarians, capable of the most odious crimes.

Other proclamations informed the public of Brussels that the victorious German armies had beaten the Allied armies, whereas everyone, in Brussels and elsewhere, was aware from numerous sources, as well as by extracts from the English, French, and Flemish papers, that the German front upon the Marne had been obliged to retire between twenty-five and forty-five miles.

The people of Brussels were very quick to appreciate the value of official information from across the Rhine and from the German governors in their midst. The Berlin Press Bureau was commonly known as the "lie-factory."

When we take into account that the invading troops only entered Belgium in disregard of treaties, the German proclamations, with their proof of the incredible want of thought on the part of the generals who signed them, appear still more revolting. We ask ourselves how, having signed such documents, they can dare to deny the atrocities which are laid to their charge by the whole of the civilised world, in Europe and America, atrocities which are but the execution of their orders and whose barbaric character has been still more exaggerated by soldiers drunk with wine and slaughter.

Let us add, summing up the impression conveyed by the enquiries made in Belgium by an official

committee presided over by M. Cooreman, Minister of State and ex-President of the Chamber, that in the conclusions of this commission it is declared that "there is not a single law of war which has not been violated by the German invader," and that in the majority of cases this violation has been advertised in the placards on the walls.

We have already quoted several examples. There are many others, such as the frequent use of hostages in the punishment of real or imaginary crimes, of which the authors were not known; the bombardment of open towns; the sacking of private houses without the least provocation; the burning of places for the sole reason that Belgian or Allied soldiers had been received, lodged, or given food by the inhabitants; the throwing of bombs from aeroplanes and airships on the heads of inoffensive civilians in Ghent, Ostend, Antwerp, etc.; and, lastly, the carrying off, *manu militari*, of numerous innocent citizens, who were sent into slavery in Germany.

The Germans have frequently during the occupation boasted about the tolerant regime set up by them in the capital, a regime which they seem to consider very generous and gracious. It is true that, in comparison with what they have inflicted on many other towns and communes, their rule in Brussels might be looked upon as very kind;

but it has been none the less oppressive and almost asphyxiating. From the first day the German army, with bayonets fixed, seized every State and municipal building, took possession of all public departments, commandeered all motors, carriages, and horses for military purposes, and left in the streets but a few cabs, drawn by wretched hacks. The telephone service lasted a few days. Postal deliveries coming to an end owing to a patriotic strike of the postmen, unwilling to serve the Germans, the people of Brussels were cut off from all communication with other towns. Passengers were searched on the suburban trams and on the roads, and those who carried letters were arrested. The inhabitants of Brussels were thus prisoners in their own city. They might not travel without the protection of passports or of special permits for short journeys. The use of any vehicle, including the humble bicycle, was only allowed from time to time, provided that the military authorities agreed to it. And yet these authorities, who had also taken upon themselves the monopoly of bill-posting, periodically enjoined on the people of Brussels by proclamation to attend to their affairs and businesses ; though they could not be ignorant that the reign of terror prevailing throughout Belgium made all commercial transactions impossible or useless. The only businesses which flourished

were the tobacconists' and the cook - shops. Naturally the book and printing trade was dead of strangulation—and that in a country like Belgium, accustomed to the completest liberty of the Press.

Occasionally a notice signed by the Military Governor of Brussels startled the townspeople with the information that unflattering remarks about Germany, or the German army, or simply “some member” of the German army, had been punished by sentences varying from six months' to one year's imprisonment, and that these sentences would be increased still more if such offences were repeated. They were also told that the distribution of news or of printed matter without authorisation might lead to the infliction of the death-penalty !

On November 2nd a notice appeared which gave Brussels a fresh example of the paternal tenderness of the German occupation. It announced that a “legally constituted” court-martial had just condemned a municipal police officer named De Rycke to five years' and another policeman to three years' imprisonment for having jointly resisted a German police officer, in plain clothes, and striking him while in exercise of his duties. The notice added that the verdict had been confirmed by Baron von der Goltz, Governor of Belgium, and that, because of the offence committed by its policeman, De

Rycke, the city of Brussels was condemned, by Baron von Luttwitz, Military Governor of the capital, to pay a supplementary war contribution of 5,000,000 francs (about £200,000). Five million francs ! Truly a famous plaster for the bruises of a German civil functionary !

Since then several fresh commands of a ridiculous character from the German military authorities have made the situation worse. They have ordered the Brussels police, on pain of internment in Germany, to salute the German officers. They have forbidden them, under the same penalty, to resign their posts, but have annoyed them by taking away their arms. For the fourth time they have ordered the inhabitants to resume their occupations and have forbidden the municipal administration to distribute any more food to those capable of working. The German authorities, it is true, have started again a limited railway service in certain directions ; but the tickets cost about double what they used to cost, and there is but one train each day and night. This train, too, is twice as slow. The Belgians are also promised a restoration of the telephone service for an indefinite period, provided that they pay a new tax of one hundred francs—though the subscribers had all paid the tax entitling them to the service up to the end of the year.

62 GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM

Note must also be made of another proclamation by Baron von der Goltz, forbidding all Belgians to discharge any debt to the Allied nations, or to other than German subjects residing in these nations' territories, either by cheque, by bill of exchange, or by any other means. Those disobeying the order will be liable to the penalties of martial law.

General von der Goltz was replaced in the early days of December by General Baron von Bissing. We have quoted above a proclamation which throws abundant light upon the latter's character. One of the first acts of this new Governor of Belgium was to impose upon the population of the kingdom a war contribution of 40,000,000 francs a month, or 480,000,000 (£19,200,000) a year. The first two instalments of this contribution were to be paid before January 15th, 1915, and the others on the 10th of each following month. The provincial councils were immediately called together, and could do nothing but register the decision of the German authorities. The nine provinces of Belgium—though one of them was not entirely occupied, and several others were reduced to absolute destitution—were made jointly and severally responsible for the full payment of the contribution.

The nature of this exaction is sufficiently

demonstrated by the two following facts: (1) Baron von der Goltz had formally promised that no new war tax should be imposed in future, either directly or indirectly, except in the event of some outrage by the Belgian population against the German troops. General Baron von Bissing, therefore, openly violated the promise of his predecessor. (2) The *total* amount of the direct annual taxes accruing to the State (property tax, income tax, and patent dues) in ordinary times, that is to say, when industries and trade are flourishing, reaches the sum of 67,000,000 francs only (£2,680,000), or somewhat more than an eighth of the sum demanded. If we take account, too, of the fact that the number of refugees in Holland, France, and England is about a million, including a large number of rich people, the tax imposed on Belgium will appear absolutely exorbitant. It is, indeed, a brutal piece of extortion, and all the more revolting because those for whose benefit it is made only occupy Belgium in violation of the laws of war, and have already submitted Belgium to devastation and pillage of which the sum total is equivalent to 6,000,000,000 francs (£240,000,000).

On the day after the proclamation relating to the payment of this tax of 480,000,000 francs the people of Brussels read with amazement, among

the news given out by the same Baron von Bissing, the following :

“ I hope to be able, hand in hand with the civil administration, to do much with regard to the economic situation. When the Emperor nominated me as Governor-General, *he charged me with particular earnestness to do everything to help and encourage the poor in Belgium.*”

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While the day is still distant when the Germans will be ready to admit that their sovereign's inordinate ambition led them into a mad, criminal, and disastrous adventure, we see the German Imperial army treating Belgium as a conquered and guilty country. Requisitions continue to grind down the inhabitants in certain districts, notably in Hesbaye ; the system of taking hostages is rife in various places, and arbitrary arrests are still the rule. M. Max, the energetic burgo-master of Brussels, is still a prisoner in Germany for having too boldly defended his fellow-citizens' rights. The Germans lay this crime to his charge, that he has not paid the millions of francs in war contributions which were imposed on Brussels by the invaders. Thousands of innocent Belgian civilians are still shut up in Germany, at Munsterlager, at Soltau, at Sennelager, near Paderborn,

and elsewhere, without the slightest reason. For weeks they might have been supposed dead, since they have been unable to communicate with their families. The detention of peaceable citizens takes place daily in Brussels, upon the most idle suspicions, and sometimes continues for weeks. The possession of a French or English newspaper is enough to lead to six months' imprisonment. Instead of becoming lighter, moreover, owing to the German authorities themselves recognising the illegality of their occupation of Belgium, the yoke of the invader is the heavier. The Belgian people submit to it with a proud patience, happily sustained by their unshakable confidence in the justice of their cause and their assurance of victory in the end thanks to the help of the Allies and the stubborn resolution of England.

God grant that the pitiless ordeal inflicted upon little Belgium by gigantic Germany may not be prolonged much further !

CHAPTER V

THE ATROCITIES IN BELGIUM

THE Kaiser on more than one occasion enjoined upon his troops to sweep all before them, so that nothing might resist the tempest unchained by his will. According to the maxim of his predecessor and master in the art of military brutality, Bismarck, when one makes war upon a country one must make it in such a fashion that the inhabitants have nothing left but eyes to weep with. It was seen at once in Belgium that these instructions were being carried out to the letter by the German armies.

William II and his assistants fed the campaign of calumnies against their victims. The soldiers, as they set out, were taught that the war had been forced upon Germany and had been prepared by the Allies of the Triple Entente for two years, that they themselves were the army of civilisation fighting the barbarians of Europe, that France was the home of immorality, England a self-seeking nation, and Belgium a country of franc-tireurs. As if these lies were not sufficient to

convince the troops of the justice of their aggression, the first armies which penetrated into Belgian territory were told that they were entering France and taking the straight road to Paris. This is established by a number of testimonies from German wounded and prisoners.

The violations of the laws of war, the unjustifiable acts of incendiarism, the lootings, the exactions, the taking of hostages, the arbitrary requisitions without payment, the brutalities and the massacres of innocent people, in short, the cruel and barbarous system of terrorisation previously extolled by Bismarck and the Emperor, was systematically carried out in Belgium, from the outset of the war, in a manner which has never been surpassed in history. This is the more intelligible since Germany has never in practice recognised the laws of war, even when those laws have received the sanction of representatives of the German Government.

A comparison should be made between those laws and the fundamental articles of the "laws of war" as formulated by the historical section of the German Grand General Staff. These latter laws are intended to regulate the conduct of German officers in the event of the invasion of an enemy's country. They may be summed up in a sentence: German warriors may do all things to

put at their mercy as quickly as possible the nation against which they are fighting.

Here are a few extracts :

“(1) OBJECT OF WAR.—War has for its object the most rapid and complete destruction possible of the organised armed force of the enemy, so as to impose upon him a treaty of peace yielding the most advantageous terms to the conqueror.

“It gives full scope to all forms of violence and allows the free and almost unrestrained commission of the worst excesses. This is an evil which cannot be completely eliminated, whatever extension we may endeavour to give to the domain of right. Therefore, up to a certain point, brutalities will find an excuse or an explanation in the mere force of circumstances. But it will be readily understood that, where the belligerents are equally civilised, *the invader, through the logic of his position, will be guilty of more vexations and exactions than the invaded, who is not brought in contact with the civilian population of the enemy State.* This is an evident truth, which can be proclaimed in no spirit of bitterness.”

“(3) A war energetically conducted and directed (a) against the combatant enemy (armies) and his dispositions for defence (fortresses, entrenchments,

etc.); (b) against his material and moral resources, which it must endeavour to destroy.

“Humanitarian considerations, such as respect for person and property, can only be entertained when the nature and object of the war permit.”

“(4) RIGHT OF WAR.—This phrase must not be interpreted to mean written laws set in action by international treaties, but merely certain conventions, which rest only on reciprocity and such arbitrary restrictions as usage, custom, humanity, and of course egoism, have set up, but of which the observance is not guaranteed by any other sanction than the fear of reprisals.”

“(5) NECESSARY RIGOURS.—The officer himself is a product of his age. He is carried along by the moral currents which affect his country, and the more so in proportion to his culture. He will guard himself against exaggerated humanitarian ideas, and will understand that war must involve a certain rigour, and still more that the only true humanity often lies in the unsparing employment of these severities.”

These extracts are taken from a pamphlet that has been displayed and sold for a long time in Brussels during the occupation by the German army—and under its authority, since no printed

work could appear without its permission. The title is *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* 1912.

Let us pay special attention to the statement that conventions imposing arbitrary restrictions have no other sanction than the fear of reprisals. This fear, be it added, is absolutely non-existent for the German officer, who cannot conceive the possibility of defeat.

Against these odious theories let us set Article 47 of the rules annexed to the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907: "Pillage is formally prohibited."

Article 27 contains the same prohibition in the case of a place taken by assault.

Article 44 prohibits a belligerent from forcing the population of occupied territory to give information about the other belligerent's army or his means of defence.

Article 24 prohibits the bombardment in any way whatsoever of undefended towns, villages, or houses.

The German army in Belgium obviously considers these prohibitions non-existent for itself and has paid no attention to them at all. It has thrown bombs on open towns and undefended villages; it has organised looting everywhere that it has been possible without risk or scandal; and the soldiers have been given printed instructions contrary to the above quoted Article 44. In this matter no account has been taken of aught but

the laws of war set forth by the historical section of the German Grand General Staff.

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Before beginning the narrative of the atrocities of which certain German corps have been guilty, according to the evidence which I have collected, I must acknowledge that the story is necessarily incomplete, because I have not been able, on account of the German occupation (which finally drove me out of Belgium), to push my investigations into all the communes of the country. The information which I have been able to obtain since, by correspondence and by interviews with Belgian refugees, has not been sufficient to complete the picture of the horrors and crimes that have drenched unhappy Belgium in blood. But if my picture is incomplete, I can guarantee in advance : (1) that history will proclaim its truth ; (2) that, so far from exaggerating the facts and purposely blackening the guilty, I have often given less than the truth, for fear of putting forward anything that is not absolutely certain ; (3) that the murders, pillagings, and burnings, which have ravaged or even almost totally destroyed certain towns, such as Andenne, Louvain, Termonde, Tamines, Dinant, etc., were the execution of premeditated orders, coming from the superior authorities who directed

the invasion of Belgian territory, and that these barbarous excesses have no excuse or justification in acts committed by the Belgians ; (4) that it is already clear to-day, from the German enquiries, that certain accusations of mutilation and torture brought at the beginning of the war against Belgian civilians and Belgian women and girls (accusations of blinding wounded Germans, pouring boiling oil on soldiers, etc.) are ridiculous and unworthy calumnies, invented to suit German ends ; (5) that, if it has not been possible for me to pass under review every locality in which the *furor Teutonicus* has raged, such acts of barbarism as murders, robberies, and unparalleled outrages against women and harmless creatures have been committed in all districts.¹

¹ Thus I have just learnt that at Florenne, after the entry of the Germans, a French Jesuit was buried alive, having been half-killed and unconscious, and was rescued the same night by a German soldier. The name of this Jesuit is Lafra, and he still lives.

At Pont-Brulé, near Grimberghe, two leagues from Brussels, a *curé* was beaten to death with sticks and rifle-butts, on the pretext that the people of his parish, for whom he had offered his life as guarantee, had spied on the Germans, etc.

During the early months of the war, wherever it could be done without too much scandal, in villages and hamlets, in abandoned châteaux and houses, and even in towns whose terrorised inhabitants had fled, such as Malines, the looting of private houses was systematically organised. The furniture was removed, piled up on waggons, which were sent to Germany. Letters have been found on officers who have died since, in which their wives acknowledge the receipt of the spoil and express their satisfaction over it.

THE GERMANS AT VISÉ

War was declared on the morning of August 4th. On the evening of the same day, when the declaration could not be known to the people of villages distant from the Belgian capital, the first German regiments crossed the frontier between Liège and Maestricht. They reached Bombaye about 2 a.m., awoke the inhabitants in a brutal manner, forced them with threats of death to leave their houses, and, having picked out the best of the contents, they took away the objects of art and expensive furniture and piled them on carts, which immediately recrossed the German frontier. The contents of the cash-box of the most prosperous resident in Bombaye were likewise confiscated.

From here these armed burglars of Great Germany passed on to Visé. The people of this town were equally ignorant of the declaration of war and of the ultimatum which had preceded it. They had therefore no idea of the situation, and would have been excused for treating as brigands the strangers who had just robbed their fellow-citizens of Bombaye. A patrol of five Belgian gendarmes opened fire upon the Germans and brought down several before these discovered whence the shots came. The gendarmes were then compelled by superior numbers to fall back.

Were there any civilians who fired also? They imagined themselves to be defending themselves legitimately. As for the gendarmes, they are soldiers in Belgium and are mobilised at the same time as the troops of the line; so that they were but doing their duty in resisting the invasion.¹ Nevertheless, the shots fired by the gendarmes were laid to the charge of the civil population. Visé was treated as a guilty and conquered town. The incendiary materials, carried everywhere by the German troops, were brought into operation, and the street facing the station was given up to the flames, as also were the neighbouring streets. This noble exploit was immediately reproduced by

¹ See, with regard to this, Articles 2 and 10 of the Hague Convention :

“ Article 2.—The inhabitants of a territory not under occupation, who, on approach of the enemy, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops, without having had time to organise themselves in accordance with Article 1, shall be regarded as belligerents, if they carry arms openly, and if they respect the laws and customs of war.”

“ Article 10.—The fact of a neutral Power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act.”

Concerning the latter Article, M. Lapradelle, writing on “ The Neutrality of Belgium ” in the *North American Review*, remarks with reason that Germany’s declaration of war could not have the effect of putting the neutral country in a state of war, but only in a state of defence. Even when it should have been proved—and the proof is far off—that the Belgian civil population failed to respect the laws of war, it could still be maintained that in the actual circumstances it was not bound to respect them. This consideration is of the highest importance, says M. Lapradelle.

photography in the German illustrated papers. The picture was entitled *Strafgericht*—"Punishment"—and was accompanied by a narrative incredible to anyone acquainted with the Belgian people. The country is represented as a nest of franc-tireurs, the women throw boiling oil over the soldiers, and the young girls tear out the eyes of the wounded. With such lying slanders the Teutonic fury is fed, and the worst atrocities are justified by being turned into righteous reprisals.

An University professor, who was a witness of many horrible scenes and had been an ambulance orderly, told me, in this connection, that two things struck him particularly during the first three months of the campaign in Belgium; first, the naïve ignorance and incredible credulity of the German troops, and, secondly, their bad discipline and the small control of their officers over them except on the march, on parade, and in action.

The German soldiers were so convinced of the ferocity of the Belgians that during the early weeks of the war those of them who were taken prisoners used to be astonished that they were not shot, and would ingenuously express their gratitude.

THE FRANCORCHAMPS BUTCHERY

While one German army penetrated Belgium north of Liège, another entered at Francorchamps, a village situated south-east of Spa, about two miles from the frontier, and began operations with a glorious feat—the Francorchamps butchery. Here it is, as attested by a great number of witnesses.

The Germans claimed that a shot fired by a civilian hit a German soldier. Some civilian witnesses deny the charge, others think it possible, but no one affirms it as a fact. Whatever the truth was, the Germans immediately set fire to a score of villas and houses. They plundered and ransacked a number of homes. A young girl, who was carrying a child, received three bullets in the arm, while the child was killed on the spot. A woman, maddened with terror, rushed to the house of the local doctor, but was struck down by a volley in front of the garden-gate. A Brussels lawyer named Laude took shelter in his cellar, with his wife and their three little children, to escape the shots, which were flying in all directions. His brother-in-law, a custom-house official, with his wife, sought the same refuge. The soldiers, drunk with wine and slaughter, entered the villa and ransacked the ground-floor. Next, turning to the

door to the cellar, they began to break it in. M. Laude came forward to parley and was shot down in the middle of his dining-room. The Germans then set fire to the furniture. Those who were cowering in the cellar began to suffocate, and the children started to cry, whereon the Germans came back and dragged them out through a ventilator; but, seeing the custom-house official, they shot him. The distracted widows fled to the woods with the little children, and during the flight the official's wife gave birth to a baby. . . . The calcined remains of the lawyer were found amid the ruins of his house.

Other inhabitants of the place, men and women, were captured by the soldiers and taken to some brick-fields. The men were led on one side and made to raise their arms in the air, when the order was given to fire. All fell in death-agonies except one, who was only seriously wounded. His wife rushed to his assistance, but was stopped by a soldier, who was about to finish off the husband when an officer intervened and coldbloodedly blew out the wounded man's brains with his revolver.

There were outrages of an odious description against women and girls, which cannot be published out of regard for the reader.

With respect to robbery, the following example will give an idea. Some peasants, requisitioned

for the work, were made to load into waggons the furniture and chief valuables of the villas and to take them to "Prussian" Malmédy. What was not thus carried off to Germany was smashed up with blows from hatchets or burnt with the houses.

At Hockai, not far from Francorchamps, the military authorities alleged, in spite of the most vigorous denials of the inhabitants, that shots were fired at the German soldiers. Here, as elsewhere, the inhabitants affirm that the soldiers, anxious for some amusement, fired their rifles and then, running to their officers, who had been aroused by the shots, accused the civilians of having fired on them. It is noteworthy that no soldier was hit. Nevertheless, on Tuesday, August 11th, the German troops forced the *curé* of Hockai, his father and sister, and half a dozen villagers, to walk in penitential fashion for several miles along the high-road, through the midst of a terrorised population. The troops reached Tiège, where they pitched their camp for the night. A rumour reached the neighbouring village of Sart that the *curé* of Hockai was to be shot the next morning. He was a priest described by everyone as a very inoffensive man, incapable of having fired at the Germans. His sole crime was that he was found in possession of a pocket-revolver *with all its chambers loaded*.

A lawyer who was spending a holiday at Sart, hearing of the arrests, determined to make an effort, and wrote a letter, in which he demanded to be allowed to take up the case of the unhappy people of Hockai, who, on account of their very natural distraction, had been unable to make statements with the calm and clearness necessary for a serious defence.

Accompanied by an interpreter and two leading men of the place, who volunteered to accompany him, he succeeded in getting to the German camp, under the escort of three soldiers. He was kept waiting long outside the courtyard of the same farm where the prisoners from Hockai were—some of them having been forced to remain for hours upon their knees, with their arms raised. Whilst the lawyer's message was being taken to the commanding officer, a motor-car full of soldiers drew up in front of the courtyard. The *curé* of Hockai was brought out and made to enter the car, which then drove off. A few minutes later a volley rang out. The *curé* was no more. . . .

He died a martyr's death, having made the gesture of blessing his enemies at the moment he got into the car. He mounted alone, without any aid, greeted by the "Bravo!" of a soldier who was rejoicing over his departure to execution. After the volley had been fired, a German officer went

up to the lawyer and his companions and said : "Gentlemen, I am sorry ; but justice has been done. The *curé* was judged by court-martial to-day, and the General approved the verdict. The body is yours to dispose of."

The verdict, of which a copy in French was sent at once to the *curé's* defenders, condemned him to death as guilty of treachery in time of war, and acquitted the other accused persons. The *curé's* pocket-revolver was declared confiscated.

It has been shown, on unimpeachable testimony :

(1) That an officer stated to one of the principal men in Sart that he was certain the *curé* had never fired a single shot ;

(2) That two senior officers, leaving the court-martial which condemned the *curé* and entering a wine-shop facing the chapel of Tiège (where the court-martial was held), were both scarlet in the face and called for a glass of water, while one of them, addressing the proprietress of the place and, alluding to the scene he had just left, said : "It is frightful, Madam, frightful !"

THE ANDENNE BUTCHERY

On August 19th, 1914, about 8 a.m., the Belgian engineers, before retiring on the fortress of Namur, blew up the bridge at Andenne, in order to hinder

the passage of the Meuse by the German troops. Shortly after the explosion, a detachment of German cavalry entered the town by the Ciney road. Finding the way blocked, they fell back on the main body of the army, which was coming from Germany by various roads. Before leaving Andenne they halted at the town-hall and made prisoner the burgomaster, M. Camus. Being taken to headquarters, M. Camus had to undergo an interrogatory about the position of the Belgian troops, the people of Andenne and their attitude, etc. The burgomaster stated that the inhabitants had been disarmed (which was true) and that he had advised them, by placard, to keep perfectly calm. He assured the commanding officer of the peaceful intentions of his fellow-townsmen. After this interview he was conducted, still under strong escort, to the tax-collector's office. An officer demanded the immediate handing over of the municipal chest, which contained about four thousand francs. He alleged that this sum was not in accord with the importance of the place, called for the books, and announced his intention of coming back in the afternoon with the troops.

Accordingly about 3.30 the Germans took complete possession of the town. Important forces came up and put themselves in battle-order facing the Belgian position at Namur. A body of

Uhlans, reconnoitring in the direction of that town, was received with a volley by the Belgian soldiers, and an officer came back with his arm broken by a shot.

While some of the soldiers were preparing the camp, others, all of them armed, went about Andenne, visited the cafés, and purchased cigars and food, for which this day they paid part of the price. On the morning of the 20th requisitioning began, and the demands of the invaders became startling. New troops were constantly arriving; and soon the town was crowded with soldiers calling for wine, liqueurs, champagne, etc. Some gave bills payable by France; others, after ordering freely, walked out of the place without a word. So began a pillage of which the officers set the example. The inhabitants, terrified by threats of death, stayed in their houses, and nothing was seen in the streets but the grey uniforms.

Meanwhile the Germans had reconstructed a bridge across the Meuse above that which the Belgian engineers had demolished. The afternoon saw the passing of the troops from the right to the left bank of the river.

About 6 o'clock a sound of shooting was heard. The inhabitants, thinking that the Allies had come up, fled to their cellars. The shooting continued vigorously. Fires broke out in a dozen

places. Soon the inhabitants saw that all the shots were directed at themselves. Several of them were killed on their own doorsteps. In this way the burgomaster was murdered, without having given the slightest provocation. He had gone to shut his hall-door and received a stray bullet. He went inside to attend to his wound, when he was attacked and done to death by swords and bayonets. It was pretended that he had organised a rising, for which he gave the signal from the church. And yet the belfry was occupied by soldiers !

The firing continued all night and became terrible between midnight and 1 a.m. Machine-guns were employed, and regular salvos were directed at the windows and the ventilators of the cellars. The soldiers could be heard shouting in the streets, breaking the windows, and carrying off what remained in the shop-fronts.

About 4 a.m. the body of cavalry called out : " People of Andenne, come out, French cavalry has come to your rescue ! " A few poor wretches who were deceived by this stratagem were shot.

After 5 o'clock the soldiers entered the houses, breaking in the doors and windows, and compelled the inhabitants to come out, threatening them with their weapons and saying : " Commander's orders, everyone to the Square ! " This

only occurred in the remoter streets, for in the central ones all the men were mercilessly shot down at point-blank range in the presence of their wives and children.

Having been got together, the townspeople were forced to raise their arms in the air and were driven, all without exception, men, women, and children, old and infirm, to the Place des Tilleuls, where the women were drawn up facing the men. Passing through the streets on their way the unhappy wretches had seen, to the right and the left of them, the corpses of their fellow-townsmen, lying face downwards or with their features covered with soil.

As soon as the Germans thought they had thus gathered all the inhabitants together, the men numbering about 830, a colonel dismissed the women to their own homes. Most of them took good care not to go there—and fortunately, since more than one who did was subjected to unspeakable outrage.

It was now 9.30 a.m. The colonel announced that he had discovered the presence at Andenne of a number of franc-tireurs, in consequence of which he must punish the town and make an example of it. He fetched out of the crowd three men, who were lined up against a house-wall and shot at once. Some officers and soldiers

examined the rest, and those whose hands were blackened (including a cobbler, whose fingers were soiled with wax), or who had any scratches on them, were set apart. About forty in all were collected, put against the wall, and shot. The proceedings were accompanied by blows from rifle-butts, kicks, and vile insults. The colonel and a captain distinguished themselves by their brutality.

The remaining men were kept as hostages, being imprisoned for two days and two nights, during which the troops gave themselves up to all sorts of excesses, looting, arson, outrages against defenceless women, destruction of property, etc.

To crown their deeds of savagery, the Germans placarded on the walls of Andenne that the townspeople were a lot of assassins and bandits.

On their release from prison, the men were divided into several groups. Some were put to work, under the eyes of the soldiers, to clear out the Sclaigneaux tunnel, which the Belgian engineers had blocked. Others had to clean the streets, others again to bury the dead, while some were set at liberty.

A census shows that about 250 of the men of Andenne were killed. About a hundred were kept as prisoners to the end of September.

No pen could describe the scene which Andenne presented after the passage of the German troops. The murder and looting continued without a break from August 21st to 23rd. The town was choked with debris of all sorts. Every wine-cellar had been emptied, and the bottles broken or left lying about. Some thirty houses had been burnt down to the ground. All had been sacked except two, whose owners had been dubbed burgomaster and alderman by the Germans. The former of the two had more than once been led to the wall for execution before being suddenly promoted to be first magistrate of his town.

Is it necessary to state that no shot was fired by a civilian at Andenne any more than elsewhere? They had all been disarmed before the approach of the Germans. An enquiry will prove it beyond all doubt. It will also show that all these atrocities were premeditated. At the Sclaigieux works all the money was carried off by the soldiers, including that destined for the workpeople's wages. Massacres of innocent people took place there, too, as well as at Seilles, a village facing Andenne on the other side of the Meuse, where the number of victims exceeded 200.

THE EXPLOITS OF THE GERMANS AT TONGRES

A number of witnesses gave the facts which are here summarised.

On entering Tongres the Germans alleged as elsewhere, without bringing forward one definite case, that civilians had fired shots.

At 9 p.m. on August 18th, without any previous warning, they summoned all the inhabitants, without distinction, to leave the town, announcing that they were about to bombard it. The mothers hurriedly awoke their children, and a desperate rush was made for the country. The ten thousand townspeople of Tongres were compelled to crowd into the houses on the roads leading out of the town, or slept in the fields under the open sky. A sick man fell dead at the gates of the town. Under the eyes of his wife and daughter the Germans dug a grave at the foot of a bridge, to bury him at once.

When the place was evacuated, the soldiers set fire to the houses near the station, broke a number of windows, pillaged the shops, and stole the pictures, plate, etc., which they piled up on the kerb, to be transferred at once to waggons. A personal investigation enables me to say that in numerous houses cupboards, trunks, and chests of

drawers bore marks of having been broken open, as though burglars had paid a visit.

After noon on August 20th the townspeople were allowed to return and were subjected to the worst annoyances and outrages. Leading men were forced to clean the streets and the town-hall; others were taken to the town-hall with a rope round their necks, which the soldiers amused themselves by pulling tight, so as to drive their prisoners to contortions, for the delectation of their comrades. Old men of seventy, and even women, were compelled to stand for hours with their arms uplifted.

At length the Germans began to fire shots down the principal street. A dozen civilians were thus killed haphazard.

The clergy were ordered to put on lay attire. All obeyed except the senior priest in Tongres, who was dragged to the town-hall. "Are you going to put on lay dress?" he was asked. "No!" "The other priests have obeyed." "That may be so, it is a matter which one must decide for oneself. As for me, I shall not take off my priest's clothes. Kill me if you wish." They contented themselves, however, with brutally ejecting him.

How many other exploits might be recorded, what miseries and anguish were inflicted, what

shameless and cynical robberies committed ! But the instances are only too numerous. This, then, is the fine flower of " German culture " !

LOUVAIN : (1) THE GERMAN ENTRY

On Wednesday, August 19th, the Germans entered Louvain, after violent conflicts with Belgian troops on the preceding days.

The enemy showed considerable care before making his entry into the place. During the morning numbers of scouts inspected the houses in the suburbs, particularly in the Heverlé side. On reaching the central prison and finding that no resistance was offered, they signalled to the troops massed on the roads leading to Louvain. Thereupon the Germans marched in and filed along the streets of the peaceful University city.

The commander of the German forces had scarcely installed himself in the Hôtel de Ville before he had the following proclamation posted up :

" We have come to fight the enemy's army, not the civil population. Nevertheless, certain *deplorable atrocities*¹ have been committed, and therefore every person found in possession of a gun will be shot.

¹ These words were underlined on the poster.

“ If any weapon be found in a house, the guilty parties will be shot.

“ A house from which a franc-tireur has fired will be burnt down.

“ If a hostile act be committed between two villages, both villages will be burnt down.

“ No pardon will be granted.¹

“ (Signed) The General commanding the German Troops. (No proper name).”

LOUVAIN: (2) DOWN TO THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 24TH-25TH

Between the 19th and the 24th, nothing of importance occurred. The five days passed in the most complete calm. Moreover, the first lot of troops had passed on at once, on their way to Brussels. Let us now look, however, at the little diary kept by M. X. :

“ On the morning of August 24th the Germans demand 32,000 kilogrammes (70,400 lbs.) of meat, 150,000 kilogrammes (330,000 lbs.) of flour, 12,000 kilogrammes (26,400 lbs.) of potatoes. M. Collins, the burgomaster, asks : ‘ How am I to furnish you with this requisition ? I cannot find half of what you ask in all Louvain.’ The German commander

¹ This last phrase is only to be found in the text of the placard drawn up in three languages.

threatens the city with a fine of 200,000 francs (£8,000) a day if he does not get what he demands."

After much vigorous search, the quantities demanded are furnished. The Germans killed 800 beasts. They had so much in excess of their need that much of what was left over was distributed, in a putrid state, to the poor of the place.

M. X. learns that the Germans have no love for the *curés*, whom they accuse of having armed the townspeople and incited them to fire.

During the evening an officer presented himself at the burgomaster's home in the Hôtel de Ville, and in an insolently imperious voice ordered him to procure instantly for his men two hundred mattresses and various other things. The burgomaster explained to the officer that in so short a time it was impossible to satisfy the demand. The German grew furious, and, ordering his men to arrest M. Collins, had his hands tied behind his back. Then he repeated his order and threatened the first magistrate of the city with a very severe beating. Some police officers, agitated witnesses of the brutal scene, went out and described it to such inhabitants as they came across. Rich and poor alike hastened to give their mattresses to deliver their burgomaster. One of them quickly informed an alderman named M. Schmidt of what

had happened, and he immediately told the German commanding officer. The latter read his subordinate a lesson and made him apologise to the burgomaster.

The following fact came to the ears of M. X. the same day : A peasant, living outside Louvain with his two daughters, had some soldiers billeted on him, whom he treated very well. But the Teutons grew excessively familiar towards the girls, of whom they wished to take advantage. As the father vigorously resented this, they killed him under his wretched daughters' eyes and then gratified their shameful passions.

LOUVAIN : (3) AUGUST 25TH AND THE NIGHT
OF THE 25TH-26TH

At 9 o'clock mass on Tuesday, August 25th, the Dean, M. Ceulemans, preached in favour of complete obedience to the military orders, in consideration of which the taking of hostages was to stop that very day at 3 p.m.

About 4 in the afternoon a loud and continuous cannonade was heard in the remoter quarters of Louvain, particularly in the direction of Malines. In the centre of the city the inhabitants said that the Germans had sounded the alarm and that troops had hurriedly started off on the road to Malines.

At the same hour, on the Brussels-Louvain road, a mad rush of riderless horses was seen entering the city. The firing grew nearer. The people went back into their homes. Some Germans fell and some riderless horses dropped in front of the houses.¹ A wounded horse came down before the house of the sheriff's officer, Clerck, in the Rue des Joyeuses Entrées. Some soldiers, who were running frantically, saw the animal fall, rushed into the house, and set it on fire. A son of M. D., who had seen all this happen, asked them why they were burning this house. "Because," they answered, "someone has fired a shot from it and killed this horse. And, besides, our officer ordered us to burn it."²

A Louvain spectator writes: "Two incidents should be noted here. About 6.30 I saw a group of officers leaving precipitately in a motor-car. They looked extremely troubled, almost panic-stricken. The second incident, directly after, struck me still more. A big car, containing some officers in an uniform which I had not yet noticed, stopped in front of an hotel. These gentlemen entered the hotel and came out again almost at once. They had an exaggeratedly joyful aspect,

¹ MM. X. and S. and a Jesuit priest were witnesses of this.

² M. D. affirms that the horse was hit by German bullets. Its dead body lay rotting for four days before the Germans came to bury it where it fell.

in singular contrast to that of their predecessors. I seemed to know by intuition that they had just found a ruse to beat our men in the Herent direction. Anguish came over me to see them go off so merrily. It has since become plain to me that this good ruse was the spectacle thought out, or at least ordered, for the following night. . . . Nero only set fire to the city. Here the spectacle was to be a richer one. The machine-guns and rifles were to do the work."

Some soldiers, who were billeted on Professor V. and his wife, went out of the house and then came back with a rush. "We are going upstairs," they called. Shortly after some reports rang out above. Down came the soldiers and declared that some civilians had fired shots out in the street, and that the town was to be set on fire.

While these events were passing in the distant quarters of Louvain, a rumour reached the Grand' Place that the French were at Blanden. At 8 p.m. more firing was heard in the same direction. The report of the French troops' approach was all the more credited because the Germans were seen getting machine-guns into position in the streets. "The French must certainly be there," people said, "since the Germans are thinking of defence. Let us go in, for there will be street-fighting."

The strange thing was that, as soon as the

inhabitants went indoors, all sound of firing ceased. Later they began to come out again cautiously, and many were the conjectures as to what had happened.

The rest of the day was calm up to midnight precisely, when the noise of machine-guns and rifles recommenced. At the Jesuit Fathers' convent it was supposed that the French were trying to take Louvain. It was nothing of the kind, however. The Germans were setting Louvain on fire.

M. X. writes in his diary that he was awakened by the sound of gunfire, and that from the street he could see the sky all red, illumined by a sinister glare. Soon it was learnt that the University Galleries was on fire.

At the Central Police Station every room was full. A mob of people were there who had got up in the morning without the slightest suspicion that they would have no roof to their homes the next night. Amongst others to be seen were the Dowager Baroness Dieudonné, Notary and Mme. Bosmans, with their children in their nightgowns, and Count van der Stegen, an old man of eighty-five, who was sitting on the ground between his man and his maidservant, undergoing a search, not for money, it was explained, but for arms!

At 5.30 a.m. the sound broke out again of machine-guns, directed down the principal streets

in the centre of the city. A soldier mounted the belfry of the collegiate church of St. Peter and set it on fire. Now commenced the burning of private houses in the Rues de la Station, de Paris, des Recollets, and de la Place du Peuple. In front of every burning house drunken officers paraded with fast women on their arms and shouted Hurrah!¹

Soldiers were scouring the streets, calling on everyone to keep his doors open and his windows lighted up. They announced that there was to be an inspection, and threatened with fire all houses in which arms should be found. The women were compelled to remain indoors, the men were to follow the troops.

What had happened? M. X.'s diary suggests several explanations. One is that the German soldiers accused the inhabitants of having killed one Uhlán in the afternoon and seven during the evening. Another is that two soldiers full of wine quarrelled, and that, some townspeople joining in, a fight took place, in the course of which one of the Germans fell.

The final version, however, that adopted by the Belgian Official Committee of Enquiry (*2nd Report*), is as follows: "The German troops repulsed by our soldiers entered Louvain at nightfall in a

¹ Certain members of the Louvain Refugees' Committee bear witness to this fact.

complete state of panic. Various witnesses swear to us that at this moment the German garrison in occupation of Louvain was erroneously warned that the enemy was getting into the city. It made straight for the station, firing as it went, and there met the German troops defeated by the Belgians, who had abandoned the pursuit. All seems to prove that the German regiments came into conflict with one another.”

LOUVAIN : (4) WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26TH

The fierce incendiarism appeared to slacken early in the morning, although the Rue Léopold continued to be a vast furnace. Many people were anxious to take advantage of the calm to return indoors, but the Germans prevented them.

The pavements of the streets which the soldiers had burnt and looted were strewn with German cartridge-cases.¹

At five o'clock the troops of the Rhine arrived in long columns. About 7.30 soldiers who had lost their way were wandering about the Tirlemont Gate. One of these demanded of Professor V. where the Hôtel de Ville was. He was showing them the way, when a car came up, going in the

¹ These details and most of the following were furnished by Professor V.

direction of Tirlemont, and was soon afterwards met by another coming from the opposite direction. The cars stopped, without the occupants, who were officers, getting out. They exchanged signals, whistled, and, after giving orders to the soldiers, made off at full speed. A moment later a sharp fusillade broke out in this quarter. The people rushed to their cellars, while the soldiers, swarming from the Tirlemont road, set fire to the buildings along this artery, and incendiary fires started in other quarters. The Germans riddled the windows of the houses with shots, in the attempt to reach the hiding occupants. The machine-guns swept the house-fronts. Arson and massacre spread far and wide. . . .

In the course of the afternoon the University Professor L. noticed from his window that a German soldier posted on the wall of a building in the Rue des Moutons was firing shots at random into the street. He called the attention of M. C., Professor of History. These two respectable witnesses were convinced, like everyone else at Louvain, that no civilian fired at the Germans.

Here are a few occurrences of this day :

The M. family lived in the Tirlemont Road. The father was an old man of eighty and was dying ;

the mother, too, was very old. There were two sons living with their parents, one a priest, the other a married man and a professor at the University. In view of the expected events and to defend their aged father, the sons had obtained from the German commander at Louvain a notice protecting their house. The notice was prominently displayed on the hall-door. A first lot of German soldiers passed by, and, despite the fact that they read what was written, fired some shots through the windows without hitting anyone. A second lot followed, and this time the soldiers entered the house to set it on fire. The brothers M. came forward to meet the soldiers and showed them the officer's order, brokenly pleading also their old father's dying condition. Nothing had any effect. They must clear out, they were told, for the house was to be set on fire. And soon after it was burning. A hospital established in a temporary church close at hand received the old father, who died almost on his arrival at it.

About noon a man of the people left his home in the Rue du Canal to help carry a wounded man to the hospital. A sentinel at the corner of the street called out an order to him in German. Not understanding, he walked, with his arms uplifted, towards the soldier, who pointed his rifle at him and, refusing to listen to him, fired. The shot hit

the poor wretch in the stomach and scattered his entrails on the pavement.¹

In the Rue de Tirlemont a paralysed old man and his wife were looking out of window. Some soldiers passing by fired at them without any reason. A shot struck the woman on the head, and ricochetting, hit the old man too, who fainted away.²

M. C., a postal employée, living in the Rue des Flamands, was obliged to bury in his own garden his wife, who was killed in his arms.

M. Duchateau, a coffee-house keeper in the Place de la Station, was shot on the doorstep of his own shop before the eyes of his hapless children, who had then to bury their father in the little garden round the Van de Weyer monument.

There appeared in a German newspaper, over the signature of an officer, an account of the events at Louvain. Amongst other things it may be read

¹ M. D. was a witness of this barbarous act and took the man to the hospital.

² Dr. W., who tended the man, thought him dead on the night of the affair. Passing by the spot three or four days later, he found the poor creature still breathing beside his wife's decomposing body. Coming out of the house, he met a German officer, whom he invited to enter with him. "How much longer can the old man live?" demanded the officer. "Three or four days," answered Dr. W. "Oh well, then, I will finish him off," said the German, and had already pulled his Browning from its case, when the doctor stopped him from committing this crime and secured the transport of the old man to the hospital where he died.

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there how the proprietor of an important hotel in Louvain stood on the balcony of his establishment, surrounded by his staff, and directed their fire at the German soldiers. Now at this moment, as during the preceding and following days, the proprietor, with his wife and children, was in Holland.

From this day, Wednesday, August 26th, began the despatch to Germany of hundreds of civilians, including numerous priests and old men (*e.g.*, MM. Hachette, aged 82; Laporte, aged 81; Janssens, aged 81; Van der Rower, aged 75; Marguery, aged 70, etc.), who were shut up at Cologne.

LOUVAIN: (5) THURSDAY, AUGUST 27TH

All was calm early in the morning.

About seven o'clock a young lieutenant announced to Professor V. and others at the Hospital that the city was going to be bombarded. He promised to do all he could to prevent the Hospital itself being bombarded, but could not guarantee the direction of the fire.

At nine o'clock the inhabitants were ordered to leave Louvain.

M. S., a professor at the University, went from door to door, in the name of the German authorities, begging the inhabitants to leave their houses before

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noon, since the bombardment was to commence at two.

Now began the mournful flight of the citizens *en masse* in every direction. Vast streams of civilians, priests, and members of religious orders made for Tervueren with the intention of taking refuge in Brussels.

The bombardment did not take place ; or, if a few shells were fired, they did no damage. This was merely a comedy, played in order to get rid of witnesses to the ensuing pillage. The drunken and debauched soldiery began its looting, aided in too many instances, alas ! by worthless wretches belonging to Louvain itself.¹

Furniture was stolen and carried off to Germany. Cellars were emptied, and the wealthy shops ransacked. Officers and soldiers came with their arms full of plundered jewelry, tobacco, and wine, to the houses of the fast women who inhabit the houses and apartments in the Fishmarket quarter.²

Arm in arm with these women, the German officers were walking about.

¹ This is stated by many members of the Louvain Relief Committee in Brussels.

² M. B., residing in the Rue Marie-Thérèse, has told me that, during his long detention as a prisoner at the railway station, he, on four occasions, saw soldiers bringing in bottles of wine and champagne. They drank these at all their meals. Certain civilians also set to work to bring in wine to obtain their liberty ; for it was sufficient to promise to bring back wine to be set free.

THE JESUIT FATHERS' JOURNEY TO BRUSSELS AND HAL

The Jesuit Fathers quitted Louvain in a large party, on the way to Brussels. Most of them had their certificates of identity, and some had the Red Cross armlet with the German stamp on it. As they left the city, the soldiers abused them heartily. Turning to one of the insulters, Father L. asked : " Is it because we lavished so much care on your wounded that you are insulting us ? " The soldier was abashed and made no reply.

About 2.45 the band approached Tervueren, where some other priests had already arrived. A man of the people ran out to meet the Jesuits. " Don't come any further," he cried, " they are arresting all the priests ! " The news provoked some hesitation among them. Father L. proposed that they should take another road. Then, noticing among the other priests Father J., he asked him to go and see what was happening and to bring back tidings. Before Father J. could return, some soldiers swarmed out and signed to the priests to come on. They advanced, and immediately a general arrest of the whole party took place. Most of the civilians were set at liberty, while all the ecclesiastics were detained, searched, and abused.

A German soldier tried to slip a cartridge into one Jesuit Father's pocket. Two other Fathers, without any examination being made of their papers or any questions being asked of them, were brutally thrown into a ditch and made to stand there, back to back, at the furious command of an *oberlieutenant*.

Several foreign monks (Peruvians), two or three sisters, and also two civilians who were talking to a priest, were arrested at the same time.

Among the ecclesiastics made prisoners at Tervueren already were Monseigneur Ladeuze, Rector of Louvain University; Monseigneur van Cauwenbergh, Sub-Rector; Monseigneur De Becker, Rector of the American Seminary, and Monseigneur Willemsen, a Dutch subject, a former Rector of the same institution. All these priests and monks, to the number of about ninety, were penned in a field, where they were the object of insults from the soldiers, the officers making no effort to restrain the men, and several of them even adding their abuse to that of their subordinates.

Father L. ventured to ask whether they would soon be allowed to proceed. "Yes—after examination," answered a soldier in a coarse tone; and the inspection of luggage and personal search began, accompanied by jeers and insults.

Monseigneur De Becker, head of the American Seminary at Louvain, presented his papers to the superintending officer, and threatened to appeal to the protection of the United States. The officer, by way of reply, turned his back on him.

Now took place the execution of Father Dupierreux, a student of philosophy, twenty-four years of age. How the death-sentence was pronounced, and whether there had been a court-martial, no one knows. Father Dupierreux and another Father were the two who, *before any examination of papers*, had been hustled into a ditch. The former had his Red Cross armlet torn off him—he had picked up wounded Belgians and Germans on the field of battle—and the *oberlieutenant*, before asking any questions, ordered a cross to be marked on his back with chalk. Soon afterwards the same officer had him brought out of the ditch and ordered him to read before the soldiers and the crowd an incriminating passage which had been found among his papers.

“The case is clear,” said the *oberlieutenant*. “He will be one of those shot,” cried one officer to another, who was taking on one side a group of prisoners.

A few minutes later this group was joined by Father Dupierreux, crucifix in hand, accompanied by two soldiers, an officer, and a non-commissioned

officer. One of the Fathers was obliged to translate the incriminating passage into German, but after seven or eight lines the reading was stopped.

Father Dupierreux's notes spoke severely of what had happened at Louvain, and especially of the burning of the University Library. They were personal notes, nothing at all in the nature of a sermon.

The Father stepped out from the armed group which escorted him. Three soldiers and a non-commissioned officer were deputed to execute him. All the party to which Monseigneur De Becker, head of the American Seminary, belonged were ordered to turn their eyes upon the victim during his execution. The signal to fire was given, and Father Dupierreux fell. A second volley finished him off.

Had there been a regular trial? No! The victim, knowing no German, could not defend himself, nor had any interpreter been called in to help him. The very brief interval between his arrest and execution had certainly not given time for a serious investigation into the offence alleged against Father Dupierreux.¹

¹ A few days after the tragedy a brother went from Brussels to the scene of the crime and hastily disinterred the body of Father Dupierreux. One bullet had pierced his chest, another his left temple and right eye. A notebook was still among the clothes.

The body was in a perfect state of preservation. The brother piously wrapped it in a bed-sheet and buried it again in a deeper grave.

The remaining priests were examined in their turn. Father X. showed a certificate of identity with the German stamp on it. A soldier tore off him the Red Cross armlet, also with the *Commandantur's* stamp on it, and then, rummaging in his pockets and a wallet, came across some writings, including two or three recent letters. Father L. remarked that most of his notes were concerned with theology. The soldier stuffed the papers into the wallet, closed it, and returned it to its owner, amid laughter and obscene insults.

The whole party of which Father L. formed one had to cross another field, in which there were already a number of priests, chiefly Dominicans, who looked very pale. Most of the priests, tired by long hours of walking, seated themselves. Though some preferred to remain standing, a soldier compelled all to sit down, and was even inspired with the idea of making them all clasp hands.

Father L. and his party were soon joined by other priests and by some civilians, among whom was M. B., Professor at the University, and a lawyer. The new-comers had to pass on further. Next came two sisters of the Good Shepherd, in a state of extreme agitation, and then some work-people and peasants.

The soldiers never ceased insulting the priests

and threatening them with death. "But," said Father L. again, "we looked after your wounded. Why are you insulting us?" "Whether you looked after them or not," a soldier answered, "it makes no difference to us."

All the prisoners during this terrible time were calm and dignified. The sight of the brave priests at last had its effect. Some of the soldiers even came up to them, and one offered them some water.

After an hour of agonising delay, an officer arrived, rapidly noted the number of the prisoners, and called out some orders. Father L. understood him to say: "Enough for to-day. There will be more to-morrow." He then ordered all to line themselves up against some palings, where the priests were divided into five groups. Father L. remarked to the officer that many of the Dominican prisoners were not Belgians, but Peruvians. The officer condescended to examine their papers, and set the foreigners at liberty. Then the various parties set out on their way separately. The following were the routes taken by each of them:

The members of the first party were put upon a waggon. Leaving Tervueren about two o'clock, they entered Brussels by the Avenue d'Audergem, following the line of the Rue de la Loi and the

Boulevards. A great impression was made by them on the crowd.

The second party, composed of twenty priests, accompanied a convoy on foot and were set at liberty in Brussels about 6 p.m.

The third and fourth parties, among whom were the Rectors of Louvain University and of the Jesuit establishment, were obliged to remain in the field at Tervueren until nightfall. They were taken to the barracks, where an officer said to them : " You are hostages. If the population commits a single act of hostility, you will be all shot. If one of you attempts to escape, he will be shot. If anyone talks without permission, he will be shot." Next day the papers of the members of both parties were seized. The first lot were set free ; the others were put on waggons and taken to within half an hour of Hal, where they were released.

Finally, the fifth party, to which Father L. belonged and whose mournful journey I myself followed, left Tervueren on Thursday about two o'clock and were not set at liberty until the night of Friday-Saturday, after going through a long Calvary of insult.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY

As this report confirms the preceding narratives, I content myself with an extract from the end, in which are quoted letters found upon German soldiers :

“ Gaston Klein, of the first company of Landsturm, writes on August 29th :

“ ‘ After Roosebek we began to have an idea of the war—burnt houses, walls pierced by bullets, portion of a tower carried away by a shell, etc. A few scattered crosses marked the graves of victims. We reach Louvain, which is a regular hive of soldiers. The battalion of Landsturm from Halle arrives, dragging along with it all sorts of things, particularly bottles of wine ; many of the men were drunk. A squadron of cyclists rode about the town looking for quarters. The picture of devastation was such that you could not imagine anything worse. Houses were on fire and collapsing in every street ; only a few were still standing. The way was over shattered fragments of glass, pieces of burning wood, etc. The overhead tram wires and telephone wires lay about the roads and obstructed them.

“ ‘ The railway stations still standing were full of billeted men. On getting back to the station, no one knew what to do. At first only a few companies would return to the town, but soon the battalion set off in close order for the town, to break into the first houses they met, to plunder—I beg pardon, I mean to requisition—wine and other things, too. Like a pack let loose, each one went where he pleased. The officers led the way and set a good example.

“ ‘ A night in barracks, many drunk, and it was over.

“ ‘ This day has inspired me with a contempt I cannot describe.’

“ Another prisoner writes to his wife, Anna Mannaget, at Magdeburg :

“ ‘ We reached Louvain at seven in the evening. I could not describe to you the mournful aspect of Louvain. The town was burning on all sides. Where it was not burning, destruction was going on. We got into several cellars and filled ourselves well. A great portion of the booty, piled up on military waggons, was sent away at once by train to Germany.’

“ Without reckoning the University Galleries

and the Law Courts, 894 houses have been burnt within the limits of the town of Louvain, and about 300 in the suburb of Kessel-Loo. The Herent suburb and the commune of Corbeek-Loo have been almost entirely destroyed.

“Arson and pillage went on up to Wednesday, September 2nd. On that day, too, four more fires were lighted by the German soldiers, one in the Rue Léopold and three in the Rue Marie-Thérèse.

“On August 25th, when they had started burning, the Germans destroyed the fire-engines and escapes, and fired at people getting on to the roofs to put out the blaze.

“The Heverlé suburb was spared for a reason unknown to us ; but some explain it by the fact that the Duke of Arenberg, a German subject, possesses numerous properties there. On many of the residences, as also on many of the houses spared in Louvain, could be seen a small notice bearing the following printed inscription :

“ Dieses Haus darf nicht betreten werden. Es ist strengstens verboten Häuser im Brand zu setzen ohne Genehmigung der Commandantur.

Der Etappen-Commandant.

[This house must not be entered. It is strictly

forbidden to set fire to houses without the approval of the *Commandantur*.

(Seal of the local commander)].

“ Other residences in Heverlé, which were left untouched, bore only the name of the commune in large letters.

“ It would be impossible to determine accurately the number of the victims. Up to September 8th forty-two corpses had been recovered from the ruins. To justify these atrocities, the Germans allege that civilians fired on their troops. The previous reports have already noticed this lying accusation. The truth is that the murder of peaceful citizens, pillage, and robbery, seem to have been systematically organised.

“ A witness of independent nationality informs us that on August 26th he heard a German officer tell his troops, in front of the Hôtel de Ville at Louvain, that up to now the Germans had only burnt villages or places of secondary importance, but now for the first time they would see a big city set on fire.

“ Incendiarism almost always follows looting. It seems often to have no other object but to hide the traces. Frequently the houses are lighted by means of fuses ; at other times they are sprinkled with petrol or naphtha from pumps ; at others,

again, to stir the blaze the German soldiers make use of pastilles of which we have some samples. Analysis has revealed that these are made of gelatinised nitro-cellulose.

“The pillage and arson take place by the order of the superior authorities. The most important part of the booty, it seems, is despatched to Germany.

“The Committee wishes, in this connection, to bring to your notice an interesting deposition. The Mother Superior of a religious establishment situated in a rural district, which was subjected to pillage, has declared that after the sack of the commune a German soldier returned to her the sum of 1 franc 8 centimes, telling her that, if he was forced to pillage, he did not wish to profit by it, not being a thief. A German non-commissioned officer, too, begged me to send back to Mlle. V. D. a watch, a chain, and a gold bracelet, which he had taken from her house.

“There is but one motive in the ravages to which Belgium has been subjected—the desire to take revenge for a resistance which the German Empire cannot have expected.

“The facts prove it. Every sortie of the Belgian troops from Antwerp is followed by fresh outrages, which the invader no longer even tries to justify. The town of Aerschot is another example. The

first care of the Germans on their return on September 10th was to annihilate whatever remained over from their first work of destruction.

“(Signed) COOREMAN,
President.

“CH. ERNST DE BUNSWYCH, }
“ORTS, } *Secretaries.”*

THE PLUNDER OF MALINES

Malines underwent two bombardments, which opened at least six breaches in the Cathedral walls. At the Archbishop's Palace a big German shell smashed up everything in the reception-room, which had been turned into a hospital, though the beds were not yet occupied. The Germans emptied the archiepiscopal cellars and carried off all the bedding. It may be noted that all the shells which damaged Cathedral and Palace came from the south, where the Germans had taken up their position. The facts, therefore, positively contradict the allegation of the German General Staff, throwing the responsibility for the bombardment upon the Belgians, who fired from Fort Waelhem (to the north).

Malines has about 60,000 inhabitants. All except between four or five hundred had evacuated the town on the first flashes of the second bombard-

ment, which was preceded by no warning at all. According to the figures collected by the Special Committee, 150 public and private buildings were destroyed. All the valuable stained glass in the Cathedral was reduced to fragments; the pictures had been removed to a safe spot. The town pawnbroking establishment and the Academy of Music, which were housed in a fine old seventeenth-century mansion, were destroyed, together with the home of the Little Sisters of the Poor and the convents of the Apostolines and the Dames de Marie.

The chief characteristic of the German passage through Malines was pillage. Ninety-five per cent of the houses in the wealthy, commercial, and popular districts had their doors broken in and their contents looted. The first to be sacked were the tobacconists and the retailers of wines and spirits; next came the jewellers and the furniture-dealers; the private houses were also almost emptied. Everywhere were left traces of vandalism and unmentionable filth. The champions of *Kultur*—and particularly the officers¹—delighted

¹ The conduct of numerous German officers in Belgium was a very singular demonstration of the superiority of "Teutonic civilisation." The most brilliant exposition of this *Kultur*, as designed by the invaders to show their absolute contempt for the Belgians, was made use of, from the earliest days of the occupation, in a great number of houses, châteaux, offices, and other buildings, including even convents and hospitals, sparing

in accumulating filth in the houses in which they stopped.

For nine days—October 4th–12th—eight Belgian workmen (with whom I have talked) and some twenty German soldiers were kept busy day and night loading and sending off by train into Germany provisions, furniture, clothing, and merchandise of all kinds, coming from the sack of Malines.

One German officer, of the naval division, gave back two golden chalices and 250 francs, his share in the loot of a convent—he could not say whether it was Wavre, Notre-Dame, or Muyzen.

At Hofstade M. Terlinden's château was pillaged and burnt.

At Sempst and Eppeghem the churches were set on fire, the safes containing the sacramental vessels opened with oxyhydric blowpipes, and the vessels stolen. At Eppeghem also six hundred houses were burnt, after a general pillage. At Elewyt the Château Rubens, recently acquired by M. De

neither beds, floors, corridors, nor walls. Respect for the reader forbids me going into details, which would only disgust him. But, to give an idea of the modern German warrior, I may mention that at certain houses, after one lot of officers had made a stay there, some brothers-in-arms halted on the threshold and abandoned all idea of lodging there themselves. They even forbore to order their men to clean the place up. But they took care to remove all the furniture and pack it off to Germany.

Often the German officers displayed the depth of their contempt for ignorant and backward Belgium by reviving a custom of the decadent Roman Empire, which can be described by the one Latin word *vomitorium*

Becker-Remy, was spared, the Germans fearing a renewal of the outcry aroused by the burning of Louvain's University Library.

The Abbé M. *curé* of E——, was compelled by the Germans to sit at their table with Colonel von Biberstein (the famous commander of the 48th Regiment, which distinguished itself by its atrocities at Visé and at Louvain), and other officers. An instantaneous photograph was taken of the banquet and was distributed abroad as a proof of the welcome and hospitality accorded to the Germans by the Belgian clergy.

WEST OF MONS AND IN THE CHARLEROI DISTRICT

On August 23rd the German armies on the march towards Paris, after the battle in front of Louvain and the occupation of Brussels, came in contact with the outposts of the Allies. The British troops under Field-Marshal French held the water-line between St. Ghislain and Haine-St. Paul. Beyond them the French held the Sambre.

This opposition was the cause, on the part of the Germans, of terrible and bloody reprisals against the civilian population, whom they accused, without any proof, of the murder of all Prussian soldiers found lying in or near inhabited places.

This was obviously a systematic method of intimidation in war. The burnings were carried out on a perfectly organised plan, by means of excellently adapted instruments—benzine-syringes, boxes packed with incendiary material, cartridges filled with explosives. Entire hamlets, streets, and blocks of houses blazed like torches, and little or nothing was left of them. Every civilian who resisted was summarily executed, and old men, women, and children were driven pell-mell before the German troops to act as a shield for them. A number of Belgians were thus killed by the bullets of the Allies.

At Nimy, Obourg, Quaregnon, and Jemappes, frequent use was made of these methods, while the houses were pillaged and burnt. Many people lost their lives, not by ordinary accident of war, such as stray shots or the explosion of a shell in a village, but because they were massacred or driven before the Prussian ranks. This happened, among other places, on the Boulevard de Bertaimont at Mons, where some civilians from Nimy, having at their head M. Lescart, burgomaster of Mons, were placed in front of the Germans, in a very exposed spot. In the fight which followed, several of them were killed and a number wounded.

At Ville-sur-Haine the town-hall was burnt. A whole row of houses was only saved by the

energetic and generous intervention of M. Raulier, a local brewer.

At Perron-les-Binche there were numerous fires and several deaths. M. Alphonse Gravis, deputy burgomaster, was shot, together with his manservant. He was accused of the death of a German officer, who had been killed in the public square by the English.

The Charleroi region had heavy trials. Charleroi, Jumet, Monceau, Gosselies, Châtelet, Aiseau, etc., were ravaged by fires, wantonly lighted in a very scientific manner by the German troops turned incendiaries. At Charleroi they amused themselves for hours with snap volleys from machine-guns at the house-fronts and public monuments, while others set fire to the buildings on the central boulevard and shot at civilians. A score were killed and many wounded.

The same or similar deeds were witnessed all over the colliery region. There, too, civilians were driven in front of the troops and exposed to the bullets of the Allies. The pilgrimages of these poor wretches were long and weary. Some were taken right across the frontier and did not return until after that terrible day, the 23rd. They were subjected to brutalities and low and senseless jokes. Some had to keep their arms in the air for hours at a time, others had their arms bound

behind their backs, while their hands were burnt with cigarettes. They were reduced to sleeping at night wherever they could and anyhow, among fields of rye and potatoes. Several died, and others went mad.

THE TAMINES, AERSCHOT, AND DINANT MASSACRES

The report of the Committee of Enquiry into the violations of the laws of war shows that at Tamines, as at Dinant, Andenne, and elsewhere, the massacre of the inhabitants was a crime without an excuse.

This rich and populous village on the Sambre was occupied by a French detachment between August 16th-18th. On the 20th a patrol of Uhlans appeared in the Vilaines suburb and was there received with shots from the French soldiers and some of the civil guards of Charleroi, the nearest town to Tamines. Several Uhlans were killed or wounded, the rest flying. The people of the village came out of their houses and shouted, "Long live Belgium! Long live France!" This quite legitimate demonstration was the cause of the massacre.

The German forces, after having set fire to two houses and made prisoners of all the inhabitants in the hamlet of Alloux, entered Tamines about 5 o'clock on August 21st. They drove the peasants

out of their houses and began to pillage and burn. Those who stayed at home were shot, some made their escape, but the majority were arrested during the night or the following morning. The looting continued through the whole of Saturday, August 22nd. On the evening of this day a crowd of between 400 and 450 people was gathered in front of the church, and a German detachment opened fire on them. The process not being swift enough, the officers had a machine-gun brought, which soon disposed of the hapless victims. A certain number, who were merely wounded, raised themselves up with difficulty, but were at once finished off. Some others remained lying on the corpses of their companions until they were finished with the bayonet. Under cover of the following night a few who still lived managed to crawl away. Others put an end to their sufferings by letting themselves fall into the Sambre. A hundred corpses were afterwards fished out of the river. These facts are established on the testimony of respectable men.

On Sunday, August 23rd, about 5 a.m., a body of prisoners captured in the neighbourhood was brought to the place where the victims of the previous evening were lying, a space more than 60 metres long by 8 broad. An officer called for volunteers to bury the corpses. Those who consented

had to dig a trench 24 metres long, 16 broad, and 3 deep. The corpses were brought on planks and thrown into the trench. Nearly four hundred victims were thus buried ; a list of them was kept. More than one father buried his son, more than one son his father. While this was going on some officers and soldiers were drinking champagne in the square.

When the burial had been completed, the prisoners, with their wives and children, were taken through Tamines to Vilaines. It was thought that the men were going to be shot. Many of the women were shrieking with despair, so that even one of the German soldiers was touched. But the officer told them that they were free ; adding that whoever returned to Tamines would be shot. This officer then compelled the women to cry, " Long live Germany ! "

The German troops remaining at Tamines proceeded to pillage the houses and then set them on fire. Thus 264 houses were systematically burnt. A few families, who had taken refuge in the cellars, were suffocated or burnt alive there. A few more unfortunates were shot in the fields. The total number of victims was at least 650.

The Committee of Enquiry made special investigation into the question whether the inhabitants of the village had fired on the German troops.

The survivors all unanimously denied this. The Tamines massacre was the result of the Germans' anger at the resistance offered to the Uhlans' approach some days before by regular troops.

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Aerschot, a town of 8000 inhabitants, was largely destroyed by fire and completely sacked by the German troops, who stopped there for three weeks and gave themselves up to vile orgies. One piece of evidence is horrible to read. M. P., a wine-merchant in the town, stated, before a number of honourable witnesses, as follows :

“Forty-five of us, men of the town of Aerschot, were seized and taken near to the Orléans tower. There, in rows of four, we had to cross a field at a run, behind us being posted some Uhlans, who shot us down just as at a pigeon-shooting match. I was in the first lot, but on the first discharge I threw myself on the ground. I lay there through the execution of all my companions, who were sent in their turn to the field of slaughter. Under cover of night, amid the songs and drunken revels of these brutes, who were amusing themselves near the place where their victims were dying in agony, I succeeded in crawling to the edge of the woods and so escaped, the sole survivor of this butchery.”

The burgomaster, M. Tielmans, his son, and his brother were all shot. Others, including women and old men, were ill-treated or sent long distances away. The report of the Committee of Enquiry on September 19th, 1914, in which these occurrences of August 19th and following days are related, concludes thus :

“ With regard to the initial cause of the calamity which overtook this defenceless city, it was to be found, according to the German military authorities, in the murder of an officer by a civilian whom they name, and who was at once executed. The fact remains to be proved. It is sufficient to remember, for the moment, that, on the invaders' confession, the act of one individual is ample justification for the massacre of an indefinite number of innocent people, the transportation of several hundreds of others to distant spots, the barbarous treatment of old men, women, and children, the ruin of a large number of families, and the burning and plunder of a town of 8000 souls.”

What happened at Aerschot was but the carrying into effect of the proclamations quoted above, according to which the destruction of a whole town is no equivalent for the life of a single German soldier. But here the guilty civilian was known and paid for his fault with his life. The massacre

of the people of Aerschot had not the shadow of an excuse, not even one of the excuses set up in the savage rules made by the invaders themselves.

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With Tamines, Andenne, Louvain, and Aerschot, the Dinant massacre was one of the most horrible crimes committed by the German troops in Belgium. It had not the slightest justification. Dinant had been defended on August 15th by the French troops, who had driven the Germans out of it, replaced the German flag by the French on the once fortified height which dominates the town, and had driven the invaders nearly back to Rochefort. After this the French had themselves fallen back on the left bank of the Meuse.

On the night of August 21st-22nd a few Germans arrived in a car and fired some shots right and left at the doors and windows of the houses. In this way they killed a woman, a child, and a workman. An innkeeper and his wife, who had opened their door, were run through with lances. These heroes were but the advance-guard. Next day the army arrived, broke open the doors of the houses, and killed all the men they came across. As for the women, they were driven along, with their arms in the air, and shut up in an abbey, where they were kept for three days without food. During this

time some hundred men, who had hidden in a cellar or an arched sewer, were shot. Others, including old men and young boys, were brought to the square and killed *en masse* with a machine-gun.

By way of exception, a few leading inhabitants, a notary and two or three merchants, were taken as hostages—hostages to answer for what offence?—to Germany.

While the inhabitants were being massacred, the incendiary cartridges were doing their work. Soon almost the whole of the town was but a heap of ruins, while those families which had sought refuge in the cellars died there of starvation or of suffocation, as at Louvain. The church lost its unique belfry, the post office was destroyed. Now all Dinant, once so picturesque and so gay, presents a lamentable appearance.

No excuse can be made for this abominable destruction and wholesale butchery of an inoffensive and unarmed populace. The only crime of Dinant, as of Tamines and Andenne, was that it was defended by the Allied army. Any impartial and neutral enquiry will prove this, it is absolutely certain.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

AWAY with Prussianism ! May the blood we shed be the last !

It is not sufficient to tell of Germany's brutal invasion of Belgium, of the atrocities committed by her troops, and of the reign of terror which has for long months bowed Belgium down. The material sacrifices of a people are not measured only by the sacrifices which it has made. Their noblest and truest measure lies in the grandeur of the ideal to which the people has freely given its allegiance. We are suffering and struggling for our homes, for the honour and independence of our country. But the glory of this, great though it be, is not enough. It is the glory of all brave nations. The challenge which Germany a few months ago threw down to civilised Europe has furnished us with a higher cause still, the cause of Justice and of the Liberty of Peoples. It was in the name of the sanctity of international conventions that Belgium took up arms and suffered the degradation of the German hordes. If the martyrdom of our people, by

stirring the indignation of the whole world against impious and cruel War, shall contribute to the realisation of an international organisation based upon Right, our blood will not have been shed in vain. There are no martyrs without hopes. It is of these hopes that I wish to speak now.

It is well, in these sorrowful days, to turn our eyes to the future, to the period of reconstruction and order which will follow this frightful war. But let there be no mistake. Let not these words be interpreted as a premature appeal for peace. An outrageous crime against the law of nations has been committed. To redress it, our Allies like ourselves are pouring out on the field of battle the best and purest of their blood. This is a just war, and it is necessary that it shall be carried through to the very end. No "pacifist" worthy of the name can doubt this for an instant. Germany's challenge was only accepted by our Allies because it endangered the independence and equality of nations. It would be the greatest of crimes against peace itself to stop this war before the full expiation of the crime, before the exemplary punishment of the guilty nation, before the merciless crushing of the forces of evil, which have led the German people to the enterprise that has so dishonoured it.

The doctrines against which we are fighting are

those which His Eminence Cardinal Mercier branded in his admirable pastoral letter :

“ It is not true that the State is worth more, essentially, than the individual and the family, inasmuch as the welfare of families and individuals is the reason for the existence of our organisation.

“ It is not true that the Fatherland is a god Moloch, on whose altar all lives may legitimately be sacrificed.

“ The brutality of pagan manners and the despotism of the Cæsars led up to this erroneous idea—and *modern militarism tended to revive it*—that the State is omnipotent, and that its discretionary power creates Right.

“ *So war for war's sake is a crime.* War is only justified as a necessary means of obtaining peace.”

The European war unloosed by the Emperor William II has surpassed, in importance, in intensity, in calamitousness, and in ferocity, all the wars that have ever stained the world's history with blood. Against the criminal pretensions of Germany to the hegemony over Europe, by the violation of treaties and of laws, several great nations have been forced to protest. At the cost of immense sacrifices of men and of money they have fought against organised militarism. It

would be truly inconceivable that, after so terrible an ordeal, Europe should continue to keep up the absurd system of armed peace, which annually sacrifices a sum reckoned in hundreds of millions of pounds and a still greater proportion of the active life of its population, in order to educate the rising generation in the hatred of other peoples and to prepare a new cataclysm to swallow up once again the fruit of many centuries of labour.

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To measure right by the force of arms is a barbarous method, which clearly conflicts with justice and puts the small nations at the mercy of the powerful.

As long as it shall be admitted in international dealings that victory makes right, so long will the reign of anarchy continue to ruin the peoples without in any way securing peace.

In civilised countries it is universally recognised that no one can do justice in his own case, and all citizens have equal rights in the courts. In a properly organised Europe the same must be the rule for nations.

Nations must give up war as the means of settling international quarrels, since such means are the height of injustice and barbarism. All nations are already equal in conferences and

before the Hague Tribunal. They must hereafter conclude among themselves arbitration treaties absolutely binding in all cases, as has been done by certain countries across the Atlantic. Whatsoever nation shall not consent to this, under the pretext of safeguarding its sovereign powers (which legally are not cognisable except within its own frontiers), must be put under a ban by Europe and all civilised peoples, and boycotted without mercy. Really, to exclude from an arbitration treaty "questions of honour and self-preservation" would be a contradiction in terms, seeing that the treaty would be rendered inoperative by the insertion of a clause dependent on the good pleasure of one party only. Questions of honour are precisely those on which the opinion of a third party or a judge is most necessary. History furnishes a superabundance of instances of the fact that these alleged questions of honour are often mere pretexts. As for the question of self-preservation, is it not clear that that country of whom, in future, its neighbour shall demand sacrifices frankly equivalent to committing suicide must *ipso facto* be relieved of the obligation of compulsory arbitration? Such country may defend itself by arms. Therefore to reserve this one particular case is superfluous—especially as recourse to arbitration or to the Hague Tribunal will always be to the small

country a better defence and a better protection against injustice than the sword.

Let us hope, therefore, that after the terrible crisis through which Europe is going she will resolutely put down international anarchy—that is to say, the perpetually unstable system of equilibrium which prevails—in order to set up the rule of justice, of equality, and of respect for treaties.

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There are still many people who, either through atavism or through some other cause, love war for its own sake, or at least maintain that it is necessary and inevitable. Some are attached to it by interest ; it is their trade. Others obtain through it lucrative positions, or satisfaction for their ambition and vanity. Certain people look upon pacifism askance, as synonymous with cowardice or anti-patriotism. A great number believe that war is the manifestation of an indestructible passion inherent in human nature, or a divine scourge required to purify humanity.

May the cruel ordeal of this European War bring reason to these apostles of Mars ! May they understand that society must combat scourges instead of turning them into institutions, that the enduring nature of criminal passions is a motive not for the encouragement of the crime but for its

vigorous repression, that patriotism consists in loving, cherishing, and benefiting one's own country, not in cultivating the evil instincts of hatred or envy towards the countries of others !

War is the sole scourge which depends on man. How is it still possible to maintain that society and the various governments, unanimous when it is a question of combating all other scourges, should act differently with regard to the evil created by man's will, the evil responsible for the greatest number of crimes and calamities ?

Yet this is what has always been done. All means have been employed to encourage the war-passion, by sacrificing to it the heaviest portion of national expenditure, by ranking those who devote themselves to it above the learned men, the producers, the artists, the educators, and the priests. If the horrible spectacle of the human beast unchained in the War of 1914, if the massacres, burnings, lootings, brutalities, and crimes of all kinds, if the thousands of ruins and millions of bereavements caused by this frightful conflict should not convert the nations to respect for the Decalogue and the teaching of Christ, then we must recognise that human inconsistency is really greater and more potent than aught else in this valley of tears.

But this cannot be. Just precisely because the

War of 1914 has been the most terrible and hateful of all recorded in history, so also it has shown most eloquently the absolute necessity of recourse to other methods than those of war to make justice prevail among the nations. Throughout the world, Old and New, to-day resounds the cry of War against war, war against the monster which devours energy and destroys wealth, war above all against the industry of war—war, in brief, against the German Empire, in which is personified this awful industry, and which has dared publicly to invoke God in favour of its ambition and insatiable greed.

A speaking example of the conversion of universal public opinion to the side of peace is furnished by the following fact. In all civilised countries, in America as well as in Europe, only one question is being discussed with regard to the War of 1914: Who is responsible for it, who is the real aggressor? And Germany who prepared for it so long beforehand, Germany who loosed it on the world, Germany who declared it first and mobilised before all others, is using every artifice to mislead people. This proves that public opinion is against war. There is no right, properly speaking, of declaring war. It cannot be more than an obligation, in certain extremely rare cases, unavoidably forced upon a nation which has been injured

or is very gravely threatened. And the necessity should be such, to justify war, that no other way of obtaining justice against the aggressor is any longer open, all other ways having been already tried in vain.

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Under the reign of international right, the very threat of war should henceforward be considered a scandalously wrong action, which must bring upon the diplomatist or the government guilty of it the contempt and the chastisement of Europe. Just as in an assembly of educated people he who allows himself to show his fists or to point a revolver, to support an inadequate argument, is turned out of the room, so the despatch of an ironclad or an ultimatum must no longer be allowed to open negotiations between governments at variance.

The advantages resulting to humanity from the ending of the cruel international anarchy will not have been too dearly paid for by the European War of 1914. By opening the eyes of the most obstinate devotees of force to the eternal truth of the Ten Commandments, the barbarous horrors committed at the instigation of William II will have brought about a result infinitely more important than these abominations themselves.

And for the future the world will include in one and the same curse the Cæsars and the Napoleons, the Kaiser Wilhelms and the Attilas.

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Si vis pacem para bellum is, according to many people, a maxim of world-wide wisdom. It is nothing but a play upon words and a meaningless phrase. Nothing could have more triumphantly proved this than the European War. The long international struggle which preceded the war—a struggle of which the extent can only be measured in millions—also showed the unutterable folly of this example of worldly wisdom. The struggle of armaments was essentially a progressive one, and by indefinite prolongation could only end in European bankruptcy. It brought about the horrible tragedy of 1914. As certain writers predicted (though they made no claim to the rôle of prophets), “Men fought simply because they were armed”—and because no nation dared or was able to take the initiative in disarmament. Yet disarmament was the only rational solution of a problem which became daily more intolerable.

Unhappily the crowd is generally more unreasonable than the individual. And the majority too often allows itself to be guided by active and noisy minorities, skilled in exploiting phrases, flattering

vanities, upholding prejudices, and cherishing passions.

What explains the persistence of war as an institution is that it continues to be taught in all colleges and schools as the dominating factor in the history of peoples. The result is that modern brains are still imbued with the idea that war is if not divine, as too many still maintain it to be, at least inevitable, as being an indestructible instinct of human nature. There will certainly be a need of modifying in this respect the school teaching of history. The text-books must more often judge the actions of men not by their success, but by their righteousness.

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Looked at in its brutal reality, war is nothing else but the assassination of one portion of the nation by another nation. So extra-legal and extraordinary an act can only be justified if it is indispensable for the punishment of a great crime. It is then an act of penal justice. The sovereign who declares war is not to be excused unless he is truly a redresser of wrongs. If he draws the sword, otherwise than in a case of necessity, in defence of private or national interests, he is acting illegally, since he is applying penal justice in a sphere where it has no validity. He therefore commits a crime,

by usurping a power which does not belong to him. And this crime is the greatest of all crimes, because of its fearful consequences.

Now to-day a nation cannot plead that it has no means of obtaining justice other than war, seeing that there exists an international tribunal at The Hague, a most competent and lofty tribunal. And recourse to arbitration is open to it, if it prefers arbitrators to judges.

Since the institution of the Hague Tribunal, therefore, war is always a crime except in the quite exceptional case where a nation guilty of a very serious offence against another rejects the appeal to justice, either through the Tribunal or through international arbitration. In that eventuality, let us hope, in future the guilty nation will have against it the organised brotherhood of nations. It must then yield or perish, amid universal reprobation, at the hands of the united forces of Europe in the first place—of all mankind in the days when the solidarity of nations shall have become stronger and wider-based.

The War of 1914 must be a war for peace, and it would be eminently absurd to end it otherwise than by a treaty which shall render Prussian militarism incapable of doing harm hereafter.

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In order that the peace may be lasting, the recurrence must be made impossible of so revolting a crime as the German and Austrian aggression against Belgium. The solidarity of the majority of European nations should be such that no one of them could openly violate the laws subscribed to by the civilised world or break solemn engagements without rousing all the others against it. The pretext of superior culture or of supreme national interests can never legalise nor justify a breach of the law of nations ; and the formality of a declaration of war cannot make an aggression against an inoffensive and entirely innocent people otherwise than a crime which no success, however brilliant and decisive, can wipe out. It is to be hoped also that, through the mutual dependence of national interests, the internationalisation of capital, and the effects of a financial crisis in one money-market upon the others, the peoples will become so bound together that they will appreciate more and more the vanity of military glory, the wrong done by war to society, the crimes to which it gives birth now, and the horrors which it stores up for days to come.

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It is Prussian militarism which must be crushed and not the German people. Mr. H. G. Wells

appears to sum up the general opinion well when he says, at the end of a recent article : " The object of the war is a settlement which shall put an end to these armaments." He refers here to the madness of armed peace, which for forty-four years has possessed Europe and is ruining the world.

Since the opening of the war certain journals, in opposition to what we may almost call the general opinion, have declared that " we must not hope that the events which have just turned Europe upside down will have as their result the establishment of a peace really more effective than that which has prevailed in Europe since 1870, seeing that the sentiment of nationality has developed with irrepressible force since the Napoleonic wars. This force," they continue, " is such that the Socialists, who flattered themselves that they were guiding the nations towards an universal solidarity knowing no frontiers, have been since the beginning of the war converted to the sentiment of nationality and have become patriots like the rest. Now the suppression of patriotism would not be a benefit. Patriotism is a manifestation of solidarity, and in the absence of the latter spirit it would soon be impossible for any government to obtain the resources necessary, we will not say merely for the defence of the country, but also for the increase of the prosperity of all."

This amounts to the mathematical paradox, that, as soon as Europe ceases to sacrifice every year three-quarters of her budget in preparing for new devastations and ever greater massacres, she will be unable to find the resources necessary for the remaining quarter of her budget.

How well we know the chant of the supporters of the war-institution—it is as old as the world ! That does not make it any the truer, however. Patriotism, if it is to be really a virtue, needs not the accompaniment of hatred for other peoples. On the contrary, warlike and jealous patriotism has produced, in our days, the German madness, just as, under Napoleon and after him, it produced the Bonapartist madness. In both cases the result was ruin, invasion, massacre, crime, and the retarding of civilisation by several centuries.

Chauvinism and patriotism are two very different things, as different as error and truth, as presumption and proper pride, as baseness and modesty. If patriotism could only exist on condition of being combative, we must deny it to all neutral countries, which we should have to consider degenerate and servile. It is high time to alter this idea. The European War has proved that the neutral Belgians and the neutral Swiss are as good patriots as the people of no matter which of the nations known as the Great Powers. The thirst for conquests

has never been a virtue in the eyes of intelligent people, inasmuch as conquest is brigandage on a great scale. The smaller Powers have absolutely as much claim to respect and independence as the Great Powers. They have the same claims to justice and are in every way equal to them in the concert of nations. No nation has superior rights over others, and it is an impertinence to interfere in others' affairs unless one is invited to do so by the party concerned. By right there should only be in this world Powers equally neutral. Neutrality is nowhere looked on as a disgrace, and is the normal, rational condition of a country. It is, furthermore, as profitable to a country from the moral as from the material point of view. We may say that it is at once healthy, economical, and æsthetically admirable. Belgium had just shown, in very convincing fashion, that neutrality has no degrading influence, since after eighty-four years of it her valiant little soldiers have twice saved European civilisation from the menace of the Imperialist *Kultur* of the Kaiser and his generals ; first at Liège, and a second time in Flanders.

May I be allowed a digression here ? Certain writers among the Allies have declared recently that it seems to them equitable that Belgium, after the services which her sons have rendered to the Allies, should become a sort of lesser Great

Power, that she should be made larger and so more strong, in a better condition to resist attacks in future and to render fresh services to her Allies. I believe that I can sum up the opinion of most Belgians on the point as follows :

“ We do not wish to make any of our neighbours Belgians against their will. In 1839, without asking our advice, Europe diminished Belgian territory by cutting off parts of Luxemburg and Limburg. The former was turned into the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, the latter into Dutch Limburg. But this was seventy-five years ago, and it seems to us that a prescriptive right has now been set up. Not wishing to do to others what we would not that they should do to us, we think that things may be allowed to stay as they are, unless a majority in Dutch Limburg wish to be Belgian and a majority in the Grand Duchy wish to return to their former nationality. But we want, above all, to remain neutral, that is to say, outside the affairs of our neighbours, just as we refuse to allow those neighbours the right of interference with our affairs. A man's house is his castle. Let us leave to the Germans the claim to dominate other people. It will bring them only bruises and blows. Let us hope that they will rid themselves of the idea. *Deutschland über Alles* is a folly. Belgium as a

Great Power would be another folly. It would also be harmful to ourselves. Many thanks for the gift which you wish to make us, but we will only accept it after a plebiscite of the territories offered to us."

These Belgians, whose opinion is guided by the experience of eighty-four years of existence, during which Belgium has reached the front rank among nations, have the truth of the matter in them.

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The final argument of the unconvinced opponents of the suppression of war as a method of international justice is one which they derive, or think they derive, from the criminal attempt of William II :

"Universal peace, upheld by a permanent tribunal, presupposes a tribunal whose moral authority rules all nations and can make its decisions respected, should the occasion arise, by an international force. It is enough to state these conditions for the chimerical nature of the idea to appear, given the actual position of the nations, divided from one another by religion, race, and interests."

Questions of religion, race, and interests do not prevent individuals from agreeing together, even

when they are individuals from different countries. They do not even prevent national agreement, since in Belgium there are several races, several tongues, several religions, and a diversity of interests among the various regions, trades, and industries. In Switzerland there are but one nation and one army, though there are four languages, and so many religions and races. The catalogue could be continued in the two hemispheres of the globe, concluding with a triumphant demonstration that nothing would be easier than to make general in Europe, and later throughout the Old and New Worlds, the phenomenon which turned ancient foes like Florence and Pisa into Italians, and hereditary enemies like France and England into allies. So far from showing the impossibility of the United States of Europe, the European War proves the possibility of such an union. The Anglo-Belgo-Franco-Russo-Portugo-Serbo-Japanese Alliance against the violation of Belgium is the dawn of this European *entente*. It is sufficient to extend the existing alliance and to perpetuate it by a compulsory and unlimited arbitration contract. What nation in Europe would wish to stand outside this union and risk being boycotted by the Allies ?

But, first of all, it is necessary to this end that Germany shall be absolutely overthrown and made

to recognise once more, willingly or unwillingly, justice and right, as the other nations do.

With God's aid, this will come to pass more quickly than the impenitent supporters of war believe.

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These lines were already written when *L'Indépendance Belge*, now published in London, brought out at the head of its columns an admirable letter from M. Henri La Fontaine, the Belgian Senator and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. It agrees with what I have said above with regard to the views of the Belgians, and I therefore quote it here :

“ A GREATER BELGIUM ”

“ Some well-meaning friends are trying to find compensations for the crimes and devastations which have made Belgium the classic land of human suffering. Our poor country has been tortured by the horrors of war, more terrible now than at any previous epoch of history. The material repair of our cities, our industries, and our agriculture is the payment which we have the right to demand of the world, and the world will not dispute it. This repair will be really reparatory, it will be great and generous, and all the nations of the world, if necessary, will come to the help of the

martyred nation. It is an international debt. But there are some who are thinking about reparation for the moral anguish, the terrors gone through, the tears of widows, mothers, and daughters—a reparation in the form of satisfaction for vanity and pride.

“It has been said that henceforward Belgium must be ranked among the ‘Great Powers,’ that her ministers plenipotentiary must therefore be given the rank of ambassadors, and that ambassadors must be delegated to her. This satisfaction must be rejected with indignation. Most of the miseries of the world spring largely from the classification of States into Great Powers, Medium Powers, and Little Powers. Therefore one of the most necessary results of the struggle into which we have been dragged against our will must be the overthrow of the pretension of certain States. The only principle, long recognised by the most eminent jurists, is that States, whatever their size, are equal in international law, just as citizens are equal in national law by the terms of almost all constitutions. What distinguishes States is not their material but their moral power, and that has no need to assert itself by means of vain official titles.

“We might well imagine other recompenses of a similar kind. Our King might take the title of

Emperor, following the example of the Tsar of Bulgaria ! All adult male Belgians might be given the most eminent decorations and orders of various countries, and might be plastered with the honorary particle *DE* before their names !

“ A more serious proposal has been formulated by a high personage in France. The Belgian frontiers must be extended to the Rhine, so as to include within the kingdom certain hostile German populations. Truly this would be a splendid gift ! To secure the subjection of Germany, as much in extent as Alsace and Lorraine must be cut off from her and given over to the guardianship of the small neighbouring neutral nation. If the former kingdom of Westphalia is to be annexed to Belgium, why not also Bavaria, Wurtemberg, or the Grand Duchy of Baden to Switzerland, the kingdom of Hanover to Holland or Denmark ? These are mad and dangerous ideas, and Belgium will reject the offer which might be made to her of becoming the policeman and oppressor of conquered provinces. This would mean for her the necessity of preparing for new wars or sanguinary rebellions. She will refuse to play a part so unworthy of her. This war must end with the proclamation of the principle of nationalities and of the uncontestable right of peoples to dispose of themselves without compulsion. Now Belgium, who for centuries

struggled without repose to obtain the acknowledgment of this right, owes it to herself not to forfeit the most profoundly human characteristic which has marked her in history—her deep and unconquerable love of liberty and independence. At those solemn assizes which must follow on the murder of the young manhood of Europe, Belgium will be the eloquent advocate of the independence and liberty of peoples. Then it is, really, that she will be the Greater Belgium.

“ But one thing which is due to her as a precious satisfaction is that the future and final treaty of peace shall be signed on her soil, in the midst of the touching records of the most terrible of crimes, amid the tombs of the victims and the blackened ruins of the plundered homes. With tears in their eyes, their hearts wrung by the display of war’s atrocities, their minds haunted by the awfulness of battle, must the representatives of the States—of all the States—swear that such a calamity shall never drench the earth in blood again, lay the foundations of an international understanding and organisation capable of putting an end to the armed conflicts of people, and proclaim Brussels the seat of government for the world.

“ It has been asserted that peace must be concluded at Berlin. This would really be giving those who have tortured us an honour of which they

are not worthy. The claim of Belgium cannot be discussed. It is in the logic of things. The new era, set free from militarism and autocratic rule, must open in a country which for centuries has abhorred all tyrannies.

“And Belgium, despite the smallness of her territory, will be really great among the nations with the only true greatness that counts ; that of being for all the land of concord, of friendship, of co-operation, and of good will.

“H. LA FONTAINE.”

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TWO GERMAN PROCLAMATIONS

As the most instructive proclamations have been quoted in Chapter IV, I will here merely call the reader's attention to the two documents which follow.

The first is specially grotesque in the excuse which it puts forward for the German violation of Belgium. When this proclamation appeared, the odious events at Bombaye, Visé, and Francorchamps had already taken place. These three localities are situated in the same province as Spa, lying north and south-east of that town.

The second proclamation is remarkable for two points : (1) It comes from the Emperor ; (2) All the facts asserted in it are absolutely false. This latter point is proved, as far as the dum-dum bullets are concerned, by the very photographs in the German papers. The cartridge-cases at Longwy were from cartridges for miniature rifle-practice. As for the pretended cruelties of Belgian women and priests, the German papers have themselves recognised, after enquiries made since the occupation, that no proof whatever has been found.

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GERMANS AT SPA.

“ To the Belgian People.

“ It is to my great regret that German troops have been forced to cross the Belgian frontier. They are acting under the constraint of unavoidable necessity, the neutrality of Belgium having been already violated by French officers, *who, under a disguise, have crossed Belgian territory in a motor-car on the way to Germany.*

“Belgians! It is our greatest desire that there may still be a way to avoid conflict between two peoples who have been friends up to now, and even allies of old. Remember the glorious day of Waterloo, when the German arms helped to found and establish the independence and prosperity of your country.

“But we must have a free passage. The destruction of bridges, tunnels, and railways must be regarded as hostile acts. Belgians, you have to choose.

“I hope, therefore, that the German army will not be compelled to fight you. A free passage, to attack those who wished to attack us, this is all that we ask. I give formal guarantees to the Belgian population that it will have to suffer none of the horrors of war; that we will pay in gold for the provisions which we must take from the country; that our soldiers will show themselves the best of friends to a people for whom we have the highest esteem and the greatest sympathy.

“It depends on your wisdom and well-considered patriotism to save your country from the horrors of war.

“THE GENERAL IN COMMAND OF THE
ARMY OF THE MEUSE.”

FROM A PUBLICATION MADE AT BRUSSELS,
SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1914.

“BERLIN, *September 10th.*

“The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* publishes the following telegram, addressed by the Emperor to Mr. Wilson, President of the United States:

““I consider it my duty, Mr. President, to inform you, in your quality of representative of the highest humanitarian principles, of the fact that my troops, after the capture of the fortress of Longwy, discovered there thousands of dum-dum bullets manufactured by the special government manufactories. The same kind of bullet was

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found on dead, wounded, or captive soldiers of English nationality. You know what horrible wounds and sufferings are caused by these bullets and that their use is forbidden by the recognised principles of international law.

“‘I raise, therefore, a solemn protest against this method of warfare, which has become, thanks to our adversaries, one of the most barbarous in history.¹ Not only have they themselves used this cruel weapon, but the Belgian Government has openly encouraged the civil population to take part in the war, which they had carefully prepared long beforehand. The cruelties committed in the course of this guerilla struggle, by women and even by priests, against wounded soldiers, doctors, and hospital-nurses—doctors being killed and hospitals fired upon—have been such that my generals have at last found themselves obliged to have recourse to most rigorous methods to chastise the guilty and prevent the bloodthirsty population from continuing these abominable acts of crime.

“‘Several villages and even the town of Louvain (except the fine Hôtel de Ville) had to be demolished in the interests of our defence and for the protection of my troops. My heart bleeds when I see that such measures have become inevitable and when I think of the innumerable innocent people who have lost their homes and their goods in consequence of the aforesaid criminal acts.’”

¹ It is worthy of note that in his recently published book, *A Surgeon in Belgium*, Dr. H. S. Souttar, late Surgeon-in-Chief of the British Field Hospital for Belgium, draws attention to the terrible nature of the wounds caused by the German bullet, which is just as injurious as the dum-dum, though it does its work in a more subtle way. The German bullet is short and pointed; when it strikes, it turns completely over and goes through backwards. Then, as the base has no covering, it spreads in a manner precisely similar to that which occurs with a dum-dum and with equally deadly results.

APPENDIX II

THE GERMAN PROFESSORS' DECLARATIONS

THE FIRST PROTEST

“ENGLAND has declared war upon us under a hollow pretext which is least of all justified in view of English history, and the true character of which is laid bare by numerous documents. Although England is related to us by blood and race it has, out of a contemptible envy of Germany's economic success, incited other peoples against us for years; and, in particular, it has allied itself with France and Russia to crush us as a world-power and to endanger our cultural achievements.

“It was only because they were able to reckon on England's co-operation that Russia, France, Belgium, and Japan threw down to us the gauntlet of war. England bears, foremost of all, the moral responsibility for this conflagration of the nations, which will result in frightful suffering for millions of men and will demand unheard-of sacrifices of blood and treasure. England's brutal national selfishness has placed an indelible blot upon its name.

“We are well aware that very eminent English scholars, with whom German men of science have for years been in friendly and fruitful relations, were opposed to this war, so wantonly begun, and spoke against it.

“Nevertheless, those of us who have received marks of distinction from English Universities, Academies, and societies of scholars do renounce, as a matter of national feeling, all such honours and the rights attached to them.”

The signatories include von Behring of Marburg, Paul Ehrlich of Frankfort, Czerny of Heidelberg, August Bier of Berlin, Otto von Schjerning of the General Staff of the

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Army, Rudolf Eucken of Jena, Wilhelm Wundt of Leipzig, Haeckel of Jena, Weismann of Freiburg, Paul Laband of Strassburg, Josef Kohler, Franz von Liszt of Berlin, Adolf Wagner of Berlin, Jakob Riesser, the composer Humperdinck, and the painters von Werner and Liebermann.

“INTELLECTUAL GERMANY'S APPEAL TO THE CIVILISED WORLD”

“WE, as representatives of German Science and Art, raise a protest before the whole of the civilised world against the lies and calumnies by which our enemies are trying to soil the pure cause of Germany in the hard struggle for her existence which has been forced upon her.

“The brazen voice of facts has given the lie to the rumour spread about concerning ‘German defeats.’ With so much the more zeal are they at work distorting and stirring up suspicions. Against this we raise our voices loudly to proclaim the truth.

“It is not true that Germany was to blame for this war. Neither the German people nor the Government nor the Emperor desired it. On the German side the utmost effort was made to avert it. The documentary proofs of this have been displayed to the Universe.

“Often enough during the twenty-six years of his reign has William II shown himself to be the protector of world-peace. Often enough have our enemies admitted this themselves. Yet this same Emperor, whom they now dare to call an Attila, has for decades been jeered at by them for his uncompromising love of peace. Only when the Powers, which had long been lurking on the frontiers, fell upon our nation from three sides did it rise up like one man.

“It is not true that we wickedly violated Belgium's neutrality. Apparently England and France had decided on this violation; apparently Belgium had agreed to it.

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It would have meant our own annihilation had we not forestalled them.

“It is not true that the life or property of a single Belgian citizen has been touched by our soldiers except when the bitterest necessity for self-defence rendered it unavoidable. Again and again, in spite of constant warnings, ambushed civilians have fired on them, have mutilated the wounded, have massacred the doctors in the midst of their charitable work. There could be no baser mendacity than the concealment of the crimes of these assassins in order to be able to impute as crimes to the Germans the just punishments inflicted.

“It is not true that our troops raged like brutes against Louvain. With heavy hearts they were obliged to make reprisals against the furious inhabitants by bombarding a portion of the town. The greater part of Louvain has been preserved. The famous Hôtel de Ville is absolutely intact. Our soldiers saved it from the flames at the risk of their lives.

“If during this dreadful war some masterpieces of art have been destroyed or should be destroyed hereafter, every German will deplore it. Just as we shall not allow ourselves to be surpassed by anyone in the love of art, so shall we refuse, with equal resolution, to secure the preservation of any work of art by a German defeat.

“It is not true that our War Staff despises the rights of peoples. It knows nothing of undisciplined cruelty. But in the East the blood of murdered women and children soaks the ground; in the West the dum-dum bullets mangle the breasts of our warriors. Those who have the least right to pose as defenders of European civilisation are they who are allied with the Russians and the Serbians and offer the world a shameful spectacle by hurling negroes and Mongolians against the white race.

“It is not true that the fight against our so-called

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militarism is not a fight against our culture, as our enemies hypocritically pretend. Without German militarism German culture would long ago have been swept off the face of the earth.

“The one has sprung from the other, to protect it, in a country which has for centuries been afflicted, like no other land, by the incursions of brigands. The German Army and the German People are one.

“The consciousness of this has to-day made seventy million Germans fraternise, without distinction of education, class, or party.

“We cannot wrest from the hands of our enemies the poisoned weapons of mendacity. We can but cry throughout the Universe that they are bearing false witness against us.

“To you who know us, you who have up to now preserved with us humanity's noblest possessions, to you we cry: ‘Believe us! Believe that we are fighting this fight to the very end like a civilised people, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, of a Beethoven, of a Kant, is as sacred as its hearths and its strip of soil.’

“It is thus that we answer before you, with our names and our honour.”

The following were the signatories :

Behrens, Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.

v. Behring, Professor of Medicine, Marburg.

v. Beyer, Professor of Chemistry, Munich.

v. Bode, Professor, Director of the Kgl Museum, Berlin.

Brandl, A., Professor, President of the Shakespeare Society, Berlin.

Brentano, Professor of Political Economy, Munich.

Brickman, J., Director of the Hamburg Museum.

Conrad, J., Professor of Political Economy, Halle.

v. Defiegger, T., Munich.

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Dehmel, R., Hamburg.

Deissmann, Ad., Professor of Protestant Theology, Berlin.

Doerpfeld, W., Professor, Berlin.

v. Duhn, Fred., Professor of Archæology, Heidelberg.

Ehrard, Alb., Professor of Catholic Theology, Strassburg.

Ehrlich, Paul, Professor, Frankfort-on-Rhine.

Engel, Karl, Professor of Chemistry, Carlsruhe.

Esser, Gérard, Professor of Catholic Theology, Bonn.

Eulenberg, Herbert, Kaiserworth.

Eupen, Rudolf, Professor of Philosophy, Jena.

Fincke, H., Professor of History, Friburg.

Fischer, E., Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.

Foerster, W., Professor of Astronomy, Berlin.

Fulda, Ludwig, Berlin.

Gebhardt, E., Düsseldorf.

de Groot, J. J., Professor of Ethnography, Berlin.

Haber, Fritz, Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.

Haeckel, Ern., Professor of Zoology, Jena.

Halckereuth, President of German Artists' Society.

v. Harnack, Professor, Director of the Berlin Library.

Hauptmann, G., Agustendorf.

Hauptmann, Karl, Author.

Helbe, Max, Berlin.

Hellmann, G., Professor of Meteorology, Berlin.

Hermann, W., Professor of Protestant Theology, Marburg.

Heusler, A., Professor of Northern Theology, Berlin.

v. Hildebrande, A., Munich.

Hoffmann, L., Architect.

Humperdinck, Engl., Berlin.

v. Kaulbach, F. A., Munich.

Kipe, Theod., Professor of Jurisprudence, Berlin.

Kleye, E., Professor of Mathematics, Göttingen.

Klinger, Max, Leipzig.

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- Knoepeler, Professor of Church History, Munich.
Koch, Aton., Professor of Theology, Tübingen.
Labdue, Paul, Professor of Jurisprudence, Strassburg.
Lamprecht, Karl, Professor of History, Leipzig.
Lenard, Phil, Professor of Physics, Heidelberg.
Lenz, Max, Professor of History, Hamburg.
Liebermann, Max, Berlin.
Litz, Franz, Professor of Jurisprudence, Berlin.
Manzel, L., President of the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts.
v. Mayr, Professor of Political Science, Munich.
Meyer, Ed., Professor of History, Berlin.
Naumann, Friedrich, Berlin.
Nausbach, J., Professor of Catholic Theology, Münster.
Neisser, Alb., Professor of Medicine, Breslau.
Nerhle, Seb., Professor of Catholic Theology, Würzburg.
Nernst, Walter, Professor of Physics, Berlin.
Ostwald, W., Professor of Chemistry, Leipzig.
Paul, Bruno, Director of the Industrial Institute, Berlin.
Planck, Max, Professor of Physics, Berlin.
Plehn, Albert, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.
Reike, G., Berlin.
Reinhardt, Director of the Deutsche Theater, Berlin.
Roentgen, W., Professor of Physics, Berlin.
Rubner, Max, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.
Schaper, Fritz, Berlin.
v. Schatter, A., Professor of Protestant Theology, Tübingen.
Schmidlin, A., Professor of Church History, Münster.
v. Schmoller, Professor of Political Economy, Berlin.
Spahn, Martin, Professor of History, Strassburg.
v. Stuck, Franz, Munich.
Sudermann, Hermann, Berlin.
Thoma, Hans, Carlsruhe.

Vollmoeller, Karl, Stuttgart.

Wagner, Siegfried, Bayreuth.

Waldeyer, W., Professor of Anatomy, Berlin.

v. Waltermann, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.

v. Weingartner, Félix.

Wiegand, T., Director of the Berlin Museum.

v. Willamowitz, Professor of Philology, Berlin.

Willsyaetterf, R., Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.

Windeldand, Professor of Philosophy, Heidelberg.

Wisn, W., Professor of Physics, Würzburg.

Wundt, W., Professor of Philosophy, Leipzig.

APPENDIX III

THE BRITISH SCHOLARS' REPLY TO THE GERMAN PROFESSORS

“ WE see with regret the names of many German professors and men of science, whom we regard with respect and, in some cases, with personal friendship, appended to a denunciation of Great Britain so utterly baseless that we can hardly believe that it expresses their spontaneous or considered opinion. We do not question for a moment their personal sincerity when they express their horror of war and their zeal for ‘the achievements of culture.’ Yet we are bound to point out that a very different view of war, and of national aggrandisement based on the threat of war, has been advocated by such influential writers as Nietzsche, von Treitschke, von Bülow, and von Bernhardt, and has received widespread support from the Press and from public opinion in Germany. This has not occurred, and in our judgment would scarcely be possible, in any other civilised country. We must also remark that it is German armies alone which have, at the present time, deliberately

destroyed or bombarded such monuments of human culture as the Library at Louvain and the Cathedrals at Reims and Malines.

“No doubt it is hard for human beings to weigh justly their country's quarrels; perhaps particularly hard for Germans, who have been reared in an atmosphere of devotion to their Kaiser and his Army; who are feeling acutely at the present hour; and who live under a Government which, we believe, does not allow them to know the truth. Yet it is the duty of learned men to make sure of their facts. The German White Book contains only some scanty and carefully explained selections from the diplomatic correspondence which preceded this war. And we venture to hope that our German colleagues will sooner or later do their best to get access to the full correspondence, and will form therefrom an independent judgment.

“They will then see that, from the issue of the Austrian Note to Serbia onwards, Great Britain, whom they accuse of causing this war, strove incessantly for peace. Her successive proposals were supported by France, Russia, and Italy, but unfortunately not by the one Power which could by a single word at Vienna have made peace certain. Germany in her own official defence—incomplete as that document is—does not pretend that she strove for peace; she only strove for ‘the localisation of the conflict.’ She claimed that Austria should be left free to ‘chastise’ Serbia in whatever way she chose. At most she proposed that Austria should not annex a portion of Serbian territory; a futile provision, since the execution of Austria's demand would have made the whole of Serbia subject to her will.

“Great Britain, like the rest of Europe, recognised that, whatever just grounds of complaint Austria may have had, the unprecedented terms of her Note to Serbia constituted a challenge to Russia and a provocation to war. The Austrian Emperor in his proclamation admitted that war

was likely to ensue. The German White Book states in so many words: 'We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Serbia might bring Russia upon the field and therefore involve us in war. . . . We could not, however, . . . advise our ally to take a yielding attitude not compatible with his dignity.' The German Government admits having known the tenor of the Austrian Note beforehand, when it was concealed from all the other Powers; admits backing it up after it was issued; admits that it knew the Note was likely to precipitate war; and admits that, whatever professions it made to the other Powers, in private it did not advise Austria to abate one jot of her demands. This, to our minds, is tantamount to admitting that Germany has, together with her unfortunate ally, deliberately provoked the present war.

"One point we freely admit. Germany would very likely have preferred not to fight Great Britain at this moment. She would have preferred to weaken and humiliate Russia; to make Serbia a dependent of Austria; to render France innocuous and Belgium subservient; and then, having established an overwhelming advantage, to settle accounts with Great Britain. Her grievance against us is that we did not allow her to do this.

"So deeply rooted is Great Britain's love of peace, so influential amongst us are those who have laboured through many difficult years to promote good feeling between this country and Germany, that, in spite of our ties of friendship with France, in spite of the manifest danger threatening ourselves, there was still, up to the last moment, a strong desire to preserve British neutrality, if it could be preserved without dishonour. But Germany herself made this impossible.

"Great Britain, together with France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, had solemnly guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium. In the preservation of this neutrality our deepest

sentiments and our most vital interests are alike involved. Its violation would not only shatter the independence of Belgium itself : it would undermine the whole basis which renders possible the neutrality of any State and the very existence of such States as are much weaker than their neighbours. We acted in 1914 just as we acted in 1870. We sought from both France and Germany assurances that they would respect Belgian neutrality. In 1870 both Powers assured us of their good intentions, and both kept their promises. In 1914 France gave immediately, on July 31st, the required assurance ; Germany refused to answer. When, after this sinister silence, Germany proceeded to break under our eyes the Treaty which we and she had both signed, evidently expecting Great Britain to be her timid accomplice, then even to the most peace-loving Englishman hesitation became impossible. Belgium had appealed to Great Britain to keep her word, and she kept it.

“ The German professors appear to think that Germany has in this matter some considerable body of sympathisers in the universities of Great Britain. They are gravely mistaken. Never within our lifetime has this country been so united on any great political issue. We ourselves have a real and deep admiration for German scholarship and science. We have many ties with Germany, ties of comradeship, of respect, and of affection. We grieve profoundly that, under the baleful influence of a military system and its lawless dreams of conquest, she whom we once honoured now stands revealed as the common enemy of Europe and of all peoples which respect the Law of Nations. We must carry on the war on which we have entered. For us, as for Belgium, it is a war of defence, waged for liberty and peace.”

The following were the signatories :

Sir Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Physic, Cambridge ; T. W. Allen, Reader in Greek, Oxford ; E. Arm-

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strong, Pro-Provost of Queen's College, Oxford ; E. V. Arnold, Professor of Latin, University College of North Wales.

Sir C. B. Ball, Regius Professor of Surgery, Dublin ; Sir Thomas Barlow, President of the Royal College of Physicians, London ; Bernard Bosanquet, formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy, St. Andrews ; A. C. Bradley, formerly Professor of Poetry, Oxford ; W. H. Bragg, Cavendish Professor of Physics, Leeds ; Sir Thomas Brock, Membre d'honneur de la Société des Artistes français ; A. J. Brown, Professor of Biology and Chemistry of Fermentation, University of Birmingham ; John Burnet, Professor of Greek, St. Andrews ; J. B. Bury, Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge.

Sir W. W. Cheyne, Professor of Clinical Surgery, King's College, London, President of the Royal College of Surgeons ; J. Norman Collie, Professor of Organic Chemistry and Director of the Chemical Laboratories, University College, London ; F. C. Conybeare, Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford ; Sir Henry Craik, M.P. for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities ; Sir James Crichton-Browne, Vice-President and Treasurer, Royal Institution ; Sir William Crookes, President of the Royal Society ; Sir Foster Cunliffe, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford ; Sir Francis Darwin, late Reader in Botany, Cambridge ; A. V. Dicey, Fellow of All Souls College and formerly Vinerian Professor of English Law, Oxford ; Sir S. Dill, Hon. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford ; Sir James Donaldson, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of St. Andrews ; F. W. Dyson, Astronomer Royal.

Sir Edward Elgar ; Sir Arthur Evans, Extraordinary Professor of Prehistoric Archæology, Oxford.

L. R. Farnell, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford ; C. H. Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford ; H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University ;

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J. A. Fleming, Professor of Electrical Engineering in the University of London ; H. S. Foxwell, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London ; Sir Edward Fry, Ambassador Extraordinary and First British Plenipotentiary to The Hague Peace Conference in 1907.

Sir Archibald Geikie, Past President of the Royal Society ; W. M. Geldart, Fellow of All Souls and Vinerian Professor of English Law, Oxford ; Sir Rickman Godlee, Emeritus Professor of Clinical Surgery, University College, London ; B. P. Grenfell, late Professor of Papyrology, Oxford ; E. H. Griffiths, Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

W. H. Hadow, Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle ; J. S. Haldane, late Reader in Physiology, Oxford ; Marcus Hartog, Professor of Zoology in University College, Cork ; F. J. Haverfield, Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford ; W. A. Herdman, Professor of Zoology at Liverpool, General Secretary of the British Association ; Sir W. P. Herringham, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London ; E. W. Hobson, Sadleirian Professor of Pure Mathematics, Cambridge ; D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ; Sir Alfred Hopkinson, late Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University ; A. S. Hunt, Professor of Papyrology, Oxford.

Henry Jackson, Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge ; Sir Thomas G. Jackson, R.A. ; F. B. Jevons, Professor of Philosophy, Durham ; H. H. Joachim, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford ; J. Jolly, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy, University of Dublin.

Courtney Kenny, Downing Professor of the Laws of England, Cambridge ; Sir F. G. Kenyon, Director and Principal Librarian, British Museum.

Horace Lamb, Professor of Mathematics, Manchester University ; J. N. Langley, Professor of Physiology, bridge Walter Leaf, Fellow of London University,

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President of the Hellenic Society ; Sir Sidney Lee, Editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of London ; Sir Oliver Lodge, Principal of Birmingham University.

Sir Donald Macalister, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Glasgow ; R. W. Macan, Master of University College, Oxford ; Sir William Macewen, Professor of Surgery, Glasgow ; J. W. Mackail, formerly Professor of Poetry, Oxford ; Sir Patrick Manson ; R. R. Marett, Reader in Social Anthropology, Oxford ; D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford ; Sir H. A. Miers, Principal of the University of London ; Frederick W. Mott, Fullerian Professor of Physiology, Royal Institution ; Lord Moulton of Bank, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary ; J. E. H. Murphy, Professor of Irish, Dublin ; Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford ; J. L. Myres, Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, Oxford.

G. H. F. Nuttall, Quick Professor of Biology, Cambridge.

Sir W. Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford ; Sir Isambard Owen, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol.

Sir Walter Parratt, Professor of Music, Oxford ; Sir Hubert Parry, Director of Royal College of Music ; W. H. Perkin, Waynflete Professor of Chemistry, Oxford ; W. M. Flinders Petrie, Edwards Professor of Egyptology, University College, London ; A. F. Pollard, Professor of English History, London ; Sir F. Pollock, formerly Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, Oxford ; Edward B. Poulton, Hope Professor of Zoology, Oxford ; Sir E. J. Poynter, President of the Royal Academy of Arts.

Sir A. Quiller-Couch, King Edward VII Professor of English Literature, Cambridge.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature, Oxford ; Sir W. Ramsay, Emeritus Professor of Chemistry,

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London ; Lord Rayleigh, Past President Royal Society, Nobel Laureate, Chancellor of Cambridge University ; Lord Reay, First President British Academy ; James Reid, Professor of Ancient History, Cambridge ; William Ridgeway, Disney Professor of Archæology, Cambridge ; T. F. Roberts, Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwith ; J. Holland Rose, Reader in Modern History, Cambridge ; Sir Ronald Ross, formerly Professor of Tropical Medicine, Liverpool, Nobel Laureate.

M. E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds ; W. Sanday, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford ; Sir J. E. Sandys, Public Orator, Cambridge ; Sir Ernest Satow, Second British Delegate to The Hague Peace Conference in 1907 ; A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology, Oxford ; Arthur Schuster, late Professor of Physics, Manchester ; D. H. Scott, Foreign Secretary, Royal Society ; C. S. Sherrington, Waynflete Professor of Physiology, Oxford ; George Adam Smith, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Aberdeen ; G. C. Moore Smith, Professor of English Language and Literature, Sheffield ; E. A. Sonnenschein, Professor of Latin and Greek, Birmingham ; W. R. Sorley, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Cambridge ; Sir C. V. Stanford, Professor of Music, Cambridge ; V. H. Stanton, Ely Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

J. Arthur Thomson, Regius Professor of Natural History, Aberdeen ; Sir J. J. Thomson, Professor of Experimental Physics, Cambridge ; T. F. Tout, Professor of Mediæval and Modern History, Manchester ; Sir W. Turner, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Edinburgh.

Sir C. Waldstein, late Reader in Classical Archæology and Slade Professor of Fine Art, Cambridge ; Sir J. Wolfe-Barry ; Sir Almroth Wright, formerly Professor of Pathology, Netley ; C. T. Hagberg Wright, Librarian, London Library ; Joseph Wright, Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford.

APPENDIX IV

THE AMERICAN VERDICT

MR. SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH, President of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and author of a *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, made a reply to the German professors' "Appeal to the Civilised World," putting it in the form of a letter, dated Pittsburg, November 9th, to Professor Fritz Schaper, of Berlin, one of the signatories to the Appeal. The following are extracts from Mr. Church's letter :

" It gives me a feeling of pity to note the importunity with which the people of Germany are seeking the good opinion of America in this strife. It is greatly to their credit that they wish to stand right in the judgment of this nation. But Germany need have no fear that American public opinion will be perverted by the lies and calumnies of her enemies. We are all going deeper than the surface in our search for the truth. Your letter speaks of Germany as being in the struggle ' which has been forced upon her.' That is the whole question ; all others are subsidiary. If this struggle was forced upon Germany, then indeed she stands in a position of mighty dignity and honour, and the whole world should acclaim her and succour her, to the utter confusion and punishment of the foes who have attacked her. But if this outrageous war was not forced upon her, would it not follow in the course of reason that her position is without dignity and honour, and that it is her foes who should be acclaimed and supported to the extreme limit of human sympathy ?

" I believe, dear Doctor Schaper, that the judgment on this paramount question has been formed. That judgment

is not based upon the lies and calumnies of the enemies of Germany, nor upon the careless publications contained in the newspapers, but upon a profound study of the official correspondence in the case. . . .

“Was this war forced upon Germany? What do the official documents prove? . . .

“Who began it? Was it England? Scarcely so, for England, in so far as her army is concerned, had yielded to the popular plea for arbitration, she was not ready for war and will not be ready for another six months. Was it France? Was it Russia? Not one of the ninety-three distinguished men who have sent me this letter, if they will read the evidence, will say so. Nominally it was Austria, who, by her unreasonable and inexorable attack on Serbia, began the War, but Austria was supported, controlled, and guided at every step by Germany, who, in her turn, gave notice to the Powers of Europe that any interference with Austria would be resented by Germany to the full limit of war. . . .

“The next point in your letter reads thus: ‘It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium.’ Have these ninety-three men studied well the letter they have signed? Could intellects so superbly trained deliberately certify to such an unwarranted declaration? Once again I ask, are the people of Germany being supplied with the evidence which is given to the rest of the world? Has any one of my ninety-three honoured correspondents read the guilty statement made by Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag on August 4th? I fear not, for in that statement the Chancellor said: ‘We were compelled to override the just protests of the Luxemburg and Belgian governments. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. It is true that the French government has declared at Brussels that France

is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium, so long as her opponent respects it. France could wait, but we could not. The wrong—I speak frankly—that we are committing we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached.' . . .

“What will the good conscience of the German people say when, in spite of its passion in the rage of war, it grasps the awful significance of the confession of its Imperial Chancellor? What necessity? Who would ever have attacked you if your Emperor had not marched his troops across the frontiers of his peaceful neighbours? ‘The wrong that we are committing.’ The wreck and ruin of a country that has done you no injury, the slaughter of her sons, the expulsion of her King and government, the blackmail of her substance, the destruction of her cities, with their happy homes, their beautiful monuments of historic times, and the priceless works of human genius!

“‘The wrong that we are committing.’ Worst of all, when the desperate and maddened populace, seeing their sons slain and their homes in flames, fired from their windows in the last instinct of nature, your troops, with barbaric ferocity, put them to the sword without distinction of age or sex! The wrong! Why do you deny it against the shameful acknowledgment of the official voice of Germany? Oh, Doctor Schaper, if these conditions should ever be reversed and these foreign soldiers should march through the streets of Berlin, would not you, would not all of my ninety-three correspondents, if they saw their homes battered in ruins and their sons dead in the streets, would not they too fire from their windows upon the merciless invaders? I am sure I would do so! . . .

“Your reference to German militarism brings to mind the conviction that this war began potentially twenty-five years ago, when Emperor William II ascended the throne, declared himself Supreme War Lord, and proceeded to

prepare his nation for war. His own children were raised from their babyhood to consider themselves soldiers and to look forward to a destiny of slaughter; and here in America we know even his daughter only by her photograph in a colonel's uniform. And as with his own children, so all the youth of his empire were brought up. . . .

“Going far away from your great philosopher, Kant, who, in his Categorical Imperative, has taught us all a new golden rule, the national spirit of Germany has been fed on the sensual materialism of Nietzsche, on the undisguised bloodthirst of General von Bernhardi, on the wicked war-dreams of Treitschke, and on the weak morality of von Bülow; and in every scrap of evidence that we can gather from your Emperor, his children, his soldiers, his statesmen, and his professors, we behold that Germany held herself a nation apart from the rest of the world and superior to it, and predestined to maintain that superiority by war. In contrast to this narrow and destructive spirit of nationalism, we in America have learned the value of humanity above the race, so that we cherish all mankind in the bosom of our country. . . .

“And so, at last, my dear Dr. Schaper, we find ourselves shocked, ashamed, and outraged that a Christian nation should be guilty of this criminal war. . . . There was no justification for it. Armed and defended as you were, the whole world could never have broken into your borders. And while German culture still has something to gain from her neighbours, yet the intellectual progress which Germany was making seemed to be lifting up her own people to better things for themselves and to an altruistic service to mankind. Your great nation floated its ships in every ocean, sold its wares in the uttermost parts of the earth, and enjoyed the good favour of humanity, because it was trusted as a humane State. But now all this achievement has vanished, all this good opinion has been destroyed.

You cannot in half a century regain the spiritual and material benefits which you have lost.

“Oh, that we might have again a Germany that we could respect, a Germany of true peace, of true progress, of true culture, modest and not boastful, for ever rid of her war-lords and her armed hosts, and turning once more to the uplifting influence of such leaders as Luther, Goethe, Beethoven, and Kant! But Germany, whether you win or lose in this war, has fallen, and the once glorious nation must continue to pursue its course in darkness and murder until conscience at last bids it withdraw its armies back to its own boundaries, there to wait for the world's pardon upon this inexpiable damnation.”

APPENDIX V

A SWISS JUDGMENT

THE following is Professor Seippel's reply to the German Professors, from the *Journal de Genève* of October 10th, 1914:

“The intellectual leaders of Germany, the *Kulturträger*, have sent this manifesto to the Press of the whole world.

[The German Appeal is quoted.]

“We must accept as an authentic declaration of German opinion a manifesto signed by men who are truly the intellectual flower of their country and are entitled to the admiration and high esteem of cultured people of all nations. And the universal authority which they enjoy makes this Appeal a document of the very first importance with regard to what is called in the universities beyond the Rhine *Völker Psychologie*, a science which it is particularly interesting to study at this moment. Will it attain its object? Will it convince the neutrals to whom it is

especially addressed? That is another matter. It proceeds by short assertions, unsupported by arguments and couched in the form of axioms. Its tone is rather like that of military orders. Readers who are not used to being intellectually mobilised, and who know how to preserve, even in the midst of war, their critical independence, will doubtless halt at every sentence to ask for explanations. Volumes would be required for a point-by-point discussion. These volumes will be written later, when History can give its verdict upon the events which are happening. Until then one must be prepared, not merely for irremovable misunderstandings between the nations, but for veritable intellectual battles, almost as deadly as the other sort—though, while the arguments hurled at the adversary's head are almost as big as the shells from a 42-cm. mortar, they are happily less dangerous.

“What should we do, we who watch from a distance this exchange of winged words? Listen and mark the points, so long as the adversaries are willing not to instruct us but to recognise in us impartial judges of these battles of the spirit. Meanwhile let us register this ‘Appeal to the Civilised World’ and compare it with the other similar testimonies coming from all the four quarters of heaven.

“A preliminary remark is unavoidable. Since the beginning of the war Germany has been under a most strict censorship. Minute precautions have been taken to prevent any uncontrolled information and any independent criticism creeping in from outside. Present-day intellectual Germany reminds me of the Valkyrie whom Wotan put to sleep and set about with an impassable ring of fire.

“In the furnace of warlike enthusiasm the whole German nation has fused into a perfectly homogeneous mass. Public opinion there has a cohesion which is formidable and imposing. From the lowest street-porter to the princes of science, all Germans are solid and accept without

the slightest discussion 'German truth,' officially controlled. No one doubts or disputes it any more than an army order is disputed in the ranks. The example is magnificent, doubtless without parallel in history, of what they themselves call *Massensuggestion*! It appears that, at a moment like the present, the collective race-soul arises and swallows up all the individual souls. Perhaps this is a necessity of the struggle. But is it not disquieting to find that in so great a people—and one which calls itself the thinking people—there is not one, not even one single intelligence strong enough to preserve its autonomy and critical power? Where is the Siegfried who will awaken the Valkyrie from her slumber, and when will he come? The spectacle is a striking one, of course. But it would certainly be too much to expect that this *Massensuggestion* should spread from Germany to all civilised nations. Not all civilised nations are at beck and call. Some make constant efforts to preserve their independence and their judgment—an almost superhuman task at this moment.

“Unfortunately it is not enough for the Germans to possess the absolute truth themselves. They must share it with the Universe. Therefore we see them animated by a grand propagandist zeal. In Switzerland we are inundated with newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets of all sorts, and collective or individual letters. All these writings are clearly inspired by the firm conviction that only Germany knows the truth, and that the rest of the world is plunged in the darkness of ignorance and error. And they all agree to such a point, in ideas and almost in language, that one might suppose them to have been dictated by some schoolmaster to an attentive class. The 'Appeal to the Civilised World' seems to us rather like the best written of these exercises.

“All these university professors follow in their own studies, and inculcate in their pupils, the strictest critical

methods. What use do they make of such now? They repeat incessantly: 'It is not true that . . .,' 'It is proved that . . .'. But where are the proofs? It is not enough to assert their existence, they must be produced. If you have them, for Heaven's sake give them to us! This is all we want to put us on your side. The slightest proof will count more with us than the writings of an angel.
Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.

"Where is the proof that it was Germany who was attacked? It may be noticed, in passing, that not one treacherous word is said against Austria—and with good reason. Austria has some few peccadillos to reproach herself with in the affair, and it is difficult to deny it to be a well-established fact that it was she who started the infernal dance. It is true that the illustrious Professor Haeckel did not hesitate to make, casually, this astounding assertion: 'When Russia, at the beginning of August, declared war against Germany and against Austria . . .'

"Go to the Wilhelmstrasse, Mr. Professor, and ask for the text of the declarations of war. You will see who signed them and despatched them. As for the motives which provoked them, after having read the German White Book, as we have done with great care, read also a certain number of other books, quite as official and of all colours of the rainbow, and you will see that the question is much less simple than you suppose. Where is the proof that England and France had the intention of violating Belgium's neutrality? If Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg had this proof, why did he not give it to us at the memorable session of August 4th, instead of having recourse to the memorable '*Not kennt kein Gebot*'? And did not the military events which followed show that Germany had prepared long before, and with admirable method, the invasion of Belgium, while the Allies required many days to organise their defence?

“Where is the proof that the unhappy Belgians are responsible for the devastation of their country by the army of a nation which had no grievance against them, for so much shedding of their blood, for the burning of so many of their towns and villages? Was it then entirely the victims’ fault? And are we bound to believe this off-hand, on no more evidence than the very incomplete reports published by the German General Staff? Is this the way the impartial witness can form his judgment? We have before our eyes other reports also. There is one signed by the most eminent members of the Belgian Court of Appeal. The least that we can do is to crush down our grief in the depths of our hearts, and reserve our final verdict until the time when the German Government, desirous, of course, of shedding light on the matter, shall allow a neutral Commission to conduct, on the spot, an enquiry whose impartiality no one can question.

“There are many other proofs also which we would like to have. We who have loved intellectual Germany, we who have been nourished on her thought in the classrooms of her universities, would like to have the proof that she does really, as we are told, preserve the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven, and a Kant, and that she is not entirely corrupted by the worship of force which her writers have not wearied of preaching for forty years. In the land of Savigny, Johring, and of Windscheid, we would like to see a man, a single man, rise up and say: ‘Right is above force, a treaty is something else than a scrap of paper, and a little unoffending people ought not to be trampled underfoot because it is advantageous for the German army to pass over their bodies.’

“This is what we would wish. No doubt it is impossible. We must wait. Let us wait for the old Germany, with the deep and pensive soul, to awake from her dream of war. Let us wait for the noble Valkyrie to open her great blue

eyes and see what is now hidden from her, to her own sorrow and the sorrow of the world. Perchance her awakening will be terrible.

“Until then it is useless for the German savants to push their propaganda among the civilised nations who have been spared the scourge of war. As far as we are concerned, their declarations cannot in the least convince us, because the groundwork of facts upon which we build is quite different. They hear but one bell. We, too, hear this great German bell, ringing with all its might ; but we hear also the French and the English and the Belgian and many other bells—a whole peal of them, whose sound deafens us.

“What can we do ? Keep our warm compassion for the innocent victims, and wait for the hour when History shall pronounce the verdict and say who must bear through future centuries the crushing responsibility for one of the most terrible curses which have ever descended upon humanity.”

“PAUL SEIPPEL.”

APPENDIX VI

A BRAZILIAN SENATOR'S OPINION

THE *New York Herald* on October 17th published an interesting interview with Señor Aranka, Brazilian Minister at The Hague, explaining the reason why the great peoples of South America desire to see Germany's defeat.

"It is the German menace, not any fear of neighbours," said Señor Aranka, "which has caused the enormous military expenditure of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Chile. These armaments are necessary solely for the purpose of protecting us against Germany; and as soon as the spirit of German world-conquest is crushed, as it will probably be, the need for our military expenditure will disappear. This is why I am urging my fellow-countrymen, in accord with our neighbours in the southern half of the hemisphere, to call for disarmament at the next Peace Congress after the War. We shall thus be in accord also with the spirit of the United States, and acting together we can make our power felt. Mr. Churchill said in a recent interview that, if Germany were to win in the end, it would be the turn of the United States next. But it might equally well be the turn of Brazil, when the United States would be forced to intervene, in virtue of the Monroe Doctrine. This eventuality, however, is past. My country hopes ardently for the success of the Allies; it sympathises with England, and consequently also with France. May the two hemispheres see peace as the result of the Allies' triumph!"

The *New York Herald* notes editorially that Señor Aranka has made a special study of Pangermanism in its relations with South America, has written a book on the

menace of German colonisation in South Brazil, and is therefore admirably qualified to speak on the subject.

There is no doubt that all thoughtful Latin-Americans, even if they cannot openly echo Señor Aranka's words, owing to their belonging to small States whose neutrality is officially guarded, are in sympathy with the Allies. Numerous proofs of this, the *Herald* says, have been given at Washington since the war began.

APPENDIX VII

THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT'S DECLARATION

“ ON December 2nd the Chancellor of the German Empire declared in the Reichstag :

“ ‘ We had already on August 4th evidence of the wrong committed by the Belgian Government. I had not yet at my disposal any formal written proofs. But the British Government was aware that such proofs existed. And now that it has been established, by the documents found at Brussels and given publicly by me, how and to what extent Belgium had abandoned her neutrality in England's favour, the whole world understands that our troops, when on the night of August 3rd-4th they entered Belgian territory, found themselves on the soil of a State which had abandoned its neutrality long ago.’

“ Belgium, justly proud of her traditions of correctness and honour, does not intend to let pass without the stigma it deserves the campaign directed against her honour by a Chancery which seems truly to have elevated lying to the position of a State institution. Whatever be the sufferings of the present moment, good faith retains, in the eyes of the Belgian people, an inestimable and unchanging value.

“Never has Belgium allowed her inheritance of national uprightness to be impaired. Nothing but the desire to keep it intact dictated the decision taken on the night of August 2nd, and impartial historians will tell this to a posterity still proud of its moral dignity.

“A campaign is on foot to close people’s eyes to the historical truth. No means are rejected. Once more the Belgian Government is called upon to speak, and in so doing it addresses itself to all countries in which the cult of right and reverence for uprightness prevail.

“At the beginning of the war the crime committed against Belgium was so patent, and Germany’s interest in proclaiming it, so as to exercise a certain fascination over her victim, seemed so clear that the Imperial Chancellor himself, from the very tribune of the Reichstag, admitted the violation of laws. And they went so far, at this time, as to attempt to fascinate the nation by the charm of a pecuniary compensation for lost honour—as though honour could be restored at a price! But ‘*Not kennt kein Gebot*,’ ‘Necessity knows no law.’ All was permissible, they said; for was it not a question of striking a lightning-blow at a nation which must be crushed?

“Once more the course of war was destined to show how fatally the initial crime entails the subsequent series of crimes.

“Scarcely had this soil, whose inviolability Germany had guaranteed, been invaded by her before a portion of the invading army began disgracing itself by an organised system, amid incredible refinements of cruelty, of theft, pillage, arson, rape, and massacre against an inoffensive population.

“And while Belgium was the prey of unparalleled barbarism, not a single Belgian act lent justification to the invasion. The aggressor himself confessed this.

“This fact showed up in a deplorable light the Empire

which, in order to conquer France, was torturing a nation spotless of crime. It was necessary to escape from this moral dilemma, no matter what the cost. On the one hand, innocent Belgium's martyrdom stirred the conscience of the world; on the other, the menace, through the triumph of brutality, of similar treatment for themselves, made countries outside the war rightly put to themselves vital questions as to the security of their own future. A month after the declaration of war the German Chancery discovered in Brussels the record of conversations exchanged in 1906 and 1912 between two English Military Attachés and the heads of the Belgian General Staff. In order to change this record into a document exculpating Germany it was necessary to mutilate it and to tell lies. This was the sole method of giving an appearance of decency to the act accomplished against Belgium. While mangling a scrupulously neutral nation, Germany was to be shown playing the part (unconsciously, it is true) of avenging justice.

“Unquestionably this idea offered another advantage; its success promised to overwhelm with moral reproach the Belgians, who by their loyal and vigorous resistance had wrecked the initial plan of the German Grand General Staff. The people in arms, simply to defend its honour, must undergo this supreme torture. It must not merely be sacrificed, it must also be dishonoured. And so, with an impudence rarely matched in history, the German Chancery affirmed the existence of a Convention by which Belgium, betraying her most sacred engagements, was to violate her neutrality to the advantage of England. To impress the ignorant, German honesty cut out of the record of the conversations the passage in which it was stated that this exchange of ideas only contemplated the hypothesis of Belgian neutrality being violated.

“The Belgian Government opposes to the German Chancery's assertions the only answer of which they

admit; that they are a tissue of lies, for which it is less possible to find a name in that they proceed from persons pretending to have seen the original papers.

“What are the documents produced by Germany to prove Belgium’s treachery? They number two:

“(1) The report of some interviews which took place between Lieutenant-General Ducarne and Colonel Barnardiston in 1906. In the course of these interviews, the British officer explained his views as to the manner in which England might come to Belgium’s aid in the event of a German aggression against her. One phrase in this report shows the hypothesis which Colonel Barnardiston had in his mind. The entry of the British troops into Belgium was not to take place until after Germany’s violation of Belgian neutrality. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of November 25th omits in its translation this very phrase, which gives the document its precise significance. Further, a photographic reproduction of the Ducarne report reveals the following sentence: ‘My interlocutor insists upon the fact (1) that our conversation was absolutely confidential. . . .’ The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* changes the word ‘conversation’ into ‘convention,’ and so makes Colonel Barnardiston say that our *convention* must be absolutely confidential!

“Such conduct requires no comment.

“(2) The report of a conversation on the same subject, which took place in April, 1912, between Lieutenant-General Jungbluth and Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges. In the course of this conversation Lieutenant-General Jungbluth remarked that an English intervention on behalf of Belgium, as the victim of German aggression, could only take place with our consent. The Military Attaché objected that England might perhaps be forced to exercise her rights and her duties as a guarantor of Belgium, without

waiting for the latter to call for her aid. This was Colonel Bridges's personal opinion. The British Government always shared the view of the King's Government that Belgium's consent was necessary.

"THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT SWEARS ON ITS HONOUR that not only was no Convention concluded, but also there were never, on the initiative of either Government, any advances or proposals concerning such a convention.

"Further, never did the representative of Great Britain, who alone was qualified to enter on such negotiations, take part in these conversations. On the other hand, all the Belgian ministers, without exception, can attest on their oaths that no result of these conversations was ever brought before either a council of ministers or an individual minister.

"The documents discovered by the Germans bear witness to all this. The evidence is clear—provided that it is neither garbled nor in part suppressed.

"In the face of these calumnies, repeated incessantly, the Government, which is a faithful reflex of Belgian honour, considers that duty calls on it once more to brand the violator of Belgium with THE STIGMA OF INFAMY WHICH IS SO FAR HIS SOLE LEGITIMATE REWARD. The King's Government seizes the opportunity of affirming, in reply to certain accusations, of which the malevolent intention is plainly visible :

"(1) That before the declaration of war no French force, however small, had entered Belgium ; no honest evidence can be produced against this assertion.

"(2) That not only did it never decline an offer of troops made by one of the guarantor-Powers, but after the declaration of war it energetically called for the military protection of these guarantors.

"(3) That, while undertaking in accordance with her duty the vigorous defence of her fortresses, Belgium

asked and accepted with gratitude the assistance which her guarantors were able to afford her towards this defence.

“Belgium, the victim of her own loyalty, bows her head before no one. Her honour defies the assaults of falsehood ; she has faith in the world’s judgment. In the hour when justice is done, the triumph is theirs who have sacrificed all to uphold, in all good conscience, the cause of truth, right, and honour.”

The above is translated from the declaration as it appeared in the Belgian Press. A translation has since been made and issued by the English Press Bureau.

APPENDIX VIII

“THE GERMAN VICTORY” (ACCORDING TO MAXIMILIEN HARDEN).

“THE forty-four bells in the belfry of Ghent are ringing once more a carillon of welcome to the German warriors. The capital of Eastern Flanders has not seen such since the end of the Habsburg occupation. Close to the belfry, over Ghent’s Gothic Hôtel de Ville, floats the German standard. And our men in the midst of their ballads—*they* do not fight for pay, and therefore they must not be treated like mere soldiers—may cast an eye at the *Marché du Vendredi* on the Dulle Griete, the celebrated iron cannon which was so feared, the cannon weighing sixteen tons and a half and capable of taking 145 lbs. of powder per shot, the ancestor of the giant mortar with which General von Beseler reduced the fortress of Antwerp in much less time than was ever required by any of its besiegers, from Alexander of Parma to Marshal Gérard. (Perhaps the Prussians also employed the artillery which the Belgian

Minister had ordered from Krupp's for the fortress on the Scheldt, but of which he had been slow to take delivery.) Four persons only, outside the inmost circle of the place, knew of that mortar which Krupp's manufactured at their own risk, and which the heads of our army at once acquired, because its projectiles swiftly reduce to dust the most powerful fortresses.

"Should we be ashamed of this engine of destruction and admit the bitter reproach of the 'civilised world' for our fall from *Faust* and the *Ninth Symphony* to the 42-cm. mortar? No! A stronger will in the presence of realities (that is to say, in the presence of German power), that is all which distinguishes the mass of warriors fighting at this moment on five battlefields from the race of thinkers and poets. . . . These men are not merely fighting that their children and grandchildren may have more land and more room, but also to extend the dominion of the German genius, and encourage the spread of the eternally active forces emanating from the Goethes and Beethovens, the Bismarcks and the Schillers, the Kants and Kleists. . . . And never was there waged a contest more just, never one whose results promised so much even to the conquered. That it may be a victorious contest, we must forge the most powerful weapon. Across the plains of the Scheldt went the Royal word: 'How my heart glows! How vigorously spring up the warrior-bands in every German land! The German sword for the German Fatherland—so let the might of the Empire be asserted!' This might was created by a spirit existing before it. The creation of such arms was only possible because millions of industrious men toiled incessantly to make a poor Germany into the rich Germany which now is capable of preparing and conducting war on a grand scale, as 'a great industry.' And that which the spirit created serves again the spirit's ends. . . . Upon these ruins a young, a richer life must be reborn and rise up towards the light of heaven. New

provinces must here be conquered for Great Germany. Without them, even if a Pactolus of golden millions should flow into the Rhine, the cost of this war would be shamefully lost. Awake, you forty-four bells, ring out the end of the night of fear, the dawn of new morning over the land where once Baldwin's arm of iron built the solid fortress! Tell to the land of Flanders and right into Brabant the joyous news that your country's face is set towards the spring, not towards the gloomy winter! The hour has sounded when must be settled the ancient rivalry between Germans and Gauls for the succession of the Kingdom of Lorraine. . . .

“Our army did not set out to conquer Belgium. He who knows clearly whither he wants to go does not necessarily attain his end. Theodoric proposed to go from Thrace to Byzantium, to turn the Emperor Zeno off his golden throne, and he found his life's work in Italy. During thirty-three years he reigned, with thirty thousand Ostrogoths, over that land of purely Roman culture; and he left it in a richer and better condition than it had attained under Odoarius. Theodoric used treachery to make himself master of the Goths, and yet no Italian suffered through his guile. Since those days there has been more than one who has not known whither his steps are leading him. . . .

“How then can we find, in this war against four Great Powers, whose Western front extends from the Alps to the North Sea, an adequate recompense for the conqueror? We can never be repaid for the loss of innumerable young lives, for which we are mourning after but a few weeks of war. If among ten thousand heroes who have fallen there were but one creative brain, a thousand millions would not be sufficient recompense for the loss of that. And what piece of territory necessary to our Germanism, in the highest sense of the term, could either

France or Russia cede us in Europe? To keep oneself well sheltered, to prefer the life of a New Yorker to that of a Viking, the life of a fat carp mouldering in the mud to that of the alert pike, has never been a German ideal. The young and enterprising, full of the overflowing life of wealth and power, can but pursue the conquest of such new frontiers as suit them. Now we know why we fought. Not for French or Polish or Ruthenian provinces, nor for millions of money, nor yet to comfort ourselves after victory with the thought of having set peoples free. No, but to hoist the Empire's flag over the narrow strip of land which leads to the vast world of the oceans! I could imagine the Germans, after Calais and Ostend have been conquered, withdrawing their armies and their fleets from the East and from the West, and speaking to their enemies thus: 'You have seen of what German will and strength are capable, and henceforward you will reflect twice before daring to attack again. Germany asks nothing more of you—not even repayment of the expenses of war. The salutary terror spread all about her by the campaigns of this autumn will be a sufficient recompense for her. Do you want anything of us? We will never decline a challenge to fight. We will keep Belgium, adding to it a narrow strip of territory stretching a little beyond Calais. (You French have plenty of other excellent harbours.) We will put an end to the war, which after safeguarding our honour can bring us nothing further, and we are going back to the labours of peace. We shall not take up arms again unless you try to drive us from the soil conquered at the price of our blood. Let there be no solemn conclusion of peace, with bargainings, parchments, and seals. The prisoners may go free. Keep your fortresses, if they seem to you to be worth anything any longer. To-morrow is just an ordinary day.'

"At the moment when the war was breaking out, the

arch mistake was the boldly uttered confession that Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium—a neutrality decided on at the suggestion of Prussia and guaranteed by Europe. Even if the change desired by popular feeling was not long, though it was really much too long, in coming, this admission, this self-accusation made in the name of repentant morality, would remain eternally recorded against us. From this confession neither God nor Devil will ever clear us. The attempts made, after the event, to insinuate that others were preparing to violate this neutrality on their own account do not take away our guilt. Is it dignified to creep on velvet-padded paws towards the butter-dish? Is it worthy of a nation which can put a fine army into the field? I do not believe that France intended to attack our Rhine provinces by way of Belgium. I do not believe, either, that the Belgian *bourgeoisie*, to whom any upset of their business is an abomination, would have authorised this passage; nor yet that England would have allowed her ally to reduce King Albert to the rank of a vassal of the Republic. I am certain that the understanding between the three Powers, of which the traces have just been discovered, only referred to the case (long foreseen by those who studied military problems) of a German attack. What is the sense, then, of all this disturbance about mere proofs? It is still more serious for us when our Chancellor accuses the Empire, whose rights he ought to defend, of a crime for which it is not to be blamed, and which henceforward will cling to our reputation like an indelible stain.

“Germany has been judged to-day. But German humanity does not intend to submit itself to the judgment of Europe—nor the judgment of America either. The despatch which the Emperor, to the regret of the clearest-sighted among his subjects, addressed to the President of the United States was interpreted by Mr. Wilson as a plea

for a lenient sentence. And the answer—much the strangest document, in its schoolmasterly style, that ever a powerful monarch has received—makes a threatening allusion to 'the day of reckoning when the guilty will have to answer for their faults.' All the peoples of the world in joyful harmony have decided that the war shall be followed by a reckoning of this nature, according to the President, and the opinion of humanity in general will act as the Supreme Court. The neutral States, no doubt on Anglo-Belgian prompting, have decided to examine our culpable acts, to judge them—and to punish them? This is what we are told from Washington. There we are. Has a strong man ever submitted to the foolish pretensions and the judgment of a pack of weaklings? But he who does not intend to put up with the impertinences of hazy political sentiment must be on his guard. For us Might makes Right. Only a stronger can compel us. Do you wish, you fathers, mothers, children, wives, brothers, and sisters of the German warriors, that the wealth of our Imperial coffers shall be used to restore every town, village, wood, field, and garden in Belgium to the condition it was in before the war began, that ransoms paid by us shall flow into the cash-boxes of the parishes, that Louvain shall receive, as a partial recompense for the scientific treasures destroyed by our guns, the most precious manuscripts from our libraries? If you wish this, it can be considered. The payment would be dear; but it could not, in any case, be cheaper. It remains to be seen whether it would cover the cost. If you do not wish it, then there is no other choice before you.

"Do not let your resolution be shaken by the idea of the annexation of seven million men bringing a foreign language into the Empire, by the fear of a fanatical Catholicism and of freemason's lodges. The Flemings do not speak, and scarcely understand, French, and the Low

German ear readily takes in their speech. Is the Roman Catholic any worse than the Lutheran, the Calvinist, or the Atheist? Is he not more like the people of Cleves, Aix-la-Chapelle, Treves, and Cologne than are the Pomeranians and the Saxons? And are freemasons to you as the red rag to the bull?

“It will be our primary duty, after the war, to learn to treat with the moderation which becomes the strong the people of strange and even hostile race who have been added to the Empire. But shall we not always be in Belgian eyes arrant blackguards and servants of the Devil? If so, we shall be that also if we should pay for every stone in Louvain and Malines with its weight in gold. This wrath can only be appeased when our neighbour sees at close quarters the ‘people with the breath of fire,’ sung of by Schiller, and reckons up the advantages which a life lived in common with that people can procure him. Antwerp not against but with Hamburg and Bremen; Liège side by side with the arms-factories of Hesse, Berlin, and Suabia; Cockerill allied with Krupp; the iron and coal and weaving industries of Belgium and Germany united in one commercial understanding in the world’s markets; the Cameroons and the Congo made one—are not such advantages sufficient to swallow up hate? Of the deadly enemy, when he cannot break his head, the wise man after reflection makes a friend. . . . Only no more impoverished and atrophied Reichsland! From Calais to Antwerp, Flanders, Limburg, and Brabant, right on to the line of fortresses on the Meuse, all must be Prussian. (The German princes no longer haggle, the German reigning houses are no longer jealous). The southern triangle, with Alsace-Lorraine—and Luxemburg also, if it agrees—must be under an independent Roman Catholic prince attached to the Empire. Then Germany will know why she has shed her blood. We have need of an industrial

country and of roads leading to the sea, of a big undivided colony, of raw materials and lucrative labour conditions, and also of men fit to labour. Here we have all this : ore and copper, glass and sugar, linen and wool. And here, too, were once Jean and Hubert van Eyck, Rubens, Ruysbroeck, and Jordaens. Here flourished always, often in concealment, that flower of the German soul, imagination. And, lastly, is there not here also what to-day every German heart eagerly hopes for and sometimes too violently demands : Victory over England ? On the seas this will take time and can only be obtained by hard sacrifices. With a German Empire whose mortars menaced the Channel from the coast, whose flag flew over the two greatest ports in Europe as well as the basin of the Congo River, England would be bound to come to a friendly understanding. For Germany would be an equal Power by the right which is might (*Machtsrecht*). If not, well, forward ! We await her on our new land.

"The epoch of high adventures seemed distant. But Germania, fearless and daring to desire, has just filled her barn with an ample harvest, gathered in by her heroic warriors.

"MAXIMILIEN HARDEN."

(*Die Zukunft*, October 14th, 1914.)

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